













THE  
**CALCUTTA REVIEW.**

VOLUME CIV.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess th: 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 sanders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and righten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 207.—JANUARY 1897.

ART. I.—UDAIPUR AND THE ROYAL HOUSE OF  
MEWAR.

FEW railway extensions of late years in India have been of more interest to the traveller in search of picturesque scenery, or of historic associations, than that which, a year ago, connected the outer world of the nineteenth century, as represented by the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, with the beautiful Rajput city of Udaipur, the capital of Mewar. For years past the reigning Maharana, mistrusting the advantages of western civilisation, had opposed the advance into the recesses of his kingdom of those iron roads which have done so much to revolutionise India. But the exigencies of modern life, even in the remote districts of Rajputana, and the importunities of his people, have overborne his well-grounded doubts, and at length the shriek of the locomotive echoes in the valley of the Arvali hills, hitherto disturbed by no harsher sound of traffic than the ring of horses' feet or the rattle of the cattle bells. The steamers on the Grand Canal at Venice, or the trams in the Oxford High Street, are not more at variance with their surroundings. No country in the world can surpass in romantic historical interest this once-powerful State of Mewar; and few cities can vie with Udaipur in wealth of picturesque beauty. Standing on the shores of its glistening lake, under the very shadow of those wild Arvali hills which have more than once sheltered in distress the princes of its royal house, its surroundings, its buildings and its people recall the bye-gone days when Rajput and Mughal struggled for supremacy in India. Here, in the narrow bazars, we may still see the bearded Rajput, equipped with sword and shield, riding as proudly as of old through the crowd of base traders and menials; without the city the swarthy Bhil from the neighbouring hills, the scarce-tamed vassal of the Rajput kings, with bow and quiver at his shoulder, strides up the mountain path towards his village in the jungle; on the high road the dust is raised in white, thick clouds by herds of pack-bullocks, driven by those

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nomad traders, half gipsy, whole vagabond, who once were masters of the carrying trade of India, but who are now fast disappearing before the inexorable advance of British railways. On the hill above the town rises the white pile of the Maharana's palace, and in its courtyard the royal elephants stand tethered; horses in scarlet caparisons and gay trappings are led up and down by bright-clad attendants; the pigeons flutter from the roofs, and the kaleidoscopic stream of eastern life comes and goes on the steep steps of the palace doorway just as it has done any time these three hundred years. Here, too, may still be seen picturesque pageants, as yet unspoiled by any modern or discordant western element, when, at the festival of the spring hunt, the Maharana goes forth in state with his robes to slay the boar in the jungles of the Arvalis; or at the Gangaur festival, when the benign goddess Gauri, the Ceres of the Rajputs, is borne by her attendant maidens, with songs and dances, to bathe in the waters of the lake; or again at the military festival of the *Dasakra*, when the Maharana, with all the pomp and circumstance which his State can show, reviews his troops on the "field of Mars," and witnesses the feats of arms of his warrior horsemen.

Nor is it surprising that, with such surroundings, the prince of Mewar should cling to the old customs of his race and be anxious to protect his people from the corrupting influences of "young India's" radicalism. From every point the town of Udaipur and its environing landscapes present pictures of romantic beauty unsurpassed in any country. As we stand on the great embankment below the palace walls, and look westward over the shining lake in the white sunlight of early morning, the misty distance, where the wood-clad mountains dip, rugged and wild, towards the valley, reminds us of a summer in the Scottish Highlands. Or if, from the broad plinth of the hunting lodge on the western shore, we look back in the brilliant glow of sunset to where the temples and cupolas of Udaipur are reflected in the glassy surface of the lake, while over all towers the vast pile of the palace, its marble walls flushing to rosy crimson against the pale blue eastern sky, we can find no parallel for its peculiar beauty, unless it be in the heights above the Golden Horn, or in the palaces of the Dal Lake. But never do the romance and beauty of the place appeal to us so strongly as when, by the light of an Indian moon at the full, a boat bears us silently over the calm waters of the Udaï Sagar. Then the ripples lap with their most soothing measure against the marble steps of the island palaces, whose picturesque beauty is united to a double historic interest. For here it was that the great Shah Jahan found an asylum when, as Prince Khurram,

He was fleeing from the displeasure of his father, the Emperor Jehangir, and here, two and a half centuries later, a band of British fugitives from the savage ferocity of the rebel sepoys, were sheltered within the same white marble walls. The buildings which had harboured the Mughal prince, afforded an equal protection to the servants of that western Power which had succeeded to the empire of the Mughals: and the Maharana in 1857 succoured his British allies in their distress with the same chivalrous devotion, with which his ancestor had defied the anger of the Emperor of Delhi.

Towards the town the moon-light glints on the marble pinnacles and battlements of the palace, but the great mass of the building is in deep shadow, and darkest of all are the stern and lofty walls of the zanana, which fall sheer into the blue depths of the lake. From one tiny casement, high up above the water, the light of a lamp makes a yellow spot in the surrounding gloom, and from it the monotonous chant of the nauch girls floats out on the still night air and suggests how the ladies of the palace are whiling away the tedious hours.

What sad stories of dull, monotonous life and even of tragic death do not those forbidding walls bring to our minds! Within them it was that the cruel tragedy was enacted which, less than a century ago, drew down a blighting curse on the royal house of Mewar, when the rivalry for the hand of the Maharana's beautiful daughter, Kishna Kumari, was terminated only by the barbarous murder of the object of the strife. The Rajput chiefs of Jodhpur and Jaipur were the rival suitors, and each threatened armed hostility if his claims were not favoured. The State of Mewar had been reduced so low by centuries of strife with Mahomedan and Mahratta that her prince viewed with dismay the prospect of adding to the numbers of his enemies; but to the notorious Amir Khan, the Pathan free-booter, who was eventually crushed by the army of Lord Lake, is ascribed the infamous plan of avoiding the difficulty by the murder of the unfortunate girl. It is related that a wretch, deputed to execute the deed, was disarmed by the beauty and innocence of the victim, and that it was not until poison had been three times administered and three times failed, that the fell purpose was accomplished. But the atrocity brought a signal punishment, and never since that day has the throne of Mewar descended from father to son.

Stories such as this, however, are neither characteristic of the Rajput race, the most noble and chivalrous of the peoples of India, nor of the royal family of Mewar, the acknowledged chief of the Rajput States. On the contrary, their history is rendered illustrious by tales of noble self-sacrifice and patriotic

devotion, worthy of the great descent which they trace, through the hero Rama, to the life-giving Sun-god himself. From prehistoric times their ancestors have been lords of men, and have ruled in turn in Ajodhya (the modern Oudh), in Saurashtra (now Kathiawar), in Bhilwar, and, finally, in Mewar; from their stock sprang the Mahratta dynasties of the Peshwas and the Bhonslas, as well as the present ruling family of Nipal; nor have they ever, even in the face of the severest reverses, forgotten the dignity of their race, or joined in intimate alliance with the alien peoples who have from time to time established themselves in India.

- The present capital is a city of comparatively recent growth, and has not been the scene of any of those exploits in war of which the Rajputs are justly proud; but it stands amongst the same hills, and woods which were the very nursery of the greatness of Mewar, and which witnessed many of the deeds that ennobled her decay.

Here it was, some sixteen hundred years ago, that the Rajput queen found a refuge, the sole survivor from the sack of the Saurashtra capital of Balabhi, and here, amid the rugged hills, her son was born, surnamed Goha, "the cave-born," from the place of his birth. Here the child was reared, protected by the Brahman priest of a local shrine, and lived as a shepherd lad, until the dark Bhils of the surrounding jungles, instinctively recognising the nobility of his race, chose him to be their king, and impressed with blood on his forehead the *tika*, or mark of sovereignty. Two centuries later, they were Bhils who aided the descendant of Goha to attain to the throne of Chitor, and who stamped his brow with the kingly emblem; and the same wild race still claims the privilege of performing the ceremonies of enthronement when a new Maharaja is proclaimed in Mewar.

In these same recesses of the Arvali hills, about the sixth century of our era, a young boy named Bappa, again the sole survivor of the royal house, was protected by a Brahman of the very shrine of Nagda whose priest had preserved his ancestor, Goha. Here he was bred, and, as his forefather had done, he lived the life of a simple shepherd, until his princely origin was miraculously proclaimed. It is related that, as he wandered through the thickets in the neighbourhood of Nagda, Bappa happened on the retreat of a saintly hermit, who had renounced all worldly things, and had here devoted himself to the contemplation of the great God and Creator. Encouraged by the sage, he continued to visit the spot, bringing offerings of milk and flowers for the deity, and performing acts of service for the old man, until the latter's period of probation on earth drew to a close. He then invested his young disciple

with the office of Vice-gerent, or Diwan, of the shrine, and recommended him to the goddess Kali, who, it is said, herself deigned to appear to the youth, and with her own hands equipped him with lance, bow, sword and shield, with which she sent him forth to fortune and sovereignty. In after years the temple of Eklingji was erected on the spot where the hermit had dwelt; and to this day, when the Maharana of Mewar visits the shrine, he is hailed as Diwan, the attendant priest gives place to him, and he himself performs the service of the god.

Sent forth with the blessing of divine favour, Bappa made his way to the rock city of Chitor, or Chitorgarh, where he rose to great power and finally established himself as its sovereign. This was the scene of the greatest deeds of daring and of the noblest achievements of the Rajputs of Mewar, although the chief beauties of the country are to be found around Udaipur, on the shores of the great lakes—the Jai Samand and the Raj Samand, or in the mountain valleys about Eklingji.

The rampart-crowned heights of Chitor were a home well suited to be the central bulwark of a warlike nation. A narrow hill, some three and a half miles in length, by half a mile broad, it rises precipitously from the plain to a height of about 500 feet, and forms the most conspicuous object in the landscape on the modern Rajputana railway, at the point where the new branch line to Udaipur joins the main line.

Its steep and rocky sides needed but small labour in scarping and solid bastions to become impregnable when defended by a courageous garrison, while the peculiar formation of the hill top, which is hollowed by nature into the fashion of a narrow trough, rendered the protection of the city, and its supply with abundance of water from the easily constructed tanks, a matter requiring neither much engineering skill nor ingenuity. On this rugged hill grew up the city, which for eight hundred years was jealously guarded by the warriors of Mewar; this was the spot which was looked on as the centre and essence of the kingdom, and to defend which the greatest princes and nobles of Rajputana were ever ready to bleed or to die. To the splendour of the ruins of Chitor, fifty years after its final abandonment as the capital of Mewar, testimony is borne by the historian of the Mission from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Jehangir, who writes: "The stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride, and to this day the remains of the palaces and temples, crowned by the beautiful and still perfect Tower of Victory, are as impressive as the desolation of the place is melancholy."

Here for many years ruled the hero Bappa, the 'Mountain



Lord, whose exploits have caused him to be worshipped by his descendants as a demigod. As the portents and adventures surrounding his early life were marvellous, so, too, strange legends are related about his latter days, when he is said to have journeyed to the distant country of Khorasan, and there, having conquered the kings of that place, as well as of the neighbouring territories of Kashmir and Kafiristan, to have settled and established another kingdom, and founded the race of the Nowshera Pathans. Another story says that at the close of his reign he renounced the world, and retired to the Bhil hills, where he ended his days as an ascetic amid the scenes of his boyhood's exploits.

Of the city which he made his capital, every stone now remaining reminds the traveller who wanders amongst its ruins of some deed of daring or romantic legend. Most hallowed by antiquity is the smaller Tower of Victory, which, erected by the Rana Allu-ji almost exactly a thousand years ago, has survived unscathed by storm and siege, and still looks out over the scenes of by-gone greatness. Hard by, its ancient stones yet cooled by the green, still waters of the tank, is the palace of the princess Padmini, the "all-beautiful," whose name recalls one of the most romantic stories of history. It was when Ala-ud-din Khilji, the Pathan conqueror of India, was in the full tide of his success that Bhim Sing, the uncle and guardian of the young Rana of Mewar, took to wife this lovely daughter of the Chohan Rajputs of Ceylon. The fame of her beauty spread far and wide, and desire to possess such a prize was an even stronger lure to the Muslim conqueror, than was the wish to subjugate the proud Rajput capital. Collecting a powerful army, Ala-ud-din laid siege to Chitor; but its resources proved too strong for him, and his repeated attacks were again and again defeated. At length, after a long and fruitless siege, the invader, by a treacherous ambush, made Bhim Sing a prisoner, and, to the despair of the Rajputs, would accept no ransom but the surrender of Padmini herself. But the gallant defenders of Chitor were not to be thus easily worsted, and recourse was had to stratagem. Padmini was to be handed over on a certain day, but it was stipulated that she should not go unattended to Delhi, and accordingly seven hundred closed litters accompanied the royal palanquin into the Muslim camp. The whole were carried into the enclosure where Bhim Sing was confined, in order that the princess might take leave of her lord, and, a moment afterwards, instead of Padmini and her attendant ladies, seven hundred of the flower of Mewar issued from the tents, and, with Bhim Sing at their head, set themselves to cut their way back to Chitor. The slaughter which ensued was terrible,

and but few of the gallant band regained the fortress. Bhim Sing himself was amongst those who fell, having (in the picturesque imagery of the eastern chronicler) "spread a coverlet of slair on his bed of honour." But the losses of the Muslims were also too great to allow them to continue the struggle, and Ala-ud-din drew off his army for the present. His determination to conquer was, however, unshaken; and a few years later he returned in still greater strength, and closely invested the hill of Chitor. The garrison was sore-pressed, and many of the noblest and bravest had fallen in the daily conflicts, when the guardian goddess appeared by night to the Rana, and, declaring herself to be an hungered, demanded the lives of twelve successive kings, or else the land of Mewar must pass from the line of Bappa. Twice was the vision repeated, and on the third day the Rana formed his resolution. Summoning his twelve sons, he told them of the oracle, and, forthwith resigning his crown to the eldest, sent him forth to battle at the head of the armies of Mewar. The youth fell, and on the following day his place was taken by a younger brother; and so, day by day, the royal sacrifice continued, until eleven brothers had fallen and there remained only the second son, his father's favorite, who, sorely against his will, had been restrained by the Rana from taking his turn in the defence of Chitor.

But still the foe pressed the siege closer and closer, and it was evident that, though Bappa's line might be preserved, his capital must fall, at least for a time, into the hands of the Muslims. That the tale of the sacrifice might be complete, the Rana once more assumed the badges of sovereignty, and, mustering such as remained of his nobles, prepared to meet death boldly in one last charge against the hostile ranks. Before that final effort, however, it was necessary to secure the wives and daughters of Mewar from the pollution of the spoiler, and to that end the awful rite of *Johar* was now for the first time instituted, destined to be a terrible precedent for future generations. The Royal princesses, the wives of the nobles, all the women of Chitor, were collected together in subterranean passages and chambers beneath the palace; huge fires were lighted within every exit; the openings were closed and sealed, and thousands of Rajput women thus found a sure escape from the lust of the victorious invaders. This sacrifice accomplished, the Rana and his followers clad themselves in the saffron-coloured robes which denote devotion to heaven, and, throwing open the gates, rushed against the Muslim army, and to a man perished in the hopeless struggle. Thus was the hunger of the goddess of Chitor appeased; but not without result, for, in the confusion of the battle, Ajai Sing the second son of the Rana, with a small band of devoted

adherents, made his way through the lines of the enemy and escaped to the fastnesses of the Arvali hills, bearing in his charge the infant Hamir Sing, the child of the Rana's eldest son.

Another of the famous buildings of Chitor which still bear witness to its former glories, is the shrine erected to Brahma, the all-pervading spirit of life, by Lakha Rana, the grandson of him who was saved as a child from the sack of the city. This same Lakha was the monarch whose eldest son, Chonda, was content to forego his birthright for reasons which seem strangely foolish to western readers. Lakha was advanced in years, when it happened that the prince of the Rajput State of Marwar sent ambassadors to propose an alliance of marriage between his daughter and the house of Mewar. Chonda was at the time absent from the capital, and his father put off replying to the embassy until he should return, saying laughingly that the proposals could hardly be intended for an old man like himself. This saying was repeated to Chonda; and, so punctilious are the Rajputs in any matter connected with women, that the young prince took offence at his father having made jest on a matter connected with his marriage, and refused to have anything to say to the proposals. The difficulty was solved by Lakha accepting the offer of marriage on his own account, but only on the condition that, if a son should be born of the union, Chonda should surrender to him the right of succession. In the event, a prince, afterwards the Rana Mokalji, was born, and thereafter Chonda and his descendants abandoned all claim to the sovereignty, but became the premier nobles of Mewar. They retained, in virtue of their birth, as well as of subsequent services to the State, the right to affix their sign manual, the 'spear of Salumbra,' to all crown grants (a custom which still survives), as well as the privilege of leading the van of the armies of Mewar in battle. Once only in after history was this right contested. It was in the reign of Rana Amara Sing, who recovered Chitor after its last capture by Akbar, and the occasion was the attack on the fortress of Untala, whose ruins still stand near the road from Chitor to Udaipur. The clan which dared to dispute the leadership of Mewar with the Chondawats, the hereditary vanguard, was that of the Saktawats, a family also of royal descent. The feelings of rivalry ran high, and threatened to lead to fatal disaster, when, with ready tact, the Rana decided that the privilege should in the future belong to that clan which should first make its way into Untala; and at the same time he arranged the details of the attack, ordering the Saktawats to assail the gateway of the fortress, the Chondawats to attempt to scale the walls. Both parties moved off at one

moment ; the Saktawats forced their way through the approaches to the very gate itself ; but here their advance was checked by heavy doors studded with iron spikes, which prevented the elephant on which rode Balo, the leader of the clan, from pushing down the obstacle. At this moment a shout was heard from the wall of the fort. Guessing that this betokened the success of their rivals, Balo descended from the elephant, and, throwing himself in front of it, ordered the mahout instantly to cause the animal to burst down the doors, his own body protecting it from the pain of the protruding spikes. The man obeyed ; the gates were burst open, and the Saktawats rushed into the fort over the crushed and lifeless body of their chief. But the sacrifice was too late ; the shout, which had goaded Balo to self-destruction, was indeed the announcement of the success of the Chondawats. As they scaled the ramparts, their leader was struck down lifeless by the enemy ; but the next in rank, catching up the body, bore it on his shoulders up the ladder, and, hurling it before him over the wall, claimed the victory for his clan, whose chief was first within the walls. A moment more and he followed his dead leader into the fort, and the rest of the clan, rushing up, carried the rampart just as their rivals sprang through the gateway. Thus was the leadership of Mewar retained by the Chondawats, nor has their prerogative been ever again disputed. The city of Chitor was in the zenith of her beauty, when, some two and a quarter centuries after its first sack, it fell again into the hands of the Muslims. The conqueror on this occasion was Bahadur Shah, King of Gujrat, and, by a strange chance, it was the Muslim Emperor Humayun who came to the aid of the Rajput Capital. Although he arrived too late to save it from capture and pillage, and from the dread rite of Johar, which, as on the former occasion, preceded the final sortie of the garrison, he nevertheless speedily compelled the invader to yield up possession of the fortress, which he restored to its rightful owners. The story of how the Mussulman came to aid the Rajputs is a romantic and interesting one. There is amongst the Rajputs an ancient festival, especially honoured in Mewar, the principal ceremony of which is the sending of a bracelet by the ladies of Rajput families to any man in whom they may desire to express their esteem and confidence. The man so honoured is termed the 'bracelet-bound (*rakhi-band*) brother' of the lady from whom he receives the tokens, and he must be ready at all hazards to go to her assistance and to succour her in her need. Such a token had been sent to the Emperor Humayun by Kurnavati, queen of Mewar, and, when Chitor was hard pressed by Bahadur Shah, she demanded from her adopted brother the fulfilment of his bounden duty, and assistance against the Gujrati. How the emperor

answered her prayer, has been already told : nor was his aid unavailing, for the queen herself, with her infant son, Udai Sing, had succeeded in escaping from the capital before it was closely invested.

The child thus preserved was the same who afterwards, when Rana, founded the present beautiful Capital. But, although his name is thus preserved from oblivion, his character fell far short of the heroic qualities of his ancestors who had so fiercely defended their rocky home in Chitor. He lived to see the armies of the great Akbar encamped before the fortress, his host extending for a distance of ten miles over the plain, his own quarters marked by the marble pyramid which still exists and bears his name. But, to the shame of the family, at the approach of this danger, the Rana sought safety in flight, and, for the first time in its history, no ruling prince remained in Chitor to lead the chivalry of Mewar to battle. Two worthy substitutes, however, were found, in Jaimal, chief of Basmur in Marwar, and Patta, the youthful Mewar prince of Kailwa. When the resources and strength of Chitor were ebbing fast, his mother, with the courage of a true Rajput, bade Patta don the yellow robe of self-devotion, and, with her own hands arming the chief's young wife, as well as herself, the three sallied forth at the head of the army and found a glorious death in the cause of their country. On Jaimal now devolved the leadership, and his resistance might have been prolonged, but that, by sad mischance, he was struck by a stray ball, while standing on the ramparts of the fort. Sorely wounded, he determined to die with his harness on his back, and he forthwith summoned the warriors of Mewar to the forlorn hope. Once more the "fatal *Johar* was commanded, while eight thousand Rajputs "ate the last '*bheera*'\* together, and put on their saffron robes; the gates were thrown open; the work of destruction "commenced, and few survived to stain the yellow mantle by "inglorious surrender." (Tod's Annals of Rajasthan). The whole of the nobility of Mewar, with their wives and daughters, perished in this awful slaughter, which was followed by the entire destruction of the city at the hands of the victors. Well may the Rajputs hold the story accursed, and use the invocation of "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" as the strongest and most binding of oaths.

Thus ended the third and last siege of Chitor. The Rana Udai Sing fled to the Bhil hills, where, in the Girwar valley, he founded a new city, and called it after his own name. The old capital was never rebuilt, and, although its ruins on the rocky hill were the continued cause of struggle between Muslim and

\* The '*bheera*' is somewhat similar to our 'stirrup cup,' and consists in partaking of *betel* and *pan* previous to starting on a journey or enterprise.

Rajput, until they were eventually recovered by the latter in the reign of Amara Sing, yet the glory of the place had departed, and only the broken ramparts, the ruined palaces, the dried up tanks, and, over all, the two great towers of Victory, which were spared from destruction by Akbar, remain, amidst the tangled overgrowth of Indian vegetation, to recall to us the scenes where Bappa ruled, where Padmini reigned, the supreme queen of beauty, where Patta and Jaimal fought and fell for country and for fame.

The scenes which have been sketched in these pages are but a few amongst a vast collection of romantic legends and glorious records which crowd the annals of Mewar, and which give life and interest to every stone in her ancient forts and picturesque cities. The deeds of Sanga Rana alone would afford subject for as noble an epic as was ever inspired by Hector of Troy, or Arthur of Lyonesse; nor do the minstrels of Udaipur ever tire of singing how he fought against the Muslim, until at length, when death claimed him, maimed crippled and scarred with eighty wounds of sword and lance, he was but the wreck of the mighty warrior who had crossed swords with the great Baber himself. We have not space here to give more than a passing allusion to the gallant Partab, who was content to live in wattled huts beside the Udai Sagar, rather than build palace or fane in a new home while Chitor, the jewel of Mewar, remained in alien hands. Never has history shown brighter example of heroic fortitude and steadfast perseverance than in his prolonged struggle amidst the fastnesses of the Bhilwar mountains, against the foes of his fatherland. "There is not a pass in the Alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Partab—some brilliant victory, or oftener more glorious defeat." Well might such men as these bear for their motto the stirring words, "Who steadfast keeps the faith, him the Creator keeps."

The glistening palace of Udaipur, set in the dark ring of the Araval hills, is reflected in the smooth waters of the lake with an unimpaired beauty; but the glories of Mewar lie buried beneath the ruins of the frowning fortress of Chitor, once her safety and her pride. Gone for ever are the days of the supremacy which saw her, single-handed, stem the overwhelming flood of Muslim invasion, when the greatest princes of India sought her alliance, and when her sons went forth to found royal dynasties in every quarter of Hindustan; yet the glorious annals of Chitor, and of the golden sun of Mewar, invest her, even in her decay, with a dignity and a pathos which might worthily inspire the song of poet or the pages of romance.

## ART II.—MILTON'S HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

“—call up him that Jéft half told  
The story of Cambuscan bold. . .”

**T**HERE is one department of literary history on which a véry interesting chapter still remains to be written—the unknown works of famous writers. We do not so much mean information simply curious, such as that Euripides and Racine, most tragic of poets, each wrote a comedy so unrestrained as almost to become a farce ; or that the *Cyclops* is accessible in English in an excellent version by Shelley ; or, again, that the Walpurgis revels in *Faust* have been finely translated by the same poet. These works, though hardly ever read, are yet well enough known, to the text books, at all events ; while of the class of works which we mean, even the text books are quite silent.

A practical instance : how many even of professed students know that the author of *Paradise Lost* and *Lycidas* wrote a history of Russia, containing a description of the Empire of the Tsars as it was in his day ; a list of its rulers, with brief historical notes ; a description of the coronation of John the Terrible's son, Theodore ; a record of early English voyages to Russia, by way of the White Sea, and a brief bibliographical study of their works ? Even close readers of Milton, who have read not only *Areopagitica* and *Eschonclastes*, but more recondite works like *Tetrachordon* and its sequel *Colasterion*, will be constrained to admit that the history of Russia is quite strange to them.

Since this is so, and the subject of the book as important as the writer is famous, we believe that we shall be justified in making known its contents at some length, when much of it will be found not only interesting, but even extremely entertaining reading. The full title of this curious work, which was first published in 1682, eight years after Milton's death, is as follows : “ MOSCOVIA : or, RELATIONS OF MOSCOVIA, as far as hath been discovered by English voyages ; gathered from the writings of several Eyewitnesses : And the other less known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, lately discovered at several times by the Russians.”

The brief preface is so characteristic that we are tempted to transcribe it in full :—

“The study of geography is both profitable and delightful, but the writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in those other

relations of manners, religion, Government, and such like, accounted geographical, have for the most part missed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long stories of absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances little to the purpose. Whereby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipped or soon forgotten; which, perhaps, brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire geography, yet at least to assay something in the description of one or two countries which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induced Paulus Iovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern parts thereof first discovered by English voyagers, wherein I saw I had by much the advantage of Iovius. What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eyewitnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia to the walls of Cathay, in several late journeys made thither overland by Russians, who describe the countries in their way far otherwise than our common geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispersed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them."

One questions whether it is more amusing to find the author of *Paradise Lost* embarked on a literary enterprise like this in order to give a lesson to prolix geographers; or to watch him play the part of modest author, induced to come into print by the appreciation of kind friends who have seen his manuscript. When the work itself, or this evidently later preface, was written, we have not hitherto been able to discover, as all the text-books are silent even as to the existence of this work; but it is clear that the kind friends and their persuasion were nevertheless ineffectual, since the work was first published eight years after its author's death.

At any rate, the lesson to the geographers is skilfully planned, for the "architectonics" of Milton's work leave nothing to be desired in point of orderly arrangement. We



have, first, a chapter descriptive of Russia proper, that is, the European dominions of the Tsar; then brief descriptions of the two great divisions of Russia in Asia, then subject to Moscow—the northern, along the Arctic Ocean; and the southern, on the Chinese border. These are followed by a brief historical outline of the history of Russia, from the pre-Christian days of the Norman dukes, down to the end of the sixteenth century, with a fine description of the coronation of the last Tsar of the old Norman line, and a brief note of the election of the first Romanoff, though Milton nowhere mentions the since famous name of that splendid dynasty.. Milton's fifth and last chapter is the most interesting and important from a scientific and historical point of view, since it gives us a very minute chronological account of early English voyages to the northern parts of Russia, with particulars which it is doubtful if research could reconstruct at this late date. This chapter is closed by a bibliographical note of his authorities, being the narratives and journals of the voyagers whose history he has already sketched.

In the first chapter, the general description of European Russia, our attention is immediately arrested by the boundaries which he assigns to the Tsardom. "The Empire of Moscovia, or, as others call it, Russia," he tells us,—“is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean; southward by the Crim Tartar; on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland; on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagazan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan.

Here is food for reflection. The only boundary, to speak quite strictly and literally, which has remained unchanged, is "the ocean;" in every other direction, that is, in every direction where an advance was possible, the limits of Russia have moved forwards and outwards; so that every one of the countries named by Milton—Lapland, the Crimean and Nagazan Tartar, Lithuania, Livonia and Poland—how owes allegiance to the Tsardom of Moscovia, "or, as others call it, Russia." Of course, this does not anything like exhaust the expansion of Russia during the three centuries since Milton wrote, nor is there the slightest likelihood that Russia has now come to a standstill.

We may trace the beginning of what may almost be called a popular superstition in Milton's next words: "The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles; and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their wood fuel burning on the fire freezes at the hand's end, where it drops. The mariners which were left on shipboard in the first English voyage thither, going up only from the cabins to the hatches, had their breath so con-

gealed by the cold, that they fell down, as it were, stifled." From descriptions like these has arisen the popular and oft repeated notion that "it is cold in Russia;" the real truth being that, for half the year, it is almost unbearably hot, far hotter than the greatest extreme of summer in the British Isles; and this applies in a large degree not only to European Russia but to Siberia. The winter cold is hardly greater than in Southern Germany or Austria, especially among the mountains of Carinthia and Styria, while Hungary, the garden of Europe for productivity and richness of soil, is subject to frosts quite as likely to congeal anybody's breath, twenty and thirty degrees below zero on the centigrade scale, being quite common in winter. The whole of Europe, once we get away from the seaboard with its warm currents and moist winds, is subject to pretty much the same temperature in summer and winter,—that is, to the extreme heat and cold of a continental climate. It must also be remembered that "the Bay of St. Nicholas, where they first put in, lieth in sixty-four degrees," being in fact, just South of the Arctic Circle, while by far the greater part of European Russia, and of Siberia, too, for the matter of that, lies between the same parallels as Great Britain, St. Petersburg being actually to the south of the Shetland islands. Our maps, especially those on Mercator's projection, enormously exaggerate the area of the more northern regions, and thus show great expanses within or just under the Arctic Circle, where, in reality, are only tracts of quite limited extent. An amusing example of this is the huge extent given to Greenland, which is sometimes shown as larger than South America or Africa, whereas, in reality, it would make but an insignificant province in either of them. The same exaggeration in perspective, applied to the northern parts of Russia, has helped the belief that "it is cold," in that vast empire, a belief engendered by the fact that the first Englishmen arrived in the Tsars' dominions by way of the Arctic ocean, almost by way of the North Pole. If one were invariably to approach Great Britain by way of the Faroe Isles, it could not but affect our conception of the British climate.

Of the Bay of St. Nicholas Milton gives a very graphic picture, many details of which should have helped to modify the superstition alluded to. The bay "is called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards: their Church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are, besides, but six houses, whereof one built by the English. In the bay: over against the abbey is Rose Island, full of damask and red roses, violets, and wild rosemary;

the isle is in circuit seven or eight miles ; about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting ; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and grass knee-deep within a month." This, be it remembered, on the shore of the Arctic Sea. The descriptive geographer might have added many details to his list of flowers ; the characteristic flora of northern Russia approximates in many things to that of the Alps, as, indeed, does the sudden growth of rich, luscious grass after the melting of the snow ; for it is just from these lofty upland meadows that grow green in the track of the retreating snow that all the best cheese of Switzerland and the Austrian Alps has come for centuries. Very common in the extreme north of Russia are two Alpine flowers, blue squills and hepatica ; indeed, the latter are sold in enormous quantities in the streets of St. Petersburg, as violets, and the Alpine peasants also call them "false violets," when they spring up in purple waterfalls among the rocks in March.

Among much that is familiar and more accurately known now-a-days, as to the topography of Russia, Milton gives a few vivid and imaginative touches of description, such as this : "The river Dwina, beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, falls here into the sea, very swift and shallow. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side ; beset like a wilderness with high fir and other trees ;" or this concerning the other great northern river : "The river Pechora, or Petzora, holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice ; abounding with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and salt the bodies for winter provision." And very quaint is the following, at the end of a very learned and accurate discussion of the courses of the northern rivers : "Touching the Riphæan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing, but rather that the whole country is champaign, and in the northernmost part huge and desert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, bufs, and another beast called Rossomakka, whose female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a disburdening." The 'bufs' are apparently buffaloes ; the beast called rossomakka, or, more strictly, rossomakha, is authentic enough, and its name good Russian and current to the present day ; yet we cannot but think that the curious piece of tokology which Milton presents to his readers in connection with it, is not less mythological than the Riphæan mountains. "Travelling southward" from the land of that strange beast rossomakka, which, being rendered into English, is glutton, "they found the

country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, pasture, meadows, and huge woods." Here Milton strikes a note which rings true to-day. In travelling through Russia one is greatly struck with the sparseness of its population; one seems to travel a score of versts—"or little miles." to follow Milton,—through the richest and most beautiful country without coming across a living being; and that with the population of Russia at a hundred millions, so much room is there still in the Tsar's dominions. In Turgenieff's stories, one gets the same sense of vast uninhabited spaces, such as we should have to go to the mountains of Norway to find the like of, but with the difference that the land in Russia is of splendid fertility. Going by rail from the German frontier to either Petersburg or Moscow, one traverses dense virgin forests for hour after hour, where, to judge by the richness of the undergrowth, the soil must be of great fertility. Even now, almost three hundred years after Milton wrote, vast spaces, even in European Russia, are practically a wilderness. Here is a picturesque vignette:—

"Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of the river which passes through the midst, it hath a castle walled about with brick and stone, and many wooden churches, two for every parish, the one in winter to be heated, the other used in summer; this is a town of much traffic, a thousand miles of St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under the open sky by the riverside, and other provision only what they bring with them." Even at the present day, a large scale map of Russia shows only half a dozen settlements along the river, big villages or little towns, so that the condition of travel is not greatly different; or was not, until quite recently, when small steamboats began to ply on the river Dwina from Volagda to Archangelsk. "From Wologda," Milton continues, "by sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian Sea, having his head spring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is built a strong tower, wherein the Kings of Moscow reserve their treasure in time of war. From this town to Rostove, then to Pereslave, a great town situate on a fair lake, thence to Mosco. All of which information is perfectly authentic and reliable, with the exception of a few details. Now-a-days, for instance, one goes from Volgoda to Yaroslavl by railway; the line goes through Rostov, but slightly to the east of Pereslavl, to Moscow, or, to be quite accurate, Moskwa. We take the names from a Russian atlas, transcribing them letter for letter, to show how extremely accurate Milton's authorities were, and how carefully he used them. The name of the lake from which the Volga flows is Byelo Ozero, that

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is, White Lake, and in Alexis Tolstoi's splendid Trilogy there is a splendid passage descriptive of John the Terrible's taking refuge there, in the very tower mentioned by Milton. •

Approaching the old Russian capital, we have as little reason to accuse him or them of carelessness: "Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so fertile, so populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon seven or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt-fish, or laden back with corn. Moscow, the chief city, lying in fifty-five degrees"—the latitude of Moscow is more nearly fifty-six, almost on the same parallel as Copenhagen and Edinburgh—, "distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built; their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair castle, four-square upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks; in the castle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice. This river Moscuca on the southwest side encloses the castle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gilded towers, and the Emperor's palace." The said "castle in the midst of the city" is the famous Kremlin, which shows to-day no traces whatever of the disaster of 1812; most of the churches and palaces looking exactly as they were in the sixteenth century, seeming even then "of old fashion, with small windows, some of glass, some with lattices, or iron bars." One could hardly quote, even from quite modern writers, and in this year, which has seen a swarm of newspaper correspondents in Russia, a more faithful and lucid description of the Kremlin, with its walls and towers and golden domes, its churches and palaces. It is rather a citadel than a castle; being, in fact, the ancient walled city, round which the modern city has grown. Both the river and the capital itself are called Moskwa, there being in Russian no difference between the two names such as Milton makes between Mosco and Moscuca.

We need not follow in detail the route, very accurately described, from Moscow to the Caspian. It will be noted that all his geography is in the form of itineraries—as though he were constructing plans of personally conducted tours. One or two details, however, are worth noting. While Milton quotes quite accurately the names of the rivers—Occa, Cama, and Volga—he is not always so happy in the case of the towns; thus Nijni—that is, lower—Novgorod, is transformed into Nysnovogrod, the seat of the great annual fair, and, this year, of the Russian universal exhibition. Further, "Rezan, a famous city now ruin'd" has renewed its youth; while the Tartar and Siberian tribes—alluded to in the

following note, "from Cazan to the river Cama, falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left side are Gentiles, and live in woods without houses"—are now comparatively tame, though many of them are "Gentiles," that is, non-Christians, still. This description, with a few words altered, might fit Astrakhan to-day: "the town is situate in an island on a hill-side walled with earth, but the castle with earth and timber; the houses, except that of the Governor, and some few others, poor and simple; the ground utterly barren and without wood: they live there on fish and sturgeon especially; which hanging up to-day in the street and houses brings whole swarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft great pestilence. This island, in length twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Russian limit towards the Caspian, which he keeps with a strong garrison, being twenty leagues from that sea, into which Volga falls at seventy mouths." Now-a-days, there is no Russian limit towards the Caspian, nor anywhere in that direction, short of Northern Persia; and Astrakhan, though still fishy, is a city with eighty thousand inhabitants, the chief aims of whose lives are caviar and herrings, which, like the seals and seagulls, increase and multiply in the salt Caspian waves.

Another of the itineraries which make up Milton's geographical lore is from the White Sea to Novgorod, with Kieff and Moscow, one of the famous triad of old Russian capitals. By the way, the Lakes Ladoga and Onega are touched on, the former being, at first sight, somewhat grotesquely named Ladiscay, which is really almost correct, however, being the adjectival form Ladojski, the Ladogan lake. The same grammatical reason has led Milton to call the river Volkhoff by the queerly sounding name Vollhusky, which is also adjectival.

Certain political and legal details follow, such as this: "The Emperour exerciseth absolute power." It is noteworthy that Milton, like Shakespeare, in the *Winter's Tale*, calls the ruler of Russia Emperor, though in reality this is anachronistic as Peter the Great first formally took the title of Imperator. Here is a very interesting historical vignette of the Russian army at the end of the sixteenth century: "The Russian armeth not less in time of war than three hundred thousand men, half of whom he takes with him into the field, the rest he stows in garrisons on the borders. He presseth no husbandman or merchant but the youth of the realm. He useth no foot, but such as are pioneers, or gunners, of both which sort thirty thousand. The rest, being horsemen, are all archers, and ride with a short stirrup, after the Turkish. Their armour is a coat of plate, and a skull on their heads. Some of their coats are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold; for they desire to be gorgeous

in arms, but the Duke himself above measure; his pavilion covered with cloth of gold or silver, set with precious stones. They use little drums, at the saddle bow, instead of spurs, for at the sound thereof the horses run most swiftly. They fight without order; nor willingly give battle, but by stealth and ambush. Of cold and hard diet marvellously patient, for when the ground is covered with snow frozen a yard thick, the common soldier will lie in the field two months together without tent, or covering over head; only hangs up his mantle against that part from whence the weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his back under the wind: his drink, the cold stream mingled with oatmeal, and the same all his food: his horse, fed with green wood and bark, stands all this while in the open field, yet does his service. The Emperor gives no pay at all, but to strangers; yet repays good desserts in war with certain lands during life; and they who oftenest are sent to the wars, think themselves most favoured, though serving without wages. In December yearly, the Emperor rides into the field, which is without the city, with all his nobility, on jennets and Turkey horses in great state; the ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden houses filled with earth at least thirty foot thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two houses flat. Above the rest six great cannon they have, whose bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying: then out of mortar-pieces they shoot wild-fire into the air. Thus the Emperor having seen what his gunners can do, returns home in the same order."

It is quite clear that no particular hardship is involved in sending such lovers of snow and ice to Siberia, although frequently some of the tenderer exiles may lament their woes. The rigorous temper of the Russian army is the same now as then, and ordnance also they have very fair of all sorts, but now, on a war footing, the army musters two millions. Milton follows the passage we have quoted with a description of the Orthodox Faith, which contains some true things, some false, many amusing. It is interesting to find here already developed the scarce concealed jealousy and dislike of Russia which England has exhibited on many an occasion since. He says, for instance, that the Russians "hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the law, which Christ, by his death on the cross, hath abrogated," which distinctly gives a false colouring to a true fact. For it is true that Russian believers—and this practically embraces the whole nation—do hold the Mosaic law in slight esteem, and have long recognised—what all critics now clearly see—that there is a narrow vindictiveness in much of the Old Testament

theology, quite out of harmony with the message of the New Testament. But in saying this, there is no real need to insinuate that Russians feel themselves free to steal, to kill, to bear false witness. "During Easter holy days when two friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them saying, 'The Lord is risen'; the other answering, 'It is so of a truth'; and then they kiss, whether men or women." This is exactly the custom of the present day, and the greetings are correctly rendered. A Russian told us a story of a German—in most Russian stories, the butt is a German, just as in Austrian stories he is a Hungarian,—a story the irreverence of which may in part be pardoned for its wit. The German, imperfectly acquainted with the custom, and somewhat merry, as befitted the festive season, replied to the first greeting with an interested, though not quite intelligent, query: 'When?' The Russian, somewhat taken aback, responded 'To-day!' When the German, evidently gratified and pleased, exclaimed, 'Bravo!' Perhaps some such tale as this lent colour to Milton's assertion that 'the Muscovites that border on Tartaria are yet pagans.'

What follows is perhaps the most humorous paragraph in all Milton's writings: "When there is love between two, the man, among other trifling gifts, sends to the woman a whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect; and it is a rule among them, that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herself not beloved and is the worse; yet they are very obedient, and stir not forth, but at some seasons. Upon utter dislike, the husband divorces; which liberty no doubt they received first with their religion from the Greek Church, and the Imperial laws." This little sermon should be read in connexion with Milton's own matrimonial experiences, in the light of two books whose titles are *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*, to say nothing of tracts like *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored to the good of both Sexes*, and *The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*. It is too well-known to need repetition, that Milton's view on divorce did not remain wholly theoretical.

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ART. III.—ROME, BY EMILE ZOLA.

Rome.—By Emile Zola. "*Les Trois Villes*" Series.  
40th thousand. Paris, 1896.

"THE PAPACY," said the historian Freeman, "is the ghost of the Roman Empire, seated upon the tomb thereof;" and M. Zola's new book on Rome is nothing more or less than an expansion and elucidation of this pithy saying. It was not Christianity that conquered the Roman world in the fourth century after the coming of Christ; it was the Roman world that conquered Christianity, as M. Renan has ably pointed out. Rome, shorn of her physical dominion by the transfer of the seat of Empire to Constantinople, and by the victorious incursions of the barbarians, shifted her ground and grasped at spiritual dominion. Her Christian Bishop was enthroned in the seat of the Pontifex Maximus; the doctrine of Christ was transformed into the law of Cæsar; the very rites and symbols of Paganism were incorporated with the Christian worship. Papal Rome claimed the same rights over the consciences of the peoples of the West of Europe as Imperial Rome had claimed over their actions.

"Rome" is a continuation of M. Zola's last book, "*Lourdes*;" but the canvas is not so crowded with portraits, or the narrative so connected, as in the former inimitable work. The present volume recounts the adventures of the Abbé Pierre Froment, who had returned from Lourdes with his faith in miracle and dogma shattered to fragments, in search of a new Religion; his journey to Rome in pursuit of his quest; what he saw and heard there, and the conclusions he drew therefrom.

The Abbé had returned from his pilgrimage to the shrine at Lourdes with his faith destroyed and his illusions dispelled; a faithless priest, safe-guarding the faith of others, determined to devote the rest of his life to the service of suffering humanity, as the only acceptable form of sacrifice. And in Paris he makes the acquaintance of a good priest, the Abbé Rose, a kind of Catholic Dr. Barnardo, who had opened a home for orphan and destitute children. Pierre Froment began to aid in this good work and soon became engrossed in "slumming." His Christian sympathy and righteous wrath were stirred by the sight of the misery and degradation of the poor in the rookeries of Paris; men starving for want of work; whole families slowly famishing; mothers driven to murdering their children, to put them out of their misery, in the midst of Paris rolling in riches, wallowing in unimaginable wealth and

luxury ! It must come to an end ; this state of things could not last ; already were heard the rumblings and mutterings of the coming storm, Communism, Socialism, Anarchism, Nihilism, which were to sweep away the old rotten framework of Society under which such things were possible ; to purify the world in blood and fire.

And Pierre Froment became a Christian Socialist ; joined the band of dreamers who fondly imagine, with Count Tolstoi, that the Light that failed eighteen hundred years ago can be rekindled to-day. And in his feverish enthusiasm he sits down to write a book in which he advocates the employment of the existing machinery of the Catholic Church to effect a Social revolution, to re-establish universally the Christian communities of the Apostolic times. Like Mr. Stead, he would utilise the Pope as the acknowledged Head of the largest section of Christianity ; would confide to his guidance the direction of the new movement. Like Tolstoi, and with equal eloquence and sincerity, he advocates a return to the teaching of Christ, peace and fellowship, a community of goods, a community of labours. And he finds the tone and sentiments of the speeches and writings of Pope Leo XIII favourable to his ideas ; draws upon them largely ; quotes the Pontifical authority, and entitles his book "La Rome Nouvelle." The publication of the book makes some noise in Paris, Pierre's Socialist friends warmly approve it, among others the Viscount Philibert de la Choue, a nobleman who was at the head of a Catholic Socialist party in the French Chamber, and who had already lost half of his fortune by his experiments in phalansteries, social colonies, Christian clubs, and the like enterprises, which had been more successful from a philanthropic, than from a financial, point of view. The Archbishop Monsignor Bergerot was so pleased with the scheme of the book, that he wrote a flattering letter to the Abbé Froment to serve as an introduction, which was published as a preface to the work. Perhaps it was this preface that attracted the attention of the congregation of the Index, for Monsignor Bergerot's liberal principles and professions were not held in high favour at the Vatican. Anyhow, the Abbé Pierre Froment is one day surprised to learn that his book, which he fondly believed himself to have written in the best interests of Religion and Catholicism, is about to be cited before the Congregation of the Index ; perhaps condemned : and he undertakes a journey to Rome in order to defend its conclusions and explain its arguments, happy in the idea of being able to ventilate and agitate the opinions which so enthusiastically possess him. In his book he had endeavoured to show that an economic question had always underlain the

religious question ; that, under the Jewish dispensation, the Prophets denounced wealth and luxury as hateful to the justice of God ; that Christ preached a social revolution, the renunciation of wealth, the accumulation of which was the object of Pagan Society ; that the early Christians were true Communists ; that the Christian community long existed in the Monasteries of the Middle Ages, until they, too, became corrupted by wealth and luxury, as the body of the Church itself had been corrupted ; that now was the accepted time ; now was the day of Salvation, when the people in their blindness were groping after Socialism, crying out for Communism ; the time for the Church to free herself from the bondage of law and custom, to proclaim the reign of justice and righteousness, to inaugurate upon earth the kingdom of God of which Christ spake. So Pierre set his face towards the Eternal City. His friend, the Vicomte Philibert de la Choue, had furnished him with an introduction to the princely Roman family of Boccanera, and an invitation had arrived from them, entreating the Abbé Froment to accept the hospitality of their palace during his stay in Rome. Pierre gladly accepts it, the more readily as the head of the Boccanera family was a Cardinal, a high official of the Vatican, who might, perhaps, aid him in his campaign in defence of his book and the ideas it contained. He arrives in Rome on a lovely summer morning ; finds the splendid old city bathed in sunshine, rejoicing in its beauty and splendour and, as he surveys the magnificent view from the terrace of San Pietro in Montorio, he hails *La Rome Nouvelle* of his impassioned dream. He is warmly welcomed by his country woman, Victorine, the French housekeeper at the Palace Boccanera in the Via Giulia, who ruled over a slender household indeed in the great bare empty-looking marble Palace, which struck a chill to the heart of Pierre with its cold and crumbling stateliness ; for the fortunes of the Boccanera had fallen with the falling fortunes of the Church in Rome. It had been very different in former times.

" A newly appointed Cardinal held receptions ; gave public entertainments, some of which are to this day remembered in history for their surpassing splendour. During three days the palatial state rooms were thrown open to the public, and from hall to hall the chamberlains proclaimed the names and titles of princes, nobles, merchants, men of all grades and stations from the highest to the humblest, all flocking to pay their respects to the newly-appointed Eminence, who accepted it like a King receiving the homage of his subjects. And the establishment was throughout on a scale of truly royal magnificence ; there were Cardinals with a retinue of five hundred

dependants, a household organised in sixteen different departments, an audience-chamber with all the etiquette and ceremonial of a Court. Even in later times, when the life of States and Courts had become more sober and simple, the equipage of a Cardinal comprised four state carriages, drawn by teams of black horses, and preceded by outriders. Four attendants in livery carried the insignia of his rank—the hat, the cushions, and the umbrella. He was accompanied by his Secretary in a violet silken robe, his *caudataire* wearing the "*Croccia*," his chamberlain in old fashioned Court-dress of the Medici period, bearing the *barretta* in his gauntleted hands. Though already shorn of its ancient state, the household still comprised the auditor, the secretary, the chamberlain, the gentleman-usher, the *caudataire*, the chaplain, the steward, and the valet, without reckoning the crowd of lackeys, cooks, coachmen, grooms—a host of servants who filled the palace and its environs with bustle and noise.

And Pierre, in his mind's eye, saw the three vast anti-chambers again filled with people, thronged with footmen in embroidered liveries with armorial bearings, crowded with prelates and priests in silken robes of harmonious hues, bringing life and light once more into the now dusky and desert halls.

But in these evil days, and more than ever since the entry of the Italian army into Rome, the fortunes of the Roman princes had fallen, and the stately splendour of the chiefs of the Church had disappeared. The scions of the ruined aristocracy no longer looked for prizes in an ecclesiastical career, and abandoned its poorly remunerated and lightly-esteemed offices to the ambition of the youth of a lower social standing. The Cardinal Boccanera, the sole remaining princely wearer of the priestly purple, had an annual income of little more than twelve hundred pounds sterling to maintain his state, including his emoluments as Cardinal; and he would have been totally unable to make both ends meet, but for the assistance which his sister, Donna Serafina, was able, from time to time, to afford from the remnant of the family fortune, his share of which, in more prosperous times, the Cardinal had abandoned in her favour and in that of his other sisters, and his brother. Donna Serafina and her niece, Benedetta, lived apart in the palace, with their own *suite* of apartments, their separate table, their separate servants. The Cardinal had only his nephew, Dario, living with him, and never gave a dinner-party, or held a reception. His only heavy expense was the keep of his only carriage, the heavy coach and pair which was a necessary in his position, for custom forbids a Cardinal to go on foot in the streets of Rome. And his coachman, a faithful old family servant, saved him

even the expense of a groom, himself doing the whole of the stable work, cleaning the carriage and grooming the two black horses, grown old like himself in the service of the family. There were two footmen, a father and son, the latter born in the palace. The wife of the cook helped in the kitchen. But the reductions in the state of the establishment were still more remarkable in the ante-chambers of the state apartments; the brilliant and numerous *suite* that once had filled them, now resolved into two petty priests; Don Vigili, the Secretary, who also filled the functions of Auditor and Major-domo; and the Abbé Paparelli, the *caudataire*, or train-bearer, who at the same time performed the offices of Chaplain and Chamberlain. In the halls which the crowd of liveried lackeys had filled with glittering gaiety, the visitor now saw only these two rusty black cassocks gliding along the tapestried walls, like two ghostly shadows of the past, presently to be lost in the gathering gloom."

At the weekly reception held in the saloon of Donna Serafina, the French Abbé is introduced to the *élite* of the "*Monde Noir*" of Rome, the Black, or Papal, world of Roman society, so-called in contradistinction to the White society that clustered round the Royal Palace of the Quirinal. Here he meets many of the pillars of the Vatican; the courtly Monsignor Nani, the Assessor of the Holy Offices, smooth and gracious, a drawing-room diplomatist and a practised politician, with his courtly condescension and faint ironical smile; said to be the most powerful man at the Papal Court, possessing the ear of its ruler, but keeping his influence always behind the scenes, and deprecatingly alluding to its insignificance; Cardinal Sarno, Secretary of the Propaganda, who had never been out of Rome in his life, and who directed the Catholic Mission scattered through the four quarters of the world; a shrivelled up, mummified little old man, bent with long labour at an office desk, with the habits of an old scribbling hack, seeming always half asleep, but carrying a library of clearly-arranged statistics, and the map of the whole world, even of its most unfamiliar regions, inside his narrow head; Cardinal Sanguinetti, stout, rubicund, and boisterous, always fussing and bustling, who had made his way almost to the top of the tree by his restless energy and domineering spirit, and who hoped to rise higher yet; Cardinal Boccanera himself, stately and taciturn, petrified in his princely and priestly pride, in his old-fashioned politics and old-world ideas; his sister, Donna Serafina, his duplicate in petticoats; their charming and candid niece, Benedetta, married by her parents to the Count Prada, son to an old Garibaldian and a young courtier of the King's; a political

marriage, "marrying the Pope and the King," as it was called, but turning out a miserable *fiasco*, Benedetta being already in love with her cousin, Dario, and detesting her husband. After the death of her parents she had separated from him, and taken refuge in the old family palace under the wing of her aged uncle and aunt, heedless of the scandal she caused by living under the same roof with her early lover, her cousin, Dario.

She was at this time engaged in suing for a divorce from her husband, a difficult and delicate matter in a society living under the shadow of the Vatican, which unutterably maintains the religious sanctity of the marriage tie. The history of this divorce suit forms one of those unpleasant episodes which are unfortunately too common in M. Zola's works.

Pierre is introduced to the expectant Dario, the last hope of the race of the Boccaneras, a weak and amiable youth, living a frivolous and aimless life, restrained from sinking into dissipation only by his redeeming love for Benedetta; and in the Boccanera Salon he also makes the acquaintance of the pretty little princess, Celia Buongiovanni, daughter and heiress of one of the most ancient noble houses of Papal Rome, but in love with the handsome *parvenu* young Italian officer, Attilio Sacco, cousin of Count Prada.

And the Abbé Pierre Froment makes other acquaintances, outside the Papal circle of society. The old Count Orlando Prada, the father-in-law of Benedetta, profoundly moved by the perusal of Pierre's book, seeks an interview with the author: and Pierre shares Benedetta's affection and admiration for the grand old companion of Garibaldi's campaigns and aspirations, brave as a lion and simple as a child. In his company he meets the son, Benedetta's nominal husband, in whose veins the chivalrous folly of the father has turned to a mania for gambling speculation. The son has made and again lost fortunes, while the old and crippled father lives in Spartan simplicity, refusing to accept the wealth which his adoring son would willingly lavish upon him.

And as Pierre finds that things are not done in a hurry at Rome, and that the fate of his book is likely to be long in the balance, he sets himself, in the intervals of his campaign in its favour, to see the sights of the City. He has the good fortune to meet again, in the Boccanera Salon, an old Paris friend of his youth, M. Narcisse Habert, *attaché* to the French Legation at the Papal Court, a dandy of the Boulevards, hiding his keen aptitude for business under the mask of a cynical man of the world and æsthetic *dilettante*. He "knows the ropes" well, and shows Pierre round the art-treasures and ancient

ruins of Rome, while he lets him into the secrets of Papal politics and Italian finances.

What the young and enthusiastic Abbé sees and hears under his experienced guidance, soon considerably modifies his preconceived ideas of Rome. After a long and fatiguing day spent in the Vatican and among its art-treasures, the author thus summarises the impressions of the young priest :

“ Suddenly occurred to him the striking idea, that the religion which sprang up in this soil of light and love had been only a religion of temporal conquest and political domination, so different from the mystical and sympathetic religion of the lands of the North, in whose cold and gloom was born the Religion of the Soul.

His eyes again rested upon the Gate of Bronze, and he remembered how, in the morning, he had wondered what he might find behind those brazen barriers studded with monstrous nails. And he dared not then reply to the question of his own thought ; he could not know whether the new generations, hungering for justice and righteousness, would find behind those gates the religion imperatively demanded by the Democracies of the morrow ; for his first impressions were vague and undefined.

But how vivid was the impression now forced upon his mind, and how disastrous the awakening from his impassioned dream ! A Gate of Bronze, indeed, impassable, impenetrable, shutting up the Vatican within its antique portals, separating it from the outside world so solidly, so absolutely, that for three centuries and more no one and nothing had entered in. Behind that gate was the sixteenth century, the old centuries before the sixteenth, impassable, immovable. Time itself had there ceased to fly, remained stationary, motionless for ever. Nothing within those portals ever changed ; the very dresses of the Swiss Guards, of the Noble Guards, of the Prelates, of the priests, remained as they were three hundred years ago ; the same costumes, the same ceremonial, the same ideas. True, for the last quarter of a century, the Popes in their proud attitude of protestation against the infringement of their sovereign rights, had voluntarily imprisoned themselves in their Vatican ; but the imprisonment was really of much older date, and of much more cruel severity : an imprisonment that had finally enclosed the whole system of Catholicism, shutting it up within an encircling wall of dogma, condemning it to a living death, only saved from succumbing by the support of its vast and complex hierarchical organisation. Was it true, then, that Catholicism, in spite of its apparent universality, could not yield on a single point, without danger of being swept away ako-

gether? And, then, behind those gates, what a world of pride, of ambition, of hatred and of strife! And what strange fellow-prisoners in this strange prison; Christ in company of Jupiter Capitolinus; all the gods of Olympus cheek by jowl with the Apostles; all the splendours of the Renaissance smothering the humility of the Gospel! The rays of the setting sun gilded the pillars of St. Peter's; the soft tranquillity of the Roman evening reigned in the clear blue sky, and the young priest remained dismayed and distracted after his long day in the company of Michael Angelo and Raphael, Popes and Cæsars, Heathen gods and Christian Saints, in the most famous palace in the world." He begins to lose faith in his mission and hope of the escape of his book from the fate that threatens it. He is wearied by the delays and difficulties that he encounters on all hands; by fruitless journeys to and fro; by false hopes held out to him; by affectation of assumed interest, covering indifference, or hiding hostility. His stay at Rome is protracted from days to weeks, and from weeks to months. He visits all the churches, the museums, the ruins; the desert new quarters which were built to accommodate an influx of population that never arrived; the crowded old quarters where the poorest of the people swarm in poverty and filth, starving and merry withal, wrapping themselves in their rags and in the pride of their Roman birth.

His desired interview with the Pope was prevented and postponed, till it seemed impossible of attainment. He saw Leo XIII three times; once taking his evening stroll in the gardens of the Vatican, on the day when Pierre was conducted over the the palace by his guide, philosopher and friend, Narcisse Habert, once in the palace, during a reception of the French pilgrimage, bringing the welcome tribute of Peter's pence; and the adoration of the excited crowds, women fainting, falling at the feet of His Holiness, grovelling in the dust before his august presence, struck Pierre as savouring of idolatry.

A third time he saw the Pope in state, on the occasion of a Papal Mass at St. Peter's, and was furnished with tickets for an advantageous place whence to view the spectacle, by the kind attention of the assiduous Monsignor Nani, who is always at hand to counsel and assist him. And in the splendid and spacious Basilica, thronged with eager crowds, Pierre sees the Pope make his triumphal entry. "It was the Papal cortège in all its ancient pomp, the crucifix and the sword, the Swiss Guard in their gala dress of the sixteenth century, footmen in scarlet liveries, cloaked and sworded chevaliers in Tudor costume, canons in surplices of costly lace, heads of the religious orders, apostolic proto-notaries, archbishops and bishops in violet silk, cardinals in purple, all solemnly marching two



and two with wide-spaced intervals between their files. After them, and preceding His Holiness, came the officers of the Military Household, the Prelates of the Privy Chamber, Monsignor the Major domo, Monsignor the Grand Chamberlain, all the high officials of the Vatican Court, and the Roman Prince attached to the Papal throne as the traditional and symbolical defender of the rights of the Church. High upon his chair of state, borne on the shoulders of bearers, dressed in scarlet and silk-embroidered tunics, and shaded by the lofty feather fans held aloft by the *flabelli*, sat His Holiness, wearing the sacred vestments with which he had just been inducted in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, the amice, the alb, the stole, the white and gold mitre and chasuble, two gifts presented but recently by the faithful in France, of unparalleled magnificence. And again, as in a theatre, the applause was redoubled; hands were clapped furiously, strenuously, as if a popular actor had come upon the stage, a star whose appearance made all hearts beat with hope and expectation, and Pierre now received a different impression of Leo the Thirteenth. He was no longer the simple old man, listening, in his lassitude, to the gossip of the prelate on whose arm he leaned, as he paced leisurely along the walks of the most glorious garden in the world. Nor was he the Holy Father in crimson cape and pontifical cap benignly greeting the foreign pilgrims who came to him laden with the treasure collected from the faithful in foreign lands. He was here the sovereign Pontiff, the omnipotent Lord, the God whom Christendom adored. The frail body in its long white robe, stiff with gold embroidery, looked like a waxen image in a gilded shrine; and, in its high and haughty immobility, it reminded the spectator of some graven golden idol, parched in the perpetual smoke of sacrifices, through countless centuries. The eyes alone lived in the deathly pallor of the rigid face—eyes sparkling like black diamonds, with their keen gaze looking far beyond and above the world around, peering into the Infinite.

They had no look for the surrounding crowds; they turned neither to right nor to left, remaining fixed on the upper air, unconscious apparently of what was passing at their Master's feet. And this statuesque idol, thus borne aloft above the people like a mummy, deaf and blind, in spite of the brilliancy of its eyes, unconscious of the frenzied adoration of the surrounding crowd, seemed clothed with an awful Majesty, robed with a fearful power, invested with all the rigidity of dogma, imbued with all the immobility of tradition, kept upright and erect only, by the golden bands in which it was swathed. However, Pierre thought that he perceived the Pope, under this apparent immobility, to be suffering from

fatigue or indisposition, doubtless the effect of the slight attack, of fever of which Monsignor Nani had spoken to him the evening before, when he dwelt on the devoted courage, the steadfast soul of this old man of eighty-four years, kept alive by his own tenacity of purpose, by his faith in the sovereign necessity of his Mission.

The ceremony commenced. His Holiness, descending from his high-borne chair at the Altar of the Confession, leisurely celebrated a Low Mass, assisted by four Bishops and by the pro-prefect of the ceremonies. At the ablution Monsignor the Major domo and Monsignor the Grand Chamberlain, assisted by two Cardinals, poured the water upon the august hands of the celebrant; and, just before the elevation, all the prelates of the pontifical Court, with lighted candles in their hands, came to kneel before the altar. It was a solemn moment; the forty thousand of the faithful assembled there trembled; felt as if a breath from the Invisible was passing over them, while the silver trumpets sounded, during the elevation, the clarion "chorus of the Angels," and women fainted from ecstasy and excitement. Immediately sweet responsive strains of unearthly music were wafted downwards from the vault of the huge dome, in the upper gallery of which a hundred and twenty choristers were hidden away. It was a marvel, a miracle, as if the angelic choirs had in reality responded to the challenge of the silver trumpets. The strains descended, re-echoed through the vaulted aisles, like the resounding strings of celestial harps; then gradually died away and rose again, as if remounting to the skies with the flutter of angelic wings. After the Mass, His Holiness, still standing at the altar, himself intoned the *Te Deum*, which was taken up by the precentors of the Sistine Chapel and the choirs, each chanting a verse alternately. But soon the whole immense congregation joined in; forty thousand voices were lifted up; the shout of joy and triumph swelled through all the vast edifice; filled it with reverberating waves of sound.

The spectacle at this moment was truly one of incomparable splendour,—the altar surmounted with its carved and gilded baldaquin, surrounded by the Papal hierarchy which the lighted tapers studded as if with starry constellations; the sovereign Pontiff in the centre, blazing like a sun in his golden chasuble, encircled by rows of Cardinals in crimson, benches of Bishops in violet, tribunes filled with the court dresses of officials, the embroideries of Ambassadors, the uniforms of officers of all nations and armies, the crowds showing a compact mass of human heads receding into the dim distance in the furthest aisles of the enormous edifice, the glorious Basilica

which crushed the on-looker with astonishment at its gigantic proportions, its side-aisles in one of which a whole parish might be harboured, its transepts as big as the cathedral of a capital city, its mighty nave which thousands and tens of thousands of worshippers could scarcely fill. And the sound of their chaunted hymn seemed to swell to the colossal proportions of the temple; rose with the voice of a mighty storm over the giant monuments of marble, among the super-human statues, around the cyclopean columns up to the vaulted roof, unrolling the illimitable expanse of a sky of stone into the blue heaven of the vast Dome, opening up glimpses of the Infinite in the golden glory of its magnificent mosaics."

At length, when Pierre is on the brink of losing all hope and patience, he learns from the ubiquitous Monsignor Nani that the congregation of the Index is on the point of condemning his book, but that its verdict will have to be confirmed by the Pope; and he promises to arrange a private reception of Pierre at the Vatican, where he may plead his cause before His Holiness in person. Accordingly, he directs the young Abbé to present himself at one of the gates of the Vatican at nine o'clock on a certain evening, and furnishes him with the pass words to admit him to the Presence. Pierre enters the gates of bronze, passes up wide staircases, along endless corridors, past silent sentinels of the Swiss Guards and Papal gendarmes, through suites of splendid and now darkened halls; the whole palace in gloom and silence, feebly illuminated by dim and distant lamps. The last Swiss Guard hands him over to a solemn functionary in black; and he has to wait, what seems an interminable time to him, in the ante-room, before he is finally ushered into the large room hung with yellow damask, tastefully but scantily furnished, where His Holiness sits in a deep arm-chair beside a little table, on which are a glass of lemonade, a reading lamp, and two or three French and Italian newspapers. The Pope looked frail and small, clad in white robes and skull cap, the only colour in his dress being the golden fringe to his girdle, and the crimson velvet slippers embroidered with the badge of the golden cross-keys. The Abbé makes the three prescribed reverences (like the three taslims at the court of the Grand Mogul) and stoops to salute the velvet slipper of the Master of Christendom. And the Pope acknowledges his greeting affably, converses with him, questions him familiarly, and leaves it to him to introduce the subject of his visit, which Pierre at length finds himself hesitatingly compelled to do.

We give the rest of the interview in M. Zola's own words.

"Without replying, Leo the Thirteenth continued to gaze upon him with those piercing eyes. And Pierre no longer saw before

him Leo the Thirteenth, two hundred and sixty-third Pope, Vicar of Jesus Christ, successor of the Prince of the Apostles, sovereign Pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Diocese of Rome, Lord of the temporal dominions of the Holy See. He saw Leo the Thirteenth of whom he had dreamed, the expected Messiah, the saviour sent to save the world from the frightful social catastrophe which threatens to engulf the old and rotten framework of our society and our civilisation. He pictured him with his keen and supple intellect, his fraternal sympathy, his overflowing love, seeking for means of conciliation, avoiding stumbling-blocks, going straight to the heart of the peoples, giving his life and his labour for the good cause—the cause of suffering Humanity. He fancied him as the supreme moral authority, the only hope of Truth and Peace, the All-Father who alone could equalise the fortunes of his children ; cause misery and poverty to cease among them ; free labour from its fetters ; bring back the people to the pure faith of the primitive Church, to the sweet simplicity of Christian Communism. And this lofty Presence, in the solemn silence of the room and the palace, was for him invested with invincible Omnipotence, with overwhelming Majesty.”

And Pierre pours out his soul to the idol of his imagination ; pleads the cause of the poor and needy ; prays the Pope to inaugurate a new crusade against war, wealth and luxury, to found a new Brotherhood of Labour and Love. In his excitement he forgets his book ; forgets everything but the intolerable, incurable sufferings of humanity. But the Pope recalls him to himself ; prays him to compose himself, and addresses him as follows :—

“You appeal to the Holy Father. Be assured that his heart is full of tenderness and compassion for the afflicted and the unhappy ones of the earth. But the question now before us is not that ; it is a question of Religion. I have read your book, and I will tell you at once that it is a bad book, a most dangerous and most damnable book ; and the more so because of its undoubted merits, its many fine passages which have stimulated my interest and excited my admiration. Yes, I confess I was interested in it ; I would not have gone on reading it, but that my interest was aroused by the spirit of faith and enthusiasm that you have breathed into its pages. The subject was a grand one, the New Rome ! Ah, what a book might be written with that for title ; but, my son, it must be written in a spirit totally different from yours. You think that you understand me, that you have grasped the meaning of my writings, that you have seized the spirit of my words and deeds, that you have

expressed my feelings in the words of your book. You are wrong ! you do not understand me, and that is why I wished to see you this evening, to explain and convince you of your error."

It was now Pierre's turn to listen, silent and motionless. He had come there prepared to defend his book ; he had arranged his arguments ; he had feverishly looked forward to this audience for the past three months, assured of its successful termination ; and now he listened to the condemnation of his book without adducing in its defence any one of the many arguments which had appeared to him irresistible. An overwhelming lassitude had taken possession of him, as if he had been exhausted by the violence of his emotion. Presently he would summon up courage ; he would say what he had come there to say. " They do not understand me ; they do not comprehend me," continued Leo the Thirteenth, with an air of impatient irritation. " Above all in France : it is incredible, the trouble that I have to make myself understood ! The Temporal Power, for instance ; how could you imagine that the Holy See could ever yield on that question ? It is a proposition unworthy of the utterance of a priest, it is a misunderstanding springing from ignorance of the conditions under which the Papacy has always existed, and must continue to exist, if it would not perish altogether.

Do you not see the sophistry of your assertion when you proclaim it the more powerful in the world in proportion as it is disengaged from the cares of worldly sovereignty ? Ah, a grand idea, a pure spiritual sovereignty, the reign of Faith and Love ! But how are you going to maintain it ? Who would give us a stone to pillow our head upon if we were to-morrow driven from house and home by our foes ? How could we be independent when we should be at everybody's mercy ? No, no ; this Rome is ours, our heritage devolved to us through the long line of our predecessors ; the soil on which our Holy Church is founded for all eternity ; and to abandon it would be the abandonment of the Holy Church, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman. Besides we *cannot* abandon it ; we are bound to it by our vows before God and before man."

He paused for a moment, to allow time for Pierre to reply. But the latter could find no power of speech, for he all at once recognised that the Pope had spoken as he ought to speak ; that he could not speak otherwise. The confused ideas which had long been gathering in his mind, which had so troubled him while he was waiting a moment before in the private ante-chamber, now suddenly became clear to him, ranged themselves before his mind's eye with startling distinctness. All that he had seen, all that he had heard since his arrival at Rome, his dis-illusions, his discoveries, all combined to form

a mass of realities beneath the weight of which the airy fabric of his dream of a return to primitive Christianity was crushed and shattered. Suddenly, there recurred to him his vision under the dome of St. Peter's, when, gazing on the ancient city wrapped in its glory of the imperial purple, he was imbecile enough to dream of a purely spiritual Pontiff reigning over the souls of men. That day he had fled from the frantic acclamations of the pilgrims of the St. Peter's Pence pilgrimage, hailing the "Pope-King." This need of pecuniary revenue, this last link in the chain of slavery which bound the spiritual Head of the Church to the World; he had perforce accepted its necessity. But when Rome had revealed her real self to him, the Eternal City of Pride and Power in which the Papacy had sat enthroned, for ages, his illusions finally vanished. Everything combined to bind the fate of the Papacy to the fate of Rome; dogma, tradition, history, sentiment rooted it in the soil of Rome, immovable for ever. The dream of a new Rome would never be realised, except some day, perhaps, far from the old Rome, under other skies. There Christianity might revive; but Catholicism must die where it had been born, where it had lived, when the last of the Popes, fettered to the ruins of Rome, should perish under the falling mass of St. Peter's dome, falling in its turn as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had fallen. As for this Pope before him to-day, discrowned and dethroned as he was, Pierre could clearly discern, through the fragile mask of senility, through the bloodless transparency of the waxen image of humanity, the fire of the lust of sway, the inherited passion of universal empire, the spirit of the Pontifex Maximus, of the Cæsar Imperator in whose veins flowed the blood of Augustus, the master of the world.

"You have clearly expressed," continued Leo the Thirteenth, "the ardent desire for Christian Unity which has always inspired us. We esteem ourselves most fortunate in having been able to introduce uniformity of ritual, in imposing the Roman rite upon the whole Catholic Church. That was one of our most signal successes; it cannot but enhance our authority. And I trust that our attempts to re-unite in Christ our dear brethren scattered throughout the dissident Churches of the East may be crowned with success; nor do I despair of convincing the Anglican sectaries, not to speak of the other Protestant communities, who will be forced to return to the fold of the one Universal Holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church when the time predicted by Christ shall have arrived. But what you have omitted to say is that the Church can never surrender one single point of its doctrine. On the contrary, you seem to hint that a compromise may

be arrived at by means of mutual concessions ; and that is an erroneous conclusion, a proposition which is criminal coming from the mouth of a priest. No ; truth is absolute ; not one stone of the building can be changed. Oh ! as to the form of worship, that does not so much matter ! We are quite ready to make concessions to avoid certain difficulties, to mitigate formulas in order to conciliate certain prejudices. And, in the same way, the part we play in the Socialist movement of to-day needs explanation. Of a truth, those whom you have well named the disinherited of this world, are the objects of our sincerest sympathies. If socialism be simply a cry for justice, a desire to strengthen the weak, to comfort the afflicted, who is there that adheres to it, works for it with more energy than we ourselves ? Has not the Church always been the mother of the unfortunate, the stay of the wretched, the benefactress of the destitute ? We are all for rational progress ; we approve all the new forms of society which make for peace and fraternity. But we cannot help condemning the Socialism which would get rid of the idea of God in order to make men happy. That is a return to a state of simple savagery ; a deplorable retrogression, with its only possible consequences of catastrophes, conflagrations and massacres. And you have not dwelt on this with sufficient emphasis ; you have not taken enough pains to demonstrate that outside the pale of the Church there can be no real progress, that the Church is the sole directress, the sole guide to whom the people can have recourse with safety. Besides, and this is a serious fault that I find in you, you seem to put God on one side ; your religion seems to be nothing more than a mental state, an efflorescence of love and charity sufficient in itself for the soul's salvation. Execrable heresy ! God is always with us, Lord of our souls and of our bodies ; Religion is the bond which unites us to Him ; the Law given by Him for the government of mankind, without which there is nothing but barbarism in this world and damnation in the next. And, once more, the form is immaterial ; the doctrine is eternal. Thus our countenance of the Republic in France shows that we do not consider the supremacy of religion indissolubly connected with any form of government, however honourable and ancient. Dynasties can last only their appointed time ; God endureth forever. Kings may die, and monarchies perish, but God is the Living God ! Besides, the republican form of government has nothing in it contrary to Christianity ; it seems to us rather a return towards the early Christian Community of which you have treated in some most charming passages in your book.

Unfortunately liberty is apt to degenerate into license, and we have too often been evilly recompensed for our attempts at

conciliation. Ah! my son, what a mischievous book you have written, with, as I verily believe, the very best intentions; and I am glad to think that your silence proves that you begin to understand the consequences of your fault."

Pierre remained silent, crushed, feeling that his intended arguments might as well be addressed to an impenetrable rock, whose blindness and deafness was impervious to light and sound. To what good purpose, since nothing could enter in? He was preoccupied solely in wondering, in considering how it was possible that a man of so much intelligence, with so much ambition, had not arrived at a truer, clearer comprehension of the state and temper of the world to-day. He evidently thought himself well posted, well informed, carrying in his head the vast web of Christendom, with its hopes and fears, its needs and wishes, all clearly tabulated and marked out, interwoven with the complicated threads of his tangled diplomacy. But what *lacunæ* nevertheless! Probably he really knew the world only as it was during the short time of his Nunciature at Brussels. Then came his episcopate at Perugia, where he should have seen something of the birth of the spirit which animated the new Italy. And for the last eighteen years he had been immured in the Vatican, seeing nothing of the world, isolated from the rest of mankind, communicating with them only through his courtiers, often the most ill-informed, most mendacious, and most treacherous of men. Moreover, he was an Italian, a priest, a Grand Pontiff, superstitious and despotic, bound by tradition, subject to the influences of heredity and locality, ceding to pecuniary and political necessities. And then there was his overweening pride as the representative of God on earth, the only legitimate and authoritative Power in the world. Hence his fatal failure of comprehension, the extraordinary lapses of his brain, along with such admirable qualities, his lively intellect, his patient persistence, his vast activity in planning and executing. But his intuition above all appeared marvellous; for was it not that alone which apprised him, in his solitary and voluntary imprisonment, of the immense evolution that was rapidly transforming the conditions of the life of the human race? He had thus gained a tolerably clear conception of the fearful dangers by which he was surrounded—the rising flood of Democracy, the swelling and measureless main of Science, ever threatening to swamp with its waves the narrow islet on which still stood the temple of St. Peter. The cries of the new-born social forces penetrated his thick palace walls; reached the inner chambers of the Vatican. And all his policy was dictated by the struggle for life, by the necessity of conquering that he might continue to live and reign. If



he had tried to compass the unification of the Church, it was that he might render it strong and invincible in the battle which he foresaw. If he preached conciliation, yielded with a good grace on mere matters of form, tolerated the extravagances of his Bishops in America, it was because his great secret fear was for the disruption of the Church, irreparable disaster precipitated by some sudden schism. Ah ! the schism, he felt its breath in the winds blowing from all the quarters of the heavens, like a threatening peril against which it behoved to be armed in advance. And this fear explained his revived affection for the people, his interest in Socialism, his Christian panaceas for the miseries of the toiling multitudes.

Since Cæsar had fallen, the long dispute between the Emperor and the Pope for the mastery of the peoples was over, for the people were now their own masters ; but the Pope still bid for the vacant place of power : would the dumb giant speak and swear allegiance to him ? He had made the experiment in France ; he had abandoned the cause of the fallen monarchy ; he had recognised the Republic ; he wished it strong and prosperous : for was not France the eldest daughter of the Church, the only Catholic nation which was still strong enough to restore, some day, the vanished temporal power of the Holy See ? He must reign, reign through the aid of France, as he could not hope to reign by the aid of Germany. He must reign through the people, because the people were now the masters and the dispensers of thrones ! He must reign through the Italian Republic, if that Republic would only restore him Rome, wrested from the usurping hands of the House of Savoy, an Italian Republic of Federated States with the Pope as President, of the United States of Italy, to develop, in God's good time, into the United States of Europe. Only to reign, to reign in spite of all and over all, to reign over the whole world like Augustus, whose domineering Roman blood still sustained this frail old man, tottering on the verge of the tomb in his greedy grasping at universal domination.

"And finally, my son," continued Leo XIII, "you have committed a serious fault in speaking of a new religion. Such an expression is impious, blasphemous, sacrilegious. There is but one religion—our Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. Beyond its pale there is nothing but darkness and damnation. I understand quite well that you profess a return to primitive Christianity. But the Protestant schism, so culpable, so deplorable, had exactly the same pretext. Directly one strays away from the path of strict adherence to dogma, of absolute respect for tradition, one may fall over the most frightful precipices ! Ah ! schism, my son, schism is the unpardonable sin ;

It is rebellion against God; it is the unclean beast of temptation, hatched by hell for the destruction of believers. Were there nothing else in your book but these words of "a New Religion," it must be destroyed, it must be burned as a deadly poison for the soul."

And the Pope continues in this strain for some time, preaching to Pierre on the happiness of Faith, on the misery of doubt, on the infallibility of the Church, on the necessity of subjection to authority, on the all-sufficiency of Scriptures and St. Thomas of Aquinas, adducing all the well-worn old arguments of theology, before he returns to the subject of the Abbé's implicated book. Amazed and stupified, Pierre listened to this peroration as if the heavens were tumbling about his ears. God of truth! The miracles of Lourdes proved by scientific tests; science the handmaid of Religion; Faith consonant with Reason; St. Thomas of Aquinas' philosophy sufficient for the nineteenth century! Good God! what could he answer? And why should he answer?

"A most pernicious and most dangerous book," concluded Leo. XIII, "a book of which the title alone, 'The New Rome,' is a scandalous falsehood; a book the more pernicious because it has undoubted graces of style, and generous, though perverted, ideas; in short, a book which a priest who had conceived and written it in a temporary aberration of mind, should burn in public, as an act of penitence, with the same hand with which he wrote its scandalous and erroneous pages."

Pierre suddenly stood up. There was dead silence in the dimly-lighted room; through the windows Rome loomed in the distance, drowned in darkness, vast and black, starred with twinkling points of light. And his thoughts cried in him—

"True, I had lost my faith, but I thought I had regained it in the pity which the sorrows of the poor had implanted in my heart. You were my last hope; the Father, the longed-for Saviour. And it was only one more dream, one more delusion; you can never be the new Jesus, bringing peace into the world to prevent the frightful fratricidal war that is looming in the future. You can never leave your throne, descend to the people, to the poor and humble, to accomplish the supreme effort of universal brotherhood. Very well! then there is an end of you, of your Vatican and of your St. Peter's. All gives way; all tumbles into ruin, crumbles into dust before the rush of the rising people, before the sap of a spreading science. You are done with; nothing will be left of you but a mass of ruins!"

But he did not utter these words. He bowed and said,—

"Holy Father, I submit, and I withdraw my book."

His voice trembled in his bitter humiliation; his outstretched hands had a gesture of renunciation, as if he had parted with

his very soul. It was the exact formula of submission that he had used : '*Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit et opus reprobavit*—'the author praiseworthy submits and condemns his book.' But what a frightful irony ! The book which he had sworn never to withdraw, for the success of which he had battled so ardently, he now denied and himself suppressed all of a sudden, not because he disapproved of it, but because he felt it to be as baseless and chimerical as the desire of a lover or the dream of a poet. Ah, yes, since he had been mistaken ; since he found here neither the God nor the priest that he had trusted in for the salvation of mankind, what was the use of persisting in his illusion of an impossible resurrection ! Better to cast his book away like a dead branch, like a withered leaf, henceforth without an object or a use. Slightly surprised by such a speedy victory, Leo. XIII gave utterance to an exclamation of contentment.

"Very good, very good, my son ! You have spoken words of wisdom, most fitting your calling as a priest."

And, in his evident satisfaction, he who never left anything to chance, who prepared beforehand every one of his utterances, the words that he would say, the gestures that he would use, unbent his stiffness, showed a charming condescension. Not understanding, deceiving himself as to the real reason of the submission of this revolted spirit, he prided himself on having so easily silenced him, for his familiars had pictured Pierre to him as a most redoubtable revolutionist. So he felt greatly flattered by this sudden conversion.

"And indeed, my son, he continued, it is what I expected from your superior intelligence. Recognition of faults committed, repentance and submission ; there is no purer joy than is to be found in these."

And Pierre takes his leave of the Holy Father, a sadder and a wiser man. He sees now that all along he has been made the subject of a clever diplomacy, purposely wearied out with waiting, disheartened by delays, played with as an angler plays with a heavy fish, with the object of inducing him himself to withdraw his book, without driving him to open revolt, startling him into schism, creating a scandal by his contumacy. And a subsequent conversation with Monsignor Nani convinces him of the correctness of his suspicion that the amiable and obliging prelate had been entrusted with the principal part in the plot for the suppression of his dangerous enthusiasm in the quietest and pleasantest fashion imaginable. Monsignor Nani bids him farewell with the most cordial expressions of esteem, and almost of gratitude, and with complimentary allusions to the services rendered by the French priesthood and people to the Holy See.

“And Pierre watched Monsignor Nani depart, with his airy and triumphant step, as if he thought himself marching to assured and certain victory. No; no fear of his forgetting the lesson he had learnt at Rome. He knew it now, this desire for the unity of all the nations in the lap of their Holy Mother Church, a physical bondage in which the doctrine of Christ became the law of Augustus, the imperial master of the world. And these Jesuits, no doubt they loved France, the eldest daughter of the Church, the only child who could yet aid the Mother to recover her lost universal empire; but they loved her as the black clouds of locusts love the green crops on which they alight, to devour and destroy them.

But Monsignor Nani does not himself belong to the Order of Jesus. He represents only the Jesuitical policy at the Vatican, the policy of being all things to all men, of giving an inch in order to take an ell, which was first invented by the fraternity of Loyola, but has now become, by the inexorable law of necessity, the sole policy of the Catholic Church.

No longer able to support her claims by open force, worsted in argument by the Renans and the Huxleys of this unbelieving age, she has had to fall back upon the Jesuitical policy of temporising expediency, courting Science, coquetting with Socialism, seeking for new means of maintaining her authority by mingling in the new movements of the time. And the old Cardinal Boccanera, who unsparingly condemned Pierre's book, as unhesitatingly condemned Leo XIII's temporising policy. Himself a staunch adherent of the unyielding firmness of Pio Nono, he freely criticised the utterances of his infallible successor, when Pierre, at his request, acquainted him with the result of his interview.

“The form,” exclaimed the Cardinal, with increasing excitement, “ah! he told you, as he tells everybody, that, while unalterably adhering to the spirit, he would yield readily on a mere matter of form. A wretched equivocation, a shuffling expedient, if not a downright hypocrisy! My soul revolts against this opportunism, this jesuitry, which plays fast and loose with the new ideas, and only shakes the confidence of believers, brings disorder and disunion into the camp, and prepares the way for a disastrous rout. It is cowardice, base cowardice, throwing down one's arms to be the more ready for flight, fearing to fight under our true colours, disguising ourselves in the hope of deceiving the enemy, mingling in his ranks, and overcoming him by stratagem! No, no! the form is everything in religion, inviolable, as it has been for eighteen centuries, is now and ever shall be, the unchanging ordinance of God!”

He could not keep quiet; he rose and began to walk up

and down the little room, seeming to fill it with his lofty presence. And he continued his harangue on the *regime* and the policy of Leo the Thirteenth, criticising it unsparingly, condemning it ruthlessly.

"Ah! the unity, the famous unity of the Churches which they glorify him for trying to restore; what is it, but the inordinate and short-sighted ambition of a conqueror who seeks, at all risks, to extend the frontiers of his empire, without taking into account that his new subjects, disloyal and disaffected, will be the cause of constant trouble and disappointment, will disturb the security and shake the allegiance of his ancient people. So the schismatics of the East, the schismatics from all parts, will bring the contagion of their errors into the Holy Catholic Church, will try to corrupt it, to reform it, as they would say. There is only one sound policy—to be what we are, to show ourselves as we are. And is it not, I ask you, a scandal, and a danger as well, this pretended alliance of the Church with the Democracy, the sudden repudiation of the immemorial policy of the Papacy? Monarchical Government exists by Divine Right; to abandon it is to oppose the Divine purpose, to compound with the Revolution, to encourage men in their madness and badness in order to turn their folly to our own advantage. A Republic spells anarchy, and you simply commit a crime; you strike a deadly blow at authority, at order, at religion itself, when you recognise the legality of a Republic, in the idle dream of an impossible reconciliation between Church and State. And see what the Pope has done with the temporal Power! He demands it still; he pretends to remain inflexible on this question of the recovery of Rome. But, in verity, has he not resigned the temporal Power, definitely yielded up his claim, when he recognises the right of the people to choose their own form of government, to depose their kings, and to enjoy their freedom after their own fashion, like wild beasts free to roam at their will in their native forests?"

And the *intransigent* old Cardinal could not be brought to see that the policy of Leo XIII was dictated by the necessity for self-preservation; that it was only a submission to the inexorable logic of accomplished facts.

We cannot approve of the liberty M. Zola has here taken, in his account of the audience granted to the imaginary Abbe Pierre Froment by the Pope, of introducing as a character in the pages of his romance a living historical personage like Leo XIII. It is not the first time that he has thus erred against the accepted canons of good taste, for, in his novel of "Nana," he took the unwarrantable liberty of introducing the Prince of Wales, in questionable company, too, under the

transparent disguise of a synonym. He has, on this occasion, treated Pope Leo XIII with more becoming reverence: but still he has stretched the license of a historical novelist beyond the permissible point, in putting a long harangue of his own composition into the mouth of the venerable Pontiff. Very likely, by the careful use of the recorded utterances and writings of Leo the XIII, he has succeeded in cleverly imitating what he might very well be supposed to say on such an occasion: but it is to be hoped that this new departure in the introduction of real characters into fiction, will not be taken as a precedent.

The minuteness of description in which M. Zola revels and excels, in this book becomes tedious. The account of the Abbe Froment's peregrinations through Rome and its environs might serve for the pages of a guide-book: the details of the upholstery and ornaments in the successive saloons of the Vatican which he traverses, might supply the place of an auctioneer's catalogue. The routine of His Holiness' daily life is chronicled with the minuteness of a Society paper's interviewer. The story which forms an interlude to the Abbe's adventures and interminable lucubrations is neither interesting nor pleasing; but the author is evidently moving in an unfamiliar *milieu*, and we cannot expect to find him as much at home in the palaces of Rome as in the gutters of Paris. And, though we concede that the priestly Court of the Vatican, with its Swiss Guards and its Knights of Malta, belongs to a world that is passing away, yet we cannot believe that, among its Sixteenth Century characteristics, it still preserves the practice of secret poisoning!

The divorce suit instituted by Benedetta against her husband has succeeded, thanks to the intervention of the all-powerful and ubiquitous Monsignor Nani. The charming Contessina is now free to marry her cousin, Dario, and they appear as a betrothed couple at the splendid *fête* given at the Palazzo Buongiovanni to celebrate the engagement of the little Princess Celia to the handsome young officer, Attilio. This "marriage of the Pope and the King" is made the occasion of a *rapprochement* between the Black and the White Societies of Rome: the king and queen appear at the ball, while Monsignor Nani and a host of Cardinals and prelates represent the Vatican. The two betrothed couples, Attilio and Celia, Dario and Benedetta, in their youth, grace, rank and beauty, are the cynosure of all eyes.

The very next day, Dario is poisoned by eating figs out of a basket of fruit brought, as a present to Cardinal Boccanera, by the peasant priest Santobono, a creature of the Cardinal Sanguinetti's. The Comte Prada is, of course, suspected, though

unjustly, of the crime : but the Cardinal Boccanera at once divines the truth, that the basket of figs was intended for himself, in order to remove from the path of Cardinal Sanguinetti a dangerous rival to the succession of the Papal tiara. The two Cardinals were "in the running" for the possible succession, as the ostensible chiefs of the two opposing parties in the Church—the old conservative, or inflexible, party, now greatly in the minority, which fixed its hopes on Boccanera, and the moderate or Jesuitical party which adhered to Sanguinetti. A slight indisposition of Pope Leo XIII, giving rise to hopes of an approaching election, caused the creature of Sanguinetti, who was vitally interested in the accession of his patron to the chair of St. Peter, to attempt the abominable crime which miscarried with such deplorable results.

The Cardinal Boccanera, whose partiality for figs was well known to the conspirators, was that day unwell, and did not partake of them, and they fell to the share of his unfortunate nephew. Yet Boccanera does not proclaim the crime, or accuse the criminal, because he wishes to avoid a scandal which might damage the cause of the Church! If we are to believe M. Zola, the removal of Popes and Cardinals by poison is one of the traditional State secrets of the Vatican.

Every one is in a conspiracy to avoid scandal at all hazards ; and the physician certifies the death to be due to malarial fever. All this is very unlikely and unnatural ; and the death-bed scene where Benedetta, in a transport of grief, throws herself upon the body of the dying Dario, and dies of a broken heart, mingling her last breath with his, like Adrienne and Djalma in the "Wandering Jew" of Eugene Sue, is not only unnatural, but revolting. The Abbé Pierre Froment assists at this painful scene, and, after the funeral of the lovers, quits Rome to return to Paris. We have spoken of his interminable lucubrations, in which the train of thoughts that passes through his mind is made the vehicle for the opinions of the author. The Abbe's concluding reflections contain a summary of the contents, and a commentary on the purpose, of the book.

When Pierre was at length alone, he experienced a keen sense of solitude and desolation. His slender luggage was packed ; the portmanteau and the little trunk were on the floor in the corner of the room. And how still and empty the little chamber looked, as if it were already a strange room to him. He had nothing more to do with it, but to leave it ; he felt as if he had left it already. Rome around him was nothing more than a picture, which he would carry away with him, imprinted on his memory. One hour more to wait ; it appeared to him an interminable time. Beneath him and around him the old dark and deserted palace seemed to slumber in the silence of oblivion.

He had seated himself to wait till it was time to start ; he fell into a profound *reverie*.

It was his book that his thoughts reverted to, his book, "*La Rome Nouvelle*," which he had written ; had come here to defend ; and his memory recalled that first morning on the Janiculum when he stood on the terrace of San Pietro in Montorio and gazed on the Rome of his day-dreams, appearing, as it did to him, re-juvenated and infantine under the bright clear summer sky, bathed in the splendour of the morning. There he had asked himself the decisive question, could Catholicism renew itself, return to the spirit of primitive Christianity, become the religion of the Democracy, the Faith which the world of to-day looks for in the midst of its dead illusions, to renew and perpetuate its spiritual life ? Hardly recovered from the disaster to his faith at Lourdes, he had come to Rome, his heart once more beating with high hope, to demand of her the answer to this supreme question. And now he knew the answer ; Rome had replied to him by her ruins, by her monuments, by her very soil, by her people, by her prelates, by her cardinals, by her Pope. No ! Catholicism could never renew itself ; no ! it could not revive the spirit of the early Christian Church ; no ! it could never be the religion of the New Democracy, the faith that could breathe new life into the old, perishing forms of Society. If, in its origin, it had been a democratic religion, it was now bound to this soil of old Rome, monarchical in spite of itself, forced to reclaim its temporal power under penalty of disappearing altogether, hampered by tradition, fettered by dogma, incapable of evolution, reduced to such an absolute immobility, that the Papacy, imprisoned behind the brazen gates of the Vatican, was only the ghost of eighteen centuries of atavism, nothing more than a perpetual dream of universal domination. Where his priestly faith, burning with love for his suffering fellow-creatures, had sought for Life, for the Resurrection of the Christian community, it had found only death, the dust of an ancient world that had passed away, the sterilised soil whence nothing sprang, except this monstrous growth of a despotic Papacy, claiming dominion over both bodies and souls. To his despairing cry for a new religion Rome had replied by condemning his book ; and in the bitterness of his disappointment he had himself withdrawn it. He had seen, he understood, that there was nothing here but ruins ; and it seemed to him as if he himself, body, soul and spirit, were buried beneath their rubbish-heaps.

Pierre veritably felt as though he were stifled. He rose ; went to the window which looked out upon the Tiber ; threw it wide open and leant over the sill. The rain had been falling again during the evening ; but now it had once more ceased.



The air was moist, warm and oppressive. The moon must have risen, for there was a dim yellow gleam visible through the ashen-gray clouds in the dull, leaden sky. In the fading twilight the horizon loomed vast and black; the Janiculum with its crowded roofs opposite, the river flowing below to the left beneath the blurred outlines of the Palatine, while to the right the Dome of St. Peter towered into the night, dark against the pale background of the sky. He could not see the Quirinal, but he knew it to be behind him, and he could fancy the long dark line of its interminable façade barring the horizon, shutting out the sky. How different was this dismal Rome, fading into the gathering gloom, from the bright Rome of his illusions which he had so passionately admired, that first day, from the summit of that Janiculum which he could now barely distinguish in the blackness of darkness around it! And another reflection occurred to him. He thought of the three sovereign heights, the three summits which evoked in his mind all the historic past of Rome—the ancient, the Papal, and the modern periods. On the disrowned heights of the Palatine appeared only the phantom of the Cæsar, Emperor and Pontiff, Master of the world; but he now saw St. Peter's and the Quirinal with very different eyes from those with which he had for the first time gazed upon them. The Royal Palace, which he had that day regarded with contempt, likened to a huge barrack, considered a modern mushroom excrescence, a sacrilege in the glorious old sacred city, now filled the chief place in his imagination, as well as in the horizon of his view: while the dome of St. Peter's, which he had thought so triumphal, soaring to the sky, overshadowing the city with its giant architecture, now seemed to him diminished in size, seamed with cracks and fissures—a crumbling mass of flawed pillars and worm-eaten timbers, ready to fall in sudden and stupendous ruin on the heads of the heedless worshippers.

A hoarse murmur, rising into a sullen roar, rolled up from the swollen Tiber, and Pierre shivered: a cold current of air, like a breath from the grave, passed across his face. The recollection of the symbolical triangle of the three summits recalled to memory the sufferings of the dumb and bound giant, the mass of humanity, the miserable people; the prey the possession of which was the eternal bone of contention between the Pope and the King. Long ago that strife began, in the day of the division of the inheritance of Augustus, when the Emperor was perforce compelled to content himself with the empire over the bodies of men, leaving their souls to the Pope; while the latter, from that moment, set his heart on adding the temporal to the spiritual power. The quarrel embittered and ensanguined Europe all through the Middle

Ages, without Pope or Emperor being able to gain a decided mastery, while the prey was torn to pieces between them. At length the dumb giant, tormented beyond endurance, found his voice; tore off the Papal gag in the times of the Reformation; then set himself to overthrow the Kings in the furious revolt of 1789. And these events had inaugurated a new era for the Papacy, as Pierre had endeavoured to show in his book—the Pope at length able to disengage himself from the political entanglements which made him a temporal sovereign with the same interests and the same policy as other temporal sovereigns; free to range himself on the side of the people, to gain them over to him, to possess them altogether at last. Was it not grand, this attitude of Leo. XIII, despoiled of his dominions, proclaiming himself a socialist, gathering together the flocks of the proletariat, marching to the conquest of the future centuries? And the old fight for the possession of the people was renewed to-day between the Vatican and the Quirinal, in more confined lists; in Rome itself, the King and the Pope spying each other from their windows, disputing the possession of the people, as the falcon and the hawk dispute the warblers of the woods.

And here Pierre found Catholicism self-condemned, because it was, in essence and spirit, itself monarchical to that point that the Pope could not bring himself to make renunciation of his temporal power. Vainly did the Papacy feign to ally itself with the people; vainly tried to appear all soul and sympathy with their cause: in the new Democracy there was no place for the absolute and universal sovereignty which it claimed to derive from God. Pierre ever saw the Emperor reappearing in the person of the Pope; and it was this re-appearance that had dissolved his dream, destroyed his book, left him hopeless and heartless amidst the ruins of his cherished illusions.

The sight of this Rome, drowned in gloom, disappearing, house by house, in the darkness of the night, so painfully affected his imagination that he hastily quitted the window; returned to throw himself wearily upon the chair, beside his luggage.

Never before had he experienced such a poignant distress, such a trouble of the soul. He remembered the hopes which he had based upon the new experience of his journey to Rome, after the disaster to his faith at Lourdes. This time, he had no longer asked for the faith of a little child, innocent and credulous; he aspired to the faith of an intellectual man, rising superior to rites and symbols, demanding the full measure of happiness for the whole human race, the faith founded upon the craving for certainty and truth. And if that faith failed, if Catholicism could no longer be the religion, the moral law of

the world to be; if the Pope of Rome, at Rome, could no longer be the Holy Father, the spiritual guide, the leader obeyed and beloved of the people, it was to him the wreck of his last hope, the supreme catastrophe in which his world was to disappear. The misery of the masses, endured until it had become unendurable, would result in a general revolution, in the conflagration of the existing edifice of society. All the scaffolding of Christian Socialism which had seemed to him such a happy invention, such a worthy means of consolidating the ancient structure of the church, he now saw levelled with the ground; he judged it only a transitory expedient which might delay for a few years more the final ruin of the time-worn edifice: he now perceived it to be founded only on a voluntary misapprehension, an intentional falsehood, a shifting policy of expediency. No; it was a system that aimed only at once more gaining an ascendancy over the people by duping them, humouring them in order to again enslave them; it was a bastard and a false system, repugnant to reason, which might succeed for a brief period, only to eventuate in a more complete catastrophe. Then all was finished; nothing remained intact; the old structure of society would disappear in the tremendous crisis of which the signs of the times announced the inevitable approach. And he remained confronted by a frightful chaos; his faith prostrated before this supreme experience, which he had from the first felt and known would either confirm it or destroy it for ever. And it was destruction that had come of it. Good God! What would become of him?

In the anguish of his thoughts Picrie arose; paced up and down the room, as if in the excitement of physical motion he might find an antidote to his mental trouble. Great God! what should he do, now that his overwhelming doubt, his miserable nihilism had returned upon him; seemed to crush him with an unsupportable anguish? He recalled his despairing cry when he had refused to bend his soul to submission, telling Monsignor Nani that he could not sacrifice the conviction of his soul; that his trust in the salvation to be wrought by Christian charity could not be extinguished; that he would vindicate his faith by a new book, in which he would indicate the new soil in which the new religion might take root and flourish. Yes! a book of burning words against Rome, into which he would put all that he had seen, all that he had heard, a book which would mirror the true Rome, Rome at it was, without charity, without love, without hope; Rome slowly and surely perishing, stifled in the pride of its imperial purple! He would return to Paris; leave the Church; become a heretic, write the book; head the new schism that they expected. Ah! the new schism; was it not already imminent, was it no

sufficiently manifest in the signs of the times, in the prodigious movements of modern ideas, in the unrest of human minds, wearying of the old exploded dogmas and yet hungering and thirsting after righteousness. Leo the Thirteenth himself must have a dim consciousness of it ; for all his policy, all his strivings after the unity of Christendom, all his manifestations of sympathy with the democracy were dictated by the desire of rallying the people round the Papacy, to strengthen it and prepare it for the coming struggle for life.

But the time was at hand ; Catholicism would soon find itself at the end of its politic concessions, incapable of retrograding further without a complete surrender, imprisoned in Rome like an old helpless hierarchical idol, while, in other lands, under different skies, in the stress of strife with rival religions, it might continue to live and grow. The Papacy was condemned by its connection with Rome, while the loss of its temporal power had given birth to the idea of a purely spiritual Pope, disengaged from local ties, an Anti-Pope, reigning over the mind of Christendom, while the successor of St. Peter was imprisoned in the fiction of Roman imperial supremacy. A new spiritual leader might arise, afar, perhaps, in that free America where the struggle for life had made the Catholic Bishops and Priests into earnest socialists, ardent democrats, apostles of the movements of the century, marching abreast of modern needs. And, while Rome could abandon nothing of her past, not a tradition, not a dogma, these new-world priests would abandon all that was already falling by the weight of its own absurdity. Ah ! what a splendid dream this, of a great Priest, a grand Reformer, a new saviour of society, the longed-for Messiah coming to the aid of suffering humanity !

For a moment Pierre was transported by the vision ; a rush of hope and triumph filled his soul with enthusiasm : if it were not in France, at Paris, that the new Reformer should arise, then afar, beyond the ocean, anywhere, in some new and fruitful soil in which the new harvest might spring up abundantly.

A new Religion ! as he had proclaimed after his disenchantment at Lourdes, a Religion that should be something better than a mere foretaste of death ; a Religion that should realise in this life the Kingdom of God foretold by the Evangelist ; that should establish equitable laws of property and labour, make truth and justice reign supreme upon the earth !

Pierre, in the exaltation of this new castle in the air, already saw in spirit the fiery sentences of his projected book in which

he would doom the old Rome to destruction, in proclaiming the restoration of the perfect liberty of the law of Christ, when his eye lighted on an object lying on a chair, indistinct in the gathering darkness, which at first caused him a start of surprise. It was a book also, different from the one of his vision, the volume by Theophile Morin which old Orlando had given him to return to the author: and he was vexed with himself for having overlooked it, for having so nearly left it behind.

Before opening his valise to stow it away, he took it up in his hand; turned over its pages abstractedly; and suddenly a flood of new ideas rushed upon his mind; he felt as if some extraordinary occurrence had happened, some great event had revolutionised his world. The book was, after all, a modest little volume, nothing wonderful, a Student's manual, containing only the elements of science; but all the branches of science were represented in it; it was a compendious summary of human knowledge and research up to date. And it was the idea of science that had interrupted Pierre's reverie, had suddenly rushed upon his mind with the irresistible energy of a sovereign and all-embracing power. Not only was Catholicism swept away before it, like dust before a whirlwind, but all the hypotheses founded on the supernatural tottered and reeled around him. Nothing but this educational handbook, this infinitely little volume of instruction, in his hand; but behind it was the universal desire to *know*, the perpetual extension of education, which had gained and grown upon the people; and the mysteries had become pure nonsense, the dogmas had resolved themselves into ancient fables, and nothing remained of the faiths that had lasted through ages.

A people saturated with science, which believes no more in mysteries or in dogmas, in compensatory happiness and in retributive justice, is a people whose faith is for ever dead: and, without faith, Catholicism is dead, too. There is the trenchant solution of the question, the knife that cuts the Gordian knot of the skein of the universe.

The solution may occupy one century, or it may occupy two centuries; science will take its time. It alone is eternal. It is simply a negation of fact to maintain that reason is compatible with Faith, and that Science is the handmaid of Religion. To-day the authority of the Scriptures is destroyed, and, to save the fragments of it, the defenders of them have had to take refuge in symbolism, in the explanation of their text in such a fashion as to accord with the new discoveries of science. And what a spectacle! the Infallible Church reduced to all kinds of shifts and expedients to explain away the utterances of the Infallible Book. The Pope alone is

infallible ; science is fallible ; we reproach it with its continual gropings after the truth ; we proclaim triumphantly that its discoveries of to-day have disproved its conclusions of yesterday. What do its blasphemous announcements, that facts do not agree with beliefs, matter to a Catholic, since we know that, at the end of time, science and religion will be reconciled ; the former will again become the obedient servant of the latter ? Was not such an assertion the climax of wilful ignorance and obstinate impudence ; blindness flatly denying the fact of the brightness of the sun ?

And the little, insignificant book, the manual of truth, continued its patient and laborious task, destroying error after error, building up by degrees a new world, as the continual labour of infinitesimal insects little by little constructs islands and continents.

In the sudden light which streamed in upon him, Pierre at length felt himself upon solid ground. Had science ever retreated ? It was Catholicism which had always recoiled, which still continued to recoil, before science, as in the days of Galileo. Science never stood still ; it abandoned one position only to take up another further in advance ; it gained ground on error step by step, and it was folly to accuse it of failure because it could not explain the Universe altogether in one word. If it had left, if it still left, unexplored part of the continually decreasing domain of mystery, subject to explanation by some plausible hypothesis, it was not the less true that it had disproved the explanations afforded by the old hypotheses, was disproving them day by day, causing them to fade and disappear in the new light of ascertained truth which it cast upon them.

And Catholicism was one of these hypotheses. Like all other religions, it is in its nature an explanation of the Universe, a code of social and political morality, intended to promote peace and happiness in the world. This code of higher law is itself as human in its origin as science ; and it is not possible to put it on one side, out of the pale of humanity, and to say that it has one domain, and science has another, and that the two need never clash. No ! science embraces all things, and it has well demonstrated its scope hitherto, and is demonstrating it still, in forcing Revelation to continually repair the breaches which it makes in its defences, until some day they shall be swept away altogether before the final overwhelming assault of truth.

It makes one laugh to hear the theologians defining limits to science, declaring that there is a domain which it cannot enter into, predicting that it will go no further, that it has reached the end of its allotted task, that it is about to abdi-

cate its functions. Ah! little race of men with shallow brains and perverted intellects, fertile in expedients, dogmatic in arguments, obstinately refusing to re-cast your old fairy tales, science will pass by and whirl them away like autumn leaves.

And Pierre continued to turn over the leaves of the little book which conveyed to him the message of Sovereign Science. It could never fail, for it never promised an assured and achieved victory; it was only the continual quest and successive conquest of Truth. Never had it arrogated to itself the pretension of declaring the absolute truth, total, final and irrevocable—the pretension put forward by Philosophy, Revelation, and Faith. On the contrary, its mission was to destroy error, to dissipate darkness by degrees, as it admitted the light along the path of its steady advance.

Far from failing, it continually advances, overcoming at last every check and obstacle, the only safe guide and pilot for sober and reasonable minds. As for those whose spiritual needs it does not satisfy, who are possessed by the insatiable desire to know everything at once and for ever, they have the resource of betaking themselves to some religious hypothesis, always presuming that such hypothesis be founded on a basis of ascertained truth. For any hypothesis based upon beliefs which science has proved to be erroneous must sooner or later betray those who trust in it. If the religious sentiment endures in mankind, if the need of religion remains eternal, still it does not follow that Catholicism is eternal, for it is after all only one form of religion, which has been in existence only for a limited period, which other forms of religion preceded, and others yet will follow.

Religions may perish and disappear; the religious sentiment will create new ones consonant with science. And Pierre reflected on the pretended check to science in the revival of mysticism, spiritualism, miracles, &c., of which he had pointed out the causes in his book—the re-action in the minds of the people, disappointed to find that their enhanced knowledge and increased liberty did not bring them all the benefits they had expected; the intellectual *malaise* resulting from the empty void in which the liberated reason found itself after centuries of inherited supernaturalism. It was the thirst for the unknowable, for the unknown, which springs eternal in the human breast; but it was also a natural and momentary re-action, occurring on the discovery that science cannot satisfy our craving for justice, our longing for happiness, our imagination of a future life of eternal bliss. But, for Catholicism to revive, the old soil in which it grew must first be renewed; and it cannot be renewed; secular schools and chemical laboratories have destroyed its fertility. The soil

has changed ; another tree will spring from it. Let science, then, have its religion, if religion we must have ; for no religion that is not compatible with science can find its place among the democracies of the future, the enlightened and instructed peoples for whom Catholicism is already only an exploded religion of which nought remains but dust and ashes.

And Pierre's thoughts returned to the contemplation of the imbecile action of the Congregation of the Index. They had condemned his book ; they would as certainly condemn the new book he dreamed of writing, if he ever did write it. A grand triumph indeed, to condemn the idle lucubrations of an enthusiastic dreamer, the chimerical ideas which opposed their own chimeras ! And they had the folly to leave uncondemned the little scholastic book which he held there in his hands, the only redoubtable foe, the enemy which would one day overturn the whole fabric of their infallible Church !

It seemed to them perhaps contemptible enough, in its sober livery of a common school-book : the danger of it commenced with the alphabet spelled through by infants ; it went on increasing through lesson after lesson, widening through the whole circle of the sciences, physical, natural, and material, calling in question the creation as recounted in the Scriptures. But, alas for the Index ! it no longer had the power to suppress these humble volumes, these terrible soldiers of the truth, destroyers of the Faith. What availed all the money which Leo XIII took from his hidden treasure of Peter's Pence to endow Catholic schools, in the hope of educating the army of believers in the future, of which the Papacy had need to defend itself and to conquer the world ? What availed it, when this precious treasure only served to buy this book, and others like it, as trifling and as formidable, which could never be sufficiently expurgated, which always contained too much of science, the science of which the rising tide was destined one day to sweep away the Vatican and St. Peter's ! Ah ! the imbecile, impotent Index, what a mockery and what a derision !

Then, when Pierre had put away the little book of Theophile Morin in his valise, he came back to lean once more out of the window ; and there he had an extraordinary vision.

In the dull, damp night, beneath the gloomy sky faintly illumined by the cloud-veiled moon, mist-wreaths floated in the air, partly concealing the crowded roofs of the silent city with their trailing swathes, like the ghosts of shrouds, obliterating all the well-known land-marks of the horizon. And he imagined that the times were accomplished ; that the Truth had levelled to the ground St. Peter's dome. In a hundred years more, or in a thousand years more, it would be gone, sunk into the earth, vanished from the sky. Already he had



felt it heaving and trembling beneath his feet, on the feverish day of his despair when he had gazed from its height, on the pomp of Papal Rome, wrapped in the purple of the Cæsars, foreseeing the time when the temple of the God of Catholicism would dissolve in ruin, as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had dissolved in ruin before it. And it was finished; the dome showed the soil with its *debris*; nothing remained standing but a fragment of the wall, with five of the columns of the central nave still supporting a piece of the entablature; and the four giant pillars of the transept which had borne up the dome still reared themselves erect amidst the mass of surrounding ruin, as if indestructible. The gathering mists rolled their wreaths before his eyes, changed his vision; a thousand years more had passed away, and now nothing remained; the fragment of wall, the columns, the cyclopean pillars themselves were gone.

The accumulated earth of ages must be cleared away to discover among the brambles and the wild herbs some fragments of broken statues, of graven marble, over the inscriptions of which the antiquarians of the day might dispute. As erstwhile, on the Capitoline Hill, among the buried *debris* of the temple of Jupiter, wild goats leaped and clambered, browsed on the bushes in the silence and the solitude of the close Italian summer day, broken only by the monotonous buzzing of the flies.

Then only Pierre felt the climax of the catastrophe of his faith. All was finished; Science had triumphed; the old world had disappeared from view. Where was the need for a grand schismatic, a new reformer? Where was the use for one, if it were only to build up the baseless fabric of another dream? Nothing seemed to matter now except science, in its everlasting struggle to master the unknown, its slow tracking of truth, its continuous diminution of the realm of mystery. Would it ever attain the point of satiating man's thirst for the Divine, of satisfying all his mental needs? And in the disaster to his apostolic enthusiasm for the conversion of the world, his faith dead, his hope of using the old force of Catholicism for the social and moral salvation of the people dead also, he felt himself once more supported only by his reason. If he had put his dream into a book, if he had gone through this second and terrible crisis of faith, it was because his sentiment had once again proved stronger than his reason. It was his mother that had wept in his heart at the sufferings of the poor, in the vehement desire to assuage them, to avert the coming social conflict: and his charity had overflowed, and had stifled the scruples of his intelligence. Now he hearkened to the voice of his father, pure reason, bitter reason, eclipsed

for a time, but now revealing itself again with transcendent power. As after Lourdes, it protested against the adoration of the absurd, and the abdication of common sense; for it was the voice of reason. It alone guided men safely and securely amidst the ruins of the ancient faiths and the mistakes and disappointments of Science. Ah! Reason; he could suffer only by it; he would conquer only by it; he swore to serve it only, to follow the dictates of no other guide, even at the sacrifice of his happiness!

What should he do? Vainly had he tried to decide, at this moment. All was doubtful and uncertain; his world lay before him, choked and encumbered by the ruins of his hopes and projects. To-morrow things might seem clearer. Away there, in the miserable suburb, he would again join the good Abbé Rose, who, the very day before, had written begging him to return, to come back quickly to help his poor people, to cherish them, to save them, since Rome, so glorious from afar, was deaf to the voice of Christian charity. And there, around the good, pious old priest, he would find the ever-increasing crowds of miserable wretches, the fledgelings fallen out of the nests, pale with famine, shivering with cold, the poverty-stricken homes where the father drank and the mother prostituted herself; the sons and daughters wallowed in vice and crime; whole households living, on the verge of famine, amidst repulsive squalor and shameless promiscuity—no furniture, no linen—the life of the beast who lives how and when it can, as chance and instinct decide. Then there were the frosts of winter, the disasters of strikes and lock-outs, the scourge of phthisis sweeping off the weak ones, while the strong clenched their fists and cried for justice or vengeance. Then, one evening, he would, perhaps, chance on a chamber of horrors where a mother had immolated herself with her little ones, the youngest in her arms at her empty breast, the others strewed upon the bare boards of the flooring, at length happy and satisfied in death. Oh, no! that could not last; poverty driving people to suicide in the midst of Paris rolling in riches, drunk with pleasure, throwing millions away for the gratification of a caprice. The social edifice was rotten at the foundation; all would tumble into ruin, smothered in blood and mire! Never had he felt so strongly the ludicrous incompetence of charity, as at this moment. And all of a sudden, the right word, the required word that should replace it, occurred to him; the word that was already on the lips of the dumb giant, the gagged and fettered people: it was the word Justice. Ah! yes; Justice, and not Charity! The latter had done nothing but perpetuate poverty; the former, perhaps, might end it. It was justice that the people hungered for; justice alone could clear

away the old order of society to re-construct the new. The dumb giant had been faintly heard grumbling and muttering through the ages, while the possession of him was disputed between Popes and Emperors, Kings and Priests; but now he had spoken and he would belong neither to the Vatican nor to the Quirinal; neither to the Pope nor to the King; he would be his own master, and the first word he had spoken was 'justice.' Would to-morrow be the dawn of an era of justice and of truth? And in his anguish Pierre felt certain only of one thing; that he would keep his priestly vows, do his duty in the vocation to which Fate had called him, a faithless priest watching over the faith of others, renouncing the pleasures and prizes of the world, with melancholy conviction that it was beyond his power to renounce his intelligence as he had renounced his passions.

So absorbed was he in his thoughts, while his eyes were fixed on the great city below him, with its monster buildings slowly disappearing in the gloom, that he never heard himself called. It needed a touch on the shoulder to arouse him.

"Monsieur l'Abbé, Monsieur l'Abbé,"

And, as he turned, Victorine said to him :

"It's half past nine. The carriage is at the door; Giacomo has taken down the luggage. It's time to go, Monsieur l'Abbé."

Then, seeing him blinking his eyes, still half dreaming, she smiled :

"You were saying good-bye to Rome; what wretched weather!"

"Yes, wretched," replied he.

They went down together. He had given her a hundred-franc note to divide with the other servants. And she preceded him with a lamp, because, as she explained to him, the palace was so dark that night, that one could hardly see one's way.

Ah! that parting, that last descent, down the long stairs of the dark and silent palace, how it made Pierre's heart fail. He had taken a last look round his little chamber, that farewell look that always moved him so profoundly, even in quitting a place where he had been unhappy. Then, in passing by the room occupied by Don Vigilio, whence not a sound was heard, he imagined him prone upon his pillows, holding his breath, lest even the slightest movement might betray his presence, attract the notice of some watchful and spying ear.

And again, on the landings of the second and first storeys, as he passed the doors of the apartments of Donna Serafina and of the Cardinal, whence not a sound issued, where not a breath stirred, he shivered as if he were traversing a tomb.

Since their return from the funeral, they had given no sign of life, remaining motionless in their hermetically sealed chambers, whence not a whisper, not a footfall, came to disturb the silence of the deserted halls. Victorine descended before him, lamp in hand, and Pierre followed her mechanically, thinking of those two left there alone, the last of their failing race, in their old palace falling to ruin, like the sole survivors of a world that was passing away. With Dario and Benedetta had vanished all the hopes of their lives; there remained of the ancient house only the old maid and the childless priest, in their solitude and sorrow. The gloomy and interminable corridors, the wide, cold staircase which descended into the desolate darkness, the vast halls with their bare poverty-stricken walls, the damp portico with its mouldering and mutilated statues of Venus and Apollo; and the little wild garden with its scented orange trees, where no one would ever go again to find the adorable Contessina under the shade of the laurels by the ancient Sarcophagus, all combined to fill his soul with unutterable sorrow in the deathly silence in which the last of the Boccaneras were left awaiting the annihilation of their house and of their God. And the silence remained unbroken save by a still small sound as of a creeping mouse, of a gnawing rat; perhaps the Abbé Paparelli, the Jesuit, at his desk somewhere in some corner of the desert rooms, busy in his tireless task of mining and excavating, consummating the slow and relentless process of ruin.

The carriage stood before the door, with the yellow rays of light from its two lamps piercing the darkness of the street. The luggage was already placed upon it, the little trunk beside the driver, the portmanteau on the front seat; and Pierre stepped into the carriage.

"Oh! you have plenty of time," said Victorine, standing on the pavement, "you've got everything; I'm glad that you have such a good start."

At this last moment, he felt comforted by the kindness of his countrywoman, the good soul who had greeted his arrival and who now bade him God-speed at his departure.

"I won't say *au revoir*, Monsieur l'Abbé, for I don't expect they'll see you back again in their infernal town in a hurry. Adieu, Monsieur l'Abbé."

"Adieu, Victorine. And thank you again, with all my heart."

The carriage started at a rapid trot, turning down the narrow and tortuous streets which led to the Place Victor Emmanuel. It had ceased to rain; the hood of the carriage was down; in spite of the mildness of the humid air, the priest felt cold, yet could not make up his mind to stop the carriage to have the hood raised, while the taciturn driver seemed only in a hurry to rid himself of his fare.

And when they arrived at the Place Victor Emmanuel, Pierre was surprised to find it already so deserted at such an early hour of the night; the houses shut up, the pavement vacant, the electric lamps throwing their light upon the melancholy solitude. It was chilly, and the rising fog half hid the façades of the houses. As they passed the Chancery buildings, their colossal bulk seemed fast disappearing in the gathering gloom. At the end of the street of Araceli, dimly lighted up by its rare gas-lamps, the Capitol was undiscernible in the darkness of the night. Further on, the wide Place grew narrower; the carriage rolled between the dark and overshadowing walls of the *Gesu* church on the one hand, and the huge *Allieri* palace on the other; and in this strait and ancient way, where the sunlight never penetrated to dissipate the mists of antiquity, Pierre, shivering with cold, fell again into a *reverie*.

His thoughts had suddenly recurred to a subject that had before troubled his imagination—the march of human civilisation from the unknown regions of Asia towards the setting sun. A wind from the east had ever borne on its wings the seeds of the human harvest, to plant them in the west. And for long, long past, the nursery of humanity had itself been smitten with death and destruction, as if the human race could advance only by successive stages, leaving behind it the soil exhausted, the cities ruined, the peoples decimated and deteriorated; while the tide of population and civilisation rolled from east to west; gravitated towards an unknown goal. Nineveh and Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, Thebes and Memphis by the waters of the Nile, had crumbled into ruin, perished of decrepitude, fallen into an irreparable oblivion. And this decrepitude had gained the shores of the Mediterranean, buried Tyre and Sidon under the dust of ages, crept on to enfold Carthage, struck with senile paralysis in the midst of its power and splendour.

This moving mass of humanity, which some hidden force seemed to be always impelling from east to west, marked the stages of its march by the ruins of the civilisations which it left behind it. And what a frightful scene of sterile desolation was to-day presented by the cradle of human history! Asia, Egypt, fallen into their second childhood, mummified in imbecility and ignorance, buried amid the ruins of ancient cities that had once been the capitals of the civilised world!

In the middle of his dreaming, Pierre was conscious of passing the Venetian Palace, drowned in the darkness, as if its walls were fading away before the assault of some invisible power. Then, after passing the long opening of the *Corso* to the left, looking deserted also under the white glare of its

electric lights, the Torlonia Palace appeared upon the right, one wing already levelled by the pick-axe, in process of demolition; while, higher up, on the left, the palace of the Colonnas reared its gloomy front and rows of darkened windows, as if, deserted by its masters, divested of its ancient state, it, in its turn, awaited the work of destruction.

The carriage rolled more slowly, ascending the slope of the Rue Nationale, and Pierre returned to his *reverie*. Had not the hour of Rome herself struck? was she not herself doomed to disappear, to share in the destruction which the westward movement of human civilisation left everywhere behind it in its track? Athens and Sparta slept under the memories of the past, and played no part in the world of to-day; all the south of the Italian peninsula was already invaded by the creeping paralysis; it was at Naples to-day; it would be the turn of Rome to-morrow.

She was already on the verge of the contagion, at the margin of the mortification which was slowly but surely extending over the body of the old Continent, at the spot where the life failed, where the impoverished earth could no longer afford sustenance to the peoples, where the men seemed stricken with the paralysis of old age in their cradles. In the last two centuries Rome had been wasting away, slipping out of the life of the century, without industries, without commerce, incapable even of producing science, literature, or art. And it was no longer only the dome of St. Peter's which sank, strewing the soil with its ruins, as had fallen the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. In his dark and dismal dream, it was Rome herself that sank, strewing her seven hills with the *debris* of her ruins, her churches, her palaces, her whole streets and squares levelled with the ground, overgrown with brambles and briars. Like Nineveh and Babylon, like Thebes and Memphis, Rome was nothing but a barren waste, diversified only with heaps of ruins, the haunts of swarms of serpents and troops of rats, among which antiquarians and historians vainly tried to identify the remains of once famous shrines and palaces.

The carriage changed direction, and Pierre recognised in an opening in the obscurity the column of Trajan. But now it loomed black through the gloom of the night, like the dead trunk of a giant tree, whose boughs had been shorn off by the scythe of Time. And higher up he perceived, as he raised his head, while the vehicle was traversing the triangular Place, the real tree, the umbrella pine of the Villa Aldobrandini, its *silhouette* black against the leaden-coloured sky; but it no longer appeared to him a symbol of the grace and pride of Rome; it was nothing but an inky blot; it looked like a spread-

ing column of smoke going up from the charred ruins of the consumed city.

And now a sudden terror seized him in the troubled imaginations of his confused dream. The paralysis which benumbed the ancient world, had passed over Rome; Lombardy was affected; Genoa, Turin, and Milan shared the long sleep of Venice, and now it was the turn of France! The Alps were passed; the harbour of Marseilles was choked with sand, like the ports of Tyre and Sidon. Lyons had sunk into solitude and sleep; Paris was overcome by torpor, changed into a sterile field studded with stones, bristling with thistles, dead like Nineveh and Babylon, Carthage and Rome, while the peoples continued their westward march, moving with the eternal movement of the sun. A great cry rent the darkness, the death-wail of the Latin races. History, which seemed to have its birthplace in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, had moved on, and the Ocean had become the centre of the world. At what hour of the human day had we arrived? Had midday come to the human race, which had left its cradle there in the Far East at day-dawn, travelled by stages so long and so far, leaving the traces of its deserted encampments all along its path? Then, was it the afternoon that was commencing, the second half of the day; the new world replacing the old; the era of the cities of America, where Democracy was in evolution, where new religions were sprouting queen-cities of a new century; and beyond them on the other side of another Ocean, on the other side of the world, on the other side of the human cradle, the inmoveable extreme East, jealous China and strange Japan, the threatening and swarming ferment of the multitudinous millions of the Yellow Race?

But, as the carriage finished the ascent of the Rue Nationale, Pierre's nightmare was dissipated. He breathed a purer air; he felt hope and courage anew springing in his heart. But the National Bank with its ugly modernity, its stuccoed enormity, rising before him, made him think of a ghastly phantom promenading in its shroud; while, above the dimly-discerned dark mass of its groves and gardens, the long line of the Quirinal shut out the sky.

The road still went on ascending and widening, and at length on the summit of the Viminal in the Place des Thermes, as the carriage passed by the ruins of the palace of Diocletian, he once more breathed freely. No, no! the sun would never set on Humanity; the human day could know no evening: it was eternal, and the stages of civilisation would succeed each other to infinity. What mattered this breath from the East that impelled the peoples westward, urging them along the pathway of the sun? They would return by the other face of

the Globe ; they would make the revolution many times, until the day when they would rest from their wanderings in the realisation of their dream of Peace, Truth, and Justice. After the new civilisation, grouped round the Atlantic as its centre, with its shores studded with sovereign cities, another civilisation would be born around the Pacific, the coasts of which would be covered with new capitals the very sites of which were still unknown and undreamed of, almost undiscovered. After that, other civilisations, and again others, always recommencing, never ending. And at this moment he had a sensation of joy and hope, in thinking of the great instinctive movement of this era of the Nationalities, the desire of unity and feeling of fraternity which filled the heart of the peoples. Proceeding from one family, separated, dispersed, divided into different tribes later on, estranged by fratricidal hatreds, they now seemed to retrace their steps again, to become, in spite of all obstacles, a united family once more. The provinces were uniting in nations ; the nations were uniting in races ; the races would unite finally in one universal humanity ; Humanity without frontiers, without wars, living on the fruits of its universal labour ; in a universal community of property ! Was not such a state of things the end of evolution, the object of the universal propaganda, the legitimate conclusion to the lessons of History ? May Italy become a strong and prosperous nation ; may an understanding be arrived at between her and France ; may the fraternity of the Latin nations develop into the universal fraternity of all the peoples ! Ah ! the universal country, the earth at last pacified and prosperous, in how many centuries more, and what an idle dream !

Then, at the Station, in the midst of the bustle and the hurry, Pierre ceased to dream. He had to take his ticket, register his luggage. And he hastened to take his place in the train. On the morrow at day-break, he would be in Paris."

F. H. TYRRELL,  
*Lieut.-General.*

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#### ART. IV.—MAHOMEDAN ASCENDANCY IN THE DECCAN.

**B**Y the term "Deccan" is meant, roughly, that portion of Southern India which is bounded by the Vindhya mountains and the River Godavery on the North, by the Rivers Kistna and Tangabhadra on the South, and by the Eastern and Western Ghats on the East and West. In reviewing the subject of Mahomedan ascendancy in the Deccan, we do not purpose to take in any period later than the fall of the Mahomedan Kingdom of Golconda on the death of the Emperor Aurunzebe, which took place in A.D. 1707, after which the present dynasty of Hyderabad was founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk, in 1748. Our survey, therefore, will extend from the first establishment of Mahomedan rule in the Deccan, about the close of the 13th century, to the fall of the last of the local kingdoms, towards the end of the 17th century; embracing a period of about 400 years.

The first question that naturally arises is, under what circumstances, and in what manner, did the Mahomedans first obtain a footing in the Deccan? In order to understand this, we must take a glance at the condition of Southern India immediately before the advent of the Moslems. The *Deccan*, which is probably a corruption of the term "Dakkhin," the South, was then occupied by many ancient Hindoo Kingdoms, the two northernmost of which had their capitals at Deogiri and Warangal. "The former," says Mr. Gribble, the historian of the Deccan, "extended to the Western Coast, and far away South to Mysore, and the latter included Orissa and probably all the Telugu-speaking Districts of Hyderabad and Madras." The ruins which remain show that they were great and powerful and advanced in civilisation. Deogiri was both a large city and a fortress. The caves of Ellora and Ajunta show how far the art of architecture had developed in that country; and in Warangal the remains prove the existence of immense irrigation tanks and canals, indicating the attention paid by the Hindoo rulers to agriculture. "In both these cities," says the historian, "there were enormous accumulations of wealth, consisting of gold, precious stones and elephants, all of which were found within their own boundaries. The people appear to have been brave, happy and prosperous, and from West to East there were scattered about numerous holy shrines which brought together thousands of pilgrims. It was this wealth that attracted the cupidity of the Mahomedans."

This cupidity was manifested, not in the legitimate methods

of exchange or barter, not by opening a trade with these wealthy cities or entering into treaties with them for mutual advantage and profit ; but by the most unprovoked invasions for purposes of plunder and pillage. The invaders were simply raiders and depredators, coveting the fruits of the skill and industry of the peaceful Hindoos.

In the year 1294, Ala-ud-din, the Governør of the Bengal provinces under Jalal-ud-din the Sultan of Delhi, having heard of the wealth stored up in the cities of the idolatrous Hindoos, determined to possess himself of that wealth as the property of the true believers. As the event subsequently showed, he wanted money as a means to ascend the throne of his uncle and father-in-law, the Emperor of Delhi. Without his sanction, therefore, and without any *casus belli*, he advanced southwards with a large army and laid siege to the fortress of Deogiri, which, according to Barni, the Mahomedan historian, was "exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables"—as was sufficiently indicated by its subsequent designation of *Dowlatabad*. The Hindoo Rajah Ram Deo sent an army to meet the invader ; but it was totally defeated, and the fortress invested. Deogiri was saved only by the Rajah agreeing to give up an immense quantity of treasure consisting of gold, jewels and elephants, to an amount never seen before.

Using these treasures to forward his own ambitious designs, Ala-ud-din succeeded, after the treacherous murder of his doubly related kinsman, Jelal-ud-din, Emperor of Delhi, in ascending the Moghul throne. From that "bad eminence" he remembered that the sack of Deogiri had yielded only part of its wealth ; and accordingly, in the year 1308, he sent an army to that city, the Rajah of which had given no tribute for several years. This time the city was taken, an immense amount of treasure was secured, and the Rajah and his family were sent as prisoners to Delhi, where, on his doing homage, they were "pardoned !"

Next year (1309) it became Ala-ud-din's "religious duty" to take from the hands of the infidels of Tellingana, where people said there were gold and diamond mines, the treasures to which the faithful had a preferential claim. Accordingly another expedition was despatched to Warangal, the capital of that province, under the command of Malik Naib Kafur. On the way, the fort of Sarbar was taken by storm and all its inhabitants were killed. "Every one," says the Mussulman historian, "threw himself with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell ;" those who escaped the fire being put to the sword, the strong fortress of Warangal was then invested, its outer wall, which was seven miles and one-

eighth in circumference, being surrounded by the invaders with a wooden breastwork constructed with all the trees of the sacred groves. After an obstinate defence, the outer wall was taken, and the Rajah sued for peace. He was ordered to yield the whole of his treasure, and a general massacre was threatened if he kept back any thing for himself. This demand was complied with, and a promise given of an yearly tribute. The Mahomedan general left the city with his army and a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure. This, however, was not the end. Warangal was destined to sustain several other sieges, until, eighteen years after, it was sacked and destroyed. Such was the story of the entrance of the Mahomedans into the Deccan. It needs no comment.

The plunder obtained from the two excursions into the Deccan, only excited the Sultan's desire for more; and he sent another expedition to the regions further South, even to the boundaries of Mysore. There the Mahomedan army, under Malik Kafur, conquered a Hindoo Rajah and made him yield a large amount of treasure and elephants, which were sent as a first instalment to Delhi. Thence the invaders advanced to Madura, the head quarters of a king, Kales Dewar, who ruled over Malabar, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The wealth accumulated at Madura is said to have been "1,200 crores of gold, every crore being equal to a thousand lakhs" of dinars; besides pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds, beyond the power of language to express. Malik Kafur, taking occasion from a quarrel between the Rajah's two sons, invaded Madura, sacking and destroying all the towns and temples on the line of march, until he reached the capital, which shared the same fate. The booty obtained there is said to have been 512 elephants, 5,000 horses and 500 maunds of jewels of every description. With all this treasure Malik Kafur returned to Delhi.

Ill-gotten treasure excited the same evil passions in Malik Kafur as it had in Ala-ud-din, who, in his turn, fell a victim to the avarice and ambition of his general; his death having been hastened by the said general, who ascended his master's throne. Retribution, however, followed his steps and he was killed in sleep by some nobles, who placed upon the throne Mubaruk Khan, the surviving son of Ala-ud-din, under the title of Kutb-ud-din (1317).

The following year an expedition was sent against Deogiri, which had revolted under Harpal Deo, who was defeated, taken prisoner and flayed alive; his skin being hung over the gates of the fort. The consequences of the lust after Hindoo gold had not yet come to an end; the new Sultan Kutb-ud-din being murdered by Khusru Khan (the last descendant of Ala-ud-din), who, after reigning a few months under the title of

Nasir-ud-din, was in turn slain by Ghazi Malik, who then mounted the throne, as the founder of a new dynasty, under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak Shah (A. D. 1320). Two successive expeditions were sent by this Sultan, under his son Ulugh Khan, against Warangal, which was taken, the Rajah, his family and his treasures being sent to Delhi, and the name Warangal changed to Sultanabad. The next step in the progress of Moslem court intrigue was the murder of the Emperor by his son Ulugh Khan, who succeeded his father, under the title of Mahomed Tughlak Shah.

The results of Mahomedan interference in the Deccan up to this point were the destruction of two great Hindoo kingdoms, Warangal, or Tellingana, and Deogiri, "All that they have done," says the historian, "is to carry away plunder and leave behind them ruins and heaps of corpses, and a legacy of bitter hatred on account of their cruelty and rapine."

The next stage in the development of events is the founding of a new kingdom, which took place in this wise. The parricide Sultan conceived the mad idea of transferring his capital from Delhi to Dowlutabad. The transfer was not to be a gradual process; but all the inhabitants of the city, which had existed for 180 years, were ordered, at a moment's notice, to leave their homes and emigrate to Dowlutabad. A host of the inhabitants with their families and dependants, wives and children, men servants and maid servants, were forced to remove. The result to the old city was complete ruin, not a cat or dog remaining in city or suburbs. Many perished on the way, and of those who arrived at Deogiri many pined to death. Few survived to return home, when, after a while, permission to do so was accorded. One of the emigrants, however, was a man named Hassan, destined to be the founder of a new kingdom. While a young man he was a field labourer in the employ of a Brahman of Delhi named *Gangu*. One day, while working at the plough, Hassan came upon an earthen vessel full of antique gold coins. He immediately carried them to the Brahman, who informed his sovereign Sultan Ghazi-ud-din of the discovered treasure. The Sultan was so pleased with Hassan's honesty that he bestowed on him the command of a hundred horse. The Brahman, who was one of the royal astrologers, struck by this sudden rise of fortune, cast his horoscope and declared that Hassan would one day become a king. The same destiny was predicted by a Mahomedan saint named Sheikh Nizam-ud din Duba. These prophecies doubtless fired his ambition, which later events seemed to foment. For the governor of Dowlutabad selected Hassan as one of his officers, and assigned to him as a jaghir "the town of Ronechee with lands dependant on the district of Roy-

baugh," now situated within the Nizam's dominions, where Hassan remained for some years increasing in wealth and influence.

In the meantime, owing to half a dozen or more insane projects of the Emperor Mahomed Tughlak, among which were the doubling of the land tax, the conquest of the world and the invasion of China, the country broke out everywhere into open revolt. All the out-lying provinces of the empire were lost except Dowlatabad. But even here ultimately a revolt broke out, at the instigation of nobles who had fled thither to escape the cruelties of the Emperor. Among the conspirators was Hassan Gangoh, or Kangoh, who had obtained the title of Zaffir Khan, with several large districts situated in Gulburgah. Here he had gathered forces which he led against the Imperial troops under Imad-ul-Mulk, who was killed in an encounter near Bieder with heavy loss. The result was that the rebel general Ismael, who had been declared first Sultan of the Deccan, seeing that the army looked up to Hassan as their natural leader and that he himself was very aged, voluntarily resigned the throne and advised the army to elect Hassan Kangoh, which was done enthusiastically, and the new Sultan invested with the title of *Sultan Alla-ud-din Hassan Kangoh Bahmany*. (A.D. 1347). In his hour of prosperity Hassan did not forget his old benefactor, whose name he had assumed, but committed to his care his treasury and finances. Kangoh is said to have been the first Brahman who took service under a Mahomedan prince.

Alla-ud-din, the founder of the new Bahmany kingdom, having been left undisturbed by the wise policy of the Emperor Firoz Shah, extended his boundaries until, in a short time, his dominions comprised almost the whole of the Western and Southern portions of what now forms the Nizam's dominions. One of his first acts was to marry his son to the daughter of his prime minister, Malik Seyf-ud-din Ghorree. The wedding was celebrated with the utmost magnificence. The king distributed among his nobility and others ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet and satin, as well as a thousand Arab and Persian horses and two hundred sabres set with jewels. The rejoicings lasted a whole year, on the last day of which the nobility and officers presented to the Sultan offerings of money and jewels, and the rarest productions of all countries. By such lavish expenditure the founder of the new dynasty endeavoured to win over an alien people, and apparently with success; for we read of no rebellions or revolts among his Hindu subjects. The only conspiracy that we are told of was organised by the ex-Sultan Ismael, who had been made Amir-ul-Amra, or chief of the nobles. This distinction did not

satisfy him when he saw that preference and precedence were accorded to the prime minister, Seyf-ud-din Ghoree ; and he accordingly complained to the King, who replied that in every government the pen ranked above the sword. The result was that, though pretending to be satisfied, he secretly conspired to assassinate the Sultan, and to place himself on the throne which he had once resigned. Some of the conspirators, however, repented and revealed the plot to the Sultan, who called an assemblage of his principal nobles and officers, and in their presence accused the Amir-ul-Amra of treachery. This having been denied by the Amir on oath, the informer was called and a pardon offered to all who would reveal the truth. The guilt of Ismael having been conclusively proved, he was put to death. But, though justly severe in this matter, the Sultan was neither cruel nor vindictive. The traitor's property was not confiscated, and the royal favour was not withdrawn from his family, his son being appointed to his father's post as Amir ul-Amra. Mr. Gribble remarks with much truth, "Alla-ud-din may have been brought up as a peasant, but he showed that he knew how to behave like a king."

Such a public policy and such wise, just and generous personal conduct won the respect of his subjects and conquered even enemies. The Rajah of Tellingana, whose disobedience had been treated with generous forbearance on account of his former assistance to the Sultan, "was overcome," says the historian Ferishta, "by the sense of his virtues, submitted to his authority and agreed to pay the tribute which he had heretofore remitted to the King of Delhi." Alla-ud-din's end, however, was not far off. Having assembled an army to invade Guzerat, on an invitation from the representative of the old Rajah, with a view to the suppression of turbulent jagirdars, the Sultan, on his way to that country, was attacked by a severe illness and compelled to return to Gulburgah. Feeling his end approaching, he divided his kingdom into four provinces, over each of which he placed a governor. After this, distributing his money to the poor and offering praise to God, he resigned his breath.

"Born in the lowest ranks, he rose by his own honesty of character to be the founder of a great kingdom, and at no time was his career stained by cruelty or injustice." Alla-ud-din retained throughout his career integrity of conduct and dignity of character and ended his life with humble piety and simplicity. He was as fair a specimen as we have of a good and wise Mahomedan ruler.

But, while despotic rule offers scope and occasion for the display of personal qualities of a high order, such as justice,

nobleness and generosity, which are a blessing to the subject populations, it also puts into the hands of an autocrat of a different character, the power of sacrificing the weal of his subjects to personal ambition or to the gratification of the basest passions, and places at the mercy of heartless and cruel tyrants the lives and happiness of millions of poor and helpless subjects. The benevolent founder of the Bahmany kingdom was succeeded by Muhammad Shah, an arbitrary and capricious autocrat, who plunged the country into wars on account of slights to his personal dignity. One of these wars arose in this wise: On the occasion of the festivities which inaugurated the receipt of a throne of ebony covered with pure gold and set with jewels, which was made a present of to the Sultan by the Rajah of Tellingana, Muhammed Shah, who was flushed with wine, took it into his head to reward certain singers who had performed before him, by ordering his minister to give them a draft on the treasury of the Hindu King of Vijayanagar. The following morning the foolish monarch, in his sober moments, refused to cancel the order passed as a drunken freak. The consequence was a rupture with the Rajah, who caused the messenger to be paraded through his city on an ass and sent back with every mark of contempt and derision. In anticipation of the rupture which was sure to ensue, the Rajah resolved to carry the war into the enemy's territory. Accordingly he marched with a large force into the Doab, or that portion of the country which was situated between the Tangabadhra and the Kistna, and surprised and captured the fort of Mudkel, putting its entire garrison of 600 men to the sword, with the exception of one man who was to carry the news of the disaster to the Sultan. That potentate, on receiving the tidings, caused the solitary survivor to be put to death as a coward, and then swore an oath that he would not sheath his sword until he had slaughtered a hundred thousand infidels. In the first attack made by the Sultan upon the Rajah's army, which was put to utter rout on the southern side of the river Kistna, no less than 70,000 Hindus were put to the sword without regard to age or sex. The plunder was enormous; the royal share alone being 2,000 elephants, 300 pieces of cannon, 700 Arab horses and a litter set with jewels. Following up his advantage, the Sultan crossed the Tangabadhra, and utterly broke up the vast Hindoo army, inflicting a general massacre in which not even pregnant women, or children at the breast, were spared. Muhammad Shah followed the fleeing Rajah to his capital, Vijayanagar, before which city he sat with his whole army. Managing to draw out the Hindoos by a ruse, the Mahomedans attacked

them and slew 10,000 soldiers, extending the slaughter to the innocent inhabitants of all the villagers in the neighbourhood. Immense booty was gained, and the Hindoo power seemed entirely crushed. The Rajah sued for peace which was granted on compliance with the original demand in the draft for the hire of the musicians. The historian of this war records, with ill-concealed exultation, that, from first to last, 500,000 infidels had fallen before the swords of the true believers, and that "the Carnatic did not recover the depopulation for several decades." Let it be added that the Sultan swore an oath which he would observe and bind his successors to observe, that in future he would not put to death a single enemy after victory. The terror of the Sultan's name sufficed to repress another rebellion at Dowlutabad, after which, at the instance of a *Fakir*, he ordered all the distilleries to be destroyed, and suppressed the Deccan banditti by the death of 8,000 robbers whose heads were sent to Gulburgah and placed on poles outside the gates. After Muhammad Shah's death, five successive Sultans occupied the throne, of whom four were assassinated. The first of these princes was Mujahid Shah, a tall, handsome man of great bodily strength, whose personal exploits were that he threw a man to whom he owed a grudge, in a bout of wrestling, and broke his neck, and that he killed an enormous tiger on foot by shooting an arrow through its heart. Invading Vijayanagar, he besieged the chief city which he might have taken, but for a fanatical attack he made on a sacred temple, which he destroyed. This roused the Hindoos to a man, and so threatening was their attitude that the Sultan had to retreat. He was obliged, however, to give the enemy battle; but suffered a defeat, which he ascribed to disobedience on the part of his uncle, Daoud Shah, who, resenting the reprimand, conspired with the son of the man who had been killed by the Sultan in wrestling, to assassinate Mujahid Shah. This was done and Daoud Shah ascended the throne, only to fall a victim, in his turn to the dagger of a young man who was instigated to the deed by the murdered Sultan's sister, Rûh Parwar Ageh. This strong-minded princess then disposed of the eldest son of Daoud Shah, a lad of nine years named Mahomed Sunjer, by blinding him, because the partizans of Daoud Khan wanted to put him on the throne. She preferred Daoud Khan's youngest brother, Mahmood Shah, the sole surviving son of the last Sultan, and caused him to be proclaimed.

Mahmood Shah's first act was to punish the murderers of his nephew, Mujahid; Khan Mahomed, having been imprisoned for life and Musoud Khan, the son of the betel-bearer, being impaled alive. Sultan Mahmood is said to have been a wise and humane prince, devoted to peace and the cultivation of



literature and science. Poets and learned men flocked from all parts of the Mahomedan world to the court of Gulburgah, to share in his bounty. That he was an enlightened ruler appears from a sentiment which he was in the habit of expressing, *viz.*, that kings were only trustees of the divine riches, and that to expend more than was actually necessary, was to commit a breach of trust. He bestowed great care and attention on education; establishing schools in all the principal towns, including Gulburgah, Bieder, Candahar, Ellichpur, Doulatabad, Choule, and Dabul. In a famine he employed ten thousand bullocks in importing, from Malwa and Guzerat, grain which was retailed to the poor at a low price. This pacific reign was disturbed by only one rebellion, which was speedily suppressed. This wise and beneficent ruler died of a putrid fever, in 1396, after a reign of nineteen years and some months.

Mahmood Shah left two sons, of whom the elder, Ghazi-ud-din, who ascended the throne at the age of 17 years, was the victim of the revenge of a powerful Turkish slave, named Lall Cheen, whom he refused to promote over the heads of the old nobility and who gouged out his master's eyes. After this cruel mutilation he was sent to the fort of Saugor, and his younger brother Shams-ud-din placed on the throne. This lad, who was 15 years of age, intimidated by the fate of his brother, left all the power in the hands of Lall Cheen who commenced an intrigue with the Sultan's mother. Such an usurpation of power excited the jealousy of the surviving sons of Daoud Khan, the elder of whom, Mahomed Sunjer, had been blinded, and the two younger had been married to two daughters of the late Sultan Mahmud Shah. The wives of these two princes incited them to avenge the ill treatment which the unfortunate Ghazi-ud-din had received at the hands of Lall Cheen. Failing in an attempt to achieve their object by force, they resorted to stratagem, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Gulburgah, and putting to death Lall Cheen and his sons, the former being slain by the sword of the blind prince Ghazi-ud-din, before whom he was placed bound. The unfortunate blind man then asked to go to Mecca; and his next brother, Feroze Shah, ascended the throne in 1397. His reign of 25 years saw twenty-four "glorious campaigns." He conquered the greater part of Tellingana and compelled the Rajah of Vijayanagar to give him one of his daughters in marriage. Not far from Gulburgah, this Sultan laid out a new city, which he named, after himself, Ferozabad. It was situated on the banks of the Bhemra. He also developed trade, despatching vessels from the ports of Goa and Choule. His harem contained women of all nations—Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Chinese, Afghans,

Rajputs, Bengalis, Guzeratees, Tellinganees, Russians and other Europeans, with each of whom he could converse in her own language. This varied assortment was however, not on so extensive a scale as the zenana of the Hindu Rajah of Vijayanagar, who is recorded to have had 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 went on foot and served in his kitchen, 4,000 on horseback, and 4,000 in litters. Of the last batch, the litter ladies, who may be supposed to have fared best as regards carnal comforts, 2,000 were chosen as wives on condition that they would burn when the king died.

With this drawback to the distinction of being a litter wife, it is no wonder that the beautiful Pertal, the daughter of a Hindoo farmer in the fort of Mudkul, who was both educated and unmarried, declined the honour of being one of the 2,000. The Rajah, however, to whom the report of her beauty had been carried, tried to secure her by invading Mudkul, which was in the possession of Feroze Shah. But, before his army could reach that fort, the inhabitants evacuated it, among them being Pertal and her parents. Feroze Shah on his part laid siege to Vijayanagar. The war that ensued was disastrous to the country, which was laid waste by the king's brother, Ahmed (Khan Khanan), at the head of another army, who captured 60,000 prisoners. Peace, however, had to be sued for by the Hindu Rajah, who secured it only by payment of very large indemnity, and giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. After celebration of the marriage with great pomp and magnificence, the Sultan proceeded with his bride to the Hindoo capital; but unfortunately, owing to a violation of etiquette by the Rajah, the breach between the princes was widened. The Sultan returned to his capital and sent for the beautiful Pertal and her family to court, and, finding that he was too old to marry her, gave her to his son, Hassan Khan, in marriage, and the knot was tied with great rejoicing and magnificence. This prince, however, is said to have been weak and dissipated, and did not succeed his father on the throne. In 1417, Feroze Shah made an unprovoked attack on a fort belonging to the king of Vijayanagar, but after a two years' siege was obliged to retire. The Hindoos advanced and inflicted a defeat on the Sultan's forces, and a great slaughter on the Mahomedans, a platform being erected of their heads. Feroze Shah died shortly after and was succeeded by his brother Ahmed, to whom he had formally made over his kingdom and his son. Ahmed Shah gave Hassan Khan the city of Ferozabad as his residence, with an ample revenue.

Ahmed Shah, like his predecessor, encouraged learning and built a college for the holy Syed Geesoo Diras, who had predicted his ascension to the throne. One of his first acts, how-

ever, was to declare war against Vijayanagar. The Rajah, failing to secure the aid of the King of Warangal, was unable to withstand the arms of the Sultan, and, narrowly escaping capture, fled to his capital, while Ahmed Shah devastated the country: and, forgetting the compact entered into with the Rajah by a former Sultan, slaughtered 20,000 Hindoos, besides destroying a number of temples. This provoked the Hindoos to such a degree that they attempted to assassinate the Sultan and nearly succeeded. Meantime the city of Vijayanagar had been blockaded, and the Rajah was compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on condition of all arrears of tribute being paid up. The Sultan next proceeded against the Warangal King, who had withheld his tribute. Warangal itself was taken and the Rajah killed. Other forts were also reduced, and the Tellingana country was incorporated with the Mahomedan kingdom of the Deccan. Warangal was never after this a royal city; and very few remains of its former grandeur exist at the present day. In the following year Ahmed Shah made an expedition into the country of the Ghonds, and came into possession of a diamond mine. His next war was with the Sultan of Malwa, whom he defeated, taking great spoil. On his return from Kurleh, where he was splendidly entertained by the Hindoo Rajah, he halted at the ancient town of Bieder, once the metropolis of a great Hindoo kingdom, and he resolved to build a new city, which was finished in 1431 and called Ahmedabad Bieder. In 1429, Sultan Ahmed sent an expedition into the Konkan and obtained much booty; but in the end his forces met with a severe defeat and great loss. He then went down to the Konkan in person, when a peace was concluded with the Sultan of Guzerat. After this, permitting his old ally, the Hindoo Rajah, to be attacked, killed and despoiled of his territory by the Sultan of Malwa without assisting him, he obtained as a reward of his unworthy conduct, the whole province of Berar. Finally, in an attempt to put down a rebellion in Tellingana, he fell sick and died, in 1434, after a reign of 12 years occupied principally in predatory expeditions.

Ahmed Shah Wally Bahmany was succeeded by his son, Alla-ud-din Shah II, who was crowned at Bieder. He was much attached to his brother, Mahomed Khan; but that prince did not reciprocate the regard, and, when sent against Vijayanagar, conspired with the Rajah to effect a revolution in his own favour. He was, however, overcome in a hard-fought battle, and was not only pardoned, but received the estate of Raichore and its dependencies, where he lived till his death. In 1436, he sent an army to subdue the Konkan, and not only made two Hindu Rajahs pay tribute, but accepted as his wife the daughter of one of them, the Rajah of Lonckhair, a lady

of great beauty, talents and accomplishments, named "Perichehra" or *Fairy-face*.\* This, however, brought about quarrels with his queen, the daughter of Nusseer Khan, King of Khandesh, who, with the aid of the King of Guzerat, invaded Berar. After two actions, the king of Khandesh was completely overthrown, and Ala-ud-din's general, Mullick-oot-Toojar, returned in triumph to Bieder, now established as the capital of the Bahmany kingdom.

The next event was a war with Deo Rai, Rajah of Vijayanagar, on the old question of tribute. In the first battle in the Raichore Doab, the Hindoos had the advantage; in the second the Mahomedans: but in the third, two Mahomedan officers of distinction having been taken prisoners, the Sultan threatened the Rajah, should he put them to death, to revenge their deaths with the slaughter of 100,000 Hindoos for each of them. "Such grim threats," says Meadows Taylor, "had not proved vain on former occasions, and there was little occasion to doubt them on the present." So the Rajah wisely proposed peace and agreed to pay tribute as before. The incident, while it may show how highly Ala-ud-din II valued the lives of his officers, also shows how little the Sultan valued human lives when they were those of kafirs, *i.e.*, unbelievers.

"It is pleasing," says the same historian, "to read records of the King's benevolence in erecting and endowing hospitals and of his vigorous prosecution of idle vagabonds and robbers, who were sentenced to hard labour in chains." The Sultan also issued edicts against the use of fermented liquors by others; but indulged largely in wine himself, and gave himself up to a sensual life, to the neglect of affairs of State. Accordingly, to suppress a rebellion in Konkan, he sent Mullick-oot-Toojar, who, being treacherously entrapped in an ambuscade, perished with his whole army.

Disputes between the foreign troops and Deccanics increasing, they were suppressed with vigour by the Sultan but a great number of the former having been massacred at the fort of Chakun, the foundation was laid for those commotions which led to the decay of the dynasty. Returning from another campaign against the King of Guzerat, the Sultan Ala-ud-din died in 1453.

The next Sultan was Humayun, the cruel, who inaugurated his career by blinding and imprisoning his youngest brother, whom it had been attempted to put on the throne. The only good thing this man did was to appoint to the office of chief minister the able and faithful Khwajah Mahmud Gawán,

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\* Mr. Gribble falls into a mistake common among Europeans, of translating *Peri* by "angel" and renders the name *Angel-faced Peri*, however, means Fairy, as in the text.

who had been steadily rising in public esteem. After a blood-stained course, to which we shall allude more particularly later on, this monster appears to have been got rid of in one of his fits of intoxication. His son, Nizam Shah, succeeded, at eight years of age; but was under a council of regency, among whom were Khwajah Gawán and the Queen-mother. This young king bravely met an invasion of his territory by the King of Malwa, and, though at first defeated, was eventually, with the aid of the King of Guzerat, entirely successful. He died suddenly, in 1463 A.D., after a reign of two years, and was succeeded by his brother, the Prince Mahomed, now nine years of age, under the regency of the Queen-mother and the two Councillors, Jehan Toork and Mahmud Gawán. The latter being employed at a distance, Khwajah Jehan Toork resorted to peculations and other corrupt practices; but he little knew whom he had to deal with. The Queen-mother, whose authority he had usurped, instructed her son, the king, who sat daily in public, to denounce the minister. One day, as the boy took his seat, he cried to one of the nobles, pointing to Jehan Toork:—"That wretch is a traitor; put him to death;" an order instantly obeyed. Mahmud Gawán was now sent for, and to him were committed the executive details of administration. As soon as the young king reached his fourteenth year, he was married; and the Queen-mother, recognising his majority, retired from the regency. This youthful Sultan soon evinced a warlike disposition. He attacked and captured Kehrla, and only gave it up on terms most favourable to himself. Later on, his army, under Mahmud Gawán, invaded and reduced the Konkan. He then undertook, personally, a campaign against Tellingana, and took Condapilly and Rajahmundry. After that he conducted a campaign against the Rajah of Belgaum; and afterwards another expedition into Orissa, reducing the Rajah Nursinga near Masulipatam, and despoiling the great temples of Conjeveram of an immense amount of gold and jewels. The effect of these conquests was the extension of the Bahmany territories from sea to sea. As regards the internal administration of affairs, the credit is due to Mahmud Gawán, who introduced reforms in every department of the State, as well as a new assessment and, in many instances, a survey of the village lands, traces of which remain to this day. But this able and faithful minister was doomed to come to a bad end. Being charged with treason by means of a forged letter, he was ordered to be put to death, in spite of his denial, in the same summary way in which Jehan Toork had been executed. After this iniquitous act, the King, too late, discovered the innocence of his departed minister and was

filled with remorse. But with Mahmud Gawán departed the cohesion and power of the Bahmany kingdom. His character stands out grandly among all his contemporaries. His unselfish loyalty to his sovereign and the Queen-mother, his skill and bravery in war, his noble and judicious reforms, his justice and benevolence, have, in the aggregate, no equal in the Mahomedan history of India.

Mahomed Shah, afflicted with disease and scared by the reproaches of his own conscience, vainly endeavoured to dispel care by sensual pleasures. He was attacked with fever, and, after recovery, indulged in excessive drinking, which brought on a relapse from which he was partially relieved by his physicians. In their absence, however, he drank again, fell into convulsions and died at Bieder, on 24th March, 1482, exclaiming constantly to the last that Mahmud Gawán was tearing him to pieces.

He was succeeded by his son, Mahmud, then twelve years of age. The power, however, was in the hands of the Deccany noble, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bheiry, the author of the plot by which Mahmud Gawán had been brought to his end. This wily man met Yusuf Adil Khan, the friend and adherent of the murdered minister, as he returned from the expedition to Goa, whither he had been sent by the late Sultan, and the meeting was outwardly friendly. But the latter, himself a Turk and at the head of the Foreign troops, simply retained his military command and would accept of no office, until, in consequence of a plot to attack his troops and put him to death, he retired to his own estate of Bijapore, where we shall hear of him hereafter. Mahmud Gawán was, however, avenged by Pusund Khan the Governor of Bieder, who, faithful to the house of Bahmany, and at the desire of the young king, entered the palace of Nizam Bheiry and strangled him. It was too late, however, to save the kingdom, for Nizam-ul-Mulk's son, Mullik Ahmed, declared his independence and maintained it. The king, however, was imbecile and gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of State. The Bahmany kingdom lost its finest provinces, and the king became little more than a cipher in the hands of his minister Kasim Bereed, a Turk of great ability and craft. Imad-ul-Mulk made himself King of Berar. On Kasim Bereed's death, his son, Ameer Bereed, became minister, and the king fell into a condition of entire dependence on him. Kutb-ul-Mulk, Governor of Tellingana, declared his independence in 1512, and became King of Golconda. After many vicissitudes and many humiliations, the pageant king died in 1588, and with him the dynasty of the Bahmany Kings virtually ended. For, though four kings of that line succeeded, they either died soon, or were deposed or poisoned, or abdicated, until the year 1526.

The founder of the kingdom of Bijapore, the most powerful and long-lived of all the five, was Yusuf Adil Shah, the first of a noble dynasty. He was the son of Amurath, Sultan of Turkey, who died in 1451. On his death his eldest son, who succeeded him, ordered all the other male children of his father to be destroyed. Yusuf's mother saved her son and made him over to the charge of a merchant of Saweh (or Sava), in Persia, whither he was conveyed; substituting for her son a Circassian slave, who was strangled. The Sultana subsequently sent his old nurse and her son, Guzzunfer Beg, and daughter, Dilshad Aga, who were Yusuf's foster brother and sister and played an important part in history, in after years. He was brought up at Saweh till he was sixteen years old, when he resolved to try his fortune in Hindustan, where he arrived in 1458. Proceeding to Ahmedabad Bieder, he became a Turkish slave in the royal household and eventually master of the house. Then he attached himself to Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, who adopted him as his brother. This Yusuf Adil Khan was the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapore, which supplanted the house of Bahmany and ruled with splendour in the Deccan for nearly two hundred years.

After the murder of the faithful minister, Khwajah Gawán, by Muhammad Shah, Yusuf declared his independence, in 1485, when he proceeded to Bijapore and had the *Kutba* read in his own name. Here he built the citadel, or Aik-killah, and set himself to complete the defences of his new capital. He was not allowed, however, to maintain his independence, for he had presently to face a combination got up against him by Kasim Bereed, the all-powerful minister of the Bieder Sultan, who incited Timraj, the regent of Vijayanagar, (Beejanugger), by a promise of the Raichore Doab, to attack him on the southwest, secured the co-operation of the King of Ahmednuggur on the north, and of Bahadur Geelany on the west, while he himself was to approach from the east. Yusuf Adil made peace with Timraj, fell upon Bahadur Geelany and drove him back with heavy loss, and then met the combined armies of Bieder and Ahmednuggur, when Kassim Bereed fled to Bieder, and the King of Ahmednuggur made peace and departed. Yusuf, however, had next to encounter Timraj, who coveted the Raichore Doab and advanced against him with a large army, which, however, after a furious attack by the Bijapore King, broke and fled in all directions, leaving enormous plunder behind—200 elephants, 1,000 horses and 60,00,000 *Oons*, variously estimated at £1,800,000 and £2,500,000 sterling. The plunder was of great service to Yusuf in establishing his new kingdom. This action took place in April, 1493. Two years later, Yusuf Adil Shah assisted Mahmud, King of Bieder, against an Abyssinian eunuch named Dustoor Deenar, Gover-

Yor of Gulburgah, who had rebelled. The eunuch was defeated and humbled, but restored to his office, and Gulburgah was selected to celebrate the nuptials of Yusuf's daughter with Mahmud's son Ahmed. On this occasion Yusuf proposed the dismissal of Kassim Bereed from office, on condition that he himself should receive the districts held by Dustoor Deenar. Kassim Bereed resisted, but was defeated. Subsequently a further division of territory was agreed upon in which the kings of Berar and Ahmednuggur shared; but Dustoor Deenar was entirely left out. On this he took the field with his Abyssinians, but was defeated and slain in battle. Yusuf, however, sustained a severe loss in the death of his foster-brother Ghuzzunfer Beg, who died of his wounds in the last desperate charge which decided the action.

In 1502, Yusuf Adil changed the State profession of faith from the Sunnee, or orthodox, to the Sheeah, or heretical, in which he had been brought up in Persia. He allowed every one, however, to follow his own judgment, and so was not opposed in his own dominions. Outside of them, however, a holy war was got up against him by the Kings of Ahmednuggur, Golconda and Berar, with Ameer Bereed of Bieder. The Bijapore King made his way with 6,000 horse to Bieder, plundering the country. His son-in-law, Imad Shah, did not openly espouse his cause; but advised him to restore the Sunnee rites by way of concession. This he did, and the confederacy broke up, each retiring to his own dominion. Adil Shah then promptly attacked Ameer Bereed, who just managed to escape with the Sultan of Bieder and a few followers. This last effort was too much for the great king, who died at Bijapore, of a dropsical complaint.

Thus died the illustrious founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty. In political ability, learned accomplishments and personal bravery, he had no equal. He was perfectly tolerant of all religions, and his consideration for his Hindoo subjects may have been due to the influence of his wife who was the daughter of a Mahratta chief and who embraced Islam under the name of Booboojee Khanum, "whom he loved with a rare affection and to whom he was entirely faithful." He had three daughters, who were married to the three Sultans of Berar, Ahmednuggur and Bieder.

His son, Ismael Adil Shah, was eleven years of age when he succeeded his father, who had appointed Kumal Shah as Regent. This man, plotting with the crafty Ameer Bereed of Bieder, resolved to depose or destroy the young king. His design was, however, frustrated by the Queen-mother, Booboojee Khanum, who procured his assassination through the agency of a faithful adherent, Yusuf Toork, who perished in the attempt.



After this the Queen-mother and her husband's foster sister, Dilshad Agha, were besieged in their palace, by Kumál Shah's son, Sufdur Khan, with 5,000 troops and cannon.

But, obtaining the assistance of a handful of foreign troops still in the fort and city, these brave women held out until Sufdar Khan, who forced the gateway and entered at the head of his troops, was wounded in the eye, when the young king, taking advantage of an opportunity which offered, pushed a heavy stone from the terrace roof above, and killed him on the spot. On this the insurgents dispersed; and in a short time the loyal population rallied round their monarch.

Though a boy in years, Ismael Adil Shah, partly owing to his early experience of difficulty and danger, developed a character for decision, and at once assumed the direction of the government. He dismissed the Deccanics and Abyssinians, whose faithlessness had just been proved, and re-enlisted the Turks and Moghuls who had been discharged; and these, with his father's veterans, soon composed a sufficient army. Ameer Bereed, though discouraged by the death of Kumal Khan, again intrigued and induced the kings of Golconda, Berar and Ahmednuggur to join the Bahmany Sultan in an attempt to uproot the Adil Shahi dynasty. Ismael Adil, however, met Ameer Bereed and Mahmud Shah Bahmany with half the number of men they had, and defeated them at Allapore, and a peace was concluded and his sister Musseety united in marriage to Mahmud Shah's son.

Peace prevailed for five years; but, the Rajah of Vijayanagar having got possession of the Raichore Doob, which originally belonged to Bijapore, Ismael Adil Shah determined to regain it. In an attempt, however, to cross the river while excited by wine, Ismael nearly lost his life and sacrificed many of his best troops. He was obliged to retreat, but swore an oath never to indulge in wine until this defeat should be avenged.

Soon after this Boorhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmednuggur, proposed to marry the Sultan Ismael's sister, Beeby Muryam, and the ceremony was performed at the fort of Sholapore which was fixed for her dowry. The concession not having been made immediately, Nizam Shah invaded the Bijapore dominions in 1535, assisted by Ameer Bereed. They were, however, defeated in a general action with great loss. In 1528, they renewed the contest, but were utterly routed by the Bijapore General, Assud Khan, with the loss of their guns and elephants. Very shortly after, the king of Ahmednuggur was attacked by the king of Guzerat, when Ismael Shah helped him with troops and money. It appeared, however, that, while employed in this service, the Bijapore troops had been tampered with by

Ameer Bereed with a view to their joining him in an attack on that city, the long coveted object of his desires. This provoked Ismael Adil Shah beyond endurance, and he proposed to his brother-in-law either to join him and punish the traitor for his ceaseless intrigues, or to remain neutral. The latter alternative being preferred, the Bijapore king invaded the territory of Bieder with 10,000 of his best cavalry—Persians, Tartars, Moghuls and Turks, whose national arm was the bow. On this occasion, however, he had to encounter artillery and musketry, which tested the bravery of his troops to the utmost; the king himself showing an example of personal valour, killing two of the sons of Ameer Bereed who had attacked him in succession. At the close of the action, he had to encounter a fresh contingent of 4,000 Golconda cavalry who had been sent to the assistance of Ameer Bereed, but who were completely defeated by his generals, Syed Hoosein and Assud Khan. The fort of Bieder was then closely invested, and Ameer Bereed wrote to the king of Berar to come to Bieder as a mediator. This Imad Shah did; but nothing would content Ismael Adil but the unconditional submission of Ameer Bereed, who was subsequently captured by Assud Khan in a state of intoxication, and brought in to the king. Ameer Bereed was ordered to execution; but on his entreaty was brought, with the elephant which was to trample him to death, before one of the towers defended by his sons, who, when they saw that their father's life was in real danger, agreed to give up the fort provided they were allowed to depart with their families to Oodgheer. Being allowed to do this, they left Bieder with the most valuable of the crown jewels. Adil Shah and Imad Shah then entered the city in state and seated themselves on the throne. All the treasure found there, money to the amount of half-a-million sterling, jewels and other valuables, was distributed to the soldiery or given in charity; Ismael reserving nothing for himself. He had not made war for booty—the sole object of many of the Moslem kings of the Deccan; but for honour, which was satisfied. Ameer Bereed was pardoned and received an estate as well as the command of 3,000 horse in the Bijapore army, which he accompanied against Raichore on a successful expedition. For this service he was granted the government of Ahmedabad and Bieder, on condition of surrendering Kaleean aud Candahar. As soon, however, as the wily old intriguer was at liberty, he forgot to surrender the two forts, and entered into an alliance with Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger against Bijapore; but the Sultan was again beaten by Ismael Adil. An alliance was then formed between the two Sultans under which Boorhan Nizam Shah was to add (if he could) Berar to his domin-

ions, and Ismael Adil Shah to conquer what he could, of Golconda. Accordingly Ismael Shah, joined by Ameer Bereed, laid siege to Roilconda, one of Kuth Shah's forts, in 1533. Before the fort could be taken, however, Ismael Shah fell ill and died on the way to Gulburgah (1534). Assud Khan at once raised the siege and returned with the body of the king to Bijapore, where, burying the deceased near his father, Yusuf Adil, he installed the eldest of his sons on the throne.

Ismael Adil was prudent, patient and generous; more inclined to forgive than to punish. He was skilled in poetry and music and fond of painting. He was of a literary turn and polished in manners, having been early trained in Turkish and Persian habits and customs.

In accordance with the dying request of Ismael Adil, his eldest son, Mulloo (in whom however, he had no confidence), was raised to the throne by Assud Khan. He was a passionate and licentious youth, and his conduct was so infamous, that his grandmother, Booboojee Khanum, determined that he should be deposed. Having secured the co-operation of Assud Khan, and with the aid of Yusuf Turk, who entered the capital with a large force, Mulloo and his youngest brother were both seized and blinded. The second brother, Ibrahim, was then proclaimed with universal rejoicing.

His first act was to abolish the profession of the Sheeah faith and restore the Soonnee, and to exchange Persian for Mahratta as the language of current business in the state. The foreign troops, the majority of whom were Persians, *i.e.* Sheeahs, were discharged, and their places supplied by Deccanics and Abyssinians. Of the discharged cavalry, 3,000 were taken into the service of the Hindoo Rajah of Vijayanagar. Owing to successive revolutions there, Ibrahim became involved in hostilities with the Rajahs of Vijayanagar; but these were of short duration. Becoming, however, jealous of his minister, Assud Khan, that able and tried officer was induced to retire to his estates—a circumstance which was taken advantage of by Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur and Ameer Bereed of Bieder, to combine against Ibrahim Adil, and compel him to retire to Gulburgah. From these straits he was released by the instrumentality of the man whom he had suspected, with the assistance of the king of Berar, the king's uncle by marriage. Assud Khan marched to his rescue with a large force, which had the desired effect, and Ameer Bereed's death broke up the confederacy. Shortly after, however, in 1543, a fresh coalition was formed against Bijapore by Nizam Shah of Amednuggur, assisted by Kutb Shah of Golconda and Rajah Ramraj of Vijayanagar. The kingdom was invaded at three points simultaneously; but, through the wise advice and consummate

diplomacy of Assud Khan, peace was made with two of the invaders, and the third, the king of Golconda, was defeated and driven back to his capital. The king of Ahmednuggur, however, renewed the war, and marched against Gulburgah with a large army, which was again signally defeated by Assud Khan, who captured 250 elephants, 570 pieces of cannon and all the royal insignia and camp equipage; Ibrahim himself slaying three antagonists in single combat. In the next campaign, however, Boorhan Nizam redeemed his losses, and reduced Ibrahim to serious difficulties. These fluctuations of fortune had an unhappy effect on the mind of Ibrahim, who, suspecting that the cause of his defeats was disaffection on the part of his Hindoo officials, put a number of them to death, and others to torture in the public Square. Some 70 Mahomedans of rank were also executed. This led to a plot to dethrone him and elevate his brother, Abdoolla, to the throne. On the discovery of the conspiracy, Abdoolla fled to Goa, where he endeavoured to persuade the Portuguese Viceroy to assist him with troops, promising him large concessions of territory. This proposal was, however, declined, and the prince addressed himself to the kings of Ahmednuggur and Golconda. Meantime the great minister died.

The remainder of the reign of Ibrahim, who, after the demise of his wise counsellor, Assud Khan, degenerated into a licentious tyrant, was occupied with almost perpetual wars and struggles with Ahmednuggur, in which Ramraj of Vijayanagar appears as the active ally of the latter. Boorhan died; but his successor, Hoosein, followed the same policy, and defeated Ibrahim in a severe action near Sholapore. This, with the rebellion of his general, Seif Ein-ul-Mulk, reduced the king's fortunes to the lowest ebb. Latterly he became afflicted with a complication of disorders, put to death, one after another, the physicians who could not relieve him, and died at last miserably in 1447, after a reign of 24 years. He was buried with his father and grandfather at Gôgy.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ally Adil Shah, whose first act was to restore the public profession of the Sheeah faith which had been set aside by his father. This became a fertile source of disaffection and of party intrigue. His negotiations with Hoosein Nizam Shah for the recovery of Bijapore territory having failed, he joined Ramraj in an invasion of Ahmednuggur territory, and the Hindoos, revenging themselves for all the outrages they had suffered, behaved with shocking barbarity in the first campaign, and still worse in the second. But Ahmednuggur was not taken and the allies returned. This campaign led to a quadruple alliance of the Mahomedan Sultans against the Hindoo Rajahs, whose power

was now comprehended, and whom no single Sultan was able to oppose in the field. Ally Adil Shah, who first conceived the idea of a league of Moslem Kings against Vijayanagar, sent his minister, Kishwur Khan, to sound the other Kings, and found Hoosein Nizam Shah willing to sink all differences in a crescentade against the Hindoos. To cement the alliance between Bijapore and Ahmednuggur, Hoosein Nizam Shah agreed to give his daughter, the afterwards celebrated Chand Beeby, to Ally Adil Shah in marriage, with Sholapore for her dowry; Adil Shah consenting to give his daughter to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Sultan Murtaza. The holy league included the Sultan of Golconda and Bereed Shah of Bieder. In the year 1564, the four princes met in the plains of Bijapore, and then marched to Tellicotta on the bank of the Kistna. Rama Raja advanced to defend the passages of the river, with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse and 500 elephants. After a series of clever feints the allied armies drew the Hindoos away from the only practicable ford, which they crossed without opposition, and drew up their forces in order of battle, Hoosein Shah commanding the centre, Adil Shah the right wing, and Kutb Shah, with Bereed Shah, the left wing. The artillery was fastened together by chains, and drawn up in front of the line, flanked on each side by the war elephants. Rama Rajah, on the other hand, entrusted his left to his brother, Timma Rajah, and his right to his other brother, Vencatadri; whilst he himself commanded in the centre. Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line. Rama Rajah, confident of victory, sat on a litter mounted on the back of an elephant; but when he found that the enemy behaved better than he had expected, he descended and sat on a rich throne, and had heaps of money placed around him, with a view to rewarding such of his soldiers as might act well. The Hindoos, inspired by the generosity of their leader, charged furiously, and the right and left of the allies were thrown into disorder. Nizam Shah, however, in the centre, stood firm and pushed the Rajah's centre so vigorously that it began to be confused. Rama Rajah on this again mounted his litter, which was soon after let fall by the bearers, on the approach of a furious elephant: and, before he had time to recover himself, was taken prisoner and carried to the commander of the Mahomedan artillery, who took him to Hossain Shah. That king instantly ordered his head to be struck off and placed upon the point of a long spear, so that his death might be proclaimed to the Hindoos. As was usual in Oriental armies, the Hindoos, seeing that their chief had been killed, fled in the utmost disorder and were pursued with great slaughter, leaving 100,000 slain.

The battle of Tellicotta was a crushing blow to Hindoo rule in South India. The Mahomedans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, "although the natives had previously carried away 1,550 elephant loads of money and jewels with above a hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair which was of inestimable value."\* The temples which still remain almost all show traces of this search for plunder. A Venetian traveller who visited the city two years afterwards, found in some parts only tigers and other wild animals, though he speaks of the houses as still standing.

The fall of the kingdom of Vijayanagar relieved the Sultans of the necessity of being constantly prepared for war, and they reduced their armies; but they spent their strength in perpetual struggles with one another, thus making it easier for them subsequently to fall victims to the Emperor of Delhi.

The absorption of Berar in Ahmednuggur, the end of Bijapore, the fall of Ahmednuggur, the overthrow of Golconda, are subjects which cannot be treated within our limits. The spectacle afforded by them before they fell eventually under the power of Aurungzebe was that of an empire in ruins—a fitting close to the rivalries, selfish jealousies and unscrupulous designs of contending Sultans.

We have endeavoured to sketch the Bahmany Mahomedan dynasty from its foundation in 1351 to its close in 1526, a period of about a century and three quarters. After the Bahmany Kingdom was broken up into five kingdoms, the story of Moslem ascendancy in the Deccan has so many cross threads and complications that it would be tedious to follow it in all its details. The main interest, however, seems to revolve round the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapore, of whose superiority the other Sultans seemed jealous and impatient, and whom they incessantly attacked. We have accordingly tried to follow the fortunes of the Adil Shahi princes until the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah's return to his capital in 1656, after his last war with Ahmednuggur, from which period, we are told, Bijapore had no special historian—a most significant fact, showing that, when no wars had to be mentioned, there was nothing else worth recording. The history of the other kingdoms, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Berar and Bieder, presents very much the same features—and what does the tale of Mahomedan ascendancy in the Deccan, previous to its absorption by Aurungzebe, amount to? We shall endeavour briefly to estimate this as fairly as we are able.

It cannot be denied that some of the Sultans were fine characters. Hassan Gangoo Bahmany, the founder of the

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\* The Portuguese historian, Faria y-Susa, as quoted by Mr. Gribble in his "History of the Deccan," pp 194 and 195.

Bahmany Kingdom, was a just man and a wise administrator, and deserves a high place among the world's great men. Mahmud Shah Bahmany had most enlightened views of the duties of a ruler, and promoted education among his subjects. Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Bijapore Kingdom, ranked high not only as a soldier, but as a statesman—just, humane and tolerant; he was also, according to the lights of that age and country, highly educated, being an elegant writer, and a good judge of verses. He was, further, a patron of art and literature, and spent his money liberally on buildings and public works. His private character was temperate and virtuous. He was the faithful husband of one wife, amidst a society of polygamists and licentious livers. His toleration of other religions, even Christianity, bore good fruit; some of which exists to this day. All the kings of the Adil Shahi dynasty were distinguished for personal courage of a high order, and some of them were remarkable for clemency and moderation. Ahmed Shah of Ahmednuggur left a reputation for extraordinary virtue and self-control. "When he rode through the city he never looked to the right or left, lest his eyes should fall on another man's wife." His noble generosity in an affair of the heart, as shown in the following incident, rivals that of the well-known conduct of Scipio Africanus towards a captive maid, or that imputed to King Solomon in his treatment of the betrothed young shepherdess, *Shelomith*. After the capture of the port of Kaweel, Ahmed Shah saw among his captives a young lady of extraordinary beauty, with whom he fell in love. On learning, however, that she had a husband who was also a prisoner, he not only restored her to him unmolested, but dismissed them both with valuable presents. Among the prime ministers, too, of the Mahomedan Sultans, we find examples of administrative ability, of steady and unswerving loyalty and of uprightness of character, which will compare favourably with any in history. Need we do more than mention the patriarch Seyf-ud-din Ghoree, who ruled the Bahmany Kingdom as prime minister for more than half a century after Gulburgah became its capital, or the loyal martyred Khwajah Mahmud Gawán, whose sagacious counsel served the Bahmany Sultans as long as he lived; and who was true till death, or the brave and faithful Assan Khan, the "loyal old veteran" whose fidelity to Ibrahim Adil Shah resisted all temptations, and whose skill in diplomacy and valour in the field stood an ungrateful master in good stead, until he died of wounds received in his service.

Nor are examples wanting of noble women, distinguished for their high character, singular ability and undaunted courage.

Such was *Booboojee Khanum*, the honoured wife of Yusuf Adil Shah, who proved worthy of her husband's devoted attachment while he lived, and who conducted the barque of the State, after his death, through shoals and breakers, with all skill and firmness during her son's minority. Such also was the chaste, the brave and the beautiful Chand Beeby, whose heroic conduct and surpassing excellence have been duly celebrated in Col. Meadows Taylor's well-known romance, "A Noble Queen."

The personal qualities, however, of individual rulers are no security for just, wise and successful administration, when the rule itself is founded on injustice and oppression. This became apparent at once on the death of the first Bahmany Sultan, Ala-ud din. His successor had scarcely warmed his seat when the Hindoo kings of Vijayanagar and Tellingana refused to send tribute, to which of course the Sultan had no claim founded on right, and demanded the restoration of districts which had been wrested from them. The natural result was bloodshed and further plunder, in the shape of "a subsidy in gold and jewels," exacted from the conquered Hindoos. And even high-souled rulers and such as are ordinarily both just and generous, when wielding despotic power, are not proof against slights to their personal dignity, and this may involve ruin to thousands; as we have seen in the two greatest wars, bloody in their character and desolating in their results, in the time of the same Bahmany king.

The miserable pride and selfish cruelty shown in those wars were manifested by a man who had some good qualities, and who eventually regretted his own conduct. If, however, such consequences followed from the caprice of men of otherwise fair character, what could be expected when a Nero or a Caligula got into power: and that such there were among the Moslem Sultans we cannot help seeing from the examples of Humayun, the cruel, Murtaza, and Mulloo Humayun punished a rebellious garrison of 2,000 men by putting them to death by the most cruel tortures that could be devised. A rebel kotwal "was confined in a cage, and every day some member of his body was cut off, which he was made to eat, until at last he was released by death." The first force despatched against the rebels being defeated, Humayun sent a reinforcement with officers whose wives or children he kept in confinement, swearing he would kill them all unless his troops were victorious. Hassan Khan, his uncle, on whose behalf the rebellion had been raised, and who had been previously blinded, having escaped with his friends, was, by means of a treacherous promise, seized, thrown before a tiger, and torn in pieces. His friends and followers were killed



with every circumstance of cruelty and barbarity in a large Square in *the presence of the Sultan*—the chief rebel, Yusuf Turk, and his seven friends, “were beheaded, and their wives and daughters publicly violated. The whole of the prince’s (Hassan’s) followers, even down to the cooks and scullions, numbering in all seven thousand men, women and children, were then put to death by the most fearful tortures—by sword, axe, boiling oil and water, and every means that cruelty could think of.” (Gribble’s History, page 112).

From the same authority we learn that, to prevent another revolt, almost all the members of the royal family were put to death. The rest of this Sultan’s reign was spent “in practising the most abominable cruelties on the innocent as well as the guilty. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and, sending for the bride, he would, after deflowering her, send her back to the husband’s house.” His reign did not last more than three years, he having died, some say by assassination—by which despotism is said to be tempered. We have thought it right to represent these revolting details, as without doing so the real nature of Moslem rule in the Deccan could not be understood.

As another illustration of the kind of security to life and property afforded by Moslem rule in the Deccan, we may cite the following account from Mr. Gribble, of the condition of Ahmednuggur under the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah, who, actuated by unwarranted suspicion of his prime minister, Changiz Khan, ordered that faithful servant to be poisoned, and, finding out his mistake too late, shut himself up in his palace in a fit of disgust and remorse. “During this time his favourite, named Sahib Khan, with a band of depraved associates, committed all kinds of excesses in the city, not scrupling to seize the daughters and even the sons of noblemen for the vilest purposes. One nobleman of ancient family was even killed, while protecting the honour of his daughter, and another was ordered to change his name because it happened to be the same as that of the insolent favourite.”

Similarly, under the infamous and licentious Mulloo Khan of Bijapore, who was thoroughly vicious and had given himself up to reckless debauchery, a nobleman of high rank was grossly insulted by a proposal so vile that he treated it with the contempt it deserved. On this a body of followers was sent to bring away his head. These were beaten off, but the nobleman had to retire to his estates until the Sultan’s grand-mother, the illustrious Booboojée Khanum, espoused his cause and encouraged him to rebellion, and to resort not exactly to the extreme remedy of assassination, but to the milder one of blinding. Accordingly, Mulloo and his youngest brother were both deprived of their eyesight.

Incidents like these afford a clear insight into the character of Mahomedan rule, and the thorough insecurity of life and honour under its Upas shade. Assassination, and often open murder, were usual incidents in the history of their Kings and Courts. Blinding seems to have been resorted to without the smallest scruple, whether to put a stop to the wicked courses of bad characters, or to put a dangerous rival out of the way. Sultans themselves were disposed of summarily by that cruel process. Thus the young Prince Mahomed Sunjer, a mere child (as we have seen), was blinded by the Princess Rûh Parwar Ageh; the young Sultan Ghazi-ud-din by the quondam slave, Lall Cheen; Prince Shums-ud-din by Sultan Feroz Khan; Prince Hassan Khan by the Sultan Humayun; and the Sultan Mulloo and his brother by order of the Dowager-Queen Booboojee Khanum.

While, the Bahmany Kingdom lasted, there was at least strong rule and security against internal feuds and civil war. But after the dissolution of that kingdom into five states, we have incessant strife among the Mahomedan Sultans in which all were more or less implicated. We may well suppose, therefore, that whatever of solid benefit was derived from Moslem rule in the way of internal tranquillity, must be looked for during the existence of the Bahmany dynasty as sole rulers of the Deccan. We shall allow Meadows Taylor, the enthusiastic admirer of that dynasty, to speak its praise: He says—

“On reviewing the events of the dynasty of the Bahmany Kings of the Deccan, and notwithstanding the early cruelties to the Hindu inhabitants of Beejanagger, in the reign of Mahomed Shah I, it is evident they were on the whole, considerate to their Hindu subjects, and governed them with moderation. The reign of Mahmood Shah I was one of entire peace, and evidently one of much progress and improvement in civil administration; while throughout the whole period of 179 years, foreign and domestic trade had flourished. The aim of the Mahomedan historians of the Deccan was more directed to the record of war, and of political events and intrigues, than of the transactions of peaceful years; but, notwithstanding this, there are occasional pleasant glimpses of quiet times and their beneficial effects which are not to be found in the records of Dehly. Of the details of the government of the country little is apparent. It does not appear that the Hindus were employed in public affairs, but it is evident that their ancient system of corporate village government and district administration was not interfered with, and became strengthened by use.”

Under the regency of Mahmud Gawân, payment of the revenue in kind was commuted to a money payment on the value of the land. The country is supposed by Meadows Taylor to have been as well cultivated and populated as it is at present; and, relying on the report of Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian Armenian, who, in 1470, visited Bieder, he says that—

“There were villages at every coss, or two miles, about the present complement, the land was laid out in fields, and the ground well tilled; the roads were well guarded and travelling secure.”

Although Meadows Taylor admits that the architecture of the Bahmany dynasty is not remarkable, "and that the royal mausoleums at Gulburgah are heavy, gloomy buildings," and that the basaltic trap used in their construction did not perhaps invite more finished work; yet, he says, the Moslems introduced a new style of architecture into the country. He gives also a glowing description of their remarkable and beautiful fortresses, their noble and spacious palaces, and their royal mausoleums.

But in an estimate of Mahomedan administration with reference to the subject populations, how do such structures count? The fortifications were for their own safety and security; the palaces were comfortable and enjoyable residences for their own royalty and nobility; and the mausoleums were intended to perpetuate the memory of the Mahomedan kings whose remains they covered. They speak nothing for the beneficent character of their rule, or the permanent benefits conferred thereby. The mosques were imposing structures for their own convenience in worship; but we cannot forget the beautiful Hindoo temples which they destroyed everywhere, professedly in their zeal against idolatry,—really to appropriate the treasures concealed in them. As regards the ground being well tilled, this was only a continuance of the agricultural industry of the Hindoos, who were then, and are still the cultivators of the soil. The Mahomedans, as a rule, have never taken to agriculture. And, as to the roads being well guarded and travelling secure in 1470, when the Armenian Nitikin visited Bieder, the residence of the fallen house of Bahmany, it can relate only to that capital and its immediate vicinity, which was all the territory that remained to them; and, as the testimony of a casual visitor, it must weigh even less than that of the globe-trotters and travellers of our day, whose reports of India are so misleading. Only a resident of the country is competent to tell of the security to life and property which exists under any foreign rule. We have had glimpses, in the course of our article, of the nature of the security enjoyed by the unfortunate subjects of Moslem rule.

Let the Bahmany Sultans, however, as well as the noble Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi dynasties of Bijapore and Ahmednuggur, and the Imad Shahi Sultans of Berar, as well as the house of Kutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda have all the credit they can claim as regards the centres of civilisation which they created in the shape of *cities*—those rallying points for civilised life, stated occupations, and productive industry. GULBURGA, the capital of the Bahmany kingdom, still exists as a considerable town "carrying on" a large trade in cotton and oil-seeds with Sholapore and

Bombay." BIJAPORE, founded by Yusuf Adil Shah, and for nearly two centuries "mistress of the Deccan," with its Ark-killah or citadel; its palaces, arches, tombs and minarets; its fountains and gardens; inspires reverence, even in its ruins, for the kingly dynasty whose capital it was. AHMEDNUGUR, built by Ahmed Nizam Shah about the year 1293, is said by the Mahomedan historian, Ferishta, to have "rivalled in splendour Bagdad and Cairo." ELLICHPORE, the capital of the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, is still a city of importance. GOLCONDA, once the capital of Tellingana provinces, became eventually the headquarters of Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk, who so strengthened its fortifications that it resisted the whole of Aurungzebe's army, and was won only by treachery. Yet it must not be forgotten that these cities only replaced the splendid old Hindoo cities of Deogiri, Warangal and Vijayanagar, which the Moslems destroyed. Even Bijapore lay near the Hindoo city of Bijapore. Allowing to the capital of the illustrious Adil Shahi dynasty all the glory due to its architectural features, and its wonderful channel, which, in addition to the fountains in the city, brought water from Torvi, three miles to the west and is a "vast work of no slight engineering skill;" not forgetting the reservoirs at Afzulpur and elsewhere which gathered the waters from the hills to supplement the water supply of the city—these were all made by the Mahomedans for their "own comfort and convenience." They were not irrigation works for the benefit of the subject populations, such as existed in the Hindoo kingdoms, and were allowed by the Mahomedan conquerors to go to ruin. Of them the historian of the Deccan writes as follows: Speaking particularly of the thinly populated country round Warangal, Mr. Gribble makes the following general remarks:—

"It must, however, at one time have been thickly populated but also highly cultivated. It is covered with the remains of old irrigation works which are every where to be found in the old Hindoo kingdoms, but which, under Mahomedan rule, were allowed to fall into ruin. About 25 miles from Warangal is one of the largest artificial lakes in India, which is thus described in the same work.\* *Pakhal*—a lake situated close to a village of the same name in latitude 17° 57' 30" north and 79° 59' 30" east Longitude. The lake or tank is some 12 miles square. It is enclosed on all sides, except the west, by ranges of low and densely wooded hills. The western side is closed by a strongly constructed 'bund.' Tradition alleges the bund to have been constructed 1,600 years ago by Rajah Khaluya, and a stone pillar which stands on the bund contains an illegible inscription which is said to commemorate the name of the person who built it. The bund is about a mile in length. The average depth of the water in the lake is between 30 and 40 feet. \* \* \* \*

The Pakhal lake has been made by throwing a bund across a river which has cut its way over a western out-crop of the Vindhya."

\* "Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions," by S. Hoosain Belgrami and C. Willmott.

It is described by Mr. King of the Geological Survey, as "a splendid sheet of water" lying back in two arms on either side of a big hill, from which low bays reach up behind low ridges of out-cropping Vindhya's. On every side is far stretching jungle; even below the bund is the thickest and densest jungle, broken by a few patches of rice cultivation. For six or seven months in the year the neighbourhood of the lake is very unhealthy. Now what comparison is there, we ask, between the small drains and reservoirs of the Torvi water-course which supplied a Mahomedan city (Bijapore) and the magnificent expanse of the Pakhal lake, which irrigated the country of Tellingana in the days of old Hindu rule, covered with a numerous agricultural people? "The vast jungle," says Mr. Gribble, "(which is now reserved by H. H. the Nizam for sporting purposes) has all grown up since the destruction of the Hindoo kingdom. What is now a marshy, unwholesome forest was probably at one time a large expanse of rice fields."

What a picture does this afford of the desolating effects of Mahomedan rule, suggesting the desolation of the villages in Hampshire, by William the Norman to create the new forest as a preserve for his game.

Giving full credit and their due mead of praise to individual Sultans whom we have named and distinguished in the short sketch we have attempted, for their clemency, magnanimity and generosity, the system of the administration of justice was both barbarous and cruel. The will of the reigning Sultan was law, and his vengeance fell with swiftness on any whom he regarded, however unreasonably, as guilty and unworthy to live, while the punishments were marked with a cruelty and malignity more worthy of North American savages than of civilised rulers. Let us look at them for a moment. Trampling under the feet of elephants; tearing to pieces by dogs and even tigers; impaling or flaying alive; putting to death by scalding oil or other most excruciating tortures; cutting to pieces bit by bit and even making the victim eat the fragments of his own body so cut off; dishonouring the female relatives of the miserable offender after his death or before his eyes; ramming living bodies into cannon and blowing them off with gunpowder—these were nearly all, recognised punishments under the rule of the Moslem Sultans of the Deccan; not merely cruelties resorted to in private revenge or for personal wrongs, but public and authorised methods of punishment. What must have been the public feeling they fostered, or the public opinion which they formed? Could a single one of the forms of torture or death we have glanced at, be permitted in any Native State under the suzerainty of Her Majesty? Let those who decry British rule look at

the aspect of things faintly portrayed in the history of Moslem rule in the Deccan, and pronounce an honest verdict upon the character of the times preceding our advent into the country. Now and again a high-souled Sultan towered above his times, and ruled righteously and wisely ; and as frequently able Viziers, of loyal hearts and patriotic spirits, conducted the administration with benefit to all classes and credit to themselves. But in general Moslem politics meant court intrigues and wicked plots involving blinding opponents, or despatching them by the dagger, poisoning or other means more appropriate. In a word, it was a game of hazard among desperate players, actuated by ambition, avarice, revenge or passions even baser, who cared nothing for the responsibilities of government or the welfare of the people.

T. C. L.

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## ART. V.—AKBAR AND THE PARSEES.

WHEN the Emperor Akbar, disappointed with the faith of Islam professed by his fathers and by the State, started on an earnest enquiry after the best religion for men, he resolved to examine all the existing creeds that he could, and bestow patient toil on the discovery of the truth. If he could not discover any one among the existing religions which could satisfy his need, he resolved to find out the true elements in each, and, combining them together, to set up a new faith. For this purpose he assembled the representatives of many sects and various creeds at his court, and built a special palace for their meetings, called the Ibadat-Khana, at Fatehpur-Sikhri. There he himself presided over their discussions, encouraging everyone to come out with his views without fear of repression. All the great religions of the world were represented before the Emperor. First and foremost was, of course, Islam, the nominal State religion, whose learned doctors naturally disliked such discussions and had scant sympathy with the enlightened object of their Emperor. They had, however, to be present and argue, as best they might and could, the excellence of their religion above all others, and refute the claims of rival creeds. Used hitherto to be treated with special favour at court and to look down upon these creeds with contempt and intolerance, they did not always behave well under these novel circumstances, and betook themselves to strange methods of defence. This led on occasions to great confusion and uproar, when the meetings had to be adjourned to let the heated passions cool down. Even the Emperor's presence was at times not respected, and the bigoted Ulemas taunted and threatened his trusted advisers like Abu Fazl, Faizi, and Bir Bal, whom they held responsible for all his religious vagaries, in the face of their royal master. One of these, a grandee named Shahbaz Khan, once said openly to Bir Bal at one of these meetings: "You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you!" Whereupon the Emperor scolded him in particular, and all the other Ulemas in general, saying: "Would that a shoeful of excrement were thrown into your faces!"\*

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\* Badaoni, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, Calcutta edition by Moulvi Agha Ahmed Ali, vol. ii., p. 273.

There are two essays on Akbar's religion, viz., Valls Kennedy's in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1818, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's in *Calcutta Oriental Magazine*, 1826. Kennedy had not got Badaoni before him but relied on an extract from that historian given in a later

Then there were the expounders of Hinduism, the faith of the vast majority of Akbar's Indian subjects. He listened attentively to their doctrines and favoured their views. He not only discussed with them in public, but saw them privately in his palace, and was influenced much by them. The historian, Badaoni, gives a curious instance of how the Emperor used to receive these men. "A Brahman named Debi," says he, "who was one of the interpreters of the Mahabharata, was pulled up the walls of the castle sitting on a *charpoi* till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers."\*

Akbar's surroundings, his Rajput wives, his Hindoo advisers, and generals like Todar Mal and Bir Bal, his taste for Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which he had translated into Persian, made him lean considerably towards Hinduism. Buddhism, too, was brought to his notice and was also not without influence upon him. Professor Max Müller says that "Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, could find no one to assist him in his enquiries respecting Buddhism."† But Badaoni says distinctly that "Samanas" were interviewed by Akbar along with the Brahmans. Now these "Samanas" are rightly interpreted by Professor Cowell and Mr. Lowe as Buddhist ascetics, "Shramanas," in fact. Prof. Max Müller himself seems to have conjectured this, as he puts this query to the word of Badaoni on p. 90: "Is not Sumani meant for Samana, *i.e.*, Shramana?" The cause of his hesitation seems to be the misinterpretation of Blochmann, who, following Arabic dictionaries, calls them "a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tanasuk*)."‡

Besides Mahomedans, Hindoos and Buddhists, Akbar took great care to have the representatives of the great Christian faith of which he had heard. He requested the Portuguese authorities at Goa to send him missionary priests who could expound the mysteries of their faith. Learned and pious priests were accordingly sent from Goa to Akbar's court. An account of their travels and mission may be read in Hugh Murray's "Discoveries in Asia" (vol. ii). But the best account

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Indian compilation (Bombay 1869) the *Gool e-Rana*. Wilson was the first to use Badaoni. I have not used either, or Rehatsek's imperfect translation of passages from Badaoni, because I have gone to the original sources themselves.

\* Badaoni, Calcutta edition, vol. ii., p. 257. Lowe, p. 265.

† *Introduction to Science of Religion*, p. 24.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i., p. 179.



of what they did at the Mogul court, and of their influence on the monarch, is doubtless that contained in the work of the Jesuit Father Catrou, who based his "History of the Mogul Empire" on the manuscript Memoirs of the Venetian physician, Manucci, who resided for 48 years at the Mogul court. I am glad to be able to state that my friend Mr. Archibald Constable who has given us a scholarly edition of Bernier, is going to edit the complete work of Catrou from a rare manuscript which he has recently secured. Bartoli's Italian History is also very important in this connection. Akbar's attitude towards Christianity is a very interesting problem, not free from uncertainty and doubt, and may be treated on another occasion. The Mahomedan historian notes that "learned monks also came from Europe, who are called *Padre*, and have an inflexible head, called *Papa*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and, wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel.\*"

There were, moreover, Jews, Sufis, Shiabs, Hanefites, and various other religious and philosophical sects represented before Akbar, who wanted to listen to all, theologian and philosopher, orthodox and heterodox, heretic and schismatic, rationalist and mystic, to know every shade of opinion, to receive every ray of light that he could obtain from any quarter.

There was one religion which was distinguished by its great and hoary antiquity as well as its purity, which, if it could only attract the royal enquirer's notice, could not but influence him greatly, owing to its conformity with much of Akbar's object. That was the ancient religion of Zoroaster, which, after a long spell of persecution, had been driven out of its home in Persia to seek a shelter in a corner of Akbar's dominions. This religion was historical and must have forced itself on his notice in several ways. "Notwithstanding their paucity," says Count de Noer, the German historian of Akbar, "and political insignificance, the opinions of the Parsees exercised considerable influence on the great minds of India towards the close of the 16th Century."†

What Akbar did to get acquainted with this religion, and what was his attitude towards it, are the questions I propose now to consider. That he came to know this religion and some of its chief doctrines, is certain. But how far

\* Badaoni, vol. ii., p. 260 ; Lowe, p. 267.

† *Emperor Akbar*, vol. I., p. 21, (I quote from Mrs. Beveridge's excellent translation, which is in many respects superior to M. Maury's French.)

he was influenced by it, and how much of it he adopted in the new faith that he constructed, is problematical. There is a tradition among the Parsees themselves that a priest of theirs had been called from Naosari in Guzerat to Akbar's court under strange circumstances, and that he so far succeeded in forcing upon the Emperor's mind the truth and excellence of his religion as actually to convert him to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith. The circumstances under which this priest, whose name was Mehrjee Rana, was called to Akbar's court were these exceedingly strange ones, according to the tradition. A Hindoo priest, deeply versed in the arts of magic and sorcery, Jugut Guru by name,\* once performed a miracle in the presence of the Emperor and his court, by sending up and suspending a large silver plate, high in the sky, which looked like another sun shining in the heavens, and challenged the professors of all the religions assembled to take this new sun down, and test the power of their faiths. Akbar, of course, called upon the Ulemas to do this and refute the Hindoo. But they could not do it themselves. Hence they were in anxious search of some one who could do this and disgrace the infidel. They were told that a priest in Naosari could do this, if he were called. At their suggestion Akbar sent for him. He came; he saw; he conquered. By reciting his prayers and by other incantations he broke the power of the Hindoo's magic, and the pseudo-sun came down, plate as it was, and fell at Akbar's feet! Akbar was astonished, as well he might be. The Parsee priest was received with awe. He expounded his faith to Akbar, and convinced him so well as to make him a Parsee. This is the Parsee tradition, long cherished by the people, and circulated in various forms in prose and verse. There are some poems about this triumph of Mehrjee Rana, sung by Khialis, or itinerant minstrels, and others in Guzerat and Bombay.†

But now as to the validity of this tradition. After a diligent search I can find no historical proof of it whatever. None of the numerous great histories of this reign notice it at all; and it need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badaoni, who mentions

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\* *Sic* in the tradition; but of course Jagat Guru is a title assumed by the heads of various Hindu sects.

† These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on enquiry, by hiring rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written. There were several such professional rhymesters who composed any number of such doggerel verses in praise of any body who paid them for their labour.

many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as for instance that of the *Anuplalao*, the lake filled with copper coin, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the *Dabistan*, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history. Neither the Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl, the official history, nor the excellent *Tābakat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din, mentions it. Nay, not even the name of Mehrjee Rana, the Parsee priest, occurs anywhere in any historical work as having gone to Akbar's court at all.

A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Mehrjee Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the above-mentioned tradition. The writer of this quotes what purport to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*! The copyist says that they are to be found in the copies at Agra, from which a Mahomedan Munshi had transcribed them for the information of the Parsees. But this may be dismissed as an instance of interpolation on the part of that Munshi, very likely a forgery by the copyist himself. If passages are wanted in Persian manuscripts, there is nothing so certain as that they will appear anyhow! One who has any experience of Persian historians and their manuscripts will readily understand this. Sir Henry Elliot, who knew them all intimately, mentions several instances of impudent and interested frauds by Persian compilers, and warns us to be on our guard against "the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates and names; the ascription to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections and of fancy in their additions."<sup>‡</sup>

Let us now look to the historical sources for the reign of Akbar about his relation to the Parsees. Abul Fazl, as is well-known, has only one short chapter, Ain 77, book i, on Akbar's religious opinions. He does not dilate on them in his great work, because he meant to write a special treatise on this subject. But that treatise unfortunately he did not live to write. The fullest account of his religious views may be obtained;

<sup>‡</sup> *Historians of India*, vol. I, p. 11, ed. 1848 Vol. I, p. 18, ed. Dowson, 1867.

and their progress traced, in the great work of Abdul Kader Badaoni. The only passage in his whole work where he mentions the Parsee religion is this:—"Fire-worshippers also came from Naosari in Gujarat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaianians. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl, and that, after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation."\* •

The author of the "Dabistan," the famous book on the various religious and philosophical sects of the time in Asia, which may be called a veritable encyclopædia of Oriental religions, gives a fuller and more detailed account. "In like manner," he says, "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Naosari, situated in the district of Gujrat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The Emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abul Fazl, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Ili Set* was among the sentences of the Lord,† and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer Kaivan, who was a chief of the Yezdanian and Abadanian, and invited him to India. Azer Kaivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements, as well as a word of advice to the King; all this contained in fourteen sections; every first line of each was in Persian pure *deri*, when read invertedly it was Arabic, when turned about, Turkish, and when this was read in reversed order, it became Hindi."‡

\* Vol. ii, 261, Cal. ed.; W. Lowe, p. 266.

† *Sic* in Shea and Troyer. There is a slight discrepancy here between the original and the translation, but † is quite immaterial for our purpose.

‡ Troyer and Shea, vol. iii., pp. 95 6.

This shows clearly that the priest Ardeshir of Kerman took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism. The discussions at Akbar's court between the various religious and philosophical sects were carried on with ability; and, to judge from the specimens of them that we have in this *Dabistan*, and also in the *Akbar Nama*, their representatives must have been learned men. The arguments brought forward by the various disputants show great acumen and knowledge, and I do not think that an obscure priest in a corner of Guzerat would have been able to take part in discussions showing such skill and dialectical ability. They show a knowledge of other religions and other general information about history and philosophy which it is vain to look for in a priest of Naosari. Ardeshir was, on the contrary, known as a learned doctor of Zoroastrianism and; he was considered of importance enough to be invited all the way from Kerman in Persia, and it is recorded in the *Dabistan* that money for his travelling expenses was sent by Akbar.\* Another circumstance also points to this. Ardeshir was invited some years after Mehrjee Rana is supposed to have gone to the Mogul Court. This shows that Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naosari whom Badaoni mentions, and, seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kerman † Mehrjee Rana may have gone to Akbar's court, as his family possesses a grant of 300 *bigahs* of land from the Mogul court, said to have been given by Akbar to Mehrjee on his departure from Delhi.‡ But that he took any great part in the religious and philosophical discussions that were carried on in the Emperor's presence, cannot be maintained. Badaoni, as well as the *Dabistan*, merely says that five worshippers came from Naosari and does not single out any one of them as having done anything noteworthy.

\* *Vide* Blochmann in *Jour. Ben. Asiat. Soc.*, 1868, p. 14.

† The Editor of the *Furhang-i-Jehāngiri*, prepared under the orders of Akbar, says that Ardeshir was deeply versed in the lore of the Parsees and was a great scholar of the Zend Avesta. Now the fact that he was specially invited all the way from Persia clearly shows that the Parsi priests of Guzerat who had previously been to Akbar's court were found wanting in any knowledge of the meaning of the Avesta. This is proved also by the general state of ignorance in which the Indian Parsees then were steeped.

‡ The testimony of this grant, too, is very doubtful, as it is not in the name of Mehrjee Rana, but of his son, and was granted several years after that priest's death. The services for which it was given are also not mentioned in it, and the land may have been given for services quite other than those pretended by the priest's family. Now, as Mehrjee Rana's name is not mentioned in any historical book whatever, and is not found even in this family grant, the mainstay of his family's pretended claim to his having worked the miracle and converted Akbar, I am disposed to doubt the fact of his having ever gone to Akbar's court.

Then where is the reason for exalting Mehrjee above his fellow-travellers? And then who were those other persons who had gone from Nassari to Delhi? Nasari itself stood in need of religious enlightenment three centuries ago, and could not be supposed to spare much of it for Delhi. Akbar must, out of curiosity have called Parsees from his own recently conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia. This, I think, is a legitimate inference.\*

The state of the Parsees of Guzerat, in those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadatkhana. We have some historical records which prove clearly, that their standard of knowledge was very low and that there were no men among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood. This very Mehtjee Rana and his family were farmers, supporting themselves by tilling the ground. The clergy and the laity were alike ignorant and indifferent. The Parsee historical manuscripts called *Revayets*, of which there are extant a goodly number—enable us to judge of the state of knowledge among these people during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They lay bare a state of the grossest ignorance about religion and even its most ordinary and elementary matters. It is a matter of notoriety among Parsees that for centuries their ancestors in Guzerat knew very little about their religion. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakash*† is constrained to say, under year 1478 :

\* Persia, the original home of the Zoroastrian religion, was the place from which the ignorant Parsees of India themselves sought and obtained information and knowledge of their own religion during the fifteenth, sixteenth and following centuries. *Vide* Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, Tome Ier. p. cccxxiii. Prof. Max Muller also supports the same inference about Ardeshir. "We have," says he, "the Zendavesta, the sacred writings of the so called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it far more complete and far more correct than any that the Emperor Akbar could have obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian whom he invited from Kerman to India."—*Science of Religion* p 24.

† This work in Gujrati is a compilation in the form of annals, and is based upon materials which are selected and used uncritically. It is, by no means, an authoritative work, but one which must be consulted with great caution and judgment. So far as it is based on solid authenticated facts, it is reliable. But in many instances its authorities are doubtful. For instance, much of the information about the early history of the Parsees in Naosari, Gujrat, is derived from a manuscript book which purports to be a copy of original documents, written by an interested party. The compiler of these annals, *Parsee Prakush*, had not seen the original documents, which are not accessible. Hence, he had to rely on the mercy of this copyist, who has put in things laudatory of his family and party.

"After their arrival in India from Persia, the Parsees day by day grew in ignorance of their religion and ancient customs and traditions, and in religious matters they were very unenlightened." Their ignorance was so great that they at last tried the expedient of sending messengers to Persia, asking information about religious matters from the Zoroastrians in Persia, who were kind enough to answer these queries. The first letter of religious information thus received was in 1478 and is very curious. In it information is given about the most elementary points of religious observances in which the Parsees of Naosari and Guzeerat were found wanting. And such is the ignorance of the priesthood of Naosari about their sacred languages and writings that the Dasturs of Persia recommend them to send "a couple of priests to Persia in order to learn Zend and Pahlavi and thereby be able to know their religious practices." \* After 1478, frequent letters were sent to Persia, and the answers received from the Dasturs, were recorded and treasured up in what are called *Revayets*. For instance, in a letter sent in 1527, the famous "Ardai Viraf Nama," which contains the Parsee traditional representation of heaven and hell, was transmitted to India, as no copy existed there of even this famous book, † In 1559, many more books were asked for from Broach and sent there by the Dasturs of Persia ‡ Even as late as 1627, a copy of the "Vispered," was asked for from Persia § Even the *Vendidad*, one of the most important parts of the Parsee sacred writings, which had originally been brought by the refugee Parsees to India, was lost by their descendants, who had to do without it for a long time, till Ardeshir, a Persian priest from Sistan, came to Guzerat, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave them a copy, which they translated and from which all their modern copies are derived. || Jamasp Hakim Vilayati, another learned Persian priest, says, in the preface to his Pahlavi Furhang (MSS. Moolka Firoze Library, app. 2, No. 3), that the

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The interpolated passages from the Persian historians to which I have alluded above are also to be found transcribed in this manuscript copy of supposed original documents. For historical purposes such a book is worthless, as anybody can pass off any book of documents as copied by him from the originals. The industry of the compiler of this *Parsee Prakash*, Mr. Bomanji B. Patel, in culling information from old files of newspapers is, however, great and commendable. To the historian with the critical faculty in him, this compilation will prove a good mine of materials; but it is of very little authority in itself.

\* *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin* Manuscript, No. 353 Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, p. 335.

† *Revayet of Kamdin Khambatti*, p. 67.

‡ *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin*, p. 343.

§ *Revayet of Darab Hormuzdyar*, p. 455.

|| Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta* Tome I, pte. I p. cccxxiii. Cf. Westergaard, vol. I *Zend Avesta* p. x, also Geldner *Avesta*, 1896, p. xviii

Parsees of Guzerat had to do without the *Farokhshi*, another most important sacred book, for nearly 1,000 years, till he gave them a copy of it in 1722.\*

There is still stronger contemporary evidence of the state of gross ignorance of Parsees, priests and laity alike, of Naosari and other parts of Guzerat, in the sixteenth century, the very age of this Mehrjee Rana. This is in a book written in the thirties of the sixteenth century by a Parsee from Hormuzd in Persia, giving a straightforward and true account of what he saw during his travels in Naosari and the neighbouring cities. He was accompanied by another Persian, and both of them were merely lay merchants and not very learned at all. Yet even they were shocked at the gross ignorance of their faith in which the Parsees of Guzerat were then hopelessly steeped. These people did not even know the most elementary facts of the faith they professed, and this Persian Parsee makes the melancholy observation that they were no better than the *durvands* or non-Zoroastrians around them. Nay, the Parsees of Guzerat knew their pitiable condition, and acknowledge it in the letter of invitation they sent to this Persian, whose name was Kaos, in these penitential words: "Though you are laymen, you are our priests; for our laity in India do not know their religion, and our faith is corrupted by our having gone astray. And all our laity have accepted the ways of *durvands*, or infidels, add *there are none to aid them in religious knowledge*." This was written by the leader of the Naosari society which was supposed to contain our pretended learned men. We will not quote

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\* Anquetil du Perron, p ccccxvi and Jamasp in MSS, Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, app. 2, No. 3. "The Parsis in India, about a thousand years after their immigration, were no longer in possession of the genuine Hôrn plant, nor of the Frowardin Yasht. Jamasp accordingly prepared this copy for his Indian co religionists, at the special request, in fact, of Mobed Rustomji, as we may read between the lines. . . . He heard at Bombay that Rustomji meanwhile had died. After seven days he travelled to Surat, where he was received by the three sons of Rustomji. Here he presented to the Parsis the Frowardin Yasht which he had brought with him, and the Hôrn plant. On May 23rd, 1723, he returned to Bombay, and there transcribed the Frowardin Yasht in Persian characters." Karl Geldner, *Avesta* Stuttgart, 1896, Prolegomena, p vii n. Dr. Geldner elsewhere notes that at the time of Jamasp and Rustomji this 13th or Frowardin Yasht was in existence in the Indian Yasht MSS, p xlv, n. 2. It is, however, absent from most of them, as will be seen from Dr. Geldner's own account of these MSS. The chief book in which it is found, Dastur Peshotun Sarjuna's MS. *Khorddeh Avesta*, is of doubtful date. The learned Doctor says about it that "its colophon has been removed by a second hand, but copied, at all events, from the original which is gone; it bears the date A. Y. 994, A. D. 1625," p. xii. In absence of the original colophon, the date put in it by a later hand must be considered highly doubtful. The dates of Indian MSS. present a very puzzling question to inquirers owing to many forgeries and false dates inserted to increase the value of spurious later copies.



further from this interesting account, called the "Kissach-Kaos va Afshad," which is the first part of a book called the *Hadesa Nama*, or an account of the evil days of the Parsees. In truth, it furnishes a gloomy picture of the degraded state of that people in the middle of the sixteenth century. *Ex uno disce omnes*. This is typical of several centuries. This period has been neglected in the "History of the Parsees" by my learned and respected friend, Mr. Dosabhai Framjee Karaka, C.S.I., But I am hopeful that this and other defects in his work will be remedied in the new edition now preparing.

Now let us turn to the influence of the Parsee religion upon Akbar. That he studied it deeply and was struck by it, is clear. But what did he adopt of it, when he constructed his *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, his "Divine Monotheism," upon the good that he found in the existing religions? As I have shown elsewhere, Akbar at first established a pure and simple monotheism, without any symbols or any rites. But later on, when he saw the necessity of outward visible symbols to express the inner ideas, he took the Sun for his great symbol of God. As Tennyson makes him say:—

Let the Sun

Who heats our Earth to yield us grain and fruit,  
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,  
And warms the blood of 'Shiah and Sunnee,  
Symbol the Eternal.

This veneration for the Sun he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion, which, as is well known, venerates the Sun as the great symbol of the Eternal. Father Catrou ambiguously says in his rare work: "He adopted from the Pagan worship the adoration of the Sun, which he practised three times a day: at the rising of that luminary, when it was at its meridian, and at its setting."\* Hinduism had also something to do with this inclination of Akbar towards Sun-worship. Badaoni says that Bir Bal gave him this: "The accursed Bir Bal tried to persuade the Emperor that since, the Sun gives light to all and ripens all grain, fruit and products of the earth and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, *i.e.*, towards Mecca, like the Mahomedans, which is the west; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung; that he should adopt the sectarian mark and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the 'greater light' of the world and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the

\* *Moghul Empire*, p. 121.

patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nauroz-i-jellali*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne.\* Thus, as in everything else, so in this, Akbar, owing to his strong eclectic bent, combined several things together. Tennyson's *Hymn to the Sun* is a beautiful embodiment of Akbar's ideas about it.

## I

Once again thou flames't heavenward, once again we see thee rise,  
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts and eyes,  
Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee,  
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless, in thine everchanging skies.

## II

Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, growing light from clime to clime,  
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme.  
Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dense of azure,  
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures Time.

Akbar's eclecticism is also to be found in the other thing that he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion—the veneration of fire. We have seen how he ordered Abul Fazl to take charge of the sacred fire and to feed it continuously, thus keeping it always burning, as in the fire-temples of the Persians. But the Hindoos, too, have a kind of fire-worship, and Akbar must have been influenced by them, too, in this. Badaoni mentions the fact that "from early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship." † I think Badaoni's learned translator, Mr. W. H. Lowe, is wrong in his note on this *hom* when he says it is "the branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *soma* juice."\* The *hom* ceremony of the Hindoos is, as Blochmann rightly notes here, a kind of fire-worship, and has nothing to do with the Parsee mystic "*hom*" juice, which figures in most of their sacred rites. Fire-worship, therefore, like Sun-worship, Akbar must have taken from the Parsee religion and partly also from the Hindoo. The pious care with which he ordered the fire to be kept burning is, of course, peculiar only to the Zoroastrians, who are unique in this matter. The Hindoos offer sacrifices to the god of fire, but are not so solicitous about keeping it pure and always burning.

Another matter in which Akbar was brought into connection with the Parsees and indirectly influenced by them was the Calendar. Being displeased with everything Mahomedan, he

\* Vol. ii, p. 260, Lowe, p. 268; also cf. Dabistan, vol. iii, p. 95.

† Vol. ii, p. 261, Lowe, p. 269.

‡ P. 269 note.

tried to get rid of as many institutions and opinions connected with the established faith as he could. One of the chief of these was the Mahomedan Lunar Calendar, which was in vogue for a long time in India. He altered it and adopted the Parsee Solar Calendar, with the old Persian names of the months and days, Farvardin, Ardibehesht, &c., and Hormazd, Bahman, &c. The era he changed also, making it, like the ancient Persian kingly era begin with his accession. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*,\* Akbar changed the era and established his Ilahi or Divine era after the Parsee model in A. H. 992, or A. D. 1584 †

"His Majesty" says Abul Fazl "had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan, in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra, which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted ignorant men, who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty, in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects, did not carry out his design of suppressing it. . . In 992 of the Novi lunar year, [A.D. 1584] the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. . . The imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathu'llah Shirazi, the representative of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and, taking as his base the recent Gurgani Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vassals of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural solar without intercalation, and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32, ‡ and the two days of the last are called *Roz-o-Shab* (Day and Night)."

\* Bk. iii, intro.

† Jarrett, vol. ii, p. 31.

‡ Cunningham has this passage of Abul Fazl in a slightly altered form, probably from Gladwin. "The months are from 29 to 30 days each. There is not any week in the Persian month, the 30 days being distinguished by different names, and in those months which have 32 days, the last two are named *Roz-o-Shab* (day and night), and in order to distinguish one from the other, are called first and second." Whereupon this learned antiquary comments thus: "In the account quoted from Abul Fazl, which Prinsep has also copied, the lengths of the months are said to be 'from 29 to 30 days each:' but in the old Persian Calendar of Yazdajird, they were 30 days each, the same as amongst the Parsis of the present day," *vide* Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 171 (useful Table.) The Parsis have 5 intercalary days at the end of the 12 months.

Badaoni's account of this change of the Era and Calendar is characteristic. "Since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact that the thousand years since the time of the mission of the prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islam, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of these secret designs which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulema (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the Statutes and Ordinances of Islam, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief. The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of the Thousand" should be stamped on the coins. . . . . The Era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *vis.*, 963.\* The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the Nicáb-uc-cibaán.† Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feast of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Mussalmans and their glory were trodden down, the Friday alone being retained, because some old decrepit silly people used to go to it. The new Era was called the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*. On copper coins and gold *mohurs* the Era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammed, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near."‡

The fourteen sacred festivals of the Parsees were also adopted by him. "When his Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Parsee priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities

\* The new era commenced, according to Cunningham, on 15th February 1556 (B. S.); but, as Messrs. Sewell and Dikhsit point out in their *Indian Calendar* recently published (London, 1896), 'that day was a Saturday,' and they accordingly commence it on the 14th February.—*Indian Calendar*, p. 46 note.

† A vocabulary in rhyme written by Abu Naqr-i-Faráhi, of Farah in Sijistan, and read, says Blochmann, for centuries, in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India.

‡ Badaoni, *Cal. Ed.* Vol. II. pp. 301, 306; Lowe pp. 310, 316. Cf. *Dabistan*: "The Emperor further said, that one thousand years have elapsed since the beginning of Muhammed's mission, and that this was the extent of the duration of this religion, now arrived at its term." (Vol. III. p. 98) "I have read somewhere," says General Cunningham, "that in A. H. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilahi Era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest kings did not last beyond 1000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1000 years." (*Book of Indian Eras* p. 84).

of conferring benefits. Again His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Parsis, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month. The following are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farwadin; 3rd Urdibihisht; 6th Khúrdád; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahriwar; 16th Mihr; 10th Aban; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Dai; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfándármug. Feasts are, actually and ideally, held on each of these days.\* Of these the greatest was the Naoroz or New Year's day feast, which commenced on the day the sun entered Aries and lasted till the 19th day of the first month Farvardin.

But this New Parsee Calendar disappeared soon, like most innovations of Akbar, being abolished by Aurangzib in the very second year of his reign. The historian of that monarch gives this candid reason for the abolition of the new calendar. "As this resembled," says Khafi Khan, "the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) used year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers and men who studied history, know that . . . the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tanklwah* of the *jagirs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession."†

R. P. KARKARIA.

\* Ain-i-Akbari, Bk. II ain 22, Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 276, cf. Count de Noer, *Emperor Akbar*, Vol II, p. 263. The account in the *Dabistan* is as follows: "On account of the difference between the era of the Hindus and that of the Hejira used by the Arabs, the Emperor introduced a new one, beginning from the first year of the reign of Humáyún, which is 963 of the Hejira (A.D. 1555-6); the names of the months were those used by the kings of Ajem, and fourteen festivals in the year instituted, coinciding with those of Zardusht, were named 'the years and days of *Ilahi*.' This arrangement was established by Hakim Shah Patah ulla Shirazi." (Shea and Troyer, Vol III, p. 99)

† *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, apud Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII, pp. 231-2. cf. Cunningham *Indian Era*, p. 83: "The *Ilahi* era was employed extensively, though not exclusively, on the coins of Akbar and Jehangir, and appears to have fallen into disuse early in the reign of Shah Jahan., Marsden has published a coin of this King with the date of Sanh 5 *Ilahi*, coupled with the Hijrah date of 1041. But in this case the *Ilahi* date would appear to be only the *julus* or year of the king's reign. *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. II, p. 640.

A portion of this article was included in a discourse before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.

## ART. VI.—THE RISE OF SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

(An Historical Sketch).

### I.

“ON the morrow of victory, we will pillage the large shops, drink the wines at Bercy, divide with one another all we find in the markets; take up our abode in the best hotels; and if one proprietor even should still survive in some street, he will owe his safety solely to our forgetfulness.” Such are the words which the unenlightened reader would attribute to some street ruffian, masking his predatory instincts beneath the cloak of socialism, but which, however, are the utterance of M. Lafargue, the leader of an important party, which consisted lately of no less than 60 deputies, sitting in the parliament of the most beautiful, and perhaps the most civilised of European capitals. Indeed, we should require all the elucidation that the “*Ville Lumière*” could afford us, before we could discern the *raison d’être* of so stupendous a menace. It was expressed in writing in a newspaper published at Roubaix, and it has been twice copied and vouched for by one of the most respectable organs of the Parisian Press.\* Many of us remember the Commune, and perhaps the Revolution of 1848, with the sanguinary revolt which ensued, so sternly repressed by Cavaignac, and we have perused with horror the history of the Terror of ’93; but we have never been shocked by more desperate words than this written threat of the Socialist leader.

Though great licence is permitted to the French press, and and though public opinion pays little heed to the outbursts of temper of exasperated and irresponsible politicians, we cannot but conclude that a hot fire glows beneath the smoke. France, on the whole, is disappointed with the results of the policy of French opportunists. Much had been hoped from the establishment of the Republic that was to be the panacea for all the abuses which had corrupted the country under the Government of Bourbons, Orleanists and Bonapartes. But the Republic has not abolished corruption, for it has been flagrant during the last fifteen years; nor has the present regime satisfied the just aspirations of the people, or rendered them more contented with their lot. Even the honourable sentiments of the country were insulted by a dishonourable traffic which diminished the prestige of the Legion of Honour. It was further disgusted and disheartened by the failure of the Panama enterprise, which exposed the dishonesty and culpable want of

foresight that sullied many politicians who directed the fortunes of the young Republic. There have been other scandals, only less disastrous; journalism has been disgraced by shameless blackmailing, while the most reckless disregard of common honesty has been displayed by the municipalities of important towns. The distress of the poor exceeds that which was patiently endured a few decades ago. Taxation is onerous; the conscription is almost unendurable, and commerce, industry and agriculture are suffering from a severe depression.

It is not astonishing that the people are disillusioned as to the advantages of the present system of Government, when they perceive that their representatives in parliament spend valuable time in futile cavilling, while the most serious questions imperatively demand a solution. But, despite its many symptoms of incapacity, the Republic has completely baffled the pretensions of dynasties, and is at present recognised as the sole Government possible. It has certainly produced many devoted and capable public servants, who have laboured assiduously for their country's welfare, who have placed the national defences on a tolerably secure footing, have adequately provided for popular education, constructed railways, and perseveringly annexed colonies. It is true that some discontent has been occasioned among earnest Catholics, through the interference of Government with their organisation; but a policy of conciliation has lately been inaugurated at Rome. As regards the existing causes of distress, the Republic is only in part responsible, as, owing to the disastrous war of 1870, the taxes required to provide for increased armaments are so high as to entail great sacrifices. The present economical crisis is also sufficient to account for much suffering.

But the general discontent which is so apparent in the country is not so much political as social. The *pebs* has found its voice, and its complaints are loudly expressed. It is like the boy who, on emerging from childhood, is not satisfied with his increase of liberty, but aspires to the privileges of manhood. His requirements are larger, and his demands augment with his years. France has achieved the establishment of the Republic, and abolished personal Government, but she is still dissatisfied. The masses, who have now come to the front, are no longer content with their simple lot, and anticipate the time when they shall fully enjoy the inheritance that they suppose the Revolution should have secured for them. They hold that at present worldly advantages are the too exclusive appanage of the privileged and wealthy. They long for that real equality of condition which they believe to be the legitimate outturn of the great efforts their fathers made in the preceding century to establish political liberty. They even imagine that

Christianity is on their side, as it favours so much the poor and the suffering, though they refuse to be bound by its dogmas, and prefer 'immanents' to 'celestial' justice. They are unable to take a large and comprehensive view of society; yet they desire to change completely our present social system, in which there are still so many abuses: willing men still hunger for want of work; healthy children perish for lack of proper food, and poor girls are often induced to lead a life of shame, lest they should starve. Religious faith has wavered, and old social ties no longer bind.

Feudalism, whose essence was mutual service, has not yet been replaced, and the apparently emancipated multitude are no longer resigned to a servile condition in the hope of a richer reward in life hereafter. They hope chiefly for earthly happiness, and the dream they so long entertained that they could realise this happiness at the advent of political liberty, has proved a deception. In no country has this disillusion been more keenly felt than in France, despite her natural wealth and the great facilities of existence which her wide and fertile territory offers to a population that is not too numerous for its resources. The workmen of her towns now clamour for another revolution, which this time shall be social, just as the preceding one of '89 was political. The country is already yielding to the claim of Socialism, whose complete triumph could not be secured without the "necessary violence" and the misery such a course would entail. Indeed, much of contemporary legislation is socialist in its character; and, just as the political reforms promoted by Louis XVI strengthened the hands of the opponents of monarchy, so it is possible that at the present time the concessions made to the spirit of socialism will serve to incite fresh demands, till at last the present fabric of society is overthrown; and we may perchance witness a socialist repetition of the reign of terror. But Frenchmen, as a rule, still cling to the principle of property, and, indeed, the majority of them are proprietors, or at least possess a certain amount of wealth, however small it may be. With the exception of the 'proletariat,' or labouring class, of the towns entirely depending on its daily salary for existence, they are not, by any means, disposed to take another leap into the dark like that of the last century, when they were only saved from their dilemma by the coup d'etat of a military genius.

The Socialist party, however, increases considerably in numbers, and, by its alluring programme for the abolition of social inequalities, of standing armies, of poverty and want, has induced many to contribute to its success who dissent from the levelling opinions it professes. Even devout Catholics have approved some of its views, and the Count de Mun, one of the



principal Catholic deputies, has formed a society of Christian workmen whose aims are partly socialist, while the term itself is no longer an opprobrium. Political economy has not succeeded in promoting general prosperity, and indiscriminate charity has only served to increase pauperism. There is already a pact between advanced Radicals and Socialists, and the two parties await their opportunity. Such is the aspect of the social question in France.

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## II.

The principle of association is extremely ancient, and has been traced to the earliest times among the ancient populations of Asia. Manual labour was in great part performed by slaves; but it has been clearly shown that there existed, at the same time, fraternities of artisans. Masons, whose organisation was contemporary with the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, introduced masonic brotherhoods into Egypt, whence they passed to Greece and Italy. The Roman empire contained numerous corporations of trades and crafts enjoying privileges; when it was overthrown by barbarians, municipal institutions were preserved in Italy, Gaul and other Romanised countries; and workmen's associations still exercised their callings in their important cities. Teutons introduced their guilds into North-Eastern France, and, though apparently the latter were designed for mutual succour irrespective of work, they seem to have existed in that district at the same time, and with the same objects as other associations of workmen.

The 'Companions' were, perhaps, the most ancient association and especially charged themselves with the defence of the interests of artisans against the numerous vexations which hampered their industry. They flourished most in the 11th century, for in the following one municipalities were strong enough to assert their independence against the pretensions of feudal superiors. Then corporations of trades arrogated to themselves far greater privileges than before; in their turn they became arbitrary, and appear to have excluded, in a great measure, the more humble 'Companions' from participation in their increased privileges, and from attaining to the position of masters, a right they had hitherto enjoyed.

This exclusion induced the 'Companions' to organise themselves still more strongly in self-defence. No longer able to gain their livelihood through sedentary occupations, they became ambulatory, and wandered from town to town exercising their crafts. Their organisation was so strong that they were able to afford the most efficient assistance to each other; succour in peril, and bread in time of want.

Associations of Companions have existed up to the present time, with a few intervals, when they were interdicted by governments, and in a certain sense are the precursors of the Trades Unions, of secret societies of workmen like the international, and of the organisation of Labour against Capital.

In 1791, the National Assembly abolished all the associations of crafts and trades, corporations, companions, religious fraternities, guilds, maitrisés (masterships) and jurandes (workmen's juries). It was hoped that the removal of impediments to trade, and the freedom of contract between masters and workmen would be more beneficial to society than such organisations. But experience has scarcely justified this expectation; for, although the interests of Companions were, to a certain extent, sacrificed to corporations, yet on the whole such institutions afforded some amount of protection to toilers against the encroachment of the powerful, and the greed and avarice of unscrupulous individuals.

During the Middle Ages and subsequently, there were occasional risings of the peasantry against the tyranny and exaction of their lords; but such *jacqueries* were rather outbursts of hatred and fury against oppression than real socialist movements. During the religious wars of the 16th century, some fanatical Leaguers advocated extreme measures against authority; but Leaguers were not Levellers, who were, however, numerous in Cromwell's army in the following century, and previously among the Protestant peasantry of Germany.

When the absolute rule of the Grand Monarque replaced the State, a few faint voices were still heard demanding reforms and denouncing war, while the noble precepts of Fénelon did not pass unheeded. The Abbé de Saint Pierre was the precursor of the reforming philosophers of the 18th century, but the character of his genius and of the systems he advocated, rather belonged to the 17th century than to the following one.

He was a real philanthropist, the originator of the word 'bienfaisant' and the author of some excellent reforms, which, strange to say, were in part accomplished under the corrupt government of Louis XV. But he was in agreement with modern socialists only in his desire to abolish war, for which object he proposed a somewhat far-fetched plan. Yet Saint Pierre may be justly considered the first great social reformer of modern France.

In the 18th century ancient creeds and institutions no longer remained unchallenged, but were exposed to the pitiless dissection of modern philosophy. As a rule, the principal Encyclopædist were so busily engaged in the destruction of superstition, and, indeed, of revealed religion, as well as

with the advancement of science, that they paid comparatively little attention to the socialist aspirations of humanity. But the world was weary of the past. Feudalism was no longer a reality, and was condemned by the most enlightened minds. Religion had lost its influence among the higher classes, and scarcely retained its hold on the lower. France had been sated with glory under Louis XIV, and was disgraced under his successor. Incredulity had replaced devotion, and society was lulled by illusions of every kind.

When Rousseau revived the love of nature, humanity revolted against the prevalent artificiality of the age, while philosophers sought a social ideal in the annals of Greece and Rome. Liberty alone did not suffice to satisfy the more ardent minds; and Montesquieu, despite his attractive style and the consideration in which his works were held among thinkers, made but little impression on popular sentiment when he advocated a liberal constitution after the pattern of England's, as a means of political renovation. Voltaire patronised liberty; but the destructive criticism of tyranny and creeds had little direct influence with the uncultivated classes.

Apparently the first important attempt to advance socialist views in France is to be attributed to Morelly, who published his great work entitled "La Code de la Nature" about the year 1752. He pleaded in behalf of socialism in the name of morality, holding that the latter had hitherto been completely false, as it started with the assumption that mankind is inherently vicious. Morelly maintained, on the contrary, that men are born good, and that even their passions are beneficial unless they are perverted. Avarice, in his opinion, was the source of all our actual vices, and was the corruption of our nature that was occasioned by the possession of property. Hence, it was necessary to abolish its tenure by individuals, to replace it by State ownership, and to share equally all social advantages. The new organisation of society which he advocated was somewhat complicated, but asserted the equality of all its members; and he insisted on a similar education for all the youths of the country. The "Code de la Nature" is remarkable under two aspects, as it contained the germ of modern collectivism, and comprised one of the leading features of socialism,—its revolt against the old system of morality.

The "Contrat Social" was, however, the real base of modern socialism. In this work Rousseau appealed both to popular passion, and to popular reason. He denounced the actual form of society in the name of nature which he so much loved, and of justice which he so ardently defended; the most eloquent writer of his age pleaded the rights of nature against

artificial oppression. *Le Contrat Social* maintains some of the views of modern socialism, such as the social pact of the people and the sovereign power, which have, to some extent, been adopted by the legislators of the great Revolution. Its celebrated denunciation of the acquisition of private property is still famous. It was certainly Rousseau's mind which left the strongest impress on the feelings of contemporary society, and doubtless sentimental socialism derives in great part from him. His, too, was the presiding influence at the great Revolution; and the proclamation of the Rights of Man repeated Rousseau's ideas.

The third of the principal socialist writers of the pre-revolutionary epoch was Mably, who protested against existing institutions, not so much in the name of morality, or outraged nature, as out of admiration for some austere and socialist form of antique republics. Like so many of his contemporaries, he turned with disgust from the refinements and affectations of Parisian life, in which there existed neither liberty nor reality, to the ideal which the classic governments of Greece and Rome afforded; and more particularly to the country of Lycurgus, who, in his eyes, was the great model for all future legislators. Mably desired a return to the age of gold, which with him implied poverty and simplicity. For this object it would be useful to suppress science, letters and arts, and if it were only possible to attain a Spartan ideal by the extermination of the majority of the human race, it would be advantageous for the minority not to shrink from such a measure. Neither abject poverty nor wealth should be permitted; society should imitate the Spartans, and live in common, partaking of the same simple diet. Though Mably's ideal contains many absurdities, yet his views are extremely interesting, as they mark a characteristic of the time, when it was the fashion to admire the social simplicity of the best epochs of Greece and Rome. There then prevailed a real enthusiasm for classical forms of liberty, and the heroes who defended them, at the same time that men revolted against prejudices and tradition, with the view of founding a new and renovated society following a classic model. It was apparently forgotten that the famous republics of antiquity, though their constitutions were at once liberal and socialist, permitted the most baleful institution which can disgrace humanity: the government of Sparta, which was then so lauded, maintained the worst form of slavery that has ever existed; and in the Athenian state alone there were as many as 400,000 slaves, out of a total population which scarcely exceeded 500,000 souls.

Of the socialists who were contemporaries of the great Revo-

lution, the most prominent was Babeuf, who was the real precursor of the destructive anarchism of the present day. He bequeathed to posterity a system to which the repulsive name of *Babouvism* has been affixed: it advocated the confiscation of the property of all who possessed a larger share of wealth than their fellows, and a political constitution which should be drawn up in such a way as to efface all hope of individual superiority, whether of riches, power or intellect. In his opinion even discord was preferable to a "horrible concord in which we are choked by hunger." It would be better for all things to return to Chaos, than a new and regenerate society might emerge. Babeuf appears to have been influenced by Brissot, a socialist writer, who was the author of the "Theory of Criminal Laws," and who attained celebrity before the Revolution. The latter maintained that the sole title of property was necessity, beyond which it could not extend; and he attributed to man the right of satisfying his natural wants by all possible means, even by theft, and he proposed that society should be reconstituted in such a way as to afford it every means of gratifying its natural appetites.

Though the leaders of the Revolution endowed France with political equality, they stopped short at complete socialism. Indeed, when once they had confiscated the lands of the Church and the nobles, they professed a great respect for property and declared its inviolability.

The numerous wars and the military despotism of Napoleon, who was so opposed to Utopias of every description, offered little scope for the realisation of socialist projects. Yet, almost at the outset of the Empire, Fourier, an earnest thinker and genuine humanitarian, developed his scheme of social regeneration. He was the first of the three great Utopists, who included Saint Simon and Cabet, and was certainly the most original of this trio. The keystone of his system was the attraction of the passions (*attraction passionnée*) which, as regards mankind, corresponded to the law of gravitation in science. The passions were often condemned, especially by theologians; but Fourier maintained that they were altogether beneficial, though they were liable to abuse, and only by their aid could talents be properly developed. Society should henceforth form one harmonious whole, consisting of industrial colonies or phalanges, where the level of capacities should be raised by the help of the proper appreciation of the passions. But Fourier was no leveller; nor did he desire to confiscate the property of others. He wished to educate society, and to perfect it through model colonies, or *phalanges*, by means of which individual merit should contribute most to the common

weal. Some of his projects were far-fetched, as was his idea of one great European State, consisting of numerous phalanges, whose capital should be at Constantinople, and whose government should be presided over by a constitutional chief. His principles were thoroughly moral; he was an enthusiast for merit and the nobler qualities of humanity; nor did he attack religion. Experiments have been made with the view of making a practical trial of his theories, but with little success; he has, however, left to posterity a new and original system, and the example of a devoted love of humanity. Saint Simon, who succeeded Fourier as a social regenerator, attracted even greater attention. He was also one of the most original thinkers of his epoch; but it is said that he probably owed some of his principal ideas to his precursor. Saint Simonianism was entitled at first a sect and then a church, for its founder and his disciples established a system that was religious as well as social; some of the most prominent men of letters and philosophers were among his apostles.

The guiding principle of Saint Simonianism, as regards the moral amelioration of society, was 'rehabilitation of the flesh,' which replaces Fourier's 'attraction of the passions.' But the leading feature of his system for the material renovation of society was *industrialism*. Unlike later socialists, he proposed that capital should become the bulwark of a new society, but so regulated that all should share in its benefits. A bank of exchange was to facilitate its transactions, and labour was to be as much a medium of value as another commodity.

He sought to substitute the direction of business for the rule of men; to replace politics by administration, and power by capacity. 'Terrestrial' morality, or the morality which should alone regard this life, was to take the place of 'celestial' by which at present justice in this world appeared to him neglected for judgment in the next one. A complete equality should exist between the sexes, and man and wife were to be the priest and priestess of society. Saint Simon's views, and those of his brilliant successors, have left a deep impress on modern thought, though little practical result. It is said that a colony of Saint Simonians existed for a few years ago at some distance from Paris, but that they had returned to a state of nature, and could only preserve their existence by means of the roots and berries which they gathered in the forest that sheltered them; but we cannot vouch for the truth of this story.

The leading features of the system of Cabet, the third of the great Utopists, were merit and equality; we should all possess according to our deserts and what our needs require. A socialist discipline should train the *genus homo* from his cradle

to his grave, and his views in this respect coincided with the necessary tyranny advocated by more recent socialists. Cabet could, however, not realise his ideal in his native country, and therefore emigrated to America, where he founded a socialist colony which he called "La Nouvelle Icarie," a name that was familiar to a past generation, as were the terms 'attraction of the passions' and the 'rehabilitation of the flesh.' Modern materialism has now replaced the dreams of Utopists.

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### III.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, which was pre-eminently peaceful and extremely liberal in its tendencies, every possible conception of society and religion had been originated. On the overthrow of that King's rule, the Revolution of 1848 offered great scope for the experiments of Utopists and Socialists. Popular sentiment was influenced by the histories of Lamartine and Louis Blanc. In his great work on the Girondists, the former had raised Robespierre, the great *ideologue* of the Republic, to the rank of a hero, and Louis Blanc had imagined a system of complete equality in which the working classes should control the Government. The Republic of 1848 was persuaded to make a trial of practical socialism, and to establish the 'Ateliers nationaux,' that recognised one of the great principles of socialism—the right of work, and to offer labour and wages to all who needed them in Paris.

But the national workshops, though they certainly relieved temporary distress, brought on an economical crisis which, combined with the great sense of insecurity that afflicted the possessing classes, menaced the country with financial ruin; and it was soon found necessary, in the interest of the nation, to close them permanently. Paris was thronged at that period by workmen and idlers who had hastened to take advantage of these national workshops; and when the latter no longer enabled them to gain a livelihood, they were easily induced by agitators to revolt. A most formidable insurrection in behalf of practical socialism broke out, and was only quelled after thousands of lives had been sacrificed, by the aid of a large army commanded by Cavaignac, who for the time was invested with dictatorial power.

The reaction that followed this sanguinary sequel to the projects of some of the most brilliant thinkers of the age was intense. Universal suffrage, which had been granted soon after the establishment of the Republic, was rescinded; and a reactionary Chamber of Deputies seemed to be preparing for a second restoration. But the aspirations of the country were opposed to such a retrogression, and the coup d'état which

re-established the rule of the Bonapartes was welcomed by the majority of the people, as a resource against extreme parties.

Though socialism had been sternly repressed, it was far from extinct; but it had lost in part the sentimental and Utopist character it had worn so long. The world had become at once more positive and more material. Germany was initiated into the secrets of French socialism; and, though at first the efforts of socialists beyond the Rhine produced but little fruit, yet it was a Teuton who commenced to organise the positive form of material socialism which prevails at the present time. The system of Carl Marx has already, it is said, the greatest number of adherents even in France. It is atheistical, material and above all scientific, and aims principally at positive results. It is supposed that it was owing to Marx's influence that the International Association of workmen was formed, which abetted the sanguinary episode of the Commune, that was at once a menace and defiance to the old order of the world.

That such a monstrous insurrection could be possible, when France, bleeding and mutilated, lay prostrate beneath the invader's lash, could only be attributed to the demoralization of a large class of the people. In the opinion of a great number of them, the whole organisation of society was based on fraud. They held it iniquitous that the minority should enjoy and abuse all the good things of this life, while the majority could scarcely exist on an uncertain pittance. Prominent and original thinkers had attributed the woes of society to the omnipotence of capital and property. Prudhon, who possessed perhaps the most original mind among his contemporaries, had asserted that property was theft, an opinion which Brissot had expressed before him, but in a manner somewhat less direct. Prudhon was one of the most conspicuous figures of the monarchy of July and of the subsequent governments, and he certainly contributed to the scepticism and social mistrust which were such marked features of these disastrous years of '70 and '71. An old order was sapped, but it scarcely gave place to a new. Prudhon was, however, too inconsistent and paradoxical to lead an important section of society. As an example of this inconsistency, we may cite how at one time he advocated anarchy, to the exclusion of all government and the return to a really natural society solely by means of the contract of one individual with another. But he changed his views soon afterwards, for he declared that even anarchy was impossible: "it required honest men," he said, "to make a contract, and most men were rogues." Such was the view of society openly professed by one of the most famous sociologists of his time, and it was little wonder that the people should have been affected by the cynicism which their leaders avowed.



The third republic was established with considerable difficulty, and was menaced, at its outset, with another monarchical restoration; but it overcame its first great peril, and sought to gain adherents by becoming opportunist in its character. Gambetta, the great tribune, and perhaps the real founder of the present regime, contributed to the tendency. Within the last decade the republic has grown far more Radical, and it has now incurred the danger of succumbing to the dictation of a combination of Radicals and Socialists, that may prepare the way for the gradual establishment of socialism. French susceptibility has been revolted by the numerous scandals that have disgraced opportunism, in whose policy France has lost faith. The struggle between Capital and Labour increases in intensity. Strikes, in which thousands of bread-winners take part, excite the fiercest passions, and sometimes lead to bloodshed and loss of life.

They occasion constant impediments to the production of wealth, which is also handicapped by the competition of nations that are better organised from an industrial point of view, and where the association of capital has existed for a longer period and on a larger scale. Labour, too, is cheaper in countries that possess less natural wealth. It is only of late that large companies for industrial and commercial enterprises have become at all general in France; they have hitherto been hampered by restrictive legislation, which has restrained their progress lest they should infringe the rights and privileges of the State. Besides, France, like the rest of the world, has been suffering from a prolonged economical crisis.

Taxation is onerous, and the vast sums unprofitably expended on armaments impose an almost insupportable burden on the shoulders of the people. The retail trade in the great towns also suffers considerably from establishments like the Bon Marché and the Louvre, which reduce a considerable number of honest shopkeepers to want. The divorce between religion and education in the public schools has not a little contributed to the discontent of the people through its materialising influence. The people are consequently far less patient than formerly; and their highest hopes are no longer centred in a future life.

It cannot be denied that the material condition of the people has, within the last twenty years, improved in several respects, though latterly the number of paupers has, it is said, increased. But at the same time that they have attained a higher standard of prosperity, their cry of discontent is heard more loudly. The masses now put in their claim to enjoy all the good things of this life, and inherit, like the middle classes, the advantages of the Revolution. All classes, indeed,

demand much more than formerly. When trade is slack, discontented men easily fall a victim to the arguments of agitators, and are sometimes transformed into criminal anarchists joining secret societies whose aims and tendencies they are scarcely able to understand.

But there is another cause which tends to the disintegration of society, and that is the influence of the pessimistic philosophy of Northern Europe. In no country outside Germany has Schopenhauer been studied with greater attention than in France, where both Hartmann and Niétzche have also made their influence felt. Of late the fatal cloud of despair has darkened the sunlight of France, and the country that has fostered the secret society of the Nihilists, whose creed is despair and annihilation, has produced Bakounine, the notorious founder of militant anarchism, which has shaken French society to its centre.

But anarchism has never been organised with the thoroughness that distinguishes the socialism of Marx. Its exponents have, in general, been desperate wretches, whose crimes had rendered them outcasts from society. On the contrary, the system of Marx is similar, through its comprehensiveness, to the secret association of the 'Illuminés,' who towards the close of the 18th century in Germany, under the extraordinary guidance of Weishaupt (Spartacus), are said to have planned the great Revolution some years before its outbreak, and to have previously arranged its main features.

Anarchism should not, however, be confounded with 'bombeisme'—the word lately coined to describe the propaganda by means of explosive bombs. Though anarchists advocate the use of every possible means for the demolition of our social fabric, they do not necessarily demand the destruction of their opponents after the cruel fashion followed by Ravachol, nor the use of bombs as means of reclaiming society. Still anarchism has inflicted the most dreadful shock upon France, and, indeed, the whole world, through the ruthless murder of a humane and well-meaning President.

At present two principal socialist systems compete for popular favour. The system of Marx, to which we have already referred, and which is a State collectivism, or the possessions and distribution of all property and instruments of production by the State, has the greatest number of adherents. But it is so absolute, that it is less practical in the attainment of its great object, than it is in its views; it is apparently not sufficiently supple to content itself with small beginnings. The second system is that of Guesde, who has derived his opinions from Marx, but has modified them. Unlike the latter, he prefers to make a commencement with the Communes, before replacing

all private action by the State. Hence his system is rather communistic than collectivist. It has received the name of *Possibilist*, owing to its greater adaptability to actual circumstances. But there is no hostility, though not a little jealousy, between Marxists and Possibilists. They agree as regards main questions, and are equally anxious to overthrow the present Radical-Opportunist Republic.

In their eyes the Republic's boasted device,—“Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”—is a fiction. Slavery, they think, still exists, for the ‘Proletariat’ is, in their opinion, more enslaved by capital than the negroes who once crouched beneath the lash of a brutal master. There is no equality, for the inequality of fortune has deprived the majority of the advantages of wealth and of education; and fraternity exists only in name, when thousands die by slow starvation. The present overproduction of manufactories, they hold, should also be regulated and controlled, as the people suffer from the reduced amount of wages that it entails; such are the general views of the socialist party, which has of late become so serious a movement in France.

As far back as the great Revolution their influence profoundly affected the new society which that great event evoked, and guided, in a certain measure, by the national destiny, by powerfully reacting on popular sentiment. It is impossible to predict what measure of success awaits socialism in the future; but it is probable that persistent efforts will be made to secure its triumph; and, should events prove favourable to its progress, no doubt some serious attempts will be made to overthrow the present social organisation. Meanwhile, existing institutions are undermined, so that the old social edifice may fall when all its props are broken. But any violent and sudden attack against the authority of the Government would almost certainly be baffled; and, indeed, if it were the only alternative; France would prefer at present to return to the shelter of personal rule. What precisely awaits society in the gloom of the future, it is impossible to predict; but the socialism so elaborately organised in Germany will undoubtedly combine with French socialism to efface, at a more or less remote date, national frontiers, and to reorganise society. It is impossible that the same view of social matters which holds good in one century should be adapted precisely to another. The world, too, must either transform or decay; but probably the real key to its welfare is ‘solidarity.’ Were it really understood and practically applied, the advantage of each member of society would be so nicely balanced, that none would suffer either from the encroachments of capital or the violence of labour. Sociology and Anthropology are, perhaps, at the present juncture, the favourite

studies of French thinkers, but science cannot be counted on for the realisation of man's happiness, when the fresh secrets she may reveal will perhaps only render him more miserable; for faith, which is the safeguard of his destiny, often suffers through the impiety of scientific dissection. The spirit of compromise so often decied would be more likely to respond to his needs, and the hearty co-operation of labour, if aided by capital, might lead to that peaceful and beneficial renovation of society to which our ideal aspires. Co-operation has certainly succeeded to a great extent in England, and in societies of production particularly at Oldham and Rochdale.

The restrictive laws against co-operation have been lately modified in France; and, should the people learn to organise it among themselves, it may become as effective an industrial factor as the present system of competition, through which the country is menaced with another social war. It would require perhaps the elapse of a century, before the more enlightened system would become general, for the rude minds of manual toilers would not immediately acquire the self-command and self-restraint that would be necessary for its success. But the hope it would encourage, would probably save France from the shock of another and more terrible '93, which would arrest true progress as surely as the violence and brutality of that date. By peace, and not by war, man would learn that egotism is folly, and that we all suffer when one among us is wronged. The brutal struggle for life may be useful in certain stages of society, when force is right, but is of small advantage and produces nothing in our present condition; the good understanding of all would well replace it.

A short time ago the *Figaro* despatched M. Routier, one of its permanent staff, to the principal towns and districts of France, to inquire into their opinions, their condition, and the progress of socialism. He published the result of his investigations in a small treatise entitled "The Social Question, and the Opinion of the Country," and showed that in several of the great towns such as Marseilles, Lyons and Toulouse, socialism was making steady progress, and that it possessed some honest and independent leaders, who rejected all ideas of violence, trusting to time and justice for the future triumph of their cause. Apparently, the country was anxious to elect independent legislators, who would advance social reform rather than obtain the success of any particular party. The socialists had, therefore, as good a chance as the rest of winning a considerable number of the seats at the approaching elections.

The lower classes in the towns are often said to elect social and radical councillors, not so much for their merit and capacities, but owing to the fact that they belonged to the same

condition as themselves. This accounted for the great number of mechanics, artisans and small tradesmen who were included in the municipalities of large towns. These members were in general socialist in their tendencies, or, to speak more correctly, levellers.

Should the latter ever succeed in their attempt to govern the country, the new *regime* would probably be communistic in its form. Latterly certain town councils have passed some extremely drastic measures, such as the suppression of the funds for the support of Sisters of Mercy, who so patiently attend the sick and suffering; and there have been instances, where the townspeople have been taxed that their administrators might partake of sumptuous banquets. Toulouse and St. Denis have sometimes set the executive at defiance, and appear in some respects like independent communities. Should other municipalities follow their example, the system of Guesde will probably precede that of Marx in the organisation of socialism. But the reckless extravagance, dishonesty, intolerance and incapacity displayed by socialist *cédiles* has not been surpassed in the records of despotism, and it is not probable that the country will be soon disposed to place any confidence in a system promoted by such unprincipled leaders.

Society is passing through a transition which is more pronounced than at any previous period of this century. But in the same way that the hard lot of mechanics was improved by the association of the 'Companions' in the 12th century, so the co-operation of labour, assisted by capital, would serve to save the proletariat from dependence on the precarious resource of a daily wage, and to reconstruct the social edifice on the basis of work. Still the passage to a higher social state is beset with difficulties, and resembles the Exodus of Israel through the desert, after the chosen people had escaped from Egyptian despotism, when the Promised Land was vainly sought. Of all countries, France, perhaps, suffers the most in this weary wandering, and it depends on the wisdom of her leaders, and on the obedience of her sons to the law, whether she will be contented with the material ideal of collectivism, or reconstruct a consecrated temple for humanity.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

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## ART. VII—PERSONAL TIME.

**T**HE question, what is Time? is as hard to answer as the famous question of Pilate, what is Truth? The unreflecting many, if they give the matter a thought, feel confident that they know all about it—a convincing proof that they know nothing about it whatever. Of the reflecting few, some have gone so far as to deny the independent existence of time, in which they may very well be right without being much wiser than their neighbours.

My purpose in the following pages is, not to discuss the metempirical question of what time is, but to examine the bearing of recent physiological and psychological research on the relation of time, as ordinarily conceived, to the facts of human life.

Most people, whatever views they may hold as to the nature of time, are firmly convinced of its uniformity; and, if they were told that what is commonly regarded as the same portion of it may differ under different circumstances—may be one thing for one person, another thing for another person, and even for the same individual, may possess widely different values under different conditions, they would probably reject the statement, as opposed alike to every-day experience and to common sense. A day, they would argue, is the period during which the earth makes a complete revolution about its axis; an hour is the twenty-fourth part of a day, a minute the sixtieth part of an hour, and so on; and, though one person may waste time and another economise it, yet it marches with equal foot under all circumstances and for all men. Such an answer to the statement in question would, none the less, imply either misapprehension of its true significance, or disregard of incontrovertible facts.

Let us, then, clear the way by an attempt to discriminate the different points of view from which time, as commonly apprehended, may be regarded.

First, we have the obvious distinction between time as measured by the succession of external events, and time as measured by its contents in consciousness—between time, that is to say, as measured by objective standards, and time as measured by a subjective standard.

That the former mode of measurement could alone furnish even an approximation to a uniform standard, must have been evident to mankind almost as soon as they could think at all. The establishment of a uniform standard was, however, far from being so simple a matter as might at first sight be sup-

posed. Before the dawn of astronomical knowledge, the interval between one sunrise and the next would probably have been generally accepted throughout a great portion of the world as affording such a standard. But it could not have been long before it became apparent even to savages that this period was subject to variation, and at a later stage of human progress, recourse was had to more refined methods of astronomical observation to correct it.

It is unnecessary to enter here into a history of the methods adopted to mark the time corresponding to a complete revolution of the earth, which came to be accepted as a uniform standard for ordinary purposes; nor need I examine the nature of the warranty which we possess for our belief in its uniformity, though it may be stated, by the way, that this warranty is not absolute.

Having obtained this standard measure, mankind were for a long time still without means, at once convenient and exact, of sub-dividing it. The earlier chronometrical devices were all more or less rude and inconstant in their operation, or, as in the case of the sundial, were available only under certain conditions and for limited purposes. The discovery that, in conformity with the law of gravity, a pendulum of a given length oscillates in a uniform period at the same place on the earth's surface, at last furnished a practically uniform standard for the measurement of short periods of time.

Regarded from a purely objective point of view, and so measured, time, it may be truly said, is the same thing for all men and under all circumstances; but there is no other sense in which this can be truly said, and, though it may possibly be argued that this is the only point of view from which the matter possesses any practical importance, it will be seen in the sequel that such a view of the case cannot be sustained.

The impossibility of attaining to uniformity in the measurement of time by subjective methods scarcely needs illustration.

That the estimate which we form of the duration of a given period not only depends largely upon the multitude and character of its contents in consciousness, but varies greatly under different mental and bodily conditions, is a matter of common experience, though every one may not know how enormous may be the difference in extreme cases. There are probably few persons who have not been struck by the deceptiveness of the estimate frequently formed of the length of a period passed in dreaming, or in dreamless sleep; while the books on sleep and dreams abound in instances of this deceptiveness far more extraordinary than fall within the experience of most of us.

Of all the cases of the kind on record, the most marvellous

is, perhaps, that related of himself by Dr. Macnish in his "Philosophy of Sleep."

"I dreamed," he says, "that I was converted into a mighty pillar of stone, which reared its head in the midst of a desert, where it stood for ages, till generation after generation melted away before it. Even in this state, though unconscious of possessing any organs of sense, or being else than a mass of lifeless stone, I saw every object around—the mountains growing bald with age—the forest trees drooping with decay; and I heard whatever sounds nature is in the custom of producing, such as the thunder-peal breaking over my naked head, the winds howling past me, or the ceaseless murmur of the streams. At last I also waxed old, and began to crumble into dust, while the moss and ivy accumulated upon me, and stamped me with the aspect of hoar antiquity."

If one should be inclined to suspect some unconscious exaggeration here, we have the well-known case of Lafayette's dream in the Bastille, which is open to no such objection. But it is needless to multiply instances in illustration of an illusion which, at least in its less extreme forms, is with most persons a matter of frequent occurrence.

It is, perhaps, less generally known that a similar illusion is capable of being produced by the use of certain narcotics, notably of opium and Indian hemp.

It is not, however, under such special conditions only that our estimate of the passage of time is subject to noteworthy variation. In our ordinary waking moments so uncertain is the testimony of consciousness in the matter, that, not merely when we base our estimate on a purely introspective process, but when we endeavour to correct it by reference to the succession of events of indeterminate duration, we are seldom able to make more than the roughest approximation to the truth, and are often extravagantly wide of the mark.

In both the above aspects the subject of time has been extensively, if not exhaustively, studied. But there is a third aspect in which time may be regarded, and which, notwithstanding its great practical importance, has been as yet but very imperfectly investigated.

We may regard time as measurable by the quantity of human work, mental or physical, capable of being performed in it; and we shall find that, from this point of view, its capacity, if I may so call it, varies under different conditions of mind, body and environment, no less demonstrably, if within narrower limits, than does our sense of time as measured by its contents in consciousness.

Till within a comparatively recent period it was generally believed that sensation and the external processes on which it



depends, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, volition and the muscular contractions determined by it, were simultaneous; and, though the fact that the more complex operations of the mind require variable periods of time for their performance, must always have been commonly known, it has only lately come to be recognised, even by scientific men, that all such operations involve physical processes of which time is a necessary condition.

The application of the experimental method to mental physiology has established beyond doubt, not only that the propagation, in the sensory and motor nerves, of the excitement on which sensation and muscular contraction, respectively, depend, occupies measurable periods of time, proportional, other things being equal, to the distance traversed, but that a measurable period of time is occupied also in the conversion into sensation of the excitement communicated by the sensory nerves to the brain; while, again, the mental processes which intervene between sensation and volitional impulse, even in the case of the simplest re-actions, require for their performance a yet further period of time.

Owing to the difficulty of eliminating other elements of the reaction-time, it has not yet been found possible to determine with rigorous precision the rate of propagation in the sensory, or centripetal, nerves. But the experiments of Hirsch, De Jaeger and others point to a rate of about thirty metres per second.

The time occupied in the conversion of an impression on the brain into sensation has been calculated by Mach as forty-seven thousandths of a second in the case of sight; twenty-nine thousandths of a second in the case of touch, and sixteen thousandths of a second in the case of hearing; while Exner, experimenting with the electric spark, obtained a period varying from twenty-one to thirty-six thousandths of a second as that during which the sensation remained latent, according to the force of the stimulus.

The rate of propagation of the excitement in the motor, or centrifugal, nerves in man has been determined by Helmholtz as about thirty-one metres and a half per second.

The length of time that elapses between irritation and commencement of contraction in a muscle, again, has been found to vary from six to eight thousandths of a second, being greater in females than in males, and in old, than in young, subjects; while that between the commencement of contraction and complete re-extension of a muscle appears to range from one-sixteenth to one-tenth of a second.

The time occupied in the performance of the mental processes that intervene between sensation and volitional impulse,

varies, as might be expected, within very wide limits, according to the nature of the operations to be performed.

The total period occupied in the performance of the several processes that intervene between "stimulation of the peripheral extremities of the sensory nerves and the resultant re-action in the form of a voluntary muscular movement of the simplest kind, such as holding up one of the hands, by-preconceived arrangement, in response to a signal, has been calculated by different observers under different conditions.

Professor Hirsch found the total period, or "physiological time," under normal conditions, to be about one-fifth of a second in the case of sight, about fifteen hundredths of a second in the case of hearing, and a little over seventeen hundredths of a second in that of touch, when the nature of the signal was not known beforehand, but very much less when it was so known. Professor Donders, as the result of comparative experiments, found the time occupied by an operation of the judgment of the simplest kind, combined with that of choosing, according to arrangement between two modes of response to a given signal, to be sixty-seven thousandths of a second. It was arranged that the subject of the experiment should move the right or the left hand, according as the skin of the right or the left foot was slightly irritated. The result showed that, when the subject knew beforehand to which foot the irritation would be applied, he responded correctly in two hundred and five thousandths of a second, but otherwise not until after a lapse of two hundred and seventy-two thousandths of a second. When, however, the subject was required to respond differently to two different visual signals, the time occupied in the operation of the judgment, *i. e.*, in the discrimination of the signal and the choice of the response, was from twice to three times as long as in the last case. The persons experimented on—five in number—were first required to respond to a simple impression of light, and their several re-action-times were measured and found to range from a hundred and eighty-four thousandths to two hundred and twenty-six thousandths of a second. They were next required to respond with the right hand to a red, and with the left hand to a white, signal; and their re-action-times, being measured, were found to range from three hundred and seventeen to three hundred and eighty-five thousandths of a second, the average time occupied in the double operation of the judgment being thus a hundred and fifty-four thousandths of a second.

The effect of "expectation" on the length of the time required for the re-action has been very distinctly shown by some experiments of Dr. Beaunis, of Nancy, who arrives at the general conclusion that, within certain limits, the time is diminished in proportion as the period of "expectation" is

increased. Should the period of "expectation," however, be prolonged till fatigue supervenes, then, in accordance with a general law, to be referred to again hereafter, an opposite effect is produced.

So far, I have dealt chiefly with average figures. It now remains to consider certain facts which show that, in a very real and important sense, the same portion of time is not the same thing for all men, or under all circumstances, and that there is even a strong presumption against its being the same thing for any particular individual in all places.

The fact that what has been described as reaction-time differs to a marked extent in different individuals, must have been a matter of common observation from time immemorial, though it is only in comparatively recent years that the dependence of the difference on physiological conditions has been recognised. The language of everyday life bears abundant testimony to the fact; and a multitude of children's games exist to show that it has been appreciated even in the nursery time out of mind. The highly intellectual game of "snap," to mention only one instance, success in which depends on priority in signalling the correspondence of a card suddenly turned up with one previously exposed, furnishes a familiar and striking illustration of the different rates at which different individuals, when on their mettle, perform the processes involved in perception, apperception, comparison, the generation of volitional impulse and the performance of the muscular movements necessary to the utterance of the signal word.

The more numerous and complicated the mental processes concerned, the greater, it is obvious, will such differences be, though the result of the recorded experiments shows that persons who are slow in responding to a simple impression, are often quick in performing an act of judgment, and *vice versa*. But, even where the event to be observed and the mode in which the observation is to be notified are of the simplest kind, and where both are known beforehand, the individual differences are large enough to make it a matter of moment that they should be eliminated from observations in which great exactitude is required. Thus, before a just comparison can be instituted between the results obtained by different observers in noting the moment at which a star crosses the meridian, it is essential that the difference between their "individual co-efficients," or, in other words, the time found by independent experiment to be occupied by each in responding to an impression of a particular order, should be eliminated.

What, however, is more germane to my present purpose is that this "individual co-efficient," even in the case of the sim-

plest re-actions, is found to differ very appreciably in the same person under different psychical and physical conditions.

Towards the detailed exploration of the vast field of enquiry presented by the subject, comparatively little in the way of exact experiment has yet been effected. Certain significant facts, however, have been conclusively established; while a number of others are either so obvious as to be patent to ordinary observation, or may be reasonably anticipated on *a priori* grounds.

That certain causes, as, for instance, differences of temperature, or of the electro-tonic condition of the nerves, exercise a marked effect on the rate of propagation of the nerve currents, has been ascertained by direct physical experiment; and it follows that such causes must have a corresponding effect on the rapidity not only of all sensory and motor processes, but of all mental processes dependent in any degree on present sensation.

Certain poisons again, such as curare, conine and nicotine, are known to diminish the contractility of the muscles, probably by impairing the power of the nerves to transmit excitement to them, and must consequently affect the rapidity with which motor processes are performed. The distribution of the blood, and its condition, especially as regards the amount of carbonic acid present in it, are also known to have a powerful effect on the activity of the nervous system generally.

When the operations of the mind come to be considered, not only is the number of purely physical causes by which the rate of action is liable to be affected, enormously multiplied, but the limits of variation are indefinitely extended.

Most of us must be more or less familiar with the effect of extreme cold in producing not merely local insensibility and rigidity, but general torpor. Now, once let it be admitted that the rapidity of brain action is diminished by extreme cold, and there ceases to be anything paradoxical in the assertion that, for the same individual, time may be one thing in one latitude and another thing in another latitude. For the value, or capacity, of time, as measured by the amount of mental, or combined mental and physical work which can be performed in it, is manifestly dependent wholly or largely on the rate of brain action.

The effect of inhaling an atmosphere vitiated by excess of carbonic acid in deadening the intellectual faculties is more common, though, perhaps, not so generally recognised, and the influence of certain narcotics in the same direction is a matter of notoriety, if not of universal experience.

The effect of certain stimulants and narcotics on "re-action-time" has been made the subject of exact measurement by Dietl, Vintschgau, Kraepelin and others.

Thus, champagne in small doses has been found to shorten re-action-time; but, when large doses are used, the acceleration is followed, after a certain interval, by an opposite effect. Alcohol, in doses of seven grains and a half and upwards, appears first to shorten and afterwards to lengthen re-action-time; and, the larger the dose, the more rapidly the second of these stages supervenes. In the case of response to a simple impression, a dose of fifteen grains was found first to reduce the re-action-time by twenty seven thousandths of a second, and afterwards to lengthen it by twenty-five thousandths of a second. A dose of thirty grains first caused an acceleration of thirty-four thousandths of a second, and then a retardation of thirty-seven thousandths of a second, and one of forty-five grains an acceleration of thirteen thousandths followed by a retardation of forty-four thousandths of a second, while a dose of sixty grains caused immediately a lengthening of the reaction-time to the extent of fifty-four thousandths of a second. Where operations of the judgment are concerned, the effect of these stimulant narcotics is similar, but more marked.

Morphia, injected hypodermically, speedily lengthens re-action-time. Inhalation of nitrite of amyl is followed first by a considerable increase and afterwards by a diminution. Coffee, prepared in the usual way, diminishes re-action-time, the diminution beginning to take effect after twenty or twenty-five minutes and continuing for some hours. Tea produces a marked diminution, succeeded by an increase of re-action-time.

The above facts point with unmistakable clearness to the general conclusion that whatever stimulates the nervous system, tends to shorten and whatever depresses it, to lengthen, reaction time; and this conclusion is fully borne out by observation of the effects of fatigue, of depressing emotion, of physical pain, of malaise and of moderate bodily exercise.

After a lengthy series of experiments, remarks Signor Buccola, in his work; *La Legge del Tempo nei Fenomeni del Pensiero*, the obvious effects of weariness are invariably encountered, in the excessive numerical values obtained; the reason being that the attention, like every other physiological process of the organism, is unable long to maintain the same degree of strain.

After a depressing emotion, according to the observations of Dietl and Vintschgau, not only is the re-action-time of the sufferer immediately increased, but the increase may continue for days. The effect of chronic melancholy in the same direction is still more marked. Signor Buccola states, as the result of experiment, that subjects suffering from this morbid affection take double and treble the ordinary time to respond to a simple impression. As to physical pain, Obersteiner

mentions the case of a lady whose time of re-action to impressions of sound was increased by a slight headache from a normal average of a hundred and thirty-four thousandths to an average of a hundred and seventy-five thousandths of a second. In the case of a subject who had been frequently experimented on by Signor Buccola; and whose re-action-time in the case of impressions of sound had been found to vary but little in health from an average of a hundred and thirty-three thousandths of a second, a slight attack of fever, accompanied by a painful sensation of dulness about the head, raised this figure to a hundred and sixty-five thousandths of a second. What is more remarkable is that, under these conditions, the re-action-time of the patient, hitherto very constant, was found to be excessively variable, reaching, in one experiment, the high figure of two hundred and sixty-three thousandths of a second, whereas in health it had never been known to exceed a hundred and eighty thousandths of a second.

Even a slight degree of general discomfort has a very marked influence on physiological time. Dr. Beaunis, in the *Revue Philosophique* for September, 1885, has recorded the results of an interesting series of experiments on this point. "The state of health," he says, "has a considerable influence on re-action-time. I will cite, in illustration, a series of experiments performed on myself on the 24th July. Without being actually indisposed, I was nevertheless ill at ease. In a first series of experiments, made in the morning, the time of expectation being 1.82 sec., the signal movement was three times made in anticipation of the second visual impression. In the other four experiments, the re-action-time averaged 0.37 sec., the minimum being 0.34 sec. Never, in any other experiment, had this minimum of 0.34 sec. been reached. In the afternoon of the same day a fresh series of experiments gave me a minimum of 0.15 sec., and a maximum of 0.29 sec., showing that the abnormal condition, though not entirely removed, was passing away." Two hours later, a fresh series of experiments gave Dr. Beaunis a minimum of eleven hundredths, and a maximum of twenty-one hundredths of a second, which, he tells us, corresponded with his normal re-action-time.

From these facts and figures the inference is irresistible, that nothing which affects, however slightly, the tonicity of the nervous system, or even one's general sense of *euphoria*, or well-being, is without a corresponding influence on the rate of brain action.

This once granted, it is no mere speculation, but an unavoidable conclusion, that differences of "physiological time" in the same individual will be correlated with differences of

place, or, to speak more accurately, with the differences of environment implied in differences of place. For no doubt exists as to the influence, upon general health, not only of special meteorological conditions, but of the complex multitude of conditions, subtle and palpable, which make up what is commonly called the climate of a place.

No one who has suffered from malarial fever in either an acute or a sub-acute form, or who has witnessed its effects in others, can be unaware that, although in the pyrexial stage it is not unfrequently attended with cerebral exaltation, it is, in its other stages, invariably associated with such a deadening of nervous tonicity and sensibility as would necessarily exercise a more or less potent retarding influence on the "physiological time" of the sufferer. Even in those milder forms of malarial poisoning in which the disease does not assume a paroxysmal form, nervous depression is a constant feature of the sufferer's condition. Now, whatever doubt there may still be as to the etiology of malaria, its connection with locality is altogether beyond dispute.

But, apart from distinct pathological states, the aggregate influence of the conditions which constitute the climate of a place, on our general sense of well-being, is a matter of common experience, while in many cases the influence of special conditions is sufficiently distinct to manifest itself separately to everyone who pays any attention to the matter. What inhabitant of London, or its suburbs, for instance, is not familiar in his own person with the deadening effect on the nervous system of that lurid pall of mingled smoke and cloud, so vehemently anathematised by Mr. Ruskin, which but too frequently obscures the sun for whole weeks together. The effect is, indeed, both prompt and marked, to an extent that can hardly be explained by the mere diminution of light; for total darkness, unless prolonged beyond certain limits, does not appear to impair the activity of the nervous centres, if, indeed, it does not exalt that of some of them, notably of the auditory nerve cells.

But, though total darkness does not at once impair the sensibility of the nervous system, even partial deprivation of sunlight, when continued for many days, has a very marked effect in this respect, inducing the pathological condition known as etiolation, attended, along with other morbid symptoms, by a lethargy not very unlike that caused by malarial poisoning.

That for each individual there is a certain average intensity of sunlight, determined partly by natural constitution and partly by habit, more favourable to a healthy state of nervous sensibility than any other, and that, consequently, a change, whether in the way of diminution or of increase, will be attended by a deterioration of such sensibility, is, therefore, only a

reasonable conclusion. Everyone must be familiar with the fact that excessive glare not only interferes with clearness of vision, but, after a time, produces in those exposed to it a general state of daze which may continue some time after its cause has been removed. Now, average intensity of sun-light being dependent upon latitude and climate, we have here another probable causal link between locality and "physiological time."

The result of extreme cold in diminishing the conductivity of the nerves, when so applied as to lower their temperature, has been already noticed. It does not, of course, follow that differences of external temperature, when unattended by any change in the temperature of the nerve substance itself, would have any influence on physiological time; but, judging from what is known of the effect of such differences on the state of the nervous system generally, it might be confidently predicted that such would be the case. Towards the elucidation of this point but little has yet been effected. Certain experiments have, indeed, led Dietl and Vintschgau to the conclusion that re-action-time is shorter in winter than in summer. This conclusion, however, in the general terms in which it is stated by them, probably stands in need of some qualification. The observers in question, it may be added, do not appear to refer to extreme cold, and presumably the temperature at which their experiments were performed was not low enough to give rise to a sense of physical discomfort. The probability is that, as far as ordinary temperatures are concerned, no law can be laid down that shall be applicable to all persons, and that for each individual there is a certain temperature, determined by constitution and habit, which is most favourable to healthy nervous sensibility, and any departure from which in either direction will impair such sensibility, and consequently lengthen re-action-time.

Dietl and Vintschgau argue that the results obtained by them are conformable to every-day experience, which shows that the winter season is favourable to the operations of the mind, and that those operations are carried on with more or less difficulty in very hot weather. The former statement, however, is true only in respect of the inhabitants of cold climates; while, as to the latter, the expression "very hot weather" must obviously be construed relatively to the individual concerned.

A native of India, for instance, is reduced to a state of comparative torpor, physical and mental, by a degree of cold which a native of England or Germany finds pleasant and conducive to activity of both mind and body; while a degree of heat which would prostrate a native of Northern Europe, not



inured to it, strikes him as temperate, and is favourable to the fullest exercise of all his faculties.

Another constituent of climate which exercises a noteworthy effect on the activity of the nervous system, and may, therefore, fairly be presumed to influence re-action-time, is the proportion of oxygen, and yet another that of ozone, in the atmosphere.

Though an exact comparison of re-action-time in individual instances can be made only by means of scientific investigation with the aid of suitable apparatus, the cumulative effects of persistent differences in this respect may very well be palpable to ordinary observation.

To turn to certain facts, among others of a similar kind, within my own personal experience :—

It happened to me, some years ago, to return to London in the depth of winter, after a long residence in a sub-tropical climate; and one of the first things that struck me was that time, as measured by work other than mechanical—not merely by purely mental work, but by all work in which the physical element did not largely preponderate—had undergone for me a marked diminution in value. The day, estimated by the quantity of such work capable of being performed in it, seemed reduced to about half its usual length; and I found this to be the case not only on days when I was largely occupied in intellectual work of a continuous kind, but when I was mainly engaged in ordinary affairs, demanding for their performance merely simple operations of the judgment, combined with simple and familiar motor acts.

In comparing the value of the day, as a whole, in the two places, it was obviously essential to eliminate certain disturbing elements. In London, for instance, my working day, as measured by the clock, was actually somewhat shorter than it had been abroad. Then, again, there were a multitude of little things which I had to do for myself in London, whereas abroad I had been accustomed to have them done for me; some of these things being of the nature of adjuncts to measurable work, while others were unconnected with any work capable of being estimated at the end of the day. Some allowance, too, had to be made for the disturbing influence of unfamiliar surroundings, and for a variety of unwonted interruptions. Still, after making a liberal allowance for all such disturbing elements, I felt that there was a heavy balance against the efficiency of the day in London, which could be accounted for only by physiological conditions.

Most of the disturbing elements referred to could, moreover, be eliminated, by taking as the basis of comparison, not the entire day in either place, but some definite portion of it occupied with continuous work of a similar kind. The

result of such a comparison was to confirm the conclusion that a difference of "physiological time" was by far the most important factor in the problem, and that, where any of the higher operations of the mind were largely concerned, this difference was of considerable magnitude. Judging merely from my feelings, it appeared to me that the difference was largely dependent on diminution of temperature and of average intensity of sunlight far below the standard to which I had become habituated during my long residence abroad. On two occasions, on proceeding for a few days to the sea-coast, the change was promptly followed by a marked exaltation of nervous sensibility, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the facility and rapidity with which mental operations of every kind were performed. In both these cases, along, no doubt, with a multitude of less obvious differences of environment, there was a slight increase of temperature, together with a considerable increase of sunlight, and probably of the proportion of both oxygen and ozone in the atmosphere.

If there were anything extraordinary about the above experience, it would be undeserving of record in connexion with the subject of this paper; for, in that case, a presumption would naturally arise that the facts observed were dependent on idiosyncrasy. But, instead of being in any way extraordinary, it is merely a typical instance of what is a matter of every-day observation. Who that is at all accustomed to mental work has not discovered from experience that he can perform such work better in one place than in another? Who, again, is unaware that, although the most rapid work is not always the best work, nevertheless the place in which he can work best is generally that in which he can also work most rapidly?

The effect of abrupt changes of climate on re-action-time depends to a great extent, it may be admitted, on physiological disturbance caused by the strangeness of the external conditions, and, so far as this is the case, acclimatisation will tend to minimise differences resulting from climatic causes. Nevertheless, it is in a high degree probable that the average re-action-time of the natives of different parts of the world would be found to bear a constant relation to the climatic conditions of their respective habitats; or, in other words, it would be found that, just as there is an "individual co-efficient," so there is a topical "co-efficient" which enters into it.

Until they come to consider the matter closely, most persons will, probably, be apt to look upon the fact of re-action time differing in different persons, or in the same person under different conditions, as one which is rather curious than im-

portant, or which, at all events, mainly concerns astronomers and other scientific observers whose pursuits require them to record, or act upon, certain events with special promptitude. It is obvious, however, that if, when men make special effort to observe or act with promptitude, such differences occur in the rapidity with which they succeed in observing or acting, much greater differences of the same kind will occur when they make no such special effort. If there is a constant difference in the time in which A and B, respectively, accomplish the various processes that come into play in the making and marking of a simple astronomical observation, we may reasonably conclude that there will be a like difference in the time they will require to perform every act of their lives involving similar or more complex processes.

If, again, there is a constant difference in the time required by A or B to make a simple astronomical observation under different sets of physical conditions, then we may rest assured that there will be a like difference in the time required by him to perform any other act involving operations of the nerves and nerve centres of a similar, or more complicated, kind under such different sets of conditions.

It is true, the total time occupied in the propagation of an excitement in the nerve fibres is so infinitesimal that differences in its rate may be practically disregarded, and therefore difference of re-action-time will not affect, in an appreciable degree, the rate at which acts that are purely or mainly mechanical are performed. The quantity of ground a man can dig, or the distance he can walk, in a given time is mainly a question of muscular power and physical endurance, and individual re-action-time has no appreciable effect on the rate at which such work is performed, as long as it is done mechanically. Yet even in the case of such work it will often happen that conscious operations of the judgment intervene between the sensory and motor processes concerned. In walking over rough ground, for instance, or in crossing a crowded thoroughfare, a more or less conscious mental effort is the frequent antecedent of one's choice of direction, and the rapidity with which the judgment acts will have a very sensible effect on the rate of one's progress.

It is but a small fraction of the active lives of most of us, however, that is occupied in such simple operations as these. Not only are some or other of the higher intellectual processes constantly called into play in most of the bread-winning work of the world, but there is hardly an act of our domestic and social lives, however apparently simple, into which operations of the judgment do not enter.

Take, for instance, so comparatively simple an operation

## PERSONAL TIME.

as the sorting of a mass of letters. Here is a process which will be more or less mechanical according to the system of classification adopted. Should the system be alphabetical, all that will be necessary to determine the proper place for each letter will be to glance at the name of the writer; and when once we have familiarised ourselves with the positions of the several batches, the operation will be almost purely mechanical. Suppose, however, that we elect to sort our letters according to subject. To decide upon the destination of each document, we shall now have not only to make ourselves acquainted with the gist of its contents, but to perform a more or less complicated act of the judgment, and our re-action-time will become a comparatively important factor in determining the rate at which the operation is performed. Everyone who has had frequent occasion to go through this somewhat unpleasant task must have discovered that the rate at which he can work varies widely with his mental condition from one time to another. On one occasion the acts of judgment necessary in order to assign each letter to its proper place will be performed with a rapidity approaching that of intuition; on another it will be attended with much conscious effort and more or less prolonged hesitation.

Or take another common operation, of a somewhat different type, the packing of a portmanteau for a journey. Here the process is synthetic, instead of analytic, and the problem is often one of considerable complexity. There are several independent and perhaps conflicting ends to be harmonised:—space has to be economised as much as possible, while, at the same time, the contents of the portmanteau have to be arranged with reference not merely to future convenience, but to their safe carriage. To perform the operation with rapidity and success, a comprehensive view of a number of minute particulars, combined with a succession of prompt and accurate judgments regarding their mutual relations, is necessary. In such a case re-action-time is of immense importance. If we are in a bright mood, things will fall into their places, as by a series of happy inspirations. If we are in a dull mood, we shall linger hesitatingly over the disposition of each article, and, should we be pressed for time, may probably miss our train.

Now, these two trite operations, which I have chosen because, while they are apt at first sight to appear highly mechanical, they are found, on examination, to involve complicated mental processes, may be taken as typical, one or the other, of more than half the acts of our lives.

To the unreflecting mind, differences of time measured in hundredths of a second may seem very trifles, unworthy of

serious consideration ; but such differences, when accumulated, may mean hours in the course of a day's work, days in the course of a month, years in the course of a lifetime. When Dr. Beaunis made the experiments to which I have referred above, he was "not indisposed ;" he was only slightly "ill at ease ;" yet, in that condition the average time occupied by him in making a simple movement in response to a visual signal, was increased from about sixteen hundredths to about thirty-seven hundredths of a second, or, in other words, it was considerably more than doubled. This means that, in all probability, it would have taken him, under the same conditions of discomfort, at least twice as long as usual to perform any work involving a succession of such re-actions to sensory impressions, and more than twice as long as usual to perform any mental work of a more complicated nature. Passed under such conditions, it is, therefore, not too much to say, a month, a year, or a lifetime, as measured by brain-work, even of a simple kind, or by any work into which brain-work largely entered, would be robbed of half its potential value.

Now, between perfect health and a condition which declares itself in consciousness as one of discomfort, there are endless degrees of imperfect health which, though not thus clearly manifesting themselves in consciousness, affect in a greater or less degree, the tone of the nervous system, and it may be reasonably inferred, reduce by corresponding percentages the rate at which the nervous centres perform their functions. Of such degrees of imperfect health, habit is, next to diet, perhaps, the most frequent correlate. The implication is obvious. If the rate at which a man's brain works is but twenty per cent. less rapid at—say—Upernivik, than in London, or in London than—say—at Brighton, then it follows that time, as measured by brain-work, is shorter for him by one-fifth at Upernivik than in London, or in London than at Brighton ; ten hours in the one place are equivalent to only eight hours in the other ; fifty years to only forty.

And is it not when so measured that time, after all, possesses the most practical importance for us? Clock measurement is but a device for adjusting our acts to those of our fellow-men, or to the succession of natural events, a very important object, it may be granted, but yet only subsidiary to our fruition of the hours as they pass. To know the right moment and to seize it is often half the battle ; but the ability to seize the right moment and utilise it implies preparation for it ; and the measure of that preparation is limited by the potentialities of the moments that have preceded it.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

## ART. VIII.—SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

*The Story of My Life*; by Right Hon'ble SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart.

OF all Indian civilians of his generation—say between 1830 and 1860—none landed in India with less prestige or left it with more distinction than the sometime Governor of Bengal whose autobiography has been lately brought out by Messrs. Cassell and Co. Without the burly vigour of John Lawrence or the suave presence of Bartle Frere, he was equally wanting in the subtle originality of such men as Sir John Strachey or Sir Alfred Lyall. With an appearance that invited caricature and a delivery that made no impression, he had passed among his College mates for a comic character, under the homely alias of “Bumble”; and he had the ill-luck to be absent from India on two momentous occasions when he seemed to lose all ordinary opportunities of distinction. Yet we see this son of a small country squire becoming successively Chief of the Central Provinces, Resident at Haidarabad, Finance Minister, Lieutenant of Bengal, and Governor of the the great Western Presidency. Nor was this all; not content with having filled five posts, each of which would have been the climax of an ordinary Civil officer's career, he comes home, not to enjoy his well-earned rest by planting cabbages in his ancestral kitchen-garden, but to take his place in Parliament as an active member, and to preside at the councils of the London School-Board; to become a Privy Councillor; and to have his recollections published by a good firm and welcomed by the London critics, who so seldom notice an Indian book. If Melpomene did not smile upon his cradle, he has, nevertheless, won the admiration of his fellow-citizens as much as if he had remained in England all his life and produced as much poetry as Sir Lewis Morris.

The book under our notice gives a reply to the question thus raised; and it does yet more, by supplying a practical plan of life, or Young Man's Guide to Success, which deserves a place in the outfit of every Indian Civil Servant who wishes to see how prosperity may be won; not by superfine sentiment or social charm so much as by an unrelaxing, undeviating pursuit of the path of duty, and by a genial tolerance of the faults and follies of those with whom that path may bring you in contact.

Temple landed in India in 1846, and, after the usual probationary period in the College of Fort William, which was then an obligatory matter for young Bengal “writers,” proceeded

to Agra to join the North-West Province staff, then ruled by the Hon'ble James Thomason. His first district was Muttra, of which the Magistrate and Collector was Mr. Edward Thornton, afterwards known in England as Chairman of the P. and O. Company. After a short apprenticeship in land revenue work, he was one of the young officers selected by Lord Dalhousie to introduce law and order into the newly annexed province of the Punjab; and early in 1851 he became an Assistant Commissioner in the Jalandar Duab, which had already been licked into some sort of shape by John Lawrence. That masterful man was not yet Chief Commissioner of the Province, having for superior his brother Henry, and for colleague Mr. Mansel. These exalted administrators finding occasions of serious difference, the Governor-General presently called for a report on the condition of the country; and Temple, whose keen observation and graphic, if somewhat pompous, gift of language had begun to make him remarked—was selected by the Chief to lay his views before the Supreme Government.

But, although the Chief might nominally address the Government, it was the younger brother who really inspired the report. The hand might be that of Esau, but the voice was the voice of Jacob. John Lawrence was, by title, Financial Commissioner; but, as Sir T. Munro had long since observed, he who rules the Land Revenue rules the Land in India. The chivalrous chief was for preserving the feudal aristocracy of the Province; the Financial Commissioner was bent on recognising and strengthening the villagers who tilled the land. Into that buried controversy no one need enter now; the Knight's bones are dust, and the more prosaic scheme has prevailed and borne good fruit. Temple won his first step in the Secretariat by aiding it with his pen.

The service was doubtless congenial; and in that service he found the school which made him the diligent energetic administrator that he became. The measures by which the Punjab was converted to peace and order, and prepared to be the fulcrum of resistance to the perils of 1857, were fully detailed in Temple's report, and will be found excellently summarised in Trotter's *India under Victoria*, Vol. I. It is a characteristic record, showing Anglo-Indian officialism in its most favourable light. There is little or none of the pragmatic pedantry of gentlemen in the Secretariat imposing European ideas upon a backward population; but one sees the work of hearty practical sagacity directing native industry into beneficial channels.

Naturally, the skilful apologist soon developed into the permanent, and, in fact, indispensable, Secretary; not a Mayor of the Palace, indeed; Henry Lawrence soon retired from an



untenable situation, and the harder of the brothers succeeded to the Chief Commissionership ; but John Lawrence was not a man to be influenced by any Prime Minister, however useful. We have it on Temple's own testimony that he would listen to all that his Secretary had to say, and then bid that Secretary to sit down and draft a Minute in a directly contrary sense.

In 1856, after ten years of well-employed exile, Temple took leave to England. During his absence the Bengal Army mutinied, and the Punjab was exposed to a truly fiery assay. The strong-willed founder was still there ; but it must have seemed to the former Secretary a bitter blow that held him away from his Chief at such a moment. The absentee hastened back with all convenient speed, and became Commissioner of the Lahore Division in 1858 ; but ere two years had passed, he was called to Calcutta to supply facts and local colour to the financial reforms of the Treasury Official, Jas. Wilson, who had been sent out from London to restore a shattered system. It does not appear that Temple had much to do in this affair, or, indeed, that he ever had any special aptitude for the financial branch of public administration. He was probably more at home in the pigskin than on the stool of an office ; and, indeed, Mr. Wilson's short Indian career did not lead to the supposition that he was a man to lean on local aid. In 1861 Temple succeeded Colonel Elliott as Chief Commissioner of the newly-constituted Central Provinces, and it is hard to believe that he could feel as keenly as the Anglo-Indian public did how much more congenial was the new occupation. From that date his success knew no check, if we except a momentary disaster due to a brief return to the dark and mysterious region of Finance.

The Central Provinces arose out of the re-construction that ensued upon the suppression of the Mutiny. When Lord Canning had been advised to annex the Delhi territory to the Punjab Lieutenantcy and to move the seat of the North-West Government to Allahabad, it was found necessary to make some definite arrangement for what had been known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territory, formerly administered, in considerable difficulty, by the Government of Agra. This territory was now made into what was in those days known as "a non-regulation province ;" and the next six years saw the country take form and organisation under the new Chief's almost autocratic sway. In all Temple's long and splendid career there has been no period so useful to the Empire, and probably none so happy for himself, as this long spell of labour, in which he carried into practice the lessons he had learned in the Punjab. An able and instructive summary of the result will be found in Capt. Trotter's already cited work (*India under Victoria*,



II. (199). There may be seen how, with restless energy, the indefatigable Chief rode round his torrid principality on horseback, braving hot winds and dust storms, fording unbridged rivers, and bringing the direct influence of the Master's eye to bear upon the work of all subordinates. The great defect of the province was a small population—hardly a hundred to the square mile—and many of those little better than savages. A deficiency of that sort was not to be made good in six years by any individual, however energetic. But the foundations of peace, order, and prosperity were undoubtedly laid.

In 1867 the versatile administrator became British Minister at Haidarabad, a post which has been trying, if not fatal, to many an official reputation, but in which Temple's shrewdness and tenacity enabled him to avoid pitfalls for the short term of his incumbency. Before the end of the year he was once more called to Head Quarters, and made use of in the Government of the Empire. His new post was that of Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; a branch of administration usually held by the Viceroy in person, and thus offering less scope for originality in the subordinate than might be the case where Secretary and Councillor are more nearly co-ordinate in rank and standing. But Temple was now to become a Minister himself; and for six not too prosperous years he held the portfolio of Finance in the Indian Empire.

Temple's prentice hand was not fortunate. Having "budgeted for a surplus" in 1869, he went to Europe on leave. No sooner was his back turned than Sir John Strachey—afterwards to split his own bark upon the same rock—subjected the Estimates to a scrutiny, the result of which was to show that a deficit of two millions sterling was at hand. Sharp measures being immediately adopted, the ship of State resumed her course, and the pilot was once more taken on board, but Lord Mayo was too honest and too earnest a ruler to run any more risks. Until the tragic and premature end of that nobleman's tenure of office, Temple's position was strictly subordinate, and the Viceroy personally initiated the famous reforms of 1870-72. Mayo's successor, Lord Northbrook, was equally independent, and perhaps even more qualified, and the abolition of the unpopular and demoralising income-tax was generally understood to be the act of the Viceroy alone.

In 1874 Temple obtained what may be regarded as the great opportunity of his life. Hitherto he had been known as the agent rather than as the originator, and had worked in long-established grooves. A crisis seemed now at hand

which would try all by whom it might be encountered with absolutely new conditions. In 1861-2 there had been a scarcity in Upper India, but it had been limited as to space, and of short duration. But in the autumn of 1873 it seemed that the periodical rains had failed over the greater part of the Lower Provinces, a region equivalent in area to the whole of France.

Public opinion was just at the moment in want of a sensation in England; and Indian affairs had already begun to attract more attention than before the fall of the great Company which had formerly acted as a screen between India and the master-nation. The London Press took up the famine in Bengal and Behar, headed by the *Times*, which enunciated the bold doctrine of official responsibility for human life. The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was Sir George Campbell, an Anglo-Indian Civilian of high reputation, but naturally anxious not to incur expense which might afterwards meet with disapproval from his superiors; Lord Northbrook, having accepted from London the mandate of unrestrained outlay, preferred to be directly, and, so to say, personally represented on the scene of the disaster; and the energetic Finance-Minister was sent down to the afflicted region as a sort of *ad-latus* to the Lieutenant-Governor. Campbell soon after resigned and Temple took his place.

Into the once-debated question of the period, this is not the place for entering. Temple was accused of having over-estimated the crisis with which he so successfully coped; and humourists amused themselves and the public with stories of the Bibu who said that "His Honour had held a famine." But, as Temple himself pointed out, the success of a cure ought not, in common fairness, to be made the only argument for minimising the gravity of the disorder. A good deal of money was certainly expended; but the will of Jove was accomplished. The programme of the Thunderer was almost carried out; in a population of fifty millions, it was stated, not fifty deaths had occurred from starvation; and, seeing that in the bills of our London mortality at least as many such casualties occur annually without any abnormal conditions, no official was hanged, and Temple became a Baronet. The whole net special outlay exceeded six millions sterling, two-thirds of which were at once made good out of the revenue of that year.

So far, no just blame can attach to Sir Richard; where the enemy found better occasion was three years later, when he was in temporary charge of a more serious and wide-spreading operation. The famine of 1877 was to be "a cheap famine," and Temple undertook to deal with an enormous calamity

on principles diametrically opposed to those which he had applied to one of far less intensity. The result was disastrous: the famine lasted two years, during which the loss of revenue, and the actual extraordinary expenditure, amounted altogether to more than double the cost of 1873, while the mortality amounted to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  millions in excess of the normal rate.

Sir Richard next became Governor of Bombay, where his tenure of office was not marked by any events of moment; and he now, in his retirement, looks back with pardonable pride on a career distinguished by success justly attributable to zeal, loyalty, a capacity for using the heads and hands of other men, a constant readiness to do good, and a singular absence of ill nature or vindictive passion.

## ART. IX.—FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN THE PUNJAB.

THE crime of Female infanticide among the Hindus of certain parts of India is not of recent origin. Their

Origin of Female ancient sacred books show that it was infanticide. practised in times of yore. In the *Garar Purán* which claims antiquity next only to the Vedas, and which is supposed to have been compiled long before the days of the

Mahabharata and Ramáyana, punishment for the murder of female children is distinctly laid down.

The text says :—

Mention in the *Garar Purán*. *Kania ghátá bahwet kushti tiryaseh chandál unisho.*

Meaning :—

“ He who kills an unmarried girl, shall become a leper, and must be treated as a *Chandul*, or low caste ” (such as sweeper, &c.)

See Chapter 5, Shlok (verse) 3.

2. Manu, the great Hindu law-giver, who flourished 2,200

In the laws of Manu. years ago, or before the time of Bikramajit, says in Chapter XI of his

Code :—

“ He who kills his daughter shall be sent to the hell of the lowest region, filled up with blood and pus. He who commits such a sin perpetrates the murder of a Brahman, which is tantamount to inflicting an injury on God.\*

Further on, Manu says in the same Chapter :—

*Kania ghátá chhe prap pluu kumbhay barkang puri chaele.*

Namely :—“ He who kills a *kania* (unmarried girl), shall have his abode in the hell of the fiercest region.”

The particular allusion to the murder of an unmarried girl (or *kania*, clearly indicates that in the age of Manu and even before that, girls were murdered by their parents, either for fear of incurring marriage expenses, or to avoid the supposed disgrace of having a son-in-law, and thus lowering their status in society.

3. The *Srimat Bhágwat*, believed to have been compiled three

In *Srimat Bhágwat*. or four thousand years ago, in Askand

(Chapter) X, narrates the story of Kans, Raja of Mathura, who put to death the newly-born female child of his own sister, and was, particularly for this offence, punished with death.

\* According to Hindu belief, a Brahman is the incarnation of the deity.

4. In the Garg Sangta, of which the origin is claimed for a time anterior to the birth of Krishna Avatár, the famous pipe-blower, and Raja Praschat, it is laid down that the murder of a *kanti*, or unmarried girl, is more heinous by several degrees than the killing of a cow or a Bráhmañ.

There are various passages in Praschat Vavek, Kashi Khand, In other Hindu reli- gious books. Praschat Minjri and Praschat Eudiv Sanjar, all ancient Hindú religious books, providing most severe punishment for the crime of Female infanticide, such as living in the jungle for twelve years, finding means of livelihood by begging alms from door to door for as many years, and the like punishments.

5. If the crime had not been prevalent in the time of Presumption that the Manu, his celebrated Code would not practice is very old. have provided severe punishment for it in such express and emphatic terms as it has done. Indeed, it was known to have existed before the time of Manu and it seems to have been prevalent, in a greater or less degree, in all ages since the dawn of history.

5. (a). The ancient Arabs killed their infant children, Ancient Arabs prac- tised child murder. male and female, to avoid the trouble and expense of feeding them, but on the rise of Islam the practice was totally stopped by the following verse of the Koran which, according to Mahomed, was revealed to him :—

*Wala taktilú auladakum min Khashia tin imlaq; nahn-o nar soko hum wa iya kum inna qullo hum kána khatú au kabira.*

Meaning :—

“Do not kill your children for the fear of poverty; for we supply them and you with food. Verily, the killing of children is a most heinous crime.”\*

6. The part most affected by this pestilence was, no doubt, Rajputáná, the seat of the great tribe, the Rajputs, who trace their genealogy to the sun and the moon. The descendants of the ancient reigning families of Rajputáná, up to the present time, call themselves Suraj Bansis and Chandra Bansis. The very idea of giving a daughter in marriage was repugnant to the feelings of the proud Rajputs, who preferred destroying the life of their infant daughters to marrying them, when grown up, to a stranger; and the practice was by degrees adopted by other Hindú castes. At the present moment it prevails all over India among several castes of the Hindus. A strange incident is recorded in Indian history showing a

\* Chapter XV, section 3, clause 12 of Alkoran.

strong contrast with the Rajput notions of pride of race and high birth. It is the marriage of the daughters of Rajput princes with the Mahomedan Moghul emperors of India. Thus the Rajput princes of the house of Amber and Jeypur, gave their daughters in marriage to Akbar. But the object which prompted these chiefs to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Moghul sovereigns was to connect themselves with royalty, and thus to acquire a share in the government of the country. It was the aim in life of the politic Akbar to ameliorate the two great sects of the Indian population, and he saw that matrimonial alliances with the powerful Rajputs would have the beneficial effect of enlisting Hindú sympathy on the side of his government. It was with these objects that the connection in question was formed.

7. The Rajputs considered it humiliating and degrading to have a son-in-law as the lord of their offspring of the female sex. The story of Raja Todar Mal, the other tribes, in later times, imitated them. It is said of Raja Todar Mal (a Khatri), the great financier of Akbar, who enjoyed the special privilege of wearing an aigrette on his turban when attending the court (a privilege peculiar to the princes royal), that when a daughter was first born to him, he gave up the practice of wearing the decoration, feeling that his pride had been humbled by the birth of a daughter, and that he ought, from that moment, to bend his head, instead of lifting it up in assertion of self-importance.

8. Some have tried to trace the origin of female infanticide among the Hindús to the period of Mahomedan rule in India, when, during the early Mahomedan invasions of Sindh, Kasim, the lieutenant of the Khalif of Baghdád, carried away by force the beautiful daughter of the Raja of Brahmanabad as a trophy for his royal master. (711 A. D.) Another instance cited is that of Komla Devi, wife of Raja Karan, of Gujrat, celebrated for her beauty, and presented to Sultan Ala-ud-din, along with other booty, by his general Khizr Khan (1297 A. D.). But the position becomes untenable when we remember the story of Ram Chandra king of Ayudhia (Oudh), and Ráwan, the reputed demon king of Lanka or Ceylon, the story of whose abduction of Sita, the beautiful wife of Rám, is graphically described by Válmiki in the pages of the Rámáyana. The story of Bismik the Raja of Kanshi Nares (Benarés), and of his daughter, Rukmini, who was carried away by force by Krishna Maharaj against the will of the girl's father, who wished to marry her to Shishopal, Rája of Chanderi, is too well known to need description. A war among the Rajas, who each coveted Daropti,

the beautiful daughter of Raja Daropat of Dasuha, was averted by the feats of valour performed by Arjuna, who ultimately married her. There have been numerous instances of abduction and carrying away married women in the annals of India relating to the Hindu period, and what a few early Mahomedan conquerors did in India was only what has frequently followed war among all nations and in all ages. An instance is to be found in the Bible (*Judges*, Chapter XXI) regarding the Benjamites. Speaking of the tribes of Israel who destroyed Jabesh Gilead, the text says :—

“ 10.—And the congregation sent thither twelve thousand men of the valiantest and commanded them, saying, go and smite the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead with the edge of the sword, with the women and the children.

“ 11.—And this is the thing that ye shall do. Ye shall utterly destroy every male and every woman that hath lain by man.

“ 12.—And they found among the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead four hundred young virgins that had known no man by lying with any male : and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan.”

Roman history records the incident of Romulus, the mythical founder of the city of Rome, who, having invited the neighbouring States with families to join the games held by him in honour of the god Conses, with his followers, rushed suddenly into the midst of the spectators, snatched up unmarried women in their arms, and carried them off by force. The consequence of this wholesale abduction of virgins was a series of wars, in which the Roman youth was forced to take refuge in his city on the Palantine

9—But when it is clearly shown that female child murder existed in parts of India centuries before the Mahomedan era, it becomes impossible to ascribe its origin to the Mahomedan conquest of that country. Moreover, the cause (supposing it ever existed) having vanished with a century of British rule in India, it does not stand to reason that the effect still continues.

Its true causes. The true and real causes to this day are the same as they were more than 2,000

years ago, or before the age of Manu, namely, a sense of degradation and of shame in having a son-in-law, and the fear of incurring heavy expenses in, first, marrying a daughter and providing her with a suitable dowry, and, again, in maintaining intercourse with the new comer in the family (her husband and lord, on a scale consistent with the honour and position of the girl's parents, which is simply a question of worldly means.

Living on the profits of usury is prohibited by the laws of

The practice grew into a custom. **Manu.\*** Yet custom has rendered it valid. So female infanticide, although strictly prohibited by the Shastras, continued to be practised by certain classes of the Hindus throughout India,† from the confines of Kashmir to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Southern Mahratta and Rajputana countries.

10 — The entire absence of any mention of it in the histories of the Mahomedan period in India leads to the conclusion that the practice did not exist in that period. In the Memoirs of Babar, translated from the Chowghattai language into Persian by Abdul Rahim, *Khan-i-Khanan*, and in the Tuzk of Jahangir, those Emperors have given a graphic description of Indian customs and usages. Jahangir notices the Sikh sect as an upstart of a new religion, the followers of which styled their leader "Guru" "As they were interfering with the true faith and aspired to political ascendancy, I had," writes Jahangir, "their Guru seized and ordered the sect to be punished." If the practice had existed to any extent during that period, it is not likely that the royal historians, who have given a minute description of Indian customs in their able works, would have omitted all mention of so glaring an evil in the country, and the measures they might have adopted in repressing it. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, or the Institutes of Akbar, which contains Regulations in all the branches of the administration, is silent on the subject. Hindu historians, like Sujun Rai, Kanungo of Batala, who flourished in the time of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Singh, the author of *Yadgar-i-Buhaduri*; Kishen Dial, author of *Ashraf-ul-Tawarikh*, Sada Sukh, author of *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, Umrao Singh, author of *Zubdatul Akhbar*, Har Sukh Rai, author of *Majmi-ul-Akhbar*, and others,† say nothing about it. If this omission be taken to be due to their unwillingness to expose an evil of their own sect, surely the Mahomedan historians had no such excuse and they would have been the first to mention it.

It may also be argued that Mahomedan historians ignored an evil which concerned neither them nor their sect, and hence the omission by them of any mention of it in their works. But

\* *Manu's Smriti*, Ch. XI, verse 61.

† A taste for history seems to have grown up among the Hindus during the later period of the Moghul Emperors, to which period the authors above named belong.

Raja Todar Mal was the first to introduce the use of Persian in the State accounts, which were formerly kept in Hindi by Hindu Moharries. He compelled his co-religionists to learn the Court language of their rulers.



there have been independent writers like Abdul Quadar Badaoni, the talented historian of Akbar, Hasham Khan, better known to English readers as Khafi Khan, the historian of Aurangzeb, and others ; and, as they have written their works in a spirit of perfect independence, concealing no shortcomings and leaning to no party, the omission by them of any mention of the evil in their respective works points unmistakeably to its absence during the period to which the histories relate. All this fairly leads to the inference that long before the Moghul period the practice had ceased to be known in India. It was either repressed by the rigour of the earlier Mahomedan rulers, or the practice had of itself died out with the loss of Hindu independence.

11.—But the practice was renewed as the Mahomedan Monarchy showed signs of decay, and it was in full force during the whole period of disorder and anarchy that intervened between the invasion of Nadir Shah and the establishment of the Sikh monarchy in the Panjab. It reached its height during the ascendancy of the Sikh *misl*s, before the rise of Ranjit Singh of

Was in full vigour during the ascendancy of the Sikh *misl*s.

the Sukerchakia *misl*, who subsequently became the ruler in chief of the Panjab. This we find evidenced by the pages of the *Nasihāt nama* (or Book of Admonitions) by Gobind, the martial Sikh Guru, called by the Sikhs their *Daswan Badshah* (or tenth King). The Guru says in the *Nasihāt nama* :—

*Kuri mar ki darshan nahin chahie.* “The face of one who kills his daughter must never be seen.”

In the *Panth Parkash*, the History of Sikhism, passages occur describing the evils of *Kuri mar* or female infanticide. It describes how Sukha Singh, the Sirdar of the Rām Garhia *Misl*, was excommunicated, as a punishment for his killing his infant daughter.

12. I have given a brief sketch of the history of female infanticide from the earliest known times to the period of the Sikh supremacy. Its history since the annexation of the Panjab. Mr. J. M. Douie, in his able paper on this subject, has traced its history from the time of annexation down to the present period. He describes how sternly the promulgation issued by Mr. (subsequently Lord) John Lawrence, as Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, denouncing the burning alive of widows, the killing of daughters and the burning alive of lepers, was enforced. This was followed by a great durbar held at Amritsar, the seat of Sikhism in the Panjab, attended by some of the feudatory chiefs and leading sirdars of the Panjab, at which rules restricting marriage expenses within certain limits were framed, and

agreements for their observance by the representatives of tribes concerned entered into.

13. I may add that a big durbar, attended by the leading Sikh chiefs and sirdars, was held at Lahore by Sir Robert Montgomery in 1862, at which he denounced the practice of Female Infanticide; and urged the introduction of a system of Female education in the province, as the only means of improving the social condition of the people and removing the evil customs which had obtained a deep root in the country.

14. Five years later, or in 1867, Sir Donald McLeod, who succeeded Sir Robert in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Panjab, directed his attention to the subject. In April of that year, he addressed a letter to the Anjuman-i-Panjab, Lahore, a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge (which subsequently gave birth to the Panjab University), inviting essays on the subject of Female infanticide, and offering, on behalf of the Panjab Government, certain money rewards for the best essays. Sir Donald, who, like his two great predecessors, Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery, possessed an intimate knowledge of the country, in his letter to the Anjuman, observed: "The idea prevalent among some classes, especially of Rajputs that it is honourable and necessary to marry a daughter to a male of a superior caste or tribe, and humiliating or inadmissible to marry her into the family of an inferior, is, in my opinion, a fertile cause of the prevalence of this crime, so that it seems very desirable to urge on the classes entertaining this idea the expediency of resorting to equal marriages."

15. Several essays were forwarded to the Government through the Anjuman with various recommendations, chief among which were the following:—

- 1.—Prohibition of early marriages.
- 2.—Improvement in treatment of brides by their father and mother-in-law.
- 3.—Re-marriage of widows.
- 4.—Prohibition of polygamy.
- 5.—Education of females.
- 6.—Payment by Government of marriage expenses.
- 7.—Giving medals to those who preserve their daughters.
- 8.—Rewarding those who aid Government in the matter.

- 9.—Excluding from Durbars, &c., those who withhold aid or countenance infanticide.
- 10.—Sending Pandits and others about to persuade the people, or European officers to convey complimentary messages.
16. At the request of the Lieutenant-Governor, Pandit Moti Lal, Mir Munshi to Government, an able scholar, wrote a memorandum on the subject embodying his own views. These were briefly the following :—
- Memorandum by Pandit Moti Lal
- 1.—As regards suspected villages, that the services of wives of headmen and patwaris be secured by half-yearly presents for watching expectant mothers in suspected families, being present at confinements, visiting daily for a time where the child born is a female, and recording the occurrence in the Patwari's diary, midwives being at the same time bound, under heavy recognizances, not to serve on any such occasion without summoning one of the above women to accompany them.
  - 2.—That, in every suspected town of considerable size, a Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a European midwife and a strong Police guard be stationed, the native midwives being bound under recognizances, as above, not to serve in suspected families without the attendance of the European one, by whom, on the birth of a female child, a report shall immediately be sent, through a Police Sergeant, to the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, pending whose attendance and examination of the child the midwives shall, on no account, leave the premises,—the surveillance of such child being continued for some days, and a *post-mortem* examination being held immediately in the event of its dying suddenly.
  - 3.—That a tax be levied on all suspected families to meet the outlay incurred in carrying out the measures proposed; there being no reason, in the Pandit's opinion, to apprehend any difficulty in determining what families may be justly suspected, as mutual jealousies will speedily admit of the truth being elicited in this matter, so soon as the tax is imposed.
  - 4.—That a British Officer of experience be specially deputed to visit all suspected localities, to obtain confidential opinions, to collect and collate in-

formation on all points relating to this subject, and furnish reports for the consideration and orders of Government.

Sir Donald, in his able Minute of 22nd June, 1870, has reviewed the whole of Pandit Moti Lal's essay. He was so much pleased with this essay, which was written by order, that he awarded the first prize of Rs. 500 to the author. His Honour, in the course of his review, has noticed one significant fact. He observes: "As the crime of Female infanticide is confined or nearly confined, to Hindus, it might reasonably have been expected that more of indignation against its perpetrators would have been felt by good men of that persuasion than by others, and that some of these would have been induced from this feeling, if not from a desire to compete for the prizes offered, to come forward and lend a helping hand towards bringing the commission of the crime to an end. Such has not, however, proved to be the case."

Sir Donald thought all the proposals made by the Pandit to be deserving of consideration; but, his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor being about to expire, he was unable to take any decisive step in the matter.

17. The Female Infanticide Act of 1870 was passed, and the rules were framed under it by the Local Government in December, 1884. The rules provide for the maintenance of a nominal Register in form A and a special Register in form B for the proclaimed villages. In the A Register are entered recognised heads of families, or masters of separate households as heads of families, and every member of the family habitually resident in the village is entered by name. All persons under twelve years of age are entered as children, except married female children living with their husbands, who, for the purposes of the rules, have been dealt with as adult females.

In Register B are recorded all births and marriages of females, and all deaths of unmarried female children, and of married females under twelve years of age not living with their husbands, occurring in the Jat families of the proclaimed villages. The Register to be kept by the officer in charge of the Police station within whose jurisdiction such village is situated.

It has been laid down as the duty of the person registered as the head of a proclaimed family to report immediately to the chowkidar of the village the occurrence in his family of every birth, marriage and death of a female as aforesaid, and also the illness of any female child. He is also to produce all children of his family for the inspection of a Police officer,

not below the rank of a Deputy Inspector, visiting the village, when required to produce them

Every midwife knowing of, or having reason to believe in, the occurrence in a proclaimed family in the village in which she resides, of a birth, or of the illness of a new-born child, is at once to report the fact to the chowkidar of the village.

It is the duty of the chowkidar to report immediately to the officer in charge of a Police station the occurrence of a birth, whether male or a female, in a proclaimed family, the marriage of a female, the death of an unmarried female, or a married female under twelve years, and not living with her husband, the illness of a female child and the removal of a pregnant woman to another village. He is also, on the occasions of his periodical visit to the Police station, to report pregnancies which have been reported to him, or have come to his knowledge.

The lambardars of each village are held responsible for the due performance by the chowkidars of the duties imposed upon them, and it has been laid down as their duty to render all assistance in their power to the Police in drawing up Register A, and in obtaining information of all births, marriages and deaths occurring in proclaimed families.

Among the Jats of the villages to which the rules apply, no person giving a female in marriage is to incur any expense, upon any ceremony or custom connected with her marriage, in excess of that specified by the rules. Similarly, no person receiving a female into his family in marriage, is to incur, on account of the marriage or any ceremony or custom connected therewith, expenses exceeding the total of the list specified by the rules.

It is the duty of the father or other head of the family celebrating the marriage to produce immediately before the Deputy Commissioner, or an officer deputed by him, on demand by the same, an account showing the actual expenses incurred, and to prove the correctness of the said account.

All expenses incurred in carrying the above rules into effect to be recoverable as an arrear of land revenue from the Jats of the promulgated village.

18. It would appear that Pandit Motí Lál was in favour

The rules very much in conformity with Pandit Motí Lál's views.

of the employment of the Patwari and Lambardari agency for watching expectant mothers. He advocated European supervision, the employment of a European midwife in suspected towns who, he thought, should be present at the time of each confinement, and the attendance of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon (now called Assistant Surgeon). With regard to Sub-Assistant Surgeons and English midwives,

Sir Donald observed: "But I very much doubt the practicability of having a Sub-Assistant Surgeon located in each suspected town, and still more so as respects locating a European midwife, as respectable persons of this class must be most difficult to procure."

With the exception of medical agency and the employment of European midwives, the rules framed by the Local Government are, in effect, very much the same as those proposed by Pandit Motí Lal. The utilisation of the Lambardar's services, the responsibility of native midwives, the supervision of Police, and the levy from zamindars of expenses incurred in carrying the rules into effect, were proposed by him.

19. The Act came into operation twenty-six years ago, and the rules have been in force for twelve years, but with what result? As ascertained in three districts of the Panjab (Jalandhar, Ludhiana and Ferozpur, to which

The repressive measures adopted prove of no avail.

the rules were made applicable in particular villages) there has been no improvement, and, in the words of Colonel Massy, the Commissioner of Jalandhar division, "the evil is now almost as glaring as before the introduction of the Act." For instance, Mr. Douie shows, as the result of his enquiry, that in six out of the nine villages in Jalandhar that have been brought under the operation of the Act, the number of female children under five years of age among the Sikhs is from 39 to 49 per cent of the male children of the same age. It is thus clear that the repressive measures taken in the proclaimed villages have been of no avail.

The views of Colonel Massy

Colonel Massy suggests, as a general remedy, the discouragement of extravagant expenditure on marriages "by all the persuasive influence which our administrative machinery can command." "I think we must," continues the Commissioner, "wait for a few years to gauge the effect of the movement for cheaper marriages (to be supported by legal authority, if later on found necessary) before applying any penal provisions broadcast to the Sikhs or Hindus in repression of infanticide."

20. In the suggested modification of the rules, the necessity of preparing the Register through the Police has been avoided, as in certain cases the Register may be kept

Suggested modification of rules.

by the Medical Officer. By existing rules, it is the duty of the head of the proclaimed family to report immediately to the chowkidar the occurrence of every birth, marriage and death of a female under twelve. By the proposed rules the report is to be made to the Lambardar through whom the revenue is paid. The Local Government shall, by the new rules,

have power to appoint a Medical Officer not below the rank of Hospital Assistant for the purpose of carrying out and supervising the provisions of the rules. Zeldars and Inamdars have been also bound to render every assistance in carrying out the provisions of the Act, and of all the rules framed thereunder. Another new and important feature of the proposed rules is that, while by the existing rules no person to whom they apply is to spend money on a marriage ceremony in excess of that specified by the rules, the proposed rules empower the District Magistrate, with the sanction of the Commissioner, to fix such expenses for the particular tribe of which he is a member. Thus, all residents, and not only proclaimed tribes, have been subjected to restrictions of marriage expenses.

21. His Honour Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, feels very doubtful on the whole question. He does not think much could be done in the way of checking female infanticide by limiting the marriage expenses. "No doubt," observes His Honour, "the restriction of marriage expenses has, from the first, formed part of the scheme for suppressing Female infanticide, and we have the authority of great names for including it in that scheme, but the Lieutenant-Governor cannot find that it has ever really been tried, and he feels so many doubts about it that he would prefer not to set about actually and effectually enforcing it until he learns what our officers generally, and in particular those of Lahore district who have not yet been consulted, have to say on the matter." His Honour quotes Lord Lawrence on the subject of Female Infanticide. His Lordship said :—

"To insure this great result, we must effect a radical change in the feelings, the prejudices, and the social customs of the people themselves," "and *that*," observes Sir Dennis,— "it will be admitted, is not an easy thing for a Government like ours to do."

22. With much deference to the opinion of the proposers of the amended rules, I do not think the rules as modified will, when put into force, have the effect of checking the evil to any appreciable extent. The proposal to have recourse to medical agency was first suggested by Pandit Motí Lal in 1870. Mr. Douie, in para 21 of his Report, has referred to a similar suggestion made by Mr. Leslie Saunders in 1871. The Pandit thought that Assistant Surgeons and English midwives should be appointed to watch the birth, &c., of female infants. Sir Donald McLeod, however, considered it to be impracticable.

cable. Although, no doubt, Hospital Assistants can, as now suggested, be conveniently posted in certain localities, yet the question is whether they, as a rule, belong to such a class of Government servants, having regard to their antecedents, education and status in life, as could be trusted for such a work? I don't think they do. The honesty of these Hospital Assistants is too well known. When required to give medical evidence in court, a present of a few rupees by the accused is sufficient to induce them to state on oath that the injury caused is only a hurt, although to naked eye it may be really a grievous hurt. How such a class of men could be trusted for this work, it is difficult to understand.

23. The Chowkidar's agency in reporting birth, illness, marriage and death of a girl of a certain age has been done away with. But the substitution of Lambardars for Chowkidars for the purpose, will, in my opinion, be of as little avail in securing the desired object as the system already in vogue. It is a well known fact, and I have ascertained this from the best informed persons in my recent tour in the district, that the introduction of the rules to suppress the murder of female children has proved a source of gain to the Lambardars. Why it has been so, will be explained further on. Their respective fees, or blackmail, for reporting the death of a female child are a fixed charge on the head of the family concerned, and no Chowkidar, or Lambardar, would put his seal on his report (vulgarly called the *Panchayat Nama*), without first putting the money in his pocket. Rupees 7 is the ordinary fee levied, of which, I am told, Rs. 2 goes to the Chowkidar and Rs. 5 to the lambardar of the Patti concerned. This is for the occurrence of ordinary deaths. For suspected deaths, the charges are more, according to the nature of each case and the surrounding circumstances. Again, it may be properly asked who are the Lambardars whose assistance it is desired to secure? The very men who perpetrate the offence themselves; the very persons who connive at these offences; persons who belong to the same village, whose sympathies are all with their own tribesmen, kindred and friends, who, as recognised heads of their respective clans and communities, are looked upon by their inferiors and subordinates to shelter them, and who, notwithstanding the blackmail they impose and the money they extort, obtain the approbation and applause of their fellow-villagers for sheltering them. Can such men be trusted for such a work? The fact is that, until their working is closely supervised, the more strict the rules are, the more remunerative they will prove to the Lambardars.

24. The addition of the Zeldar and Inamdar's responsibility



Zeldar's Agency. can mean only one thing. It will give them additional power to squeeze out money from the zamindars, who will have been already put to straits by the Lambardars. But the existing rules already make the lambardars responsible for rendering every assistance in working the rules. It is also the bounden duty of all Lambardars and Zeldars, under the Revenue rules, to aid the authorities in carrying out all measures affecting the safety of public life and property. To make fresh provision for what is already their duty, under the present rules, can scarcely lead to any practical result.

25. As for the hospital assistants whom, where practicable, it is proposed to substitute for Deputy Hospital Assistants, Inspectors of Police, or officers in charge of Police stations, it is evident how poorly paid these subordinate officials of the Medical Department are. I have already described their general tendencies in a preceding clause. Generally speaking, a present of Rs. 5 would be sufficient to induce such an official to report favourably any suspected case. Indeed, his fees or present, will be fixed for each case in which he may have to visit a locality, be the death of the female child from natural or unnatural causes. If at a minimum he visits five places in a month, then, at the rate of Rs. 5 a case, the lowest rate, his income would be 25 Rs. a month, and he will have earned almost as much more as his monthly salary. and will he not bless his stars for the pleasant duty imposed on him? There may be exceptions to this ; but we have to judge the whole body from their present state of education and standard of morality.

26. Now, the remedies suggested being likely to fail, the question arises what steps to adopt to prevent the perpetration of the offence. I do not propose repeating what has been already said, how ingeniously female children are murdered, which has rendered detection a most puzzling and difficult a task. This being so, it can be well imagined how difficult it would be to bring the offence home to a suspected person, even if the integrity of the officers charged with the control—I mean the village head-men and Hospital Assistants—could be trusted, and even if all the parties concerned in the control acted in good faith, which so far as I can think, is a hope that should not for a moment be entertained in the present state of the country. There can be no rule by which a female child could be closely and constantly watched, every moment, from the time of birth to a given age, and, this being so, the child is entirely at the mercy of its parents or protectors. A mother's affection for her infant child being natural, it is, I under-

stand, the mother-in-law who, in most instances, persuades or compels her daughter-in-law to perpetrate the offence herself, or allow it to be perpetrated in the way noted by the District Officers. Besides suffocation administration of opium, exposure and neglect, there is another way of disposing of female infants, not generally known. It is administering to the infant a few drops of *asclepias gigantea*, a plant resembling milk, which produces poisonous effects and results in immediate death without any chance of detection. So far as I have been able to ascertain, female infants are, for the most part, or 95 out of 100 cases, murdered immediately after birth. It is seldom that a grown up child is murdered, even when it is nourished by the mother's milk.

27. The offence of Female infanticide is not confined to the

The offence not confined to the three districts of the Punjab referred to in Government correspondence.

three districts of Jallandhar, Ludhiana and Ferozpur, mentioned in the correspondence published by the Panjab Government. The practice is in full force in Kangra, Multan, Jhang, and other districts of the Panjab. It is not limited to the Jats and Rajputs, but extends to the Khattris. It is well known that the Khattris of the Multan district kill their first off-spring if it proves to be a female, because they think its birth unpropitious. If the first off-spring proves to be a son, they regard it as fortunate. The Belis, a religious sect, kill their daughters because they cannot, according to their notions, marry her to a man of less rank and less religious importance than their own. They would not marry her to a poor man, and, to avoid these troubles, they put an end to her life. In Nurpur, zillah Kangra, the offence is very rife. A gentleman of standing, a native of Kangra, related to me, the other day, the instance of a Deputy Inspector of Police, a Hindu Rajput, who was his friend. On enquiry whether he had any children born to him, the Deputy Inspector answered:—"Yes, I had the misfortune to have two daughters, but I have despatched both of them. May *Ishwar* (God) now bless me with a son." Such is the story told of a Police Officer, and I am convinced of its truth.

28. Col. Massy has dwelt at some length on the motives for killing female infants. He observes

\* Motives for committing the crime.

that "the Sikh is a lover of money, and, foreseeing the expense a daughter will put him to, he rids himself of her as early as possible, being deterred by no scruple of affection or morality." "We must not forget," adds the Commissioner, "that the Hindú also, as shown by the statistics, puts his daughter out of the way, though not on the same startling scale."

29. Now, the power of men predominating over that of the tender sex, and nature having gifted the male sex with superior physical and mental qualities over females, the birth of a male child is hailed with special joy in all nations—in all countries.\* In India, where the population consists chiefly of two great sects—Hindus and Mahomedans,—the feelings of each differ vastly from those of the other on the birth of a female offspring. A Mahomedan father, while he would be overjoyed by the birth of a son, and regard it as a blessing from Heaven, would not be sorry at the birth of a daughter, or look on it as a source of calamity, but would not be so glad on the occasion as he would be at being gifted with a son. At all events, glad he will be and content with what has been given him, never grumbling or murmuring over his fate. Speaking of a poor man, if a son has born him, a neighbour, or a relation or a friend would tell him: "Friend (or brother), You are very lucky. I congratulate you heartily on the gift of a son to you." The person addressed would joyfully reply: "I return the congratulations to you, brother; *Alhamdo-Lillah* (God be praised) for having gifted a worthless man like me with a son." And the friend will rejoin: "May the child live long and grow old under the care of its parents—Amen!"

If he becomes the father of a daughter, still he will receive the congratulations of his friends; but, on such occasions, the faces of the persons congratulating and of those congratulated will not be found flushing with joy, as they would invariably be on the birth of a male child. The female apartments would still be found filled with merriment, and pleasurable pursuits would follow. But the musicians, eunuchs, singers and menials will not, in this instance, come to the door of the house, or perform their music and make a noise to ask for a money present or a reward in kind, as they would on the birth of a son. Such are the customs observed by the Mahomedans on the birth of a son and daughter.

A Hindu would, on the other hand, regard the birth of a daughter as a calamity, because she would prove a source of expense to him, both in the un-married and in the married condition. So long as she remains un-married, she is of no use so far as earning money, so much essential to Hindu caste, is concerned, while a boy is taught to learn a petty trade and

\* The Pyramids of Egypt afford convincing testimony to the inferior position given to woman compared with man from the remotest antiquity. The subordination is indicated in statuary by her representation being on an unduly smaller scale, and by her ordinary position, which is behind the figure of her "Lord and Master."

proves a source of income as soon as he grows up sufficiently and is able to understand something about business. When married, she must be provided with a suitable dowry (not speaking of the heavy expenses to be incurred in her marriage), and there are numerous other occasions and festivities when presents must be sent to her, and her husband and children besides. If she has become the mother of children. So, the birth of a daughter among the Hindus, generally speaking, casts a gloom over the whole family circle. No congratulations of any kind, no demonstrations of joy or marks of pleasure, follow the event. A friend would say to the father of a newly-born girl—"So a daughter is born to you. Don't lose your mind, brother; Ram will one day endow you with a son." The disappointed father would reply, touching his right hand with his forehead, "My *Pralabad* (Fate); what can be done? May she have been born at a propitious moment and bring *Lachmi* (Wealth) in her train."

30. A Hindu is, from his birth, a lover of money. From Economy observed by his boyhood, he is taught habits of the Hindus. frugality and economy. If he is the son of a shopkeeper, he will be taught to sell petty articles for cowries, collect them and make pice of them, and from pice make rupees. When a few rupees were collected, the father would make a gold ring for him, and the boy would wear it with pride, or keep it by him, and having thus tasted the fruit of his industry, would then, with redoubled zeal, resume his pursuit of hoarding up cowries or pice according to the nature of his petty trade. If the parents are residing in a village, the boy will be sent to a village *Pandha*, where the first lesson taught him will be to commit to memory the rules of multiplication such as 1 and 1 make 2 twice 2 make 4, 4 times 4 make 16, and so on, up to hundreds and thousands. He will be heard repeating loudly in lanes and streets:—*Ek duni duni, do duni chare, char duni athe*, and so on. Thus, the first lessons taught him are rules of multiplication which serve as the basis of his life, giving him a taste for accounts, and making him a ready reckoner and methodical in after-life. The accounts, which he is taught in this way, tend greatly to form his character and make him a man of business. The rules which he learns at a very young age, remain fresh in his memory all his lifetime, and until he himself becomes a father and a grandfather. If the parents are living in a town or city, he will be sent to the nearest lane school to learn the same rules by heart. In this way habits of thrift are implanted in the minds of little boys, and this serves to make them practical men of business in after-life.

31. A Mahomedan lad, when he reaches the school age

Extravagance of Mahomedans, is first sent to a mosque to read the Quran, of which not only he but his tutor, too, can understand not a word.

It is taught like a lesson to a parrot. The parents, however poor, think it their duty to feed the boy well and supply him, if their means allow, with any thing he wants, simply to keep up his spirits and not to discourage him. If they neglect this, they expose themselves to the taunts and scoffs of their friends and those among whom they live. Eating heartily, living well and being well clothed are what he sees invariably practised all round, and he imitates all these examples as best as he can. When he grows into manhood, his aim in life, generally speaking, becomes to enjoy it to the best of his ability and means. Many enjoy it, even beyond their means.

32. The social customs among Hindus and Mahomedans differ greatly from each other. While the former observe economy in all their dealings in life, the latter care little for money and are generally extravagant in all their worldly transactions and religious observances. A Hindu *Sahukar* and a well-to-do man, who is head of a family, would regard it as a luxury to partake of meat once a fortnight, or if he were extravagant enough, once a week, and would have pleasant recollections of its taste until another fortnight or week rolled on, and the fixed day for indulgence of a same or similar luxury came round. The female or old members of the household, and children and other members less important, are treated as inferior beings to whom the taste of flesh is quite unknown. A Hindu of ordinary means considers it quite sufficient for the purpose of living if he can be served with bread of wheat and fried meal cakes or pickles for his meals. But a Mahomedan, even if he is a water-carrier, or a syce, must have a soup made of meat on his table, even though it be worth only a pice or two, owing to his scanty means. Whatever he will earn, he will spend in eating and clothing, and leave nothing behind to meet emergencies. If he is a rich man, the demands on his purse are proportionately heavy. There is a well known saying that "Hindus are to collect money, and Mahomedans to enjoy it."

33. It may be asked why this great difference between the modes of life of the two great sects of India, living in the same country and bred and brought up in the same atmosphere? The answer is plain. The habits of extravagance, indolence and arrogance which they inherited from their immediate forefathers, who, as a consequence of their having imbibed these pernicious habits, lost their supremacy as a ruling race, have

not yet forsaken them. They have not been taught to value the money they earn, or the wealth they acquire from their ancestors, nor have they learnt to value the time they have at their disposal and command. The training given them is to live in ease and not to depress the spirits, but to keep them lively and fresh, and this can not be done without sacrifice of money. They have become habitually idle and lost the habits of perseverance, activity, energy, fortitude and manly courage which once characterised the members of their community in a prominent degree, and were the cause of the prevalence of their power in the remotest parts of the world.

The Hindus, on the other hand, have gained the good and manly qualities which their Mahomedan brethren, through their own folly, have lost. Humility, forbearance and habits of industry and frugality, are the valued inheritance left to them by their forefathers, and, these excellent qualities being implanted in their nature, they spend with prudent economy what they earn. This has taught them habits of good husbandry and they become thrifty traders and speculative merchants, if they are leading an independent life, and industrious and attentive to duty, if they have taken to any profession of art, or if they are in the service of Government or in private employ.

34. I have shown that it is the love of money which has induced Hindus generally to treat

A Mahomedan's respect for child of any sex born to him.

their girls with contempt and neglect, and even to destroy their life. It is the disregard for money and indifference

to worldly means that has led Mahomedans to treat whatever is given them by Providence, son or daughter, with equal feelings of affection and regard. The proof of this is clear, for, notwithstanding the general poverty of the Mahomedans throughout India, not a single instance has been heard of their having killed anywhere an infant daughter. Go, for instance, into a weaver's house. You will, in many instances, meet a number of little girls clothed in rags and poorly fed; but the head of the family, however poor, will never think of depriving any of them of its life. He would rather beg alms to support them. The same will be found to be the case with all Mahomedans of the poorer classes.

35. Love of money seems to have been a characteristic

The real cause that underlies the pernicious custom.

of the Hindus since a time anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of India; and this, coupled with the pride of race and a sense of disgrace in having a foreigner as the husband lord of a daughter, seems to be the reason which led the Hindus in ancient times to commit

this horrible crime. The same considerations actuate them to the present day to perpetrate the offence. Female child-murder grew into a custom among certain sects of the Hindus by degrees.

That pernicious custom, as already observed, was put a stop to during the rigid Mahomedan rule, owing to the loss of Hindu independence. It was renewed as the Mahomedan monarchy collapsed. It revived with great force during the long period of anarchy that followed the collapse of Mahomedan rule.

36. The causes of female infanticide being glaring, it now remains to consider what remedies can be advantageously adopted to suppress the practice. Before answering the question, it may be as well to consider why the measures already introduced by the Government to suppress the crime have failed to realise their object, *viz.*, to mitigate the offence or to do away with it altogether. That great authority, Lord Lawrence, quoted by Mr Douie in his note, writing as Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, in 1853, expressed his opinion on remedial measures as follows:—

“The present influence of British officers, the knowledge that they take an interest in the matter, a desire by the people to stand well in the eyes of their rulers, and lastly, the fear of punishment, will doubtless, from year to year, operate in diminishing the crime.

“The Chief Commissioner strongly deprecates any strict system of supervision by the Police, for it is certain to be impotent for all good, and liable to be used as an engine of extortion and oppression.

“A system of espionage is but too likely to enlist the feelings of the people against our efforts, and thus furnish a powerful inducement to thwart them. If we can once get influential natives to set their faces against Female infanticide, to consider it a crime and a disgrace, our eventual success may be deemed certain.”

I may here say, without fear of contradiction, that Great Britain has sent many of her worthy sons on the soil of India to govern that country, and they acquired great name and fame by their Indian career, but not a single one of her statesmen can claim to have had that intimate knowledge of the country and its people, and that thorough insight into their social usages and customs which the high-minded and noble Sir John Lawrence possessed. He had the sympathy of the people at heart, and he loved the people as the people loved him. He knew their wants and shortcomings, and how best to remove them. In short, he thoroughly understood the native character, and fully identified himself with their interests.

37. In my humble opinion the remedies adopted have failed to secure their object, because the wholesome advice given by Sir John Lawrence has not been heeded—not only no care seems to have been taken strictly to follow his advice, but in some instances action has been taken contrary to his suggestions. For instance, the rules give the upper hand to the Police, although Sir John strongly deprecated such a course. The result has been that the power given to it, has been used, to use Sir John's own words, "as an engine of extortion and oppression." No lively interest, I am afraid, is taken by the District Officers in devising and adopting measures for the suppression of the crime, and they have considered other duties of an executive nature to be of far more importance. One great cause, then, in my humble opinion, of the failure of the scheme laid down, is want of proper attention on the part of the District Officers. The reason is that they are subjected to constant changes, and no Deputy Commissioner is allowed to remain for a sufficiently long period in a District to enable him to pay proper attention to the subject, to acquire knowledge of it, to consider it in all its bearings, to mature his plans for removing the evil, and to watch the progress of events with reference to his measures, and to witness their essential success. To work out the scheme with any degree of success, it is very desirable that District Officers should take the matter to heart. Above all, it is necessary for them to speak in earnestness to the leading men of the District, ask their advice and suggestions, and express their own views on the subject. In the absence of such a course, how can we assure "the knowledge" by these men that the British officers "take an interest in the matter," on which Sir John laid so much stress in his observations. There is no doubt that much depends on the chief controlling authority of the District in this way of success and much improvement can be effected by him, if he only has time, opportunity, and the will to carry out this much-needed reform. Many have, of course, the will to carry out the measures, but they are so peculiarly circumstanced that they cannot pay adequate attention to the subject, and in the midst of their useful work, their connection with the District is suddenly severed.

I repeat that the great Sir John Lawrence had special opportunities of obtaining an insight into the character and domestic economy of the people of India, and he fully adapted his great genius and exceptional capabilities to meet their real requirements and wants. No doubt, we are living in an age of progress and of enlightenment, of which we see abundant



proof in every-day life ; but it would be a mistake to pass over with indifference advice based on a life of experience, by a man of such singular genius as Sir John was. What he expressed as his opinion nearly half a century ago, holds good, to this day.

38. If some improvement has been effected in preventing the practice complained of, that is most assuredly the result of the universal harmony that prevails in the country, and the general discipline and excellent arrangements by which the British laws are administered in the country, and the fear and awe they inspire, not the result of the special enactment relating to Female infanticide and the rules framed thereunder.

39. The Indians are as a race, by nature loyal to their rulers and masters ; for the religion of both Hindus and Mahomedans teaches them to be true to their salt and faithful to their sovereign and lord. The religious susceptibilities of no nation on earth are so delicate as those of the Indians. Religion is to them their sole guide of action in life, and they have been, and will ever be, ready to sacrifice their life and wealth to preserve its honour. And since loyalty to the sovereign is strictly enjoined by the laws of the Shastras and the Quran, it is no new thing for Indians to flatter their rulers and masters and try to please them in every way in their power. To prove this, one need only refer to the pages of Indian History, and he will scarcely meet a period of history in which he will not find remarkable examples of obedience, fidelity, humility and subordination on the part of inferiors towards their superiors. Some may construe humility and subservience into vain sycophancy, but a little reflection would make the line between the two quite distinguishable. There have been numerous precedents of devotion to the cause of the master, and noble examples of sacrifice to uphold his cause. A slight hint by British officers, in kindly words spoken, is doubtless sufficient to rouse the energy of the leading men to carry out their wishes. "Influential natives" are too anxious to avail themselves of any opportunity that may be given them to please British officers and to secure their good-will. But, seeing that little or no interest is taken by them in a subject, they are not sufficiently enlightened as yet to take the initiative in it themselves.

How anxious influential natives are to please British officers.

40. Having described the causes of the failure, I will now suggest the remedies. I have shown at the outset of this article that the

Remedies for the evil.

suggest the remedies. I have shown at the outset of this article that the

crime of Female infanticide among the Hindus is not of recent growth. It was known in remote antiquity, and, whatever the motives (namely, whether pride of race and supposed disgrace of having a son-in-law, or, considerations of economy), it prevailed, in a greater or less degree, in all ages since the dawn of history. How difficult it is to annihilate this practice grown into a custom among certain tribes, is evident, from the fact that, under the very nose of the vigilant Police, and in spite of the strict provisions of the Indian Penal Code (I would not mention here the special enactment to suppress Female infanticide, for nothing is left in the Indian Penal Code for punishment, if only its provisions, so far as they affect the destruction of human life, had been strictly enforced, and it is evident that the special legislation and the rules under it have been barren of any result), the crime complained of is as ripe as ever. The only difference lies in this, that, while formerly, namely, before the British Rule, or before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code, the offence was perpetrated either openly, or without recourse to much skill and ingenuity to conceal it, it is now, through fear of the law and punishment, committed with the utmost secrecy and with such cleverness as to avoid all possible chance of detection. The matter involved being so serious as the loss of human life, and the remedies applied having proved to be quite useless, I would strongly urge the adoption of coercive measures by the Government. I know it would be quite impossible for so humane and just a Government as ours to adopt such measures for the suppression of the crime as the dictates of reason, conscience and humanity would disallow. What would not a barbarous, despotic Government do on such an occasion, finding it a good pretext to fill its Treasury. What would not many of India's own native rulers have done on such an occasion, in old days, in the name of humanity, but really to squeeze money out of the people. What I would suggest will not be a novel or a new thing, contrary to the practice of the Government. Does not the Government post Punitive Police in certain towns and villages on account of serious disorderly behaviour, disturbance of the public peace and other habitual crimes affecting the safety of public life and property and the good discipline of the Government? On the same principle, I would urge, not the posting of Punitive Police, but the imposition of a penalty of not less than half the amount of revenue paid by the tribes concerned in case of the proclaimed villages till such time as it could be proved by statistics that the proportion of living male and female children under six or eight years of age was almost equal, or the number of each was within such limit as to show no startling or extra-

ordinary difference. I would not urge the posting of Punitive Police because of the hardship that results from the practice, and the incalculable annoyance and vexation the Policemen give to the villagers. Let the experiment suggested be tried and I am sure it will act like magic. It will so act, because it will affect the entire village subjected to such penalty. It will affect alike the guilty and those bearing the appearance of innocence. I say, bearing the appearance of innocence, because we do not know whether they are really guilty or not.

41. One great cause of entire failure in bringing the offence home to the perpetrators, is the *combination and union of all the villagers* to protect the offenders in concealing the crime. What can the Police, a Medical Officer, or a Magistrate do, under such circumstances? Substitute a Lambardar for a Chowkidar or a Zeldar for a Lambardar, or a Hospital Assistant for a Police sergeant; do anything you like in this way, it will amount to the same thing. It will prove a mere verbal alteration and nothing more. And why? Because the very men, Lambardars and Zeldars, are interested by ties of relationship, affection, social connections, constant associations and intercourse in protecting and screening the offenders. All their sympathies are naturally with them. A Lambardar would lend a helping hand to a criminal of this kind, because he expects in return the same help from him when he himself some day or other commits a similar offence. My own experience of the tracts affected by this pernicious practice is that a perpetrator of the offence of Female infanticide is looked upon by the village community as a hero of his nation, and everybody in the village zealously tries his best to counteract the efforts of the authorities to bring the offender to justice. Even the authorities would never know what had come to pass, nor would they have the means of knowing it when the offence had been once perpetrated. Even the women living in the immediate neighbourhood of the locality where the offence might have been committed would not dare disclose the secret, although they must be, and were, fully cognisant of it.

42. I have said elsewhere that the rules framed under the Female Infanticide Act have, under a lax system of supervision, proved a source of income to the Lambardars, and that if the same laxity continues, the more strict their provisions, the more remunerative they will prove to the Lambardars. Where matters are arranged with mutual understanding and terms amicably settled, it is of no consequence whether the demand is extortionate, or the ill-gain the consequence of

threats or undue influence exercised. My own idea is that no force is exercised in obtaining money, for, if such were the practice, discontent and consequent disclosure would have been the result. So far as my enquiries go, the reward is fixed, is offered and is gladly accepted; if the village headman wants more more is given to him ungrudgingly, with due regard to the circumstances of the person making the offer. At all events, all is passed on quietly; no murmur of any kind by one person against another is heard. The utmost secrecy is observed throughout.

43 Under the circumstances above set forth, Government Coercive measures how justifiable. would be perfectly justified in subjecting the whole village to penalty in the way suggested, on the principle observed in the case of populations who disturb the public peace by riotous conduct and disorderly behaviour. In villages and towns subjected to Punitive Police posts only considerations of order and good discipline induce the Government to bring the machinery of supreme power into operation. Here the question involved is one of life and death. It is by far more serious than any considerations of preservation of the public peace when that is endangered. It affects one sex of human beings constituting half the population of the country whose care has, by the mysterious decree of Providence, been entrusted to the British nation, a nation whose great Mission in the world is to protect God's people brought under its sway, and to raise them in the scale of nations; and in the fulfilment of that sacred Mission lies the chief glory of that nation. It is the duty, I emphatically urge, of such a humane Government to devise measures for the protection of the lives of innocent infants of one sex, who, it knows, are destroyed by unscrupulous, selfish and merciless parents. Happily the British Government fully recognises this duty, but is at a loss to find a way of carrying it out compatibly with its just laws. I have here suggested a remedy which, I feel sure, would have the result of extirpating the evil at no distant date.

44. I am strongly of opinion that nothing short of the course suggested is likely to have the result of effectually suppressing the crime. British officers think, and rightly no doubt, that extravagant marriage expenses underlie the whole criminal action on the part of the tribes given to the practice of Female infanticide. As a remedy, a limit has been put by the Government rules to marriage expenses for each tribe. But people are given to the habit of spending money on marriages beyond their means from ages and ages. The evil has not sprung up in the country

in British times. It has existed since the Hindu period. It prevails all over India. It is not confined to the Hindus alone, but extends in equal degree to the Mahomedans.

It is in full force among Mahomedans. Thus, according to strict Mahomedan law only a small dowry need be given to a daughter on her marriage. When the prophet Mahomed married his daughter Fatima to Ali, he gave a grinding mill, an iron pan for baking bread, an earthen chimney, and a suit of plain dress to the bride as her dowry. But the Mahomedans of India, following the custom of their Hindu brethren, have gone to excess in the matter of dowry for daughters, and many of them reach the brink of ruin or actual ruin in marrying them. They have in India followed many other customs of their Hindu countrymen which are prohibited by the laws of Mahomed. For instance, a strict *Purda* custom of females (namely keeping them concealed in houses) is not a Mahomedan custom, nor is it observed in Mahomedan countries like Arabia, Egypt, &c. What is enjoined by the Mahomedan law for women is to conceal the face by a veil. Females of all classes in Mahomedan countries walk about the streets and transact business like men. In India, however, such is not the case. The Hindus, whom the Mahomedans imitated, have now become rather lax in the matter of *Purda*, but the Mahomedans of the higher and middle classes observe the custom strictly. Giving extravagant dowry to daughters is strictly a Hindu custom, followed in India by Mahomedans who, on that account, are not known to pollute their hands with the blood of their infant daughters.

45. Very little hopes of success can be entertained from the introduction of the rules as to compulsory reduction of marriage expenses. Government measures to abolish the custom must prove ineffectual. As the rules have proved fruitless in the past, so they are most likely to prove in the future. What do the zamindars care for a fine of Rs. 10, or 15, or even 100, after incurring expenses beyond the prescribed limit. Mr. Douie suggests that imprisonment might be made compulsory for breaking the rule. I do not think that even would do any real good. The tribes would consider undergoing imprisonment a meritorious act, and they would gladly suffer it, rather than stand in a degraded condition before the brotherhood. Until a radical change is effected in the constitution of Indian society and in the mode of living, and until the social rules of the Indians undergo a change, no effort of the Government can succeed in suppressing a custom, the observance of which has prevailed for centuries and centuries, and which their ancestors have observed as far back as can be traced. If it can be eradicated at all, it will only be by their own voluntary and joint effort.

46. Nor can any external force, however strong, operate to demolish the custom. Pandit Behari

No external force.

Lál, late Extra Assistant Commissioner, Amritsar, Mr. C. E. Gladstone, C.S., in the Ambala and Jalandhar districts, and many public Societies in other Districts, tried their best at different times to abolish evil and obnoxious customs, but all their efforts to effect anything even approaching improvement signally failed. The late Dewan Rām Jas of Kapurthalla succeeded in effecting an improvement in curtailing marriage and death expenses among the Khatri Aorais; but the rules have become lax, and I am afraid the moving spirit being no more, a few years hence the heads of the tribes who have put their signatures on written agreements, will relapse to old customs. Similarly the rules framed for different tribes by Mr. Gladstone for curtailment of expenses on marriages and deaths, to which the different headmen of tribes, with apparent sincerity and zeal, put their seals and signatures, are only on paper and known only for the utter disregard of them. The fact of the matter is that no individual effort can have the effect of demolishing an established custom. In Amritsar, for instance, Pandit Behari Lál took agreements in the name of the local Anjuman, or *Sabha*, binding the Hindu castes to prevent their women from singing obscene songs in streets. The Lahore *Sabha* also followed the example of the sister institution in Amritsar. The practice, though stopped for a time, is as vigorously in force in both cities as ever. In Jhang I and my lamented friend Dr. Chetanshah, Civil Surgeon, started an Anjuman in 1881 with Mr. C. A. Roe, C.S., (now Chief Judge of the Panjab Chief Court) for its patron. All the representatives of the different Hindu castes solemnly agreed before us to curtail expenses on marriages and deaths (lists limiting the expenses of the various ceremonies connected with the occasions having been prepared by the tribes themselves), to prevent females from bathing naked on the river banks and *ghats*, from singing obscene songs in the streets, from attending certain public fairs where they were not required and where their presence was considered to be objectionable, as opposed to decency and rectitude. The reforms introduced were carried out with apparent zeal, and we had sanguine hopes of success; but as soon as we had left the district, people took to their old practices and all our efforts to improve their social condition failed.

47. It is possible that success may attend Government

Urgency of adopting some effectual steps to prevent the practice.

efforts to reduce marriage expenses in some remote future, provided the people themselves are in favour of it and recognise the necessity of the step, but how

many thousand innocent infants would, through the merciless hands of unscrupulous parents, have perished by that time. It is quite necessary, therefore, that some such steps be adopted by the Government, as may have the result of perceptibly diminishing the crime, if not suppressing it altogether.

48. I have observed before that the offence of Female infanticide baffles all detection, owing to the combination of the village people and their sympathy with the perpetrators of the offence, who must presumably be fully known to them. The suggestion made by me, namely, of subjecting the proclaimed tribes in certain villages to a penalty, will, of course, affect both the guilty and the innocent. But where the guilty person is not known and the villagers shelter him, Government would be justified in subjecting the whole population of a particular class in a proclaimed village to punishment, on the same principle on which such penalty is enforced, in the shape of Punitive Police, against other towns and villages now. The advantage of such a course will be this: a really innocent man who, as well as the guilty, would have to pay his share of the penalty, but who knows who the culprit is, would say to the latter: "Well, why I should be made to suffer for your guilt; either mend your ways or I shall report you to the authorities." The man in fault may be able to satisfy one or two individuals by flattery or by offers of money, but he would not be able to satisfy all the villagers in these ways. Mutual jealousy would be the result, which would very likely result in a conviction being secured. Or the zamindars, to avoid worry and the heavy burden of the penalty, will make such arrangements among themselves as will have the result of sensibly diminishing the crime, or extirpating it at no distant date.

49. In my opinion, the remedy above mentioned is the best that can be adopted. But should the Government be unwilling to have recourse to such a measure, I would then, in view of the observations already made, make the following suggestions:—

Another remedy.

1. That Officers of mature experience and old standing be appointed Deputy Commissioners of the districts in which the proclaimed villages are situated, and that these be not subjected to constant changes and transfers. As a rule, they ought to remain in the district to which they are attached for at least a period of five years.
2. That their duties in connection with Female infanticide should be specifically laid down:—

(A).—They ought to speak to leading men of the district on the subject, make suggestions to them, ask

their advice, weigh how far it is worth adoption, and agitate the matter as best as they can.

(B).—They must associate with them, in their work, their Revenue Assistant, who is constantly on tour and has ample opportunities of making enquiries on the spot and devising measures to stop the crime and of detecting it when perpetrated. If not a Revenue Assistant, some other Native Extra-Assistant Commissioner or Extra-Judicial Assistant of long standing and experience, or of known and exceptional ability, must be associated. I must frankly say, however a European Officer may claim to have a knowledge of the country, and however intimate he may be with the people and liked and respected by them, he cannot have those means of ascertaining the real state of affairs which a Native Officer born and brought up in the country has. Such Native Officer (not below the rank of an Extra-Assistant Commissioner) must be *ex officio* a member of the District Board.

(C).—That the Native Officer should receive his instructions from the Deputy Commissioner from time to time as to how he is to act in the matter.

(D).—That the Native Officer should lay before the Deputy Commissioner at each general meeting of the District Board, a report on the measures adopted to suppress the crime. The Deputy Commissioner should then discuss the points noted in the Report, or any other points that may arise, with the members present and give them full opportunity to express their views, or to represent personally in what way any of them has exerted himself in attaining the end wished for, and with what degree of success.

3. That the Native Officer appointed to the duty should be selected by the Commissioner of the Division.

4. That the Native Officer in question should, at the close of each year, submit his report in English (if he knows English, otherwise his report must be translated into that language) to the Deputy Commissioner, describing in full detail what action has been taken to suppress the crime, and with what result.

5. That it should be laid down as the duty of the Deputy Commissioner to submit, by a certain date of January in each year, a special report on the subject of Female Infanticide in his District, describing what measures he, in conjunction with his native assistant, has adopted towards its suppression and with



what result. He should describe on what dates he and his native assistant visited the proclaimed villages, to what leading men of the district he spoke on the subject, what were their views, what he himself thought of those views, and whether, from a practical standpoint, they were of any use and how. The report to be submitted to the Government through the Commissioner of the Division who should, of course, be at liberty to add to it his own observations and remarks. The report by the Native Officer to form an appendix to this report.

6. Where the results proved favourable, the approbation of the Government to be communicated to the Officers concerned, and the leading men whose influence, advice or co-operation may have tended to secure this end to be endowed with Khilats of honour. A recognition merely on paper can not have that effect and value in the eyes of the native of India of the class mentioned above (though no doubt it has its value in its own way) as a dress of honour, which they consider a source of real pride and distinction. Where influential natives were allowed such dresses of honour, it would be impolitic not to honour Native Officers in the same way if they had proved themselves worthy of it.

As for headmen of tribes and villages who assist in the cause, how gratified they would feel if a *lungi* or a *shawl* or a cloak of *Pushmina* were given to them in a meeting of the District Board by the Deputy Commissioner, or, in a Local Durbar held for the purpose, by the Commissioner of the Division

50. It was the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery that

Female education and technical schools for females.

one great cause of the prevalence of obnoxious and evil customs in India was the want of female education. He, therefore, strongly advocated female education and laid its foundation in the Panjab by establishing the *Istri Siksha Sabha* (or the Society for Female Education) at Lahore. In my opinion, two sorts of schools should be opened in the villages brought under the operation of the Act;—of these, one should be for the education of girls in elementary books, and another (or a branch of the same) for instructing them in the arts of sewing and other handicraft work, such as making caps, hats and fans, manufacturing embroidered work, making gloves, stockings, baskets, fancy work on cloaks, jackets, handkerchiefs, &c, and other industries of light but remunerative character. Among other causes that influence parents to kill infant females,

One more motive for killing female infants.

one, doubtless, is that the girls, on growing up, prove of no use to them in point of earning, whereas boys begin to earn

as soon as they reach the age of discretion, and are, indeed, taught to earn even before that. The articles prepared by these girls could be profitably sold, and would prove a source of income to their parents, so long as they remained unmarried, and to themselves in their after-life. There are many professions which could be easily taught to the girls, and would be sure to prove a good source of income to them. If each unmarried girl in this way earned, on the average, four annas a day, her parents would be materially assisted by her industry, and, instead of depriving girls of their lives, they would become anxious for an increased proportion of them among their offspring. The results of their industries would sell well in the markets of towns and cities by both retail and wholesale. Above all, there can be no doubt that the industries would prove a source of blessing to the husbands of these girls, when they came to be married. Instead of a lazy set of people knowing only how to eat and sleep, or pass their time in idle talk, they would become ornaments of their house, and acquire habits of diligence and industry. One great good which would result from their proficiency in industrial arts would be that they would be able easily to impart their knowledge to their girls, who, in their turn, would become useful and prudent members of the household before marriage, and good partners in life afterwards. Should this custom grow up, who would not prefer heartily looking after the safety and well-being of their female offspring to mercilessly destroying their lives in infancy?

51. It may be argued, with reference to the above proposal to teach light industrial arts to girls in villages, that they do not remain idle even now. They work at the grinding mill, and spin, or do other household work, cooking food, taking bread for male relations to the field, &c. But these works either yield no gain at all, or are not sufficiently remunerative, for the income from them does not assist parents in their house expenses. What I advocate is the introduction of industrial arts in technical schools to be opened for girls in villages. It is the duty of a paternal Government to provide such means as I have suggested for the benefit of its subjects, and what incalculable blessings to the country would not result, if such schools were opened for boys, too, in villages and towns. At any rate, I would strongly urge the establishment of such schools for girls in proclaimed villages.

52. With respect to rules framed under the Female Infanticide Act, if the coercive measures suggested by me are not to be adopted, I would recommend that the rules already in force may

Present occupation of girls of no gain to parents.

Rules under the Act.

be allowed to stand. I don't think that the alterations made are important, or such as are likely to lead to any practical good. All that is needed and is desirable is the attention of the Deputy Commissioners. Much lies in their power in the way of success if they take the matter into their heart, and if the obstacles put in the way of their success are removed by the Government. If the rules are to be enforced with any degree of success, their duties in connection with this important subject must be clearly defined in some such way as I have suggested. They must submit yearly reports on it in the same way as they submit reports on the working of the several Departments under them.—the Registration, the Excise, the Educational, the Municipal, &c. The present rules answer all the purposes of the Act very well. It only requires to be seen that they are worked out well, and that the supervision is thorough and effective. If there is any drawback with reference to them, it is the want of strict supervision. When there is laxity of supervision, the best rules framed must fail to realise their object and remain a dead letter.

53. Lastly, I would point out that the subject is of vast importance and, as pointed out by Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, full of difficulties. In my opinion, as I have already stated at full length, there are only two ways of meeting the difficulty, namely, either by introducing coercive measures like those recommended, which I have no doubt would prove most effectual, or, by adopting a mild policy by defining clearly to the chief controlling authorities of the District their duties in connection with the subject, associating Native Officers of ability and experience with them, and enjoining on them the necessity of creating an interest in the matter in the minds of influential natives of the country and heads of communities, and rewarding their services by khilats, or some other like recognition by the Government, which is the key-note of success.

M. L.

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ART. XI.—THE BALLAD OF KUALAYÂSWA.  
THE QUEST.

In days of yore when hermits strove  
High grace from heaven to gain  
On lonely hill, in distant grove,  
By prayer and rite and pain,  
Malignant demons foul and bold  
Roamed the dark woodlands through,  
And o'er the sunny realm of Oudh  
Reigned Satru-jit the true.

A hermit Gálav sought the king  
To crave his instant aid,  
And by him stepped a shapely steed ;  
Thus to the king he said—  
“ O king ! a demon me assails  
In many a beast-like guise,  
Devotion, rite and prayer he mars,  
Vexing my thoughts and eyes.

“ As late in deep distress I sighed,  
From heaven down came this steed,  
And straight a voice unearthly spake,  
(Hearken, O king, and heed !)—  
‘ This horse can match the sun’s swift flight  
And course the world around,  
Through air, through water free he moves,  
Midst hills and underground.

“ Go, seek thee out king Satru-jit,  
And seek out eke his son,  
Give them this horse, and by their aid  
Thy safety shall be won,  
For, mounted on this steed, the prince  
The demon vile shall slay,  
And earn renown !’ So spake the voice,  
O king, the call obey !”

The king obeyed and freely sent  
 His son to tempt the quest.  
 So forth they fared, the prince and saint—  
 It was the gods' behest.  
 They reached the hermit's calm abode,  
 A grove with stream and shade,  
 And day and night the prince kept watch,  
 His arms beside him laid.

---

#### THE SLAUGHTER OF THE DEMON.

The demon he knew not the prince's stout arm  
 Was guarding the hermit from danger and harm ;  
 One even he entered the grove as a boar,  
 And scattered the brahmans with fear and uproar.  
 Upstartd the prince at the cries of affright,  
 He sprang to his steed and the beast put to flight ;  
 His richly-chased bow with his full strength he drew,  
 And deep in its flank sped the swift arrow true.  
 Sore wounded and bleeding, the boar, in dismay,  
 To the woodland for shelter fled headlong away ;  
 And fast spurred the prince—ho ! the task is nigh done !—  
 Like the wind in its gallop his charger raced on.  
 For mile after mile rushed the chase and the flight,  
 Till wide yawned a chasm, 't was murky as night  
 The boar in it vanished—he slacked not his speed,  
 And down in the gulf leapt the rider and steed.  
 Down, downward he sank, with the dank gloom around ;  
 But light at last broke, and he reached the firm ground.  
 He gazed him about, and no boar could he see,  
 But the Nether-world vast to his view opened free.

---

#### THE MEETING.

Before him stood the demons' town,  
 With rampant, tower and hold ;

And many a palace rose within,  
 All wrought of purest gold.  
 Its gate stood wide, he entered in ;  
 Its streets he wandered through ;  
 All silent and deserted 'twas,  
 And no one met his view.

At length a lady hurrying came—  
 She passed him heedless by ;  
 He watched her seek a palace near  
 And through its portal hie.  
 " Now hap what may perchance ! " quoth he,  
 " I 'll follow close her ways."  
 He entered, too, with fearless heart,  
 But wide-eyed with amaze.

Within he saw a couch of gold ;  
 There lay a damsel lone,  
 With gentle face and down-cast eyes,  
 All sad and woe-begone ;  
 Yet wondrous rare her loveliness,  
 So noble was her mien,—  
 Thought he, " In this dread Under-world  
 'Tis sooth the goddess-queen."

She gazed in wonder, " Who is this ?  
 Is he a god above ?  
 So shapely, gullant and so grand—  
 'Tis sure the god of love ! "  
 Thrilled with a feeling strong, she rose,  
 Then, trembling backward, shrank,  
 And on the ground distraught and wan  
 In sudden faint she sank.

The lady hastened to her side,  
 (No handmaid marked her swoon,)  
 And, bending o'er with loving care,  
 To life restored her soon.

“ Tell me, fair dame, what made her swoon ? ”

Right courteously he said ;  
With blended grace and modesty  
The lady answer made :

“ This maiden is Madálasá ;  
Her father reigns on high,  
Chief of the heavenly minstrel bands.  
True friends are she and I ;  
In girlish love and play we joined ;  
But now, a widow lone,  
I share her grief and prison here,  
For friend and friend are one.

“ As she her garden roamed one day  
Far from my watchful care,  
A demon from this Nether-world  
Saw her unguarded there ;  
Smit with her loveliness, he seized  
And bore her to this place,  
In magic darkness shrouding her—  
The thief and villain base !

“ But, sooth to say, it was foretold,  
Foretold was e'en the day ;  
And yet withal this promise went,  
Her anguish to allay :—  
' The demon shall not thee possess,  
But with an arrow he  
Who wounds him in the world of men  
Shall soon thy husband be.' ”

“ This day the demon, bent on ill,  
A hog-like form assumed ;  
But thy keen dart has struck him down,  
E'en as his fate was doomed.

In eager haste I followed him ;  
 I have but now come back ;  
 The doom is done ! I saw him fall,  
 Foiled in his base attack.

“ And why this maiden swooned away,  
 I may the cause avow ;  
 'Twas love at first sight, love for thee,  
 O heart-enchanted thou !  
 Thine is her heart, and saving thee  
 No other lord she'll know,  
 And she's thy destined prize, for thou  
 Hast slain the robber foe.”

## THE MARRIAGE.

“ But who art thou ? ” the lady asked,  
 “ How com'st thou here this day ?  
 Art thou a god, or demi-god,  
 Or heavenly minstrel ? say !  
 For here men cannot come, nor can  
 Thy body human be.  
 Tell me this truly, e'en as I  
 Have told the truth to thee.”

The prince then told her all the tale  
 . With ready speech and fair,  
 What he had done, and who he was,  
 And how he entered there.  
 The maiden heard the marvellous words ;  
 They made her heart rejoice ;  
 Yet dull and strange the scene appeared,  
 And awe still hushed her voice.

O blithely quoth the lady then,  
 “ 'Tis truly told, sweet maid ;  
 Thy weary waiting now is o'er ; ”  
 And to the prince she said—



“ O hero, thou hast spoken true,  
 So now the maiden wed ;  
 Wedded to thee her bliss is sure ;  
 She need no evil dread.”

While hope and fear perplexed the maid,  
 Consenting, he replied,  
 And straight the simple rites performed  
 To wed his destined bride.  
 Fuel he took and kindled fire,  
 Her to his side he drew ;  
 Together joined, they breathed the prayers  
 And made the offerings due.

“ Farewell, dear maid ! ” the lady said,  
 “ Farewell, O hero true !  
 Now I, with heart and mind at ease,  
 My vow at once renew ;  
 For I did swear a life-long vow,  
 When my dear lord was slain,  
 From shrine to shrine to wander pure,  
 And meet for death remain.”

---

#### THE RETURN.

Ah ! sadly they parted, the bride and her friend ;  
 Yet love was before her, and sorrow must end .  
 “ Now mount we my steed,” quoth he ; “ home let us ride  
 No more in this cavernous world will we bide.”

A demon espied him and strode in his path,  
 And quickly his comrades he roused in his wrath—  
 “ Ho ! friends to the rescue ! she’s snatched from our eyes,  
 This pearl among maidens, our heaven-won prize ! ”

“ Stand ! ” shouted the chiefs, and to arms they upsprung,  
 Their arrows they shot and their javelins they flung,  
 Their swords they unsheathed, and they rushed to the fray  
 But proud in his valour he laughed as in play.

He raised his great bow, and his arrows he drove  
So fast and so furious, their weapons he clove ;  
And thickly the face of the Under-world soon  
With broken swords, arrows and javelins was strewn.

His terrible magical weapon he threw ;  
Full into the midst of his foemen it flew ;  
And lo ! from it blazed forth the levin around,  
And blasted and burnt sank the host to the ground.

O, the demons are slain, and the task has been done !  
And the victor as meed the fair damsel has won !  
So blithely and fearlessly homeward they rode,  
And triumphant he entered his father's abode.

O, loud was the praise of the steed Kuvalay,  
Who bore his brave rider to victory high !  
And glorious his master, who won a new name,  
As Kuvalayaswa, O, great is his fame !

•  
F. E. P.

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## ART. XI.—GREEK SONNETS.

### THE MELIAN APHRODITE.

(VENUS OF MILO.)

For stárrier shapes than Earth's, in Melos' isle,  
Yearn'd the Greek youth, whose subtle hand and eye  
Deliverance wrought for this Divinity,  
Who pined unseen within her Parian pile ;  
Him from his quest no joyance might beguile,  
Till yon proud Queen, in peerless symmetry,  
Flashed radiant to his touch, and sea, and sky,  
And shore were glad with Aphrodite's smile.  
Shine, Victress, still ! Cold centuries of gloom  
Clouded thy long-lost loveliness in vain,  
Nor us, who saw not thy auroral bloom,  
In this thy deathless after-glow disdain,  
But with thine immortality illumé  
Castalian halls, and statued shades of Seine.

---

### PENTELOCUS.

Hence sprang the flower august, Art's lucent whole,  
Foam-white as Aphrodite from the seas,  
The Temple, and the Statue, and the Frieze,  
Victorious shapes divine, that charm the soul,  
When curbed Thought's fiery steeds with calm control,  
Ictimes, Scopas, bold Praxiteles,  
And sceptred Phidias, loftier yet than these,  
Keen charioteers, with Beauty for the goal.  
Deem not the Makers who could thus create,  
Pale phantoms on drear shores of Acheron,  
But Conquerors, whose proud memories consecrate  
This source of stars that ne'er may be outshone,  
Birthplace of many a shrine supremely great,  
And peerless glory of the Parthenon.

## THE CYCLADES.

Star-flowers asleep on Argo-furrowed seas,  
 Whence Art august and lyric Beauty sprang,  
 Ere fierce the Median onset roared and rang,  
 And closed the death-grip of Themistocles ;  
 What doom hath spared ye for such days as these ?  
 Who heard the invasive Bacchic cymbals clang,  
 And where aflame the ecstasie minstrel sang,  
 When crowned Apollo swayed the Cyclades.

The Gods have fled the isles—but lingers still  
 Their spell divine, and those that spell who know,  
 May roam thro' this transfigured realm at will,  
 Whose cliffs are glorious with their after-glow,  
 And to the Delian's silvery descant thrill,  
 Where Pallas' unelusive amaranths blow.

## ITHACA.

Victorious still, wild surge and storm outbrave  
 Those headlands, by Laertes' son astray  
 Yearned for in faery regions far away,  
 In Circe's palace, and Calypso's cave ;  
 Still Homer's song has potency to save ;  
 And robe, as Pallas erst, in bright array,  
 The war-worn Chief, returned to Phorcys' Bay  
 From wind-vexed Ilion, and Scamander's wave.

Lo, the rude isle ! where sea, cliffs, mountains, gleam,  
 Irradiate with Poesy divine,  
 Lulled in the Naiads' Grotto let me dream  
 Of olives gnarled, and fountains crystalline,  
 Eumacus' acorned dell, Polycor's stream,  
 And Her, the Queen, whom all true hearts enshrine.

## THE AREOPAGUS.

No flower of Earth, but amaranthine bloom,  
 Clasps this gray ridge, above the life-tide's beat,  
 I see the scarce-foiled Furies' hard defeat,  
 And Pallas' smile Orestes' soul illumine :  
 Ah, when shall She her awful sway resume,  
 Where, o'er the unloved Avengers' dread retreat,  
 Frowns yon stern crag, the immemorial seat  
 Of Justice, and inexorable Doom ?

What though, despite rude War's tempestuous shock,  
 Athenae's shrines her deathless Past recall ?  
 Time's sullen siege they all too vainly mock,  
 Their long, long Day is darkening toward the fall :  
 The Parthenon shall pale before the Rock,  
 Whence flashed the lodestar from the lips of Paul.

## THE CERAMEICUS.

Time's jewelled cup they seized, and quaffed apace,  
 Mid clash and clang of arms, the golden wine  
 Of Poesy supreme, and Art divine,  
 Strong runners in Fame's great Olympian race,  
 With Pallas' crown their victor brows to grace,  
 Till reflux Life no longer might enshrine  
 Them, stricken, nor Alcestis' arms entwine,  
 Her loved one, yearning for her loved embrace.

To them their hearth's familiar citadel  
 Was as a haven, whence all rudely rent,  
 They roamed, in far Elysian valleys pent,  
 Or mid eternal shadows doomed to dwell :  
 All griefs that vex the hopeless heart were blent  
 In those two words—soul-uttered—" Friend, farewell !"

C. A. KELLY.

# THE QUARTER.

---

**D**URING the period covered by our present retrospect India has been called upon to face two of the forms of calamity against which the Church teaches Christians specially to pray. For the first time within living memory, pestilence, in its most dreaded shape, has invaded her Western borders, and the whole of Northern India is in the throes of a scarcity which, till within the last few days, threatened to assume the dimensions of a famine of almost unparalleled severity.

In spite of the enquiries of a Special Commission appointed by the Local Government to investigate it, the early history of the Plague which has broken out in Bombay, is involved in obscurity. The disease, the outbreak of which was heralded, as in the case of many previous epidemics of the kind, by a murrain among rats, seems to have first attracted public attention early in September; but its actual beginnings have apparently not been traced, and it is highly probable that the city had become infected before the end of August. Whether this was the case or not, the date of the first appearance of the disease stands in suspicious conjunction with its recrudescence in Hong Kong in July and August last, while the fact that it first showed itself, as far as is known, in the Mandvi section of the town, in the neighbourhood of the docks, also points to the probability of its having been imported by sea.

Owing to doubts, for which it is extremely difficult to account, as to the true nature of the malady, much valuable time was lost before any serious attempt was made either to cleanse the infected district, or, what is probably far more important, to isolate the sufferers; and, though, in the end, the Health Authorities applied themselves to the former task with creditable energy, the steps taken by them for the latter purpose appear to have been from first to last of a most half-hearted and perfunctory description. It is, perhaps, not to be wondered at, in the light of past experience elsewhere, that, under these circumstances, very little success has attended their efforts to arrest the spread of the disease. Though the measures of conservancy adopted were at first followed by a diminution in the number of cases, the subsequent course of the epidemic seems to show that the coincidence was accidental. No relationship between the sanitary condition of streets or dwellings and the liability of inhabitants or inmates to attack has so far been established,

the disease continuing to appear where it has once gained an entrance, with remarkable persistency, in spite of repeated cleansings and disinfections, and this, it may be noted, being entirely in accordance with what has been previously observed, wherever it has once established itself.

On the other hand, the statistics, so far, seem to create a certain presumption that the progress of the disease is affected by the temperature and hygrometric condition of the atmosphere, and possibly by variations in the amount of solar radiation. During the latter part of September, when the number of reported cases averaged about twenty daily, a feeling was widespread that a good fall of rain would put an end to the visitation. But, as time went on, and, in the absence of rain, the temperature rose and the moisture in the air diminished, the number of attacks fell pretty steadily till a minimum average of eight or ten a day was reached. Then came the hoped-for rain, with a consequent fall in the temperature and increase of humidity, and the number of cases at once leapt up to between forty and fifty daily, and this number has since been exceeded. The immediate prognosis would thus appear to be distinctly unfavourable, the probability being that the next two months, especially if they should be rainy, will supply just the meteorological conditions most favourable to the spread of the disease, which is essentially one of temperate climates, and that not until the hot weather of March and April sets in can any alleviation be looked for.

It is to be presumed that the Health Authorities of Bombay are subjecting the statistics of attacks and mortality to some sort of intelligent analysis; but, in the form in which they are published from day to day in the papers, owing to the entire absence of any attempt at classification, they throw absolutely no light on the question of the comparative liability of different classes or different ages to attack, still less on such questions as that raised by a statement, made on some sort of authority, that vaccinated persons enjoy a comparative immunity. On another point, of even greater practical importance, the published reports leave us wholly, or almost wholly, in the dark. Though it is understood that there has been an extensive exodus of the population from Bombay, and it is practically certain that many of the fugitives must have carried the infection to their new abodes, we are told nothing of the state of the public health in the rural districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the city where the bulk of them have probably gone. All that is known of the course of the disease outside the Municipal limits of Bombay, is that, in one or two instances in which it has been carried to other large towns in the neighbourhood, notably to Akmedabad, it has shown no tendency to spread.

Very little, too, is heard of the mode of treatment adopted ; but what is known seems to point to the conclusion, which, indeed, is quite in accord with what might have been expected from a survey of the history of medical progress generally, that the therapeutics of the disease has made practically no advance since it last appeared in Western Europe. It is, indeed, claimed that Dr. Yersin, a French physician resident in Cochin China, has obtained from the blood serum of horses that have been subjected to a process of immunisation, an anti-toxin which possesses both prophylactic and curative properties. It is understood, however, that the remedy takes six months to prepare, and it is not at present available for general use.

Though no authenticated case of the disease has occurred in Calcutta, the opinion of the Health Officer to the contrary having been pronounced erroneous on grounds which seem conclusive, one consequence of the outbreak in Bombay has been to arouse the authorities here to a keen sense of the necessity of thoroughly overhauling the conservancy of the town. Owing to the representations of Dr. Simpson and others, the Local Government, early in October, appointed a Medical Board to report and advise on the matter, as well as to take measures for dealing with the disease, should it unfortunately invade Calcutta ; and, at the same time, the services of Dr. Banks, late Civil Surgeon of Puri, were entertained by the Corporation in the capacity of Chief Superintendent of Conservancy.

Under the instructions of the Medical Board, a personal inspection of the Municipal area has been made by Special Sanitary Commissioners ; and they have submitted a report, which has been described by the Lieutenant-Governor as the most appalling document of the kind it has ever been his misfortune to peruse. Commenting on the report and that of Dr. Pilgrim, who made a similar inspection of the added area, the Board say that they disclose a state of things which, in its opinion, constitutes a standing menace to the health of the city, and may seriously affect the commercial relations of the port with foreign countries. " They indicate a complete failure on the part of the Health Department of the Corporation to carry out the ordinary operations of town conservancy." The Board go on to state that they propose to make a full and searching enquiry into the causes of this failure, taking, in the first place, the evidence of the officers of the Corporation ; and ask that formal orders may be conveyed to them for the purpose. This has since been done ; and the enquiry has already been commenced, the first witness examined being the newly appointed Chief Superintendent of Conservancy.



At the same time the Board make certain preliminary recommendations regarding the steps which should be adopted to remedy the state of things reported. These include, besides such measures of conservancy as the purification of the polluted sub-soil, a more effective system for the removal of refuse from the streets, the improvement of latrines, house connexions and surface-drains, the closing of polluted wells, the paving of hackney-carriage stands, and the like, "large structural changes which will take time to carry out, and will involve considerable expenditure and possibly legislation."

In a speech made by him at the inauguration of the Drainage Extension works, the Report was referred to at some length by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Commissioners were informed very plainly that they stood, or would shortly stand, at the bar of public opinion in the matter, and urged to sink all differences and unite to initiate and carry through a scheme of reform worthy of the first city in India, and their own responsibilities. With reference to the question of Building Regulations in particular, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed a hope that he might shortly hear that the Commissioners were prepared to work with him by concurring in the appointment of a Commission to deal with it, adding that he would not, in that case, have to consider the disagreeable alternative of proceeding without them, and in supersession of their authority.

As regards the responsibility for past neglect, the Lieutenant-Governor observed that it would be for the Medical Board, in the first instance, to say where it lay, and to indicate what form the remedies, in their opinion, should take. But, though the Lieutenant-Governor was thus careful to avoid prejudging the Commissioners regarding the past, no less than to assure them of his confidence in the future, this plain speaking has been received by a large section of them with a *furor* of indignation, and steps were at once taken to call a special meeting for the purpose of considering what should be done to mark their sense of its enormity. Special offence seems to have been given to certain members of the Corporation by a comparison drawn by the speaker between its constitution and methods of working and those of the Town Council of Birmingham, which, the Lieutenant-Governor pointed out, contains "only one lawyer and one newspaper man;" which works with as little talking as possible; which does not waste time in doing over again the work of its Committees, and which devotes its endeavours as much as possible to strengthening and supporting the executive, and by a somewhat bantering allusion to the desire of certain of the Commissioners to pose as experts in bacteriology and to crucify the Health Officer. Had Sir Alexander Mackenzie known how hyper-

sensitive was the audience he was addressing, he might possibly have avoided these burning topics.

The economic outlook, though somewhat brighter than it was three weeks ago, is still such as to justify grave apprehension. The premature cessation and general inadequacy of the rains throughout Upper India has resulted in a partial failure of both the kharif and winter rice crops, while, owing to the deficiency of moisture in the soil, the spring crops in unirrigated lands remained generally unsown. Though some difference of opinion seems to have existed as to the extent to which stocks had been depleted, prices, in the early part of last month, were everywhere from eighty to a hundred per cent. higher than at the same time last year, and in some places higher than those of 1873-74, and the tendency was still upward. The rain that has since fallen, generally and abundantly in Bombay, and somewhat less generally and less abundantly in the North-West Provinces and Behar, has made late sowings of the rabbi crops possible in the more favourably situated lands, and the hopes thus created have been attended by a sensible fall of prices. There are two points, however, which must not be ignored. One is that it is only in exceptional cases that these sowings can be expected to yield average crops; and the other is that, unless there should be abundant winter rain, the crops they will yield will be hardly worth reaping. Though, therefore, looking at the high general level of prices, the number of persons on the relief-works that have been everywhere opened is remarkably small, this is due to the fact that agricultural employment is for the moment ample. Two months hence, should the season turn out a dry one, prices may be expected to rise again to at least their previous level, and the position will then be very different. Fortunately, the rainfall has been not only sufficient in Bombay, but unusually copious in Southern India, so that the area of scarcity will in any case be materially reduced. Fortunately, too, there are bumper crops in Burmah and the Further East; and these facts afford something like a guarantee that the prices reached last month are unlikely, at the worst, to be exceeded. On the other hand, even these prices, continued for any length of time, would mean semi-starvation for millions and a heavy strain on the resources of the Government.

The Government, while doing everything in its power to relieve the pressure, by granting suspensions of Revenue, and to promote cultivation, by making advances for wells, and while it has prepared an extensive programme of relief-works, to be undertaken in case of necessity, has so far declined to yield to the pressure put upon it to import grain on its own account. But there are indications that it would not hesitate to adopt a

different policy should the machinery of private trade prove unequal to the occasion.

It seems doubtful whether, after all, the scheme of the Port Commissioners of Calcutta for turning the accommodation of the Port to better account by restricting the use of the jetties by steamers to the purpose of discharging import cargoes, leaving them the option of proceeding to the Kidderpore Docks to ship their export cargoes, or taking them in from boats in the stream, will be carried out. The scheme was forwarded by the Local Government to the Government of India with a strong recommendation that it should be accepted; but the Government of India, while disposed to favour its adoption, if the ability of the Port Trust to meet the annual expenditure involved is satisfactorily demonstrated, and if it can be shown to have the support of the mercantile community generally, declines to sanction it in the absence of more convincing proof than it at present possesses that the latter is the case. The result is that the Local Government has called for a more definite expression of the views of the Chamber of Commerce in the matter. In the meantime a special general meeting had been independently called by the Chamber to consider a Resolution of Mr. W. McDonald condemning the scheme. This was rejected at the meeting, by show of hands, by a majority of twenty-two to nineteen, in favour of an amendment by Mr. Simson approving the scheme; but a poll which has since been taken has resulted in the rejection of the amendment by a majority of twenty-seven to twenty-three. It seems clear that, under these circumstances, the Government of India is bound by the terms of its recent letter to the Local Government to withhold its sanction, and the Port Commissioners and Chamber will have to reconsider the whole question.

In the course of his cold-weather tour, which was brought to a close on the 4th instant with a trip to the famous city of Ujjain, the Viceroy has visited Ulwar, Ajmir, Oodeypur, Jaipur, Bikanir, Jodhpur, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Indore. His Excellency reached Jabalpur, on his return journey on the 5th instant, and is expected to arrive in Calcutta on the 10th.

Sir Francis Maclean took his seat on the Bench of the High Court, as Chief Justice, on the 19th ultimo, when the first duty he had to perform was that of replying to an address of the Advocate General, expressing the regret of the Bar at the loss of one of its leading members, in the person of the late Mr. Monmohun Ghose.

Among the other personal changes of the quarter are the appointment of Mr. William M. Young in succession to Sir Dennis Fitz Patrick, who retires from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, and of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in the place of

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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.—THE TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.\*

THE *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* is a historical work by Mirzā Haidar, the cousin of the Emperor Bábar. It consists of two parts, the first being a history of the Moguls of Central Asia from about the middle of the 14th century, and the second the history of the author's own times, that is, from 1500 to 1541. The first part, as more strictly historical, is called by him *Tārīkh-i-Aṣl*, or substantive history, while he only gives to the second, which partakes of the nature of personal memoirs, the title of *Makhtasar*, or abridgment. This part is much the longer of the two, and was the first written, the author not having the courage to attempt regular historical composition until he had tried his 'prentice hand on biography.

The work has long been known as a valuable source of information about Central Asian politics in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was a good deal used by Erskine when writing his history of Bábar and Humayun. But no translation was published of it till 1895, when Messrs. Ney Elias and Denison Ross produced one with notes and an introduction. This is a most meritorious performance and a great boon to Orientalists. All we want now is that some learned society should publish an edition of the text. It is strange, perhaps, that we have not had this already; but then neither have we any edition of the Persian translation of Bábar's Memoirs, or any of the original Turkish, except one published at Kasan in Russia, which appears to be unprocurable in England.

Mirzā Haidar † completed his book in February, 1547,

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\* The *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* of Mirzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlát. An English version by E. Denison Ross, with commentary by N. Elias. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. London, 1895.

† He began his Memoirs several years before, for at p. 177 he speaks of 948—1541-42 as "the present date." Apparently he finished them in 950—1543, 44, for at p. 424, he gives the beginning of that year, *viz.*, April, 1543, as the date of writing. According to the Prologue, he began the *Tārīkh-i-Aṣl* in 951 or 1544, so that he was engaged on it for two or three years.



about five years after he had become ruler of Kashmír. Its composition was probably suggested by a perusal of Bábar's Memoirs, but it must be acknowledged that, if this is so, he has fallen considerably short of his prototype in interest and vividness of description. In the first place Haidar Mirzá's far more reticent—may we not say, more modest—than Bábar, telling us little or nothing about his own personality, so that we have a difficulty in knowing what sort of man he was. Secondly, he did not occupy so prominent a position. He spent nearly all his days in Central Asia, in such barbarous places as Káshghar and Tibet, and was very little in India, of which country he tells us scarcely anything, with the exception of his account of Kashmír. Then, too, his book is badly arranged, being full of repetitions and digressions and other marks of headlong writing. Evidently he never revised or worked it up in the way in which Bábar seems to have done with the first part, at least, of his Memoirs. But I am not sure if Mirzá Haidar's work will not be found to be of more sterling value. Certainly it is a larger storehouse of facts. Bábar's Memoirs are eminently picturesque, but their chief merit is their revelation of his own personality. They do not add much to our historical knowledge, and there is reason to doubt whether the information they do contain is perfectly trustworthy. Bábar, with all his apparent frankness, was a thorough man of the world, and not above suppressing or distorting circumstances which might tell against himself. For instance, he has by no means told us the whole truth about his evacuation of Samarkand, and the marriage of his sister to Shaibání.

Mirzá Haidar's book is a painstaking attempt to rise above the level of gossiping Memoirs, and to present his readers with a trustworthy account of the Moguls of Central Asia for two centuries. It has the advantage, too, of being written in Persian, instead of in Turki, and contains passages of genuine eloquence. And though his career was less brilliant, and was enacted on a far less splendid theatre, it must be admitted that he underwent greater fatigues and encountered greater dangers than ever Bábar did, while saying less about them. None of Bábar's experiences, not even his crossing the Hindu Kush in winter on his march from Herat to Kabul, can compare with Haidar Mirzá's experiences among the frozen heights of Tibet. It has been justly remarked by Mr. Erskine that "the royal cousins are worthy of each other and do honour to their age." It would perhaps be invidious, and certainly it is not easy to determine which was the nobler character of the two. Haidar was, to all appearance, the more correct and moral man of the two, but then he was not born a king, nor exposed to so many temptations. We also know much less about him, for he

is far more reserved and reticent than Bábar. One thing, I think, we may say with certainty about him. He was a much straighter Muhammadan than his cousin. He never gave way to such backslidings as Bábar committed by associating, from political motives, with Shah Ismail and his heretical Persians. Nor does he appear ever to have yielded to drink or to unnatural lust, from neither of which vices was Bábar free. Nor are we shocked in his book by the mention of cold-blooded massacres of prisoners, or of the infliction of cruel punishments, such as impaling, flaying alive, and trampling a woman under the feet of an elephant, which we meet with in Bábar's Memoirs. On the whole, I should judge Haidar Mirzá to have been the higher and better character of the two cousins. He had none of Bábar's dash and engaging frankness, but he seems to have had more solid qualities, and, in particular, he was less vain. Instead of dwelling upon his successes, like Bábar, and comparing his achievements with those of his predecessors to their disadvantage, he simply says, when speaking of his great victory over the Kashmirians: "The battle was so desperate, that, should I enter into the particulars, the reader would imagine I was exaggerating." Perhaps we may sum up the characteristics of the two cousins by saying that Haidar seems to have been of the Teutonic type, while the brilliant and volatile Bábar reminds us of a Celt.

The following is a sketch of Mirzá Haidar's life:—

He was born, in Uratippæ\* apparently, a country east of Samarkand, in 1499—1500, and was thus about sixteen years younger than Bábar. His father was Muhammed Husain Khán of the Dughlát tribe, and his mother, Khub Nigár Khánim, was a daughter of Sultan Yunas (Jonas) Khán, and a younger sister of Bábar's mother. His misfortunes began early, for his mother died shortly † after his birth, p. 157, and in 1509 his father was put to death by Shaibání Khán, the Uzbek. He had many wanderings also during his infancy. Some three years after his birth, his father was driven from Uratippæ by the invasion of Shaibání Khán, and the infant Haidar and his retinue were carried off by Khusrú Shah to Kundúz, where they were under restraint for about a year, pp. 166 and 191. Then he rejoined his father and went with him to Shahr-i-Sabz, *i. e.*,

\* Mr. Ney Elias says, *Introd.* p. 9, that he was born in Tashkand (the ancient Shásh), but I gather from p. 154 that the birth took place in Uratippæ where his father was Governor. It may, however, be that his mother did not accompany her husband to Uratippæ. At p. 197 we are told that she died at Tashkand at a time when there was peace.

† Haidar, p. 193, describes himself as the third child of his father, and mentions two children who were younger than himself; but at least one of them was by another mother. In another place, p. 158, he speaks of his mother's dying while he was yet an infant at the breast.

the green city, *viz.*, Kash, the birthplace of Tamerlane. Thence he went with his father to Herat, and from there the whole family proceeded to Kábul, and put themselves under the protection of Bábar. The restless and intriguing spirit of his father did not permit him to remain there long. During a temporary absence of Bábar in Khorásán, he engaged in an intrigue against his benefactor, and narrowly escaped being put to death. Bábar, with the amiability which characterised both himself and his son Humayun, pardoned Muhammad Husain, but insisted on his leaving Kábul. "He had conducted himself," says Bábar, "in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such mutinous and rebellious proceedings, that, had he been cut in pieces, or put to a painful death, he would only have met with his deserts. As we were in some degree of relationship to each other, he having sons and daughters by my mother's sister, Khub Nigár Khánim, I took that circumstance into consideration, and gave him his liberty, allowing him to set out for Khorásán. Yet this ungrateful, thankless man, this coward, who had been treated by me with such lenity, and whose life I had spared, entirely forgetful of this benefit, abused me and scandalised my conduct to Shaibák Khán. It was but a short time, however, before Shaibák Khán put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me." (Erskine's translation, 218). Haidar must have read this passage, for he quotes Bábar's *Memoirs*, pp. 173-174, and it is remarkable that, in his account of the transaction, he does not attempt to contradict Bábar's description, though, like a good son, he does his best to palliate his father's conduct. This he does by representing his father, p. 198, as an unwilling tool in the hands of the imperious Shah Begam, who claimed to be a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to belong to a family which had ruled Badakhshán for 3,000 years (p. 203). Possibly this excuse was true, and it seems to me somewhat harsh to speak of Haidar as "slurring over the episode." On the contrary, there is something touching in the mixture of frankness and deprecation with which he describes the affair. He does full justice to Bábar's magnanimity, saying that, as soon as his father was brought before him, Babar received him with his wonted courtesy, openly embraced him, made many kind inquiries and showed him marked affection. He then embraced Mirzá Khán in like manner, and displayed a hundred proofs of love and good feeling. Then he adds, with a sigh: "But, however much the Emperor might try to wear away the rust of shame with the polish of mildness and humanity, he was unable to wipe out the dimness of ignominy which had covered the mirror of their hopes." The charge of slurring over disagreeable episodes can, I think, be more

justly brought against Bábar than against Haidar, whom Erskine rightly describes as a man of truth. It is Bábar who, in describing his evacuation of Samarkand, speaks of his sister, Khánzáda Begam, as having accidentally fallen into Shaibání's hands, whereas the truth is, as Haidar, the author of the Shaibání Náma, and, most of all, Gulbadan, Bábar's own daughter, have revealed, that Bábar sacrificed her by making her over to Shaibání as the price of his own escape. It is Bábar, too, who has concealed his subservience to the Persians, and his adoption of Shia practices, who has extenuated his obligations to Khusru Shah, and who has probably not told the whole truth about the circumstances under which he came to invade India.

From Kábul, Muhammad Husain, accompanied apparently by his son, Haidar, went on to Kandahár, and from there to Fareh in Seistán, where he stayed for three months. According to his son, his idea was to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, but he was prevented by the insecurity of the roads. While at Fareh, Shaibání sent for him to Herat, and received him there with great hospitality. At this time Ubaid Ulla, Shaibání's brother's son, who was married to Haidar Mirzá's sister, Habíba Sunaḥ Khánim, was going to Bokhara as ruler thereof, it being "his hereditary seat of government." He begged Muhammad Husain to allow him to take the child with him. This was granted, and for some time after this Haidar lived with his sister in Bokhára. Thither, too, his father came for a while, but was afterwards sent by Shaibání to Samarkand. From there he was summoned by Shaibání to Khorasán, but apparently he went there *via* Bokhára, and had a last interview with his son. Haidar gives, p. 208, a pathetic description of this meeting, and tells us the parting admonitions of his father, who, whatever faults he had, was a careful and affectionate parent. Speaking of his brother-in-law, Sultan Mahmud Khán, Haidar's maternal uncle, and of his determination to put himself into Shaibání's power, his father observed:—

"Certainly Sháhí Beg Khan will fill the cup of the Khán's hopes with the fatal wine of martyrdom, and whatever dregs remain he will cause me to drink. I now commit you to the care of God. Though your company would be dearer to me than my own life, I fear Sháhí Beg Khan (Shaibání) would not allow it, and I prefer the idea of your life being prolonged, even though it involve the bitterness of separation; you must, therefore, bear my absence patiently. Patience is bitter; but it has a sweet fruit. Remember that, when the father dies, the children are his heirs. You also have become an heir. If the bird of my life escape from the net of Sháhí Beg Khán's intentions against me, we shall have the joy of meeting again. . . . I entrust you to the care of Maulavi Muhammad. Be careful to pay attention to all he may say to you, for he is my vicar (Khalífa). His father was my instructor and guide."

"Having thus," says the son, "threaded many pearls of good counsel upon the string of wisdom, and hung them on the attentive ear of my understanding, my father departed to go and wait on Sháhí Beg Khán, who was at that time besieging Kalát. (Kalát-i-Nádiri in Khorasán). To all outward appearance he received my father with friendship, and then allowed him to proceed to Herat. When, ne reached Herat, a person was sent after him (to put him to death)."

This was in 914 A. H., 1508-9. Having killed the father, Shaibání sent an emissary to Bokhára to put Mirzá Haidar to death. The order was brought to Ubaid Ulla, Haidar's brother-in-law, who fain would have saved him, but had no power to resist his relentless uncle. Mr. Ross's translation goes on to say that Ubaid Ulla actually handed over the child to Shaibání's emissary, with instructions to throw him into the Oxus. I suspect, however, that there is some confusion here, either in the text or in the translation. I think that all that the emissary could have told Ubaid Ulla was that the boy was to be conveyed to Khorasán, and that Ubaid Ulla only made him over, for this purpose. I cannot believe that Ubaid Ulla, of whom Haidar Mirzá speaks in the highest terms, p. 283, saying that he was a true Musalman, &c., ever ordered his wife's young brother and his own guest to be murdered. And the context, p. 211, shows that all that was known at Bokhára was that the boy was to be taken to Khorasán. It would seem, too, that the emissary did not at first disclose the fact that Haidar's father had been killed. On the contrary, he seems to have represented himself as having been deputed by Muhammad Husain to bring his son, and actually staid some days in Bokhára to collect Muhammad Husain's property, alleging that the latter had said, "Bring my property along with my son." It was this delay that saved Haidar. His guardian, Maulána Muhammad, though faithful to his trust, yet was disposed, partly from want of spirit, and partly from belief in destiny, to accept what he regarded as inevitable, and to take the child, to Khorasán. But before doing so he went to see a Bokhára saint known as Maulána Muhammad Qázi. The saint asked the guardian how he had consented to let Muhammad Husain go to Khorasán, and how he was permitting the son to be taken there. "Verily," replied the guardian, with sanctimonious flinching from duty, "we are taking him, fully trusting in God's protection." The reply of the saint was admirable good sense,\* and shows that Muhammadans can see through the glamour of fatalism. "The Holy prophet, when his life was threatened by the infidels of Mecca,

\* Erskine I. p. 290, well says, "it was full of true piety and sound sense." It may be noted here that Erskine's translation, differing from Ross, makes the guardian's reply refer to his having suffered the father to go to Khorasán.

did not put his trust in standing still and being captured, but took to flight. Therefore, what you should now do is, trusting in God, to take the Mirzá and flee; and if danger or cause of fear presents itself, I am your security. You ought certainly to set out without delay." In telling the story afterwards, Maulána Muhammad used to say that these words of the saint had such an effect on him that he at once resolved to devote all his energies to carrying off the child and escaping with him. The story of how he effected this is told at p. 215, &c.

The first part of the plan was to hide the boy in the house of a friend in Bokhára, and at the same time make a show of flying from the place by night. Some of his father's servants went off on horseback with great affectation of secrecy, and the emissary's spies, thinking that they had the boy with them set out in pursuit, and never thought of searching in the town, where he was lying cocealed. After various adventures, the boy and his guardian reached Qila-i-Zafar, then the capital of Badakhshán. Here they were kindly received by Mirzá Khán, another cousin of Bábar. The date of their arrival is not precisely stated, but from pp. 226 and 227 it appears to have been in November, 1508. They stayed at Qila-i-Zafar for a year, and then went on to Kábul in accordance with an invitation from Bábar, who wrote that, as Badakhshán was exposed to the forays of the Uzbegs, Muhamad Husáin's son was not safe there, and that his own mind could not be at rest so long as the boy remained there. They left accordingly in the middle of October, 1509; but so poorly were they provided, that they had only two horses among a party of sixteen, and consequently had so little baggage that Haidar had nothing to sleep upon at night. "Maulána Muhammad, who was a sort of father to the party, had nothing but one meagre shawl, such as is worn by the poorest men in Badakhshán." What the condition of the other was, may be surmised." Mirzá Khán, "he says, "was so badly off that, though he did his best, he was unable to procure a coloured garment for myself." One curious circumstance mentioned by Haidar as occurring about this time was his recovering the use of his arm, which had been broken and dislocated some months before by a fall from a donkey in the flight from Bokhára. He fell again at Badakhshán when out riding with Mirzá Khán, and was thrown to the ground on the injured arm. "As I struck the ground, I heard a sound in my bad elbow. The shock was so violent that I fainted. After a time I came to and found that Mirzá Khán was holding my head upon his knees." Afterwards it was found that this second fall had sent the bone back to its proper place,

so that in a short time he recovered the entire use of it. At Kábul, he was received by Bábar with all the effusiveness of his affectionate nature. Bábar sent for his young cousin and tenderly embraced him.

"When he let me go, he would no longer allow me to observe the formalities of respect, but made me sit down at his side. While we were thus seated, he said to me with great benevolence, your father and brother and all your relations have been made to drink the wine of martyrdom; but, thank God, you have come back to me again in safety. Do not grieve too much at their loss. For I will take their place, and whatever favour of affection you could have expected from them, that and more will I show you. With such promises and tenderness did he comfort me, so that the bitterness of orphanage and the poison of banishment were driven from my mind."

"Nor did Bábar forget the good Maulána, to whom Haidar was indebted for his preservation. He sent for him, honoured him with many kind speeches, and kept asking him the particulars of their story. Then he praised him highly, and rejoiced his soul with promises of favour.

Haidar's reflections on his wonderful escape from the clutches of Shaibáni are an interesting revelation of the pious feelings of a good man—for why should we use a restricted expression and say a good Muhammadan?"—

"How excellent a thing it is that the Almighty has power to check the violent and, if He so wills it, to restrain the hand of the cruel; so that, without His consent, the tyrant cannot touch a single hair of any man's head. In his glory, vanity and magnificence, see how many royal families Sháhi Beg Khan destroyed, and the number of princely houses he annihilated! In a short space of time, he scattered to the wind of annihilation many governors and officials, so that the dust of their existence formed towers\* on the plains of non-existence, which reached up to the heavens, and from the mists of their sighs a frightful whirlwind arose in the deserts. This king, who could commit such atrocities and practise such violence, was resolved on my death, at a time when I had only just passed the half of my childhood, and did not know my right hand from my left, nor good from evil; nor had I the ability to use my strength—nay, I had not enough intelligence to execute my own wishes. I had become an orphan without father or mother; my paternal uncles were scattered and my maternal uncles slain. I had not even an elder brother who could share in my grief; no friend or relation to comfort me. That year, 914 (1508-9), proved one of disaster for the Sultans of the day in general, and of massacre for the Mogul Khákáns in particular. When God willed that all my uncles, aunts and cousins should be carried off in different directions, and murdered, I was the weakest and youngest of the family. The strangest part of it all is that they were, every one, at a great distance, but, being helpless, nay, having no alternative, they came and threw themselves into calamity and were murdered; while I escaped, though

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\* This is a metaphor taken from the sand storms so frequent in Central Asia. In Atkinson's "Upper and Lower Amoor," p. 278, there is a striking picture of towers of sand rising on a plain.

in the town of Bokhára, in the middle of the ocean of Sháhi Beg Khan's dominions. Since the decree of the will of the Almighty had not been issued for my destruction, but for my preservation, Sháhi Beg Khan, with all his boasting and power, was not able to touch one hair of the head of that helpless little child whom he wished to kill. Thanks be to God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Possessor of Might, Majesty and Power."

Bábar continued his kindness to his cousin during the whole of his stay with him, and Haidar expresses his gratitude in a very affectionate manner.

"How," he says, "can I ever show sufficient thankfulness? I passed a long time in the service of the Emperor, in perfect happiness and freedom from care; and he was for ever, either by promises of kindness, or by threats of severity, encouraging me to study. If he ever noticed any little virtue or new acquisition, he would praise it in the highest terms, commend it to everybody, and invite their approbation. All that time, the Emperor showed me such affection and kindness as a fond father shows his son and heir. It was a hard day for me when I lost my father, but the bitterness of my desolation became scarcely perceptible, owing to the blessed favours of the Emperor. From this time to the year 918 (1512) I remained in his service. Whenever he rode out, I had the honour of riding at his side, and when he received friends, I was sure to be among the invited. In fact, he never let me be separated from him. When I was studying, for example, directly my lesson was over, he would send some one to fetch me. And in this fatherly manner did he continue to treat me till the end." (p. 230).

Haidar remained with Bábar for about three years, *viz.*, from Rajab, 915, to Rajab, 918, or November, 1509, to September, 1512. During this time he accompanied Bábar on his expedition to Kanduz against the Uzbeks. Bábar had wished to spare the boy the fatigues of this march, which took place in the winter, time, (December 1510), but Haidar begged so hard not to be left behind that Bábar yielded and allowed him to come. Haidar was with Bábar when he conquered Samarkand for the third time, *viz.*, in October 1511. But he was not present at the battle of Kul Malik in the spring of 1512, in which Bábar was defeated by Ubaid Ulla. Haidar was left behind then in Samarkand, as he had been attacked with fever, but when Bábar returned discomfited, Haidar accompanied him in his retreat to Hissar (Hisár-i-Shádmán). But this was the last time that the cousins were together. Bábar, having been joined by his Persian auxiliaries under Mir Najim, went off to the westward to Karshi and Bokhára, and to the disastrous battle of Ghajdván (November, 1512), where he was completely defeated by Ubaid Ulla and the Uzbeks, and obliged to return to Hissar, and eventually to give up all hope of maintaining himself in Central Asia. Haidar, on the other hand, went off from Hissar to his uncle, Saiyid Muhammad Mirzá, and to Sultan Sa'id Khán, both of whom were at Andján in Fe'gháná. Sultan Sa'id, whom Haidar generally designates as



the Khán, had a great affection for Haidar, and when he was sent by Bábar to Andján, he tried to induce Bábar to allow Haidar to accompany him. Haidar, too, was anxious to go there, but when he asked leave of Bábar, "his blessed heart became heavy, and he put all such ideas on one side." The Khán, however, renewed his request, and at last Bábar, displeas'd and irritated, gave Haidar leave to go. "In my childish folly," says Haidar, "I did not pay attention to the Emperor's consent but went." Probably Haidar was actuated by several motives. Neither he nor other good Musalmans liked the way in which Bábar was consorting with the heretical Persians, adopting their dress, &c. "The hopes of the people of Samarkand," he says, p. 246, "was not realised, and the people of Transoxiana ceased to feel the intense longing for the Emperor which they had entertained while he was absent." Then Haidar's grand-uncle, Saiyid Muhammad, and also his own sister, with whom he had lived at Bokhára, were now at Andijan. She had been Ubaid Ulla's wife; but, when her husband fled from Karshí her uncle took her to Andján, and gave her in marriage to Sultan Sa'id Khán. But, perhaps, the predominant motive was a hope of becoming married to Sultan Sa'id's sister, Muhibb Sultan Khánim. Apparently she had by this time become a widow for the second time, p. 280. It was not without some difficulty that he obtained her hand, and at p. 278 we are told that one of the marvellous feats of Maulána Muhammad Qazi was his foretelling that the union would be brought about in spite of the opposition of the Amirs. The marriage took place in Rajab, 919, September, 1513; and Haidar was thus raised, like his father, to the rank of Gurgán (son-in-law.)

This departure from Hissar and separation from Bábar was no doubt the turning point in Haidar's career. It was the parting of the ways, for the cousins never met again. From henceforth the streams of their lives flowed in different directions, Central Asia being their watershed, as it is for the Oxus and the Indus. Bábar went south to Kábul and Hindustan, and Haidar north and east to Ferghána, Káshghar and Tibet, only visiting the plains of India in middle age and after Bábar's death.

The incident of their 'leave-taking may, therefore, recal to us Wordsworth's verses on the parting of two brothers in Darley Dale, and all the more because Eastern cousins often call one another brothers.

" Eager to fulfil  
Their courses, like two new-born rivers, they  
In opposite directions urged their way,  
Nev'r again

Embraced those brothers upon earth's wide plain,  
 Nor aught of mutual joy or sorrow knew,  
 Until their spirits mingled in the sea  
 That to itself takes all, Eternity."

It would seem from Haidar's words that he afterwards came to regret his decision to go to Ferghána. Had he remained with his cousin, he would probably have been a happier, and a more distinguished man. His virtues would have been a support, and complement to Bábar, and he might have saved the latter from the debaucheries which hastened his end. Yet it cannot be said that Haidar's subsequent career was unfortunate, and it is probable that, if he had not spent most of his days in Central Asia, we should not have had his history of the Moguls. He remained in the service of Sultan Sa'id—who was doubly his brother-in-law—for one and twenty years (September 1512-July 1533), that is, until Sa'id Khan's death. During all this time he met with much favour at the Khán's hands:—

"Living a life of luxury and splendour, and acquiring, under his instruction and guidance, many accomplishments and much learning. In the arts of calligraphy, reading, making verses, epistolary style, painting and illuminating, I became not only distinguished, but a passed master. Likewise in such crafts as seal-engraving, jeweller's and goldsmith's work, saddlery and armour-making; also in the construction of arrows, spear heads and knives, gilding and many other things which it would take too long to enumerate; in all of these the masters of each could teach me no more. And this was the outcome of the care and attention of the Khan. Then, again, in the affairs of the State, in important transactions, in planning campaigns and forays (Kazáki), in archery, in hunting, in the training of falcons, and in everything that is useful in the government of a kingdom, the Khán was my instructor and patron. Indeed, in most of the above-mentioned pursuits and studies, he was my only instructor."

Haidar did not remain long in peace in Ferghána for, in May, 1514, or about nine months after his marriage, the Khan and all the Moguls found it necessary to evacuate the country from fear of the Uzbeks. This was the result of a general council of the nobles, at which it was decided that as Ferghána was the ancient home of the Chaghatais, and as they, *i.e.*, Bábar and his family, had abandoned the country, it was useless for the Khán to try and preserve it for them. The plan which they now adopted was to proceed to Káshghar, and take it from Abu Bakr who had tyrannised over it for many years. Though Mir Abu Bakr was Haidar's grand-uncle, being brother of Saiyid Muhammad, his conduct had been so bad that Saiyid Muhammad had no scruple in proposing war against him. In describing the expedition against him, Haidar takes the opportunity of giving a list of the leaders. Among them he mentions himself, p. 306, but modestly says: "The dawn of childhood had not yet

changed to the morning of youth, nor was my intelligence yet fully developed. I was but fifteen years of age. Although the Khán had honoured me with the title of Gurgan, yet on account of my youth and immaturity, both physical and mental, I was not able to participate fully in that dignity. 'I, however, carried out as much as was possible. The retainers and followers of my father, as many as had remained behind, supported and aided me nobly in every way, so that, in spite of the general scarcity of attendants upon the Moguls, one hundred and twenty persons were entered in my name." On the same page we have an amusing description of another chief, Mirzá Ali Tagháí, for whom Haidar seems to have had a special aversion. He tells us that "the wiles this man could devise after a moment's reflection, could not have been invented by a cunning Delilah after years of deep thought." The expedition was successful, and in the end of Rajab, 920, (October, 1514), the Khán made a triumphal entry in to the town of Yarkand.

This success was followed, according to Haidar, by a universal dissolution of morals among the people. "The Khán," he says, "brought the country into such good order that the doors of pleasure and the gates of security were opened to high and low alike. The people gave themselves up to wine and song and dancing, and the Khán and his courtiers turned night into day, and day into night in draining the wine cups. This state of things went on for about eight years, when the Khán, being then 37 years of age, repented and forswore wine-bibbing." The account of his conversion is given at p. 369, and is an interesting record. Evidently the Khán got a "conviction for sin." He devoted himself much to the study of Sufi books, and went so far in his zeal as to wish to abdicate the throne and become a darwesh. He was dissuaded by a grandson of the famous saint, Khwaja Nasiruddin Ubaid"Ulla. This man, though a darwesh himself, had the good sense to advise the Khán against being righteous over much. His words to the Khán, when the latter explained his desire of becoming a darwesh, are worth quoting, and may remind us of the practical exhortations of Augustin to Raphael and Victoria in Kingsley's Hypatia.

"Much has been said," he remarked, "by wise men on this subject; such as, 'Remain on the throne of your kingdom, and be like an austere darwesh in your ways!' And again; 'Set the crown on your head, and science on your back:.' "Use effort in your work, and wear what you will:.' 'In reality sovereignty is one of the closest walks with God, but kings have abused its rights.' 'A king is able, with one word, to give a higher reward than can a darwesh (however intent upon his purpose) during the whole of a long life.' In this respect sovereignty is a real and practical state. But I will show you one line that my

father, Khwaja Muhammad Abdulla, wrote for me. And he gave the writing to the Khan. It was written 'The most important conditions for a seeker of union with God, are, little food, few words, and few associates.' This brief sermon sufficed to compose the Khan, and he resolved to pursue the road of justice and good deeds."

The Khan continued to rule Káshghar for about ten years after his conversion, and then, in August, 1532, set out to invade Tibet. We are told that his motive was to carry on a holy war, but it is likely that, as in the case of the crusaders, love of adventure and the hope of plunder were the predominant inducements. "The Holy War," says Haidar, "is the main support and fortifier of Islam, the most efficient groundwork for the foundations of the Faith." He himself took part in the expedition, but went by a different route from the Khán. He also diverged into Kashmír, and succeeded in entering the capital, and in being supreme in the valley for a time. The *Khutba* was read, and coins were struck in the name of the Khán; but Haidar's followers compelled him to relinquish his conquest and to return to Káshghar. They were wild and barbarous Moguls, and they found Kashmír too much of a Troll's garden to suit them. They are represented as saying,—

"We are Moguls, and have been continually occupied with the affairs of Mogulistan. The natural solace and joy of the Mogul is the desert, on which there is no cultivation. The screeching of the owl in the wilderness is sweeter to our ear than the song of the nightingale in the grove. We have never made cultivated land our home. Our companions have been the ravenous beasts of the mountain, and our associates the wild boars of the desert... How can men of our race associate with this besotted band of infidels of Kashmir, which is the garden of Arám,\* nay more, a specimen of paradise."

In his bitterness, Haidar compares them to the sweeper who fainted amidst the fragrance of a perfumer's shop, but was revived by having excrement put to his nose. This, perhaps, was another instance of Haidar's taking the wrong path, and neglecting a great opportunity. He himself thought so, and says that he disregarded the dictates of wisdom, and that his action caused him much suffering. His proper course, he thinks, was to have quelled the mutiny by putting to death the ringleader, Mirza Ali Taghái, whom he calls an execrable devil, and a Shaikh of Satans. The mistake is one that Haidar's cousin, the Emperor Bábar, was not likely to have committed, and the very different way in which he dealt with the officers who wanted him to abandon his conquest of Hindustan shows perhaps the mental superiority of Bábar over his cousin. Bábar has recorded his contempt for the man who abandons the path of glory (Erskine's translation, 201); and it is the crowning distinction of his life that he did not give

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\* The earthly Paradise constructed by Shadádd.

way, like other conquerors, to his followers, but held his ground and established a dynasty. It is true, it may be urged, that Haidar was not supreme, like Bábar, and was only the Khán's general. But, on the other hand, it seems from his own account that the Khán was prepared to support him in opposing Ali Tagháí, and that he, in a manner, acted against orders in retiring. Perhaps Haidar's withdrawal did honour to his heart, if not to his head, and he was restrained by scruples which other conquerors would have disregarded. It seems that he could only have remained by putting Mirza Ali Taghai to death, and that he shrank from bloodshed. As he said to Daim Ali, his counsellor, "to kill Mirza Ali Tagháí would not be acting like a good Musalman." The conquest took place in December, 1532, or January, 1533, and the withdrawal about five months afterwards. Before leaving, Haidar made peace with the Kashmiris, for which "they were very thankful, but they did not credit our good faith, wondering how people who had once conquered such a beautiful country could be so senseless as to give it up."

Haidar brought, back with him from Kashmir, and presented to the Khán, some gold and silver coins\* which had been struck in his name. The Khán received him with great affection and remarked that, by conquering Kashmir, he had accomplished a feat that had not been performed by any of the victorious Khákáns from Chingiz Khán downwards, and that he had earned the gratitude of the Mogul race.

The Khán was very desirous of conducting a holy war in person, but found that he suffered from breathlessness or asphyxia (*damgírí*, *dyspnœa*) at high altitudes, and that he must relinquish the hope of penetrating to Lhassa (Ursang). He therefore deputed Haidar to march there, and himself set out on his return from Máryul in Tibet to Yarkand. But he had not strength to bear the journey, and died of *damgiri*, on 9<sup>th</sup> júly, 1533, in one of the Tibetan passes. Haidar gives him a very high character, ending with these words:—

"I was 24 (*qy.* 21, *viz.*, from 918-39) years in his service. I do not remember ever having heard him use abusive or obscene language to an inferior. If any of the slaves in his attendance committed an offence worthy of punishment or reproof, he would frown, but keep his temper and say very little. If he did speak and wished to use abusive language, he never went beyond calling any one "unclean" or "carrion," and if he spoke in Turki, he said much the same."

The Khán's death brought Haidar's connection with Káshghar to an end. Rashíd's Sultan, the Khán's son, disliked Haidar, put his grand-uncle, Saiyid Muhammad Mirzá to death, and banished Haidar's wife, Rashíd's own aunt, to Badakhshán,

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\* It would be interesting to know if any numismatist has found these.

p. 467. One reason for this conduct was that some of the Khán's officers sent Rashíd a paper which they declared to be his father's last will and testament, and in which he stated that he had never wanted to make a holy war in Tibet ; that it was Saiyid Muhammad and Mírza Haidar who had forced him to undertake it, and that he wished his son to put them to death in retaliation for their having brought about his end. Haidar says, p. 449, that the paper was a forgery ; but it is not improbable that the Khán had dictated something of the kind in his last moments. It is likely enough that Haidar and his uncle—who were both somewhat bigoted Muhammadans—had urged on the Khan to the holy war, and that, when the latter saw the bad effects of it on himself, he felt bitter against his advisers and even wished to be avenged on them. In spite of Haidar's eulogiums on his patron, he was probably a weak-minded and unstable man, whose strength and moral fibre had been undermined by long years of debauchery. The expedition was certainly not a fit undertaking for a man on the verge of fifty, who had ruined his constitution by hard drinking ; and he must have felt afterwards that he had made a mistake in going to Tibet. Haidar was in Tibet at the time when Rashíd killed his uncle, &c. He remained there for some time, enduring great hardships, and failing in his attempt to reach Lhassa. Eventually he crossed over from Tibet into Badakhshán. His force was, by this time, reduced to 27 men, and shortly afterwards it became 22. They encountered terrible hardships on the way, suffering from cold and hunger, and losing most of their horses from lock-jaw. He spent the winter in Badakhshan, where Sulaimán Shah, the son of Mirzá Khán, was ruling, and then, in the summer time, he went to Kabul. Afterwards he went to India and joined Kámrán, the son of Bábar, at Lahore. Here he was well treated, and when Kámrán went to Kandahar, to recover it from the Persians, he left Haidar in charge of Lahore. When he returned, he was so pleased with Haidar's administration that he raised his salary from fifteen to fifty lakhs. He does not tell us what these lakhs consisted of ; but apparently they were of some copper coin worth about two pence, for he says that a lakh of Hindustan is worth 20,000 Sharukhís *i.e.*, francs or tenpences. There is a learned discussion on this subject in Erskine's History I., App. E., p. 544. Haidar afterwards joined Humayun, and was with him at the battle of Kanauj in May, 1540. The result of this battle was that Humayun fled to Agra and Lahore, and eventually left India, while Haidar, with a small force, achieved for the second time, the conquest of Kashmír. This was the great exploit of Haidar's life, for it was the only one which had prolonged

consequences. The battle which gave him final possession of the country occurred on 2nd August, 1541, but his entry into the valley occurred in November of the previous year.\*

Unfortunately, Haidar tells us very little about his administration of the country. As Mr. Elias observes: "It is curious how little our author relates about his invasion and administration of Kashmir, or of the affairs of that country during the eleven years that his regency lasted."† Mr. Elias has, therefore, had to supplement his narrative by the accounts of Abul Fazl and Ferishta. Abul Fazl's account is to be found at pp. 196-199 of the first volume of the Akbarnáma, Bibliotheca Indica edition, and is characterised by his usual faults of pomposity and verbiage. Abul Fazl is a valuable writer, but he is sadly deficient in the art of picturesque narrative. Indeed, he seems to have quite a knack of missing out what one wants to know. His account of Bábar, for instance, is quite remarkable for the way in which he can spoil a story. He had an admirable model before him in Bábar's Memoirs, and he has used them freely, but he has done his best to turn a crisp narrative into pulp. Instead of "squeezing out the whey" he has laboriously bottled it, and thrown away the curd. He has done the same thing with the Tárikh-i-Rashídí. It is not, as Mr. Elias supposes, p. 23, that he makes no mention of Haidar's work. He refers to it, for instance, at p. 115 of the Akbarnáma, vol. I, and he often borrows from it without direct acknowledgment, but he makes infelicitous use of it. Mr. Elias has depended upon Price for his abstract of Abul Fazl, and consequently has fallen into some errors. Among them is the statement that Abul Fazl censures Haidar for devoting too much time to music‡ I do not think that Abul Fazl means to charge this as a fault. It is rather mentioned as a prominent feature of the civilization which Haidar introduced into Kashmir. Abul Fazl did not disapprove of music. His father was fond of it, and he devotes an Ain, Blochmann 611, to praise of the art. Indeed, he could hardly speak ill of a pursuit in which, according to his account, Akbar was such a proficient. Akbar, he

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\* The date of the conquest given by Abul Fazl is 22 Rajab, 947, or 22nd November, 1540.

† It should be borne in mind, however, that his book was finished when he had ruled only for five years, and also that he has devoted some chapters to an account of Kashmir in the narrative of his first conquest of that country.

‡ Mr. Elias, p. 147, calls attention to the apparent contradiction between Abul Fazl's account of Haidar's devotion to music, and the latter's own statement that he was unable, from ignorance of the art, to speak of Rashíd Khan's skill. But Haidar may, like Abul Fazl's father, have acquired a taste for music late in life. Moreover, the passage at p. 139 shows that he could criticise musical performances.

tells us, had more knowledge of music than even trained musicians possessed, and composed upwards of 200 airs. What he chiefly blames Haidar for is narrow-minded bigotry, and Haidar's own account shows that this was a charge which could justly be brought against him. See the chapter, p. 434, 'On the religious sects of Kashmir', where he attacks the Sufis, and thanks God that under his rule no one dares openly profess their faith, knowing that he would put them to death if they did so. He also, in this chapter, inveighs against the Shamásis or sun-worshippers, whom, no doubt, Abul Fazl admired. In the *Ain*, Jarrett, II., 352, the latter speaks of the Sunnis of Kashmir, of whom Haidar was one, as "narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition." Col. Jarrett has here an interesting note on Haidar. It is true that Abul Fazl goes on to speak of Haidar's transgressing the laws of justice, and coming under subjection to his lusts, and giving up prudence and endurance. But though, as usual, his meaning is not clear, it does not appear that he connects these things with Haidar's study of music. It would not, however, be surprising if Haidar, at the end of his career and when over fifty years of age, and in the enjoyment of the purple and of the enchanting valley of Kashmir, lost some of his ancient energy. He himself has told us what effect the conquest of Káshghar had on his patron, Sa'íd Khan, and on the whole Mogul people. But the last act of Haidar's life, at least, does not show any signs of waning activity. To undertake a nocturnal attack, marching five miles against the enemy's camp, and to be so far in advance of his followers as to be killed by one of their arrows might be rash, but certainly does not indicate sloth. The gist of Abul Fazl's statements about the cause of Haidar's downfall is that the Kashmirians were, as usual, treacherous and rebellious, and that Haidar was not sufficiently on the alert against their wiles. One of their most successful stratagems, he says, was inducing Haidar to disperse his army, sending some troops to Tibet, some to Paklí, and some to Rajorí, *i.e.*, North, West and South.

Mr. Elias has, in an Appendix, an extract from a valuable paper by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, but justly observes that some of the particulars are not quite intelligible. Mr. Rodgers' information is derived from Ferishta's special chapter 'On the Kings of Kashmir,' which forms one of the supplements to his general history, and so has not been translated by General Briggs. But Ferishta here is merely a transcript of the *Tabaqát Akbari* of Nizamuddin, and the unintelligibility is partly due to want of clearness and clerical errors in Ferishta and his source, and partly, I venture to think, to errors in Mr. Rodgers' translation. The proper names in the texts are uncertain, and Nizamuddin's loose and inconsecutive way of



writing has led to misapprehensions of his meaning. The essential facts seem to be as follows : Haidar and his Mogul followers were, from the first, unpopular with the Kashmiri nobles. A faction among them were glad enough to get Haidar's help against their rivals, but, as soon as he had done their work, they tried to get rid of him. When, then, he proceeded to establish himself in the valley, the nobles endeavoured to oust him by getting help from Sher Shah, and afterwards from his son Islam Shah. Haidar, however, partly by force, and partly by exchange of presents, contrived to settle matters with Sher Shah and his son, and had rest for some time, during which he endeavoured to improve the country. The feeling of dislike of the foreigner still prevailed, however, and fresh intrigues arose which Haidar did not see through, or did not encounter with adequate vigour. In fact, he trusted neither the Kashmiris nor his own Moguls, and, when the latter told him of Kashmiri plots, he merely said with flippancy that the Moguls were no whit inferior to the Kashmiris in intrigue and disaffection. This dislike and contempt for the Mogul, or Mongolian race, comes out strongly both in Bábar and Haidar. Though Mogul blood ran in their veins, they evidently felt towards them much as Eurasians do towards Bengaliz. Both Bábar and Haidar regarded themselves as Turks, or Chaghatais ; and if, not to speak of their paternal ancestors, they had been questioned whether their materna' grandfather, Junas Khan, was not a Mogul, they would probably have answered that the taint had been removed by his orthodoxy, and by the many years which he had spent at Yezd in Persia under the tuition of Sharaf-uddin. But to return : Haidar had a second cousin,\* named Qara Bahadur, who was one of his generals, and who afterwards served under Akbar, and made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Kashmír. Haidar sent this man on an expedition to Bhinpul, which is probably, as Mr. Eliaš thinks, a mistake for Bhimbar to the south of Kashmír. They had got no further than Baramula when the Kashmirians began to mutiny. Qara Bahadur reported the circumstance ; but, as we have seen, Haidar's only reply was that the Kashmirians were no worse than the Moguls. Then Husain Máhari, a Kashmirian, sent his brother to Haidar, giving the Kashmiri side of the quarrel, and begging him to recal the expedition. But Haidar was equally indifferent to this representation. Then, on 27 Ramzán, 958 (28th September, 1551), a great fire took place in Indrakote,

\* Blochmann, 460, calls him Haidar's cousin, but he really was the son of Haidar's cousin, Mahmúd Míza, whose singular death from the kick of his horse is recorded at p. 462. See his biography in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, 48. It may be noted that this biography begins with a notice of Haidar, and contains a quatrain by him.

(apparently the fort, or cantonment, of Srinagar), and Qara Bahadur and the troops sent a request to Haidar to put off the expedition to Bhimbar for a year, and to allow them to return and rebuild their houses. But Haidar would not hear of this, and the troops had to go on. When they got to Bhimbar, the Kashmirians in the force deserted at night, and, joining with the country people, fell upon the Moguls and killed eighty of them, and captured their leaders. The rest fled by Púñch to Bahrámghala.\* This outbreak roused Haidar to energetic action. He appointed new generals, melted down his plate and converted it into coin, turned artizans into soldiers, and marched out from Indrakote. His force consisted of 1700 men, of whom 700 were Moguls, and he encamped it on the plain of Khálidgarh,† or Khalagarh, near Srinagar. Meanwhile, the insurrection continued to spread, and Fattah Chak, a Kashmiri noble who had the death of his father to avenge, came with 3,000 men and entered Indrakote.‡ There he burnt Haidar's palace in the Bagh-i-Safa, a proceeding which seems to have called forth from Haidar the philosophical remark that, as he had not brought the palace from Káshghar, he could, by God's help, reconstruct it. Or, perhaps, what he said was that, as it had not been built by him, he need not take the trouble to rebuild it. In retaliation for Fattah Chak's act, an officer of Haidar burnt the palace of Zainal Abadín, a famous king of Kashmír, but Haidar did not approve of this. Probably it was the palace called the Rájdán, described by Haidar at p. 429, which was wholly made of wood. Haidar classes it among the wonders of Kashmír, and no doubt was vexed at its destruction. However, he retaliated in another way, by burning the houses in Srinagar of Id Ríná and another factious noble. Then he moved his camp to Khánpur. Here Nizámuddin takes occasion to mention that in this village there is a *Khabzí* † tree which could shelter 200 men on horseback, and also had this peculiarity, that when a single branch was shaken, the whole tree was set in motion. Nizámuddin says that, when he went to Kashmír with Akbar, he tried the experiment and found that the fact was so; and I may be excused for mentioning that the máll of the public gardens in Bhagalpur showed me the same phenomenon in the

\* Tieffenthaler says that the proper name of this place is Paingola.

† Indrakul, which is a place in Kashmír, (Jarrett II., 370), is more likely here, for Indrakote was not taken till after Haidar's death. Perhaps, however, all that is meant is that Fattah Chak plundered the environs.

‡ This is an Arabic word and means, according to Lane, a willow, and also a plant of the leguminous kind, having broad leaves and a round fruit. The word is connected with *Khabaz*, bread. Can it be a bread-fruit tree, *i.e.*, a jack, or species thereof, or the Baobáb, which is also called monkey-bread.

case of a large tree there, which was a baobáb or *Adansonia digitata*. He struck a branch high up on the tree with a bamboo pole, and all the other branches shook. Ferishta calls the tree a willow (*bíd*), which can hardly be correct, and suppresses Nizámuddin's experience. Perhaps this is the very tree mentioned by Haidar among the Wonders of Kashmír, p. 428. "In Nágám, a notable town of Kashmír there is a tree which is so high that, if an arrow be shot at the top, it will probably not reach it. If any one takes hold of one of the twigs and shakes it, the whole of this enormous tree is put in motion." If so, Khánpur is a mistake or is another name for Nágám which, Mr. Elias states, is a village one short march south of Srinagar.

The Kashmirians retired from Khánpur—apparently on Haidar's advance—and encamped at Arabpur (?), five miles off. Haidar determined to make a night attack on them, but, as if aware of the risk, he first appointed his brother's son, Abdur Rahman, his heir, and made his followers swear allegiance to him. The night was dark and cloudy, and, when they got near the tent of Khwája Háji,\* who was the soul of the insurrection, and had been Haidar's Vakil, it was impossible to see anything. Shah Nazar Qúrchí (perhaps the man mentioned at p. 247 of the T. R.), drew a bow at a venture, and immediately afterwards he heard the Mirzá's voice saying you have wounded † (me) with an arrow. In the morning the Kashmirians discovered that a Mogul was lying dead in their camp, and Khwája Háji recognised the body as Haidar's. He raised the head, and Haidar opened his eyes once and then expired. Nizámuddin adds the interesting detail that his death was much lamented by the people. The Kashmirians gave the body burial, and pursued the Moguls to Indrakote, whither they had fled. They defended themselves there for four days, the artilleryist, Muhammad Rashi, ‡ loading his guns with copper coins. Then, on the suggestion of Khánim, the widow, and of her sister, the Moguls made terms and surrendered. The exact date of Haidar's death has not been mentioned, but was apparently not long after 27 Ramzán, 958, the date of the fire in Indrakote, and the last date mentioned, and so probably occurred some time in October, 1551. Nor is the

\* Apparently the man who joined Haidar in Tibet, and who was instrumental in promoting Haidar's second expedition to Kashmír, pp. 460 and 482.

† The translation is doubtful and the words are given differently in Ferishta. The expression in Nizámuddin is Saheb tuláidí. Perhaps the meaning is You have wounded your master.

‡ He was with Haidar at the battle of Kanauj, T. R. 475.

exact place of occurrence known, but seemingly it was near Srinagar. According to Abul Fazl it was near Khánpur which is between Hírápur\* and Srinagar. Both Khánpur and Hírápur are mentioned in the itineraries given by Tieffenthaler, and Khánpur is stated by him to be five miles from Kashmír, *i.e.*, Srinagar. Abul Fazl, while mentioning the story that Haidar was accidentally killed by an arrow, seems to prefer another version, according to which the night attack, or ambush, was made by the Kashmirians. Haidar had gone to release his relative and officer, Qara Bahadur, when he was assassinated near his minister's tent by one Kássáb Dúbí.

Apparently Haidar left no children. If there had been a son, he probably would not have made his nephew his heir. We also find, p. 340, that Haidar having no son, some years after his marriage, the Khán made over to him his own son, Iskandar. Iskandar served with Haidar in Tibet, and accompanied Haidar's wife to Badakhshán, when she was driven out of Káshghar by her nephew. Nízámuddin and his copyist, Ferish-ta, make Abdur Rahmán the brother of Haidar, but this seems to be a clerical error. Haidar had a younger brother, called Abdullá Mirzá, but he was killed in Tibet, 455. Abdur Rahmán became an officer under Akbar, and is mentioned in the Ain, Blochmann, p. 464, as Haidar's brother's son. The widow mentioned as proposing peace with the Kashmirians was probably the Khan's sister, Muhibb Sultan Khánim.

Haidar's end reminds us of that of Charles XII, and, perhaps, his companions uttered some sentiment like the "*Voilà la pièce finie*," mentioned by Voltaire, or they may have said with Manoa,

"Come, come, no time for lamentation now,  
Nor much more cause, Haidar hath quit himself  
Like Haidar, and heroically hath finished  
• A life heroic."

It cannot be asserted that he died immaturity. He had seen his best days, had written his book, and ruled Kashmir for ten years. If in that space he had not accomplished reforms and made himself acceptable to the people, it was time that he should give place to another.

One great fault charged upon Haidar by Abul Fazl is that he ruled Kashmír in the name of Názak Shah, and not in that of Humayun. He concedes, however, that this may have been induced by policy and not disloyalty, and in the Ain, Jarrett II, 390, he appears to praise Haidar for the very same

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\* Tieffenthaler I., 89, gives the distance between Hírápur and Srinagar as 12 miles, and that between Hírápur and Kananour as 7. Khanpuri Sarai is a halting place on the road to Srinagar from India. See Mr. Growse's article in this Review, LIV., p. 28, for January 1872.

conduct for which he blames him in the Akbarnáma. But the translation is, perhaps, hardly in accord with the original (I. 584, Bib. Ind. ed.). What the Persian says apparently is that Haidar effected a compromise. He gained over the Kashmirians by mildness and friendship, so that while *they* read the *Khutba* in the name of Názak Shah, *he* read it in the name of Humayun, and struck coins in his name. Haidar's own account, p. 434, is "that he showed due reverence to the titular king," and he not unjustly takes credit to himself for his considerate behaviour." "To Sultan Názak, who is to-day my companion, I have shown far more respect than the former administrators of the kingdom ever showed." At the time Haidar was writing his Memoirs, he did not even know whether Humayun was still alive. He had gone to Persia, he says p. 484, and "at the present time it is not known what has become of him." It seems rather absurd to blame Haidar for not proclaiming Humayun under such circumstances. When the latter emerged from obscurity in 1545, Haidar hastened to acknowledge him, though Humayun was still an exile from India.

I have entered into such detail about the life of Haidar, because his Memoirs are excessively rambling and confused. Worse than all his repetitions, is his habit of breaking off in his narration every now and then to give the biography of some saint or sovereign whose name rises up before him. The Index to the translation is, I regret to say, not exhaustive, for many references are wanting. Mr. Elias has, in his valuable Introduction, devoted a chapter to "The Author and his Book," in which he has given a succinct and consecutive sketch of Haidar's life. Mine differs from his chiefly in entering more into detail, and in giving extracts from the book.

In sketching Haidar's life, I have necessarily analysed his Memoirs, which form the largest part of his book. It remains to say a few words about the first part, or the history proper. This begins with the history of Tughlaq Tímur, who reigned over Mogulistán and Transoxiana from 1347-1362. Haidar gives two reasons for not starting from an earlier period. One is that Sharáf-ud-dín has treated of the earlier times, and that, therefore, to do it again would be like digging a well on the margin of the Euphrates. Another is that Tughlaq Tímur was the first of the Mogul princes who was fully converted to Muhammadanism, and that in his reign the body of the people became Musalmans. Some of his predecessors, he says, had become Musalmans, but neither they, nor their people, attained to a knowledge of the Rashd, or True Road to Salvation; "their natures remained base, and they continued on the Road that leads to Hell." The reference to Sharáf-ud-dín is, of course, not to the Zafarnáma, but to the Prolegomena. Unfortunately

the latter are only to be found in a few of the manuscripts of the *Zafarnáma*, and have not yet been printed.

The mention of the Rashd is one clue to the title *Tárikhí-i-Rashídí*, others being that one Maulána Arshad converted Tughlaq to Islam, and that Abdur Rashíd was the name of the son and successor of the Khán who was so long Haidar's patron.

The book opens with a striking story, told more in detail at p. 13, of how Tughlaq came to accept the Muhammadan faith. Then comes a very picturesque story of how Tughlaq was discovered by Haidar's ancestor, Amir Bulájl, after his mother had been sent away by the chief wife of his father, who felt towards her as Sarah did to Hagar. The most interesting character described in this Part is Yunas Khán, the maternal grandfather of Bábar and Haidar. Haidar declares that there never was, either before or after, so wise a Khán as he. He had a good education, and must have been of abstemious habits for he was the only Chaghatai Khákán who attained to a good old age. He died at 74 whereas, says Haidar, most of the Chaghatai princes died before they were forty. His wife, Isan Daulat, the grandmother of Bábar and Haidar, was worthy of him and of them. When her husband was captured by Jamal Khán, another bridegroom was forced upon her. But she and her maidens slew him on the wedding-night, and, when called to account, she haughtily replied: "I am the wife of Sultan Yunas Khán; Shaikh Jamal gave me to some one else. This is not allowed by the Muhammadan law, so I killed him, and Shaikh Jamal may now kill me if he likes," (p. 94). Shaikh Jamal commended her spirit and restored her to Yunas. A year afterwards one Abdul Qadas killed Jamal Khán, and set Yunas at liberty, after sending him Jamal's head. This event was celebrated by the chronogram 'Sar-i-khar girifta Abdul Qadas,' *i. e.*, Abdul Qadas took the head of the ass (khar). The point of this chronogram, which a reviewer in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* has found unintelligible, is that Sar-i-Khar, or ass's head, may also be translated as the head, or first letter, of the word khar, *i. e.*, the letter *khd*, and the numerical value of this letter (601) plus the values (276) of the letters of the name Abdul Qadas give the date of the event, *vis.*, 877, or 1472-73.

In conclusion, I have to express my regret that Mr. Ross's excellent translation is not complete. He has missed out some of the rhetorical passages, the lives of saints, &c., and consequently the book has a somewhat mutilated appearance. In some instances, Mr. Erskine's manuscript translation in the British Museum is fuller than Mr. Ross's. I hope that these defects will be remedied in a second edition, for Haidar is an author who deserves to be translated in full. In one place,

p. 128, Mr. Ross has, I think, been unnecessarily squeamish, with the result that he has missed out a very apposite reply of Mansur Khán to those who wished him to change his Koran-reader.

H. BEVERIDGE,

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## ART. II.—TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

**T**HOUGH there has been a great deal spoken and written lately on the subject of Technical Education in India, I think it would be far from the truth to assert that the subject has been thoroughly threshed out and exhausted. It would be quite impossible to discuss fully the whole question of technical education within the limits of an article, but without attempting the impossible, I will try to give an account of the principal facts and observations which my own experience and study of the subject have collected. At the outset I must explain that, though the term "Technical Education" in its widest sense may be taken to include all special, as opposed to purely literary, education, I intend to devote myself for the most part to that section of it which refers to the training of hand and eye, and to special education for artistic and industrial pursuits.

This outcry for Technical Education in India is partly, Origin of the outcry for no doubt, a reflection of a similar Technical Education in agitation in England, which began about India. fifty years ago ; but it is mainly a consequence of the situation which has arisen in India from the competition of native students for employment in Government and private situations in which only general or literary educational acquirements are demanded, and the excess of the supply over the demand. The disappointed competitors, finding these doors closed to them, join in a vague and indefinite demand for technical, and what has been called "bread earning," education, hoping thereby that some new avenues of employment may be opened. That this evil of excessive competition in various walks of life does exist to an alarming extent, no one will deny. But it is by no means a state of affairs peculiar to India ; and, though we may admit the evil, that is quite a different thing from taking for granted that Technical Education is the proper and entirely sufficient remedy. I will not for a moment maintain that the system of European general education imported into India has proved a complete success, and fulfils all requirements ; but the very errors and weaknesses which the working of it has brought out ought to warn us not to accept, without question, further additions to, or amendments of, the system based only on European experience.

Let us first turn our attention to Europe, and examine the situation which has existed in England and other countries during the last half century, a situation which gave rise to a similar agitation there. We shall thus be enabled to see in



what respect the evils we wish to remedy and the wants we would supply resemble those existing in European countries.

The middle of the eighteenth century was the dawn of a new era in European manufactures, art, industries and commerce. The introduction of steam as a motive power stimulated mechanical invention, and within less than a century revolutionised the whole system of trade and manufactures which had obtained in Europe from time immemorial. It is most important to remember that, previous to this era, the workmen engaged in arts and manufactures in Europe and those in Asia were on an almost equal footing. Indeed, in many respects, the advantages were very much on the side of the Eastern artisan, so that the competition of the Indian workmen was keenly felt in Europe in many branches of industry, and from time to time many prohibitive laws were passed to restrict the importation into Europe of articles of oriental manufacture which, by reason of their cheapness and excellence, affected injuriously the home industries. Until that time the system of manufacture in the East and in the West was practically identical: the workmen in every branch of manufacture relied more on their own skilfulness of hand and eye and on their traditional craft-lore, than on the mechanical perfection of the simple appliances they used in their trade. The caste system of India, which has regulated and kept alive the traditions of native art and industry, had its counterpart in Europe in the great Trade Guilds of the Middle Ages, which, by binding artisans together in societies under strict rules for the conduct of their several handicrafts, kept the whole course of trade within certain well defined grooves. The sumptuary laws which were passed to regulate the dress and manner of life of different classes of society operated in the same direction.

Though the ties of the feudal system which had held society so closely in the Middle Ages were loosened and broken long before the eighteenth century, yet their effect on the organisation of trade and industries was much more lasting. But mechanical invention and steam power soon changed all that. After a hopeless struggle against the ever-increasing perfection of machinery, the intelligent hand-worker was at last completely driven out of many industries, only retaining a place in some, as an unthinking drudge, toiling at the behest of the mechanical monsters invented by man. With the complete extinction of the handicraftsman, the old system of apprentices bound to a master workman for seven years to learn a trade became obsolete, and the Trade Guilds, losing all their influence and control over the conduct of trade and handicrafts, are now

represented in name only by the City of London Companies. The old workshops, owned by master workmen, the inheritors like the caste workmen of India, of all the accumulated craftlore of centuries, were transformed into factories giving employment to hundreds of thousands of human drudges and representing millions of sterling in capital. The progress of chemical science, which not only assisted existing industries, but itself created many new ones, together with the cheapening of production brought about by the use of machinery, turned the balance of trade enormously in favour of Europe. The hand-weavers of India were as helpless in the face of the competition of the power-looms of Manchester as their fellow-workmen in Europe. Not only did the export trade to Europe cease, but the English manufacturers, turning the tables on the Indian workmen, became the masters of the Indian market also. In the same way the Indian export trade in cotton prints, or chintzes, once a very important one, dwindled away so much that now an Indian cotton print is only to be procured in Europe in the curiosity shops.

England, which was the pioneer of European countries in this new movement, became the centre of the world's commerce, and entered upon a period of unexampled prosperity. In this prosperity India has shared largely; for, though her ancient handicrafts have suffered severely, the loss, commercially speaking, has been more than recouped in the whole volume of trade, while the introduction of English capital and English industries into India has helped India to help herself.

Now I come to the most important point, that is, the part

The origin of the Technical Education Movement in England. which technical education has had in England's commercial progress during the last century and a half.

At the beginning of the era to which I allude, all technical education was in the hands of the Trade Guilds and the master workmen who, though their knowledge was chiefly of the kind known as "rule of thumb," that is acquired without an understanding of scientific principles and theories, yet were the possessors of the accumulated wisdom of centuries, handed down by tradition. It is the fashion of some narrow-minded people to sneer at this kind of learning, and to treat it as of no account. Yet this same old-fashioned and out-of-date wisdom is the basis of all our present knowledge, and all the scientific discoveries of the present age are built upon this foundation. In many branches of industrial art, in spite of all the efforts which have been made to discover the lost secrets of antiquity, in spite of our boasted scientific discoveries and inventions, we have not been able to go beyond, or even to equal, the achievements of our unscientific and technically uneducated ancestors. Take

for instance, one of the oldest branches of human industry, that of pottery, an expert writer in a recent work says :—“ The triumphs of pottery in China, Persia and Japan are marvellous, not merely as creations of beauty, but as examples of what may be accomplished by means so primitive and methods so simple that they would seem to be within the grasp of every beginner. Yet one is humbled by the reflection that notwithstanding all the perfection of modern mechanical appliances, added to the combined experience of a hundred generations, the achievements of many of these ancient oriental potters have baffled all the efforts of modern times to equal or surpass them.”

It is, therefore, stupid and short-sighted not to treat with the highest respect this old-world knowledge, which was the technical education of our forefathers. However that may be, this old system of technical education has been almost entirely extinguished in Europe by the revolution first brought about by the application of steam-power to all branches of handicraft. Technical education, as we now understand it, that is, the teaching in schools of scientific principles and theories in their relation to arts and manufactures, had nothing whatever to do with the origin of England's commercial development. That was begun long before technical education was spoken of, and was chiefly brought about by the inventive genius and research of comparatively a few individuals, long before modern technical schools and institutes existed. The outcry for technical education in England did not begin until nearly a century after the foundations of her great commercial development had been laid.

Let us now see what was the beginning, and the reason for this agitation.

Before we go further, it will be useful to divide our subject roughly into two heads, first, the Art side, secondly, the Scientific side. Under the first head I include all of what are called the “ Applied Arts,” that is, those industries in which Art is more or less an important factor. Under the second head, I put manufactures and industries into which either no consideration of Art enters, or it is regarded as of little account. Now as to the Art industries, I have shown how the substitution of mechanical power for hand labour had almost extinguished the old system of technical education, and had brought with it nothing to take its place. The old workshops were expanded into huge factories, in which the workmen, instead of being intelligent creatures filled with a love and knowledge of art and a pride for the traditions of their crafts, were merely human machines, unreasoning slaves of a hard and fast commercial system. The various processes of manufacture were

portioned out among different workmen, each skilled in one particular process only. Each separate part of the so-called works of art they produced was made by mechanical means from given patterns by the gross, by the square yard, or by the hundredweight. Now, if cheapness of production were the only consideration of importance in Art manufacture, such a system as this would be the best possible. But the whole essence of Art is contained in man's creative faculty, in his thought and in his brain; whereas the whole tendency of this new system of manufacture was to reduce thought and manual skill to a minimum by the perfection of mechanical agencies.

A sound and honest system of Art manufacture must seek to strike a happy medium between the exigencies of Art and those of commerce. In modern times the two are indeed hard to reconcile. Certainly modern English art manufacturers for a long time failed to reconcile them. England had taken the initiative in applying mechanical science to all branches of Art industry, and in striving after cheap production only English Art industries became hopelessly corrupted and degraded. This state of affairs was first revealed by the Great International Exhibition held in London in 1851. It was there made evident that in the higher branches of Art industry France and other countries far surpassed England in the taste and elegance of their productions. An agitation for the better training of English designers and Art workmen then began, and after much discussion a system of Art schools, supported by the Government, was inaugurated. The main object of these schools was to give artisans a training in the principles and practice of applied Art, to take the place of the old training by workshop tradition, which had been swept away as I have already explained.

It would be wandering needlessly from my subject to give detailed facts and figures to show the practical influence which the Government system of Art instruction, aided by the efforts of the Art manufacturers themselves, has had on English Art manufactures. It will be sufficient to state the fact that at the present time, the best English Art manufacturers are, for the most part, quite able to hold their own against foreign competitors, without importing foreign designers or workmen, and that the balance of trade in the higher branches of Art industry has turned very much in favour of England since the great Exhibition of 1851. It is more important to remember that, as regards the Art industries, it was the degenerating influence of the new conditions of trade and commerce, brought about since the middle of the last century, which created the necessity for an organised scheme of Industrial Education in Europe.

Let us now turn to the other side of the question, and consider what part Technical Education has taken in England's commercial progress with reference to the scientific branches of industry and trade, generally designated as the "useful arts" in contradistinction to the "decorative arts," and the "fine arts." This classification is only a rough one, but it will serve our purpose. In relation to Art industries our modern Technical Education has turned back to old established principles and endeavoured to raise the standard of modern work by a study of great works of mediæval and ancient times, but with regard to the other branches of industry, it has started out in quite new directions.

The new field which was first opened for inventive ingenuity and scientific research by the introduction of steam-power as a motive force, not only produced an enormous development of the old industries, but it created many new ones. It also brought about a condition of things in manufacture and commerce which had never been known before. Previous to this era of scientific discovery, the internal changes which took place in manufacture and trade were few and gradual. Things jogged on from one generation to another in much the same way as they had done for centuries. There were no violent changes and disturbances except those brought about by wars or political revolutions, by the edicts of kings or the decrees of Parliaments. The new era, on the other hand, was one of constant revolution and restless activity. A new invention of machinery had hardly superseded the old system of manufacture when further improvements consigned it to the limbo of disuse. A manufactory fitted up at great expense with the newest type of machinery found itself obliged, within a few years, to discard or alter the whole of it, because a new invention had given the advantage to some rival enterprise. The discovery of some new process would bring about a revolution in the treatment of raw materials, or render available some new material for the purpose of manufacture. A very keen competition between manufacturers and merchants thus arose, which every year becomes closer and keener. England had a good start in the race, and for a long time did not feel the competition of foreign countries; the struggle was mostly internal between her own manufacturers.

But the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London was an object-lesson which foreign countries, as well as England, were not slow to profit by. While it showed England the degradation of her Art industries, it revealed to foreign countries their weakness in mechanical arts and manufactures. England began to educate her Art workmen; other countries started their technical schools to give a scientific training to their artisans. Four

years afterwards, in the International Exhibition of Paris (1855), the first results of these efforts were evident. England showed an improved taste in many of her industrial Art exhibits; France and Germany a striking improvement in machinery and industrial products. The third object-lesson was in London in 1862. There the scientific discoveries and the mechanical inventions exhibited by foreign nations warned England, that, if she was to retain her commercial supremacy, she must follow the lead of other countries in the matter of scientific education for her workmen. But their long commercial pre-eminence had blinded the eyes of English manufacturers, and it was not until the next International Exhibition, held in Paris in 1867, that they were thoroughly aroused and alarmed by the progress of their foreign competitors. And not without reason, for while the English artizan still maintained his reputation for fine, accurate and honest work, yet in most of those departments where forethought, scientific knowledge, design and mechanical ingenuity were required, the foreigner, by reason of his better scientific education, was the Englishman's superior. Then, at last, when England's commercial supremacy was seriously threatened, the English manufacturers and the nation joined in an effort to do what other countries had been doing for fifteen years. It is impossible to estimate how much England lost and is losing still by her short-sightedness and apathy with regard to this question of education. Even now, in many departments of technical education, we are behind other countries. We have not yet learnt thoroughly the lesson that, under modern conditions, the prizes in the struggle for commercial supremacy go to the best educated nation.

Now let us start from this summary of the history of

The part which Technical Education has taken in England's commercial and industrial development.

technical education in England, and see what deductions we can draw from it. The first and most important is that the beginning of it all was a great industrial movement, begun and developed entirely by private enterprise, private research, private capital. It was private enterprise alone that brought England her commercial prosperity: the only part which the Legislature has taken in it has been in the removal of legal impediments and unwise restrictions on private enterprise. The next point is that, on the basis of this industrial movement, a State-aided scheme of technical instruction has been built up, and in this educational scheme there are two distinct and separate features:—1st an Art scheme, to take the place of the old method of technical Art instruction, and to check the corruption and degradation

of Art industries by the ultra-scientific and commercial tendencies of the present age. 2nd. A scientific scheme to keep pace with foreign countries in those useful or scientific manufactures and industries which have been built up by modern discoveries, and to apply to all branches of industry the results of modern scientific research.

Now, if we examine the state of trade and industry in India, we discover a very different situation from that which led to a demand for technical education in Europe, and any general scheme of technical schools, similar to those which exist in England, would not only be a costly and comparatively useless experiment, but it would most certainly be the means of increasing, instead of lessening, the very difficulties which have led to a demand for technical education in India. It would add to the glut of candidates seeking Government employment; for where are the manufactories and workshops to provide employment for the hundreds and thousands of technically educated students such schools would turn out yearly? If then technical education, as understood in Europe, is to take a useful place in the Indian Educational system it must conform to the conditions of arts and industries which at present obtain in this country.

The most superficial observer must see how widely different is the situation in India from that which existed in Europe at the commencement of the Technical Education movement. Taking first the Art industries, we have already seen how in England the substitution of mechanical means for the old handwork system had brought about a serious degradation of the artistic standard, a degradation which, had it not been arrested, might have ended in the transfer to foreign hands of all the higher branches of English industrial Art. In India, on the other hand, the methods of handwork in Art industries are almost precisely the same as those which were employed in Europe before this period of degradation began. We must look in quite a different direction to find out the causes of the depression which has existed for a long time in most of the old Art handicrafts of India. I would say that the state of Art industry in India shows at this time three distinct phases—

- 1st.—A great trade depression affecting chiefly the manufacture of fabrics and articles of every day use, owing to the competition of cheap machine-made imported goods.
- 2nd.—A trade depression and degradation of the artistic standard in the manufacture of articles of luxury, such as embroidered fabrics, brocades, carpets,

gold and silver work and decorative work in general, owing chiefly to the adoption of European fashions, costume and ways of life by native gentlemen of wealth and position.

3rd.—A degradation of the artistic standard in Indian manufactures of European demand, more especially in all the minor Art industries which come under the description of "Indian Curiosities."

From this diagnosis we may discover in what way any scheme of technical education is likely to bring about an amelioration of the situation. Under the first head the chief native industries affected are those of cotton weaving and the allied industries of dyeing and cotton printing.

That they have suffered enormously, no one will deny. The export trade, formerly a very important one, has almost ceased to exist, and three-fourths of the workmen formerly employed have been driven to agriculture or other occupations. But the handworkers in Europe suffered even more severely from the competition of machinery: they have been driven entirely out of the market. Except as a home industry, there is practically nothing of the former trade left. And it is foolish and hopeless to suppose that handwork can ever compete with machinery in any manufactures where cheapness of production is the chief consideration. Technical education did not save the European handworkers from extinction in these branches of industry, neither will it bring back their former prosperity to the Indian artisans. Though some thing might be done, perhaps, to help the native weavers to a more effective form of hand-loom, they and their fellow artisans must rely mainly on the advantages which handwork always has over machinery—advantages which have hitherto saved their industries from the annihilation which overtook them in Europe. The cheapness of the cost of living and the fewness of his requirements will continue to give the Indian handicraftsman a better chance than his fellow workman in Europe. Again, in India, the textile industries are not as in Europe subject to violent changes owing to the caprices of Fashion. But, besides this, handwork has in itself many natural advantages. A good hand-woven native cloth will outwear three of the cheap machine-made imitations. The old native vegetable dyes are, as a rule, far more lasting and much more beautiful than those discovered in modern times by chemical research. Then handwork can adapt itself more easily than machinery to special caste regulations, or individual taste. The native workman, if he is to survive the struggle with machine-made manufactures,



must take his stand on these natural advantages and develop them to the utmost : it is futile for him to lower his standard and compete on the same ground as machine-made goods. Technical education will never give to the Indian handicraftsman the ability to rival European manufactures in any class of goods where cheapness, uniformity and exactness are the first considerations ; but it might to a limited extent help him to develop those natural advantages which the hand-process possesses. For instance, the European hand-loom works more quickly and is better adapted for weaving some kinds of cloth than the native loom. In some of the Mission Industrial schools in the Madras Presidency, and I believe in other parts of India, these looms have been introduced, and native colored cloths of the commoner kind are made stronger, of better quality, and almost as cheap as the machine-made imitations sold in the bazars. This is real technical education, and if the native artisans at large industrial centres are given the opportunity of observing improved appliances or tools adapted to their requirements, they are not so conservative or prejudiced against adopting them as is generally supposed ; hardly more so than most European workmen who have been accustomed for generations to work in a particular way.

There is often a very sound reason for their apparent obstinacy and prejudice against adopting European improvements. It often happens that either these so-called improvements are not adapted to the special technical requirements of the native workman, or their expensiveness is a bar to their adoption. In many cases the standard of work required of him and the wages he receives are so low that it is impossible for the native artisan to provide himself with expensive tools and apparatus. Like every other workman, the native is to a great extent what his employers make him. The question here is one of demand and supply, not of technical education.

I will now pass on to discuss the condition of those native industries which include all the higher decorative arts and the manufacture of articles of luxury. In nearly all of these industries there is a commercial depression and very marked falling off in the artistic standard. The commercial depression is not directly due to European competition, but rather to a change in the manner of life, the adoption of European dress, furniture and habits by many of the wealthy classes of Indians. They give up their old simple traditional manner of life. Forsaking the beautiful and original old native styles of architecture, they build their houses and palaces in imitation of the ugly and characterless travesties of European styles, typical of Anglo-Indian architecture. They fill their houses with European furniture and

European decoration. They leave off their own becoming and dignified costume and put on European dress with all its nineteenth century ugliness. And they do all this under the impression that they are advancing with the times, and following the artistic movement in Europe. A greater mistake was never made. Art in India is in many ways far more healthy and living than it has been in Europe for over a century. Here it is still a part of the life of the people ; it goes into their homes, into their religion, and into their every-day life. The workmen are trained in the Art traditions of centuries, and the best of them are artists in every sense of the word. It is true that the higher branches of painting and sculpture have never reached the same point of development in India as in Europe, but the foundations of Art are sound and healthy and have not yet been torn up, as in most European countries, by revolutions in mechanical science. Art in England is an exotic of forced growth, a rare and delicate plant, nurtured in schools and academies, but never striking its roots deep into the soil. It is a luxury, an amusement for our hours of leisure, not a part of our national life, as it was in former times. Public taste is not really educated in Art : it is largely influenced by what is called Fashion, originating in a spurious taste, which substitutes for real artistic knowledge and feeling a constant craving for something new.

Real English Art—the best of it—is never seen in India. We get here only the dregs of Fashion. This is what the natives of India imitate when they abandon their traditional life, and adopt the imported art of Europe. The effect upon the industrial arts of India is very easy to discover. The falling off in the demand causes a degradation of the artistic standard ; native workmen, following the taste of their customers, imitate the wretched designs of the European mercantile pattern books, use horrible aniline dyes and inferior imported materials. How, then, will more education for the native Art-workman benefit *him* ? Is it not rather the workmen's *employers* who require technical education ? The best Art in Europe is going back more and more to the conditions of manufacture which were followed in mediæval times, conditions similar to those of the traditional industrial arts of India. The direction which the more advanced of native reformers would have Indian Art to take is straight towards that Slough of Despond into which Art in England had fallen at the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851 ; from which she has been struggling ever since to extricate herself.

Real progress in Indian Art must come from within. Native gentlemen of wealth and position must not look to European Art to raise public taste in this country. True Art

Progress in Indian Art must come from within.

springs from the inner consciousness of a people. It reflects their thoughts, their deepest feelings, their character and mode of life. To be genuine, it must be spontaneous. So all that is good in Indian Art to-day is what belongs to the inner traditional life of the people—all that is bad is the reflection of nineteenth century change and restlessness, and the attempted imitation of foreign styles of Art. It may be objected that the higher branches of painting and sculpture, or what is understood by "Fine Art," have hardly developed in India; that the Art of native wood and stone carvers, decorative painters, goldsmiths and metal workers does not satisfy all that an educated interest in Art demands; and therefore educated natives must look to European developments of Fine Art to fill up the deficiencies of Indian Art. I reply that the history of Art in every country clearly teaches that a healthy and original school of Fine Art can proceed only from the higher development of the industrial arts—that no good can come to Indian Art by attempting to graft on to it the Art of countries differing so widely in thought and social development as European and Asiatic nationalities. Sir James Linton, P. R. I., in an address at a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art sometime ago, put the whole question very forcibly. His words were:—"No Art could flourish or ever be great, no Art could by any possibility benefit humanity, that was not absolutely and entirely the result of a nation's individuality, the highest force and the only force which could originate and carry through to the end a truly great Art impulse."

In the nature of things it must be so, because a true artist  
 How a school of Fine Art may be developed in India. is never a mere copyist; he does not repeat, parrot-like, other people's ideas:

he impresses his work with his own individuality, for he has something to tell the world, and he tells it in his own language. To develop a really great school of Fine Art in India, it is necessary for natives of wealth and position to encourage the traditional art of the worker in gold, silver, and bronze: they must employ the native stone and wood carvers and decorative painters to adorn their palaces and houses as they did in former times: they must allow them full scope for illustrating in stone and marble, wood and metal, clay or fresco, their religious traditions, legends and folk lore, or motives drawn from their own imagination, from the every day life of the people, or from history. Above all their work must be the outpouring of their workmen's own ideas, not a feeble reflection of European sentiment.

The history of Indian Art agrees with that of every European country in teaching that it is from industrial artists employed in this way that a higher development of sculpture

Fine Art has existed in India in former times.

and painting has sprung. Even so early as the 5th century the workmen who executed the wonderful carvings on the Great Tope of Amravati, in the Madras Presidency, recording so graphically for future generations the stirring scenes of the life and times of Buddha, had begun to develop a school of sculpture of the highest rank. The fresco paintings in the Caves of Ajunta, of about the same period, have extraordinary artistic and technical merit. In later times, under the Moghul Emperors, a school of book-illustrators and illuminators produced work which exhibit all the qualities that go to form a great school of painting. Religious and political revolutions nipped in the bud, these promising developments of Fine Art in India; but history will surely repeat itself if the Princes and nobility and other native patrons of Art will take to heart the lessons which history teaches and set themselves to work, while yet there is time, to develop Indian Art in the right way. They have opportunities such as are not to be found in any European country for making an epoch in the history of Art.

In this connection India might with advantage learn something from the experience of that enterprising and highly artistic nation, the Japanese. A lesson from Japan. It is well known how readily they have appropriated to their own use the inventions of European science. Unfortunately they have for many years past shown the same alacrity to borrow from European Art, with results as disastrous to their national Art as a similar policy has been in India. However, some few years ago, the Japanese Government decided to send a special commission to Europe to make enquiries with a view of introducing into Japan a regular system of Art instruction, founded on the methods practised in Europe. This Commission travelled round to all the most important Art centres of Europe, and consulted the heads of the chief academies and other authorities. The advice they got was unanimously in one direction. They were earnestly advised to keep the Art of Japan free from modern European influence, and to maintain all its old traditions. "You have nothing to learn," they said, "from European Art. On the contrary, if you will establish a Central School for teaching all the old traditional practice of your national Art, many European artists will go to Japan to learn from you." The Japanese as a people have a very highly developed artistic instinct, and I have no doubt that, with their usual acuteness, they will take to heart this lesson and will in future exert themselves to protect their national Art from the modern influences which tend to degrade it. It will be a good day for India when people in this country begin to recognise the importance of moving in the same direction.

The third symptom in our diagnosis of the state of Indian Art, namely the degradation of the minor Art industries in articles generally described as "Indian curiosities," need not be entered into very fully. This branch of Indian Art is partly an outcome of the uneducated taste of the purchasers and partly the creation of that enterprising person, the middleman. His aims are purely commercial. A section of the public, not very discriminating in matters of Art, want cheap bric-a-brac which shall be curious and Indian. The middleman is quite ready to supply this demand, and to foster it as far as he is able. He has little or no artistic training, but it is not difficult to design things which are curious. They have nothing in common with genuine Indian Art, but they are sometimes made in India, so they may be "Indian curiosities." It matters little to the middleman that by his system of trade he is corrupting the hereditary artistic instinct of the native Art workmen, and degrading the standard of their handiwork. The demand for his cheap curiosities increases; his business prospers, and he is happy.

Now, there is no doubt that in many circumstances the middleman is a useful and even necessary member of society, and many will urge that, as he helps to develop trade and brings money into the country, these obvious material benefits far outweigh any mere sentimental, artistic considerations. Now I think it is easy to show that this argument is very shallow and shortsighted, even from the Philistine point of view. The Art industries of which we are speaking hold a permanent place in the market only by reason of their artistic qualities. If the middleman, trading with a passing fashion or inferior taste, lowers the artistic standard, he does a permanent injury to Indian Art and trade also. That section of the public whose artistic ideas are regulated only by fashion and novelty, though a numerous one, is very capricious. The middleman's Indian curiosities may thus obtain a large sale for a time; but twenty years hence, when, perhaps, public taste will be better educated, a collapse may come, and Indian curiosities will be unsaleable. Even now all Indian Art-ware has a very bad name with connoisseurs in Europe. The middleman appeals to a wider and less discriminating market; but, by degrading the artistic standard, he is playing the rôle of the traditional old lady who killed the goose which laid the golden eggs. The art dealer or middleman can, if he will, lead public taste to a great extent, instead of following it, and this is what the middleman in Europe often does. If he has not had an Art training himself he employs qualified artists and designers, so that in at least a few of the best establishments of Art dealers in London, those who cannot depend

upon their own judgment in Art matters, will not find it imposed upon by the bad taste or ignorance of the dealers. The Indian middleman is merely a merchant, and, however monstrous and outrageous a design may be artistically, he is willing to employ native artisans to manufacture it as long as he can find a sale for it.

I have now discussed the three chief points to be observed in the present condition of native Art and manufacturing industries in India, and I think I have shown that technical education, based entirely on European models, would miss the mark, and aggravate rather than diminish the evils which exist in India, because the conditions influencing Indian Art industries are totally different from those which called into existence the technical education movement in Europe. It remains for me to consider the other side of the technical education question in India, that is, its relation to manufactures in which scientific or other than artistic considerations are of the first importance.

When we look upon the activity of Western nations in such industries, it must strike us forcibly how entirely undeveloped the vast material resources of India are in this respect. Where are the colossal manufactories of iron and steel, of machinery and hardware, of glass and pottery, soap and candles, matches, chemicals, in short, of all those industrial products which go to make western nations rich and prosperous, and which are imported into India to the value of millions sterling every year? Their number is so few in proportion to the vast requirements and capabilities of India that it is hardly to be taken into account. Only in a few large centres of European trade, like Bombay and Calcutta, is there any approximation to the industrial activity which prevails in Europe, and only in such centres would there be any scope for technical institutes founded on European models. Technical Institutes in Europe do not create new industries; nor will they do so in India. Private enterprise and capital must develop industry before there is scope for higher technical education, such as these Institutes afford. We have had an interesting illustration of the truth of this axiom in the history of two technical Institutes which were started about the same time, one in Bombay, and another in Madras. The Bombay Institute was organised to teach scientific principles to foremen and workmen already employed in the manufactories and workshops of the city. The principle of such an Institute in a great industrial centre like Bombay is thoroughly sound, and, with good management and adequate support, the success which, I believe, the Institute obtained from the first, was sure. The failure of the other one in Madras

was equally sure, because it was started on entirely unsound principles. Madras is not a great centre of European industry like Bombay ; but the Committee which was formed to organise a scheme for the Institute, started with the fallacious idea that technical Institutes should take the place of private enterprise, and introduce new industries into Madras. So they issued a circular with a list of, if I remember correctly, 65 branches of industry from which the public were invited to choose those they thought most suitable for demonstration in the Institute. Of course, it was not long before the Committee had to change their ground, and endeavour to form a more workable plan ; but, after a moribund existence of about nine years, the Madras Technical Institute, as far as technical education is concerned, has not yet got beyond the embryonic stage of proposals on paper, while it affords an admirable object lesson of what should not be attempted in technical education.

For the development of her natural resources India's most crying need is not higher technical education, but private enterprise and private capital. The special application of technical education to India's great industry of agriculture is a very intricate and important subject, though quite beyond my province to discuss. But I will assert most emphatically that any number of technical Institutes will never create for India the manufactures of which she stands in need. Every new industrial undertaking, or new workshop, which private enterprise opens, brings with it the practical technical education which is most necessary for India. Those who, without adequate knowledge and without adequate reflection, flourish the flag of technical education before the eyes of the Indian public, are doing harm to India's best interests ; for they divert attention from the real issues and from the real technical education which is going on in the country.

I will now pass from the discussion of the condition of India with regard to her arts and manufactures and attack the most vital point to be considered, namely, what kind of technical education is most applicable to India. Technical education in relation to industrial arts and to manufactures may be divided into three classes. The first is primary technical instruction, which is, or should be, part of every school boy's education. The object of primary technical instruction is firstly to develop the faculties of observation and to train the hand to work in sympathy with the impressions of the eye ; and secondly to impart an elementary knowledge of general principles of science. The next class of technical instruction is the practical training in arts

or manufactures which is given in the workshop or factories. The third class, or higher technical instruction, presupposes the existence of the second. It is the special application of principles of art, or principles of science, to particular branches of art or manufacture. Before the middle of this century nearly all technical instruction was, as I have already described, of the second class, that is, of the practical and traditional kind; or rather I should say that the second class comprehended all three. The present system in Europe is that primary technical instruction is a part of general school education. There are various systems of hand and eye training, but they are all based upon Drawing, and drawing has been made a compulsory subject in State-aided schools in every European country where education has made much progress. In India the subject has not been neglected entirely, though I fear the importance of this kind of instruction, and sometimes even the object of it, have not always been rightly understood.

It is commonly thought that, unless a student shows special aptitude or inclination for Drawing, it as technical instruction, is not worth while to encourage him to learn it. Learning to draw is supposed to be inseparably connected with the study of æsthetics, or the appreciation of beauty in nature and Art, and is thus considered a special gift, which only a favoured few are endowed with. This is a great fallacy. Drawing, as a branch of primary technical education, has nothing whatever to do with æsthetics. Far be it from me to say that the æsthetic side of the question should be ignored or neglected. I would only insist that the essential value of good instruction in Drawing, from a technical point of view, is the training of the eye in accurate observation, in plain words, teaching to see. The habit of accurate observation is of the greatest importance in almost every walk of life. Yet the cultivation of the faculty of seeing is one which is, as a rule, very much neglected. It is often considered as a faculty which may be left to develop itself. But if you show an untutored savage a photograph, or picture, he will not know the top from the bottom; an infant learns to distinguish the form of things and to estimate distance only by the sense of touch. If you examine twenty uneducated people about something which they assert emphatically they have seen "with their own eyes," hardly two descriptions will be similar. Or if you ask twenty intelligent school-boys, whose eyesight is physiologically equally good, but who have not been taught to draw, to put down on paper a correct representative of any simple object, such as a table or a box, hardly one of them will be able to reproduce the impression on the retina of "their own eyes" with tolerable accuracy. This is not because they are devoid of artistic



talent, but because they have not been taught to see. The faculty of seeing is not simply a natural instinct, incapable of further development, and the habit of careful observation, which good instruction in Drawing gives, is one of the best forms of training the eye can have.

But it is not every kind of Drawing which can be called technical. 'To be of any value as technical training, it must be properly taught. It is too often the case in schools in England that Drawing is taught only as an elegant accomplishment; the students begin by copying pencil or chalk drawings of rustic bridges, trees and picturesque cottages, and finish with sketching landscapes in water colors. Now, this kind of thing is amusing; but it is certainly not technical education. The practice of many otherwise good schools in this respect causes much misunderstanding as to the value of Drawing as a part of a good general education.

It is not the place here to enlarge upon the right system of Drawing for primary technical instruction. I will simply say that Drawing, properly taught, is the foundation of nearly all technical instruction applied to Art and manufactures, and, being of the greatest value in developing one of the most important functions of the brain, it should, as far as possible, be made compulsory in every school in India. What has been done already in this direction is very far short of what might be done. It is, I believe, a fact, by which India should take warning and reflect what England lost by being fifteen years behind other countries in starting technical schools, that Japan made Drawing compulsory in all her High schools *ten years ago*. I fear that many more years will elapse before such a step is practicable in India, unless a more enlightened view of the scope of technical education is brought home to Municipal and other local bodies.

Primary technical instruction also includes instruction in elementary principles of science, such as Elementary Science, chemistry, physics, botany and geology, a knowledge of which is valuable in almost every walk in life, and an indispensable preliminary to many special occupations. Considerable advance has been made of late years in introducing these subjects into Indian High schools. It is a thoroughly sound policy to make both drawing and elementary science part of every school-boy's education. But we must not expect immediate or very visible results from it. It is good seed, which carefully sown and well watered, will eventually grow and increase a hundred-fold. Only let us avoid pulling up the tender plants every few years to see how they are growing.

So much for primary technical instruction. So far we have

Secondary or Practical Technical Instruction. only been discussing principles which have generally been accepted in the Indian educational system and recognised officially by the various Governments. But when we come to the next class of technical instruction—the practical teaching in the workshop and factory—which I will call secondary technical instruction, we are on more debatable ground. In England this is not recognised as a branch of technical instruction at all. The English Technical Instruction Act expressly excludes from its scope “teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment,” and many educational authorities would apply the same rigid rule to India. This, I think, is a great mistake. It is just one of those points in which English theory does not apply to the conditions which obtain in India. So far as concerns those European industries and manufactures which have been imported into India, the English theory applies equally well to India, and I entirely concur that it would be bad policy to teach the practice of such industries in technical schools. All that Government need do in this direction is to afford facilities to apprentices to learn in railway and public workshops and factories; private undertakings can be left, as at present, to train up the practical workmen they require for themselves. It would be still worse policy, as I have already urged, to attempt to introduce new European industries

Art Industries by means of practical instruction in technical Institutes. But as regards the indigenous, hereditary Art handicrafts of India, in which I am more particularly interested, I believe, or I may say I am absolutely convinced, that a similar policy of non-intervention will only end in their eventual entire corruption or extinction, and that at no remote period. Holding these views, when I was in charge of the Madras School of Arts, I introduced the actual practice of native Art handicrafts there, and, after more than eight years' experience, I am prepared to stand by that policy. I do not say that it can be applied to any and every Art school in India, but I maintain that it is the most practical way of influencing the native Art workman. Regarded from a European standpoint, the principle may be unsound; and educational theorists, who regard technical education only from a European point of view, have criticised it adversely. In the last Review of the progress of Education in India, an opinion of one authority is quoted to the effect that there is less necessity in India than in England for Government to undertake the teaching of industries, because, “while in England the apprenticeship system has almost disappeared, in India it still exists, and hereditary handicrafts

“are handed down from father to son.” Now, if the traditions of native art industries were being handed down in their integrity from father to son in the present day as they have been in former generations, this argument would be very convincing; but it is an obvious fact that the traditions of native Art are every year becoming more corrupt and degraded. In England the traditions of her former national handicrafts have long been lost and broken; so there can be no question of teaching them in Government Schools or in private workshops. In India one of the most important duties of Art schools should be to counteract the influences which are degrading native Art, and to prevent the old traditions from dying out, as they have done in England.

I had been told by one who should have been a good authority that, as regards Art, Madras was a desert. But in this desert I was fortunate enough to find a few remarkably fertile oases. In a small town in the south of the Madura district, I found the best wood carver in the whole Madras Presidency. Again, in a small village in the Northern Circars, I discovered a jeweller who could give lessons in technique to the best workmen in Madras city. In another small village I came across a metal-worker of really remarkable skill and talent. He was occasionally employed in decorative metal-work for a temple, and was well versed in all the traditions of the Hindu Shastras. His *repoussé* work is the finest that exists in all India, and will bear comparison with the best Byzantine work, such as is seen on the doors of celebrated churches and cathedrals in Italy. These three men were artists in every sense of the word; but in the surroundings in which they were placed their opportunities of exercising their skill were few and far between. Their race is fast dying out in India, and with them real Indian Art will become extinct while we are discussing what is technical education and what is not. I brought these men to the Madras School of Arts and gave them opportunities of doing the best they were capable of, without interfering with their own ideas and traditions. I placed under them, as apprentices, students of the school, sons of wood carvers, jewellers and metal-workers in Madras city, who will thus be enabled to learn real Indian Art from the best instructors, free from the contaminating influences of the bazar and the Indian Art curiosity dealer. The students were taught enough of the elementary principles of design, so that they could intelligently adapt the style of art they were learning to any article of European demand, for while Indian Art should be kept pure, there is no reason why it should not adapt itself to the new order of things in India and find a wider scope than it ordinarily does.

This system of technical education may be very crude and unscientific from a theoretical and European point of view ; but I maintain that it is the best and most practical for arresting the extinction of the only real living Art which exists in India. I do not say that it can or should be adopted in every school of Art in India. In fact, there is a great danger (and this is a point of vital importance) that, unless the schools of Art are maintained at a high degree of efficiency as technical schools, with teachers, not only in sympathy with Indian Art, but qualified by training and experience to supervise practical industrial Art work, these superior native handicraftsmen, transplanted from their ancestral villages into new surroundings, will degenerate like their fellow workmen, and the schools will descend almost to the level of the Indian curiosity shops.

In dealing with the indigenous Art industries, I would advocate an active policy different from that which obtains in Europe, because the conditions in India are entirely different.

But with regard to any system of technical instruction for encouraging the introduction of machinery and improved appliances into native industry, this is such a difficult and complicated question that I think it would be much wiser to leave it for the most part to the natural course of the development of trade and industry.

It is, of course, useless and foolish to oppose the advance of mechanical industry, and there are, no doubt, many natural openings for it in

India by means of which the native handicraftsmen may regain the ground they have lost through European competition. An interesting illustration of this is given by Mr. Griffiths, late Principal of the Bombay School of Art, in a recent number of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. A native coppersmith of Poona, a man of considerable intelligence, finding that he was unable to compete with imported machine-made brass and copper ware, procured from Europe machines for cutting metal into round discs, machines for punching the discs to the required shape, and machines for trimming and turning the edges of the vessels, previous to finishing. By the saving of time and labour, effected by this means, he was able to compete in price with imported manufactures, and to give employment to a large number of native workmen. In such directions there is plenty of scope for the use of machinery without doing injury to native Art.

But in innovations of this kind, it is quite necessary to remember that all progress is not contained within the range of mechanical science, and that the indiscriminate application of machinery

to all branches of industry has, in Europe, annihilated the traditional and national Art handicrafts, and would certainly do the same in India. A wise policy of technical education will profit from the lessons which the history of the movement in Europe teaches, and not blindly follow the same mistakes. Moreover, it is necessary to recognise the fact that, at the root of this question of technical education in India, there is generally an economic question which must be dealt with first. A native workman in a large town, where the European element is large, will use improved tools and mechanical appliances because there is a demand for highly finished work, and he gets better wages for it. But outside these centres there is no such demand, or at least it is very limited, and there is no inducement for the workman to rise above it. The natural development of trade and industry in large towns creates *foci* of practical technical instruction, where native artisans are trained in the use of European methods and appliances in the best possible way. To attempt to increase the supply of skilled labour beyond the natural demand by means of Government schools would be a very expensive and unsound policy.

We now arrive at the third and last point of our subject, Higher Technical Education. Higher Technical Education, or the teaching of principles of Science and Art in their special application to industries and occupations. It is this branch of technical education which is taken up in special schools and institutes in Europe. The scope of it is strictly limited to the requirements of existing industries and occupations. It is possible that the knowledge acquired in technical institutes may indirectly lead to new developments in industry, but such a consideration is not the fundamental principle in technical education in Europe, as is often assumed by people in India. The scope of higher technical education, then, must be to a very great extent limited by the character and extent of a country's industrial development, for the teaching of the principles and theories of industrial processes alone will never lead to the opening of new workshops and manufactories. Private enterprise and capital must, as they have done in Europe, first prepare the way for higher technical education in India by developing the natural resources of the country. Those who build up hopes that the Government of India could, by a large and comprehensive scheme of technical education, open out new avenues of employment and bring about a great development of industry, are only imagining vain things.

For Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture, Schools of Art, and other existing institutions of a special kind, there is an immense field for Higher Technical Education in India.

open, and it will be a great pity and a bar to real progress if attention is in any way diverted from them and the extension of their work by foolish agitation for impossible projects. In great centres of European industry and in the mining districts, there is scope for other special schools like those in Europe, and such as Bombay already possesses. Furthermore, the Government have in their hands a great instrument for advancing the cause of higher technical education in the Public Works Department. Encouragement and assistance of original scientific research will indirectly be a powerful means of promoting the same end. Beyond this, higher technical education must wait until the way is prepared for it. At present, India has most need of other things. Those who have India's interests at heart, the municipalities and other bodies who are entrusted with the local administration of education, should first see that what can be done is done. They should look to it that what remains of India's splendid inheritance of industrial Art is not lost for ever by blind neglect. The Princes and nobility and other native patrons of Art should remember that Art is something which springs from the soil, it is the expression of a people's individuality and cannot be imported from Europe like piece-goods and machinery. Let them not either imagine that progress is associated only with scientific advance, or that there is any necessary antagonism between Art and Science. The one is a complement of the other, and both are necessary for man's higher development. It is a foolish and sordid notion which regards Science only as the symbol of progress, and Art merely as a pleasant companion for man's leisure and amusement. The true sphere of Art, is that which Emerson has most profoundly and eloquently described. "Beauty must come back to the  
"useful arts, and the distinction between the fine arts and the  
"useful arts be forgotten. If history were truly told, if life were  
"nobly spent, it would be no longer easy or possible to distin-  
"guish the one from the other. In nature, all is useful, all is  
"beautiful. It is therefore beautiful, because it is alive, moving,  
"reproductive ; it is therefore beautiful, because it is symmetri-  
"cal and fair. Beauty will not come at the call of a legislature,  
"nor will it repeat in England or America its history in Greece.  
"It will come, as always, unannounced, and spring up between  
"the feet of brave and earnest men. Proceeding from a reli-  
"gious heart, it will raise to a divine use the railroad, the  
"insurance office, the joint-stock company, our law, our primary  
"assemblies, our commerce, the galvanic battery, the electric  
"jar, the prism and the chemist's retort, in which we seek now  
"only an economical use. Is not the selfish and ever cruel  
"aspect which belongs to our great mechanical works, to mills,  
"railways and machinery, the effect of the mercenary impulses

"which these works obey? When science is learned in love,  
"and its powers are wielded by love, they will appear the  
"supplements and continuations of the material creation,"

E. B. HAVELL.

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### . ART. III.—THE END OF A BAD CUSTOM.

THE middle of the now departing century was marked, in India, by several serious duels; and it may be well that one of the few remaining survivors of that vanished time should preserve some record, however faint, of a state of things so foreign to our Island character.

How the system of private encounters arose and took root on the Continent has often been told. A lively Scots lawyer—Mr. George Neilson—has summarised the mediæval accounts in a little book, *Trial by Combat*, published by Williams and Norgate in 1890. The rude Burgundians of the sixth century devised wager of battle as a rough and ready way of settling disputes before the idea of judicial evidence had occurred to their uncultured minds. As the abuse of which the system admitted began to declare itself, a more scientific way of getting at the truth in litigation took the place of club-law; and the duel became a luxury for men of noble birth accusing one another of political offences. This, too, gradually gave way, until the treason-duel of chivalry followed the wager-of-battle in law; but the pugnacious instincts of French and German found another vent, and duelling became a method of voiding private quarrels amongst gentlemen. As Frank manners became fashionable in England, duelling—aided by the custom of wearing swords in civil costumes—took root among the higher classes. But ere long the prosaic English nature prevailed; the use of the rapier declined, and single combat, confined for the most part to the determination of serious quarrels, was carried out only by the pistol; the unconcealed object being the death of one or both of the combatants. The classical instance of an Anglo-Indian duel of the eighteenth century was that between the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and his bitter rival, Sir Philip Francis. Hastings was anything but a bully; nevertheless he sought this encounter of set purpose. The conduct of Francis in Council having become an intolerable obstacle to the administration, Hastings called him out with the undisguised intention that one of them should fall. This is shown by his objecting to the shady spot first chosen by the seconds, on the express ground that there was not sufficient light, and by his demeanor before the duel, though he showed anxiety for his adversary's life after he had "winged" him. The whole details will be found admirably related by Dr. Busted in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (2nd edition), p. p. 109, f. f.

Reverting to the British Islands, we find that duels with



the pistol—usually attended with lethal results—continued to be fought down to the period of Queen Victoria's accession. In the first decade of that reign, however, a strong feeling began to show itself, in the Press and in society, as to the obsolete and scandalous nature of the practice. There were experts in duelling, like "Fighting Fitzgerald" in Ireland, who wore a hidden shirt of mail and was finally hanged. Such men would fasten on a young fellow, cheat and fleece him at cards, and then insult him in order to get money for letting him off fighting. These and other considerations led to the slow decline of the practice. O'Connell was challenged, in succession, by Peel and by Disraeli, but contrived to avoid fighting. In 1843, however, Lieut.-Col. Fawcett, of the 55th Foot, was killed by his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Monro, of the Blues, on a family dispute. Public opinion was highly excited, and the Coroner's jury found a verdict of "Wilful Murder." Monro's commission was forfeited; and, being found guilty in the criminal trial which followed, he was sentenced to death. The sentence was afterwards commuted; but the scandal forced the Government to action; and Prince Albert, in spite of his Continental origin, is believed to have done his best to stimulate the Horse-Guards to put an end to doubts upon the subject. The chief offenders were usually officers of the army, who, rightly or wrongly, were under the impression that, if they obeyed the law of the land in abstaining from seeking or giving "satisfaction," they would render themselves liable to be brought before a court-martial and deprived of their commissions. This dilemma was abolished by the issue of amended articles from the War Office in April 1844. By these it was at last definitely laid down that it was "suitable to the character of honourable men to apologise and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept, frankly and cordially, explanation and apology for the same."

Obedience is of the essence of military discipline; and, if the officers could be got to obey, the civil gentry would be likely to follow their lead. Accordingly the practice of duelling already described, did not long continue general in England, though some sporadic cases continued for a while to testify to the difficulty which awaits abrupt and total change. The last duel attended with death, in the British Islands, was fought in May 1845, the combatants being an officer of the Royal Marines, named Hawkey, and a retired officer of Hussars. The encounter took place on Gosport Sands; when, in spite of the cause being nothing but such a trifling quarrel as must constantly arise amongst young men, the ex-Hussar fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire. The

surviving principal was tried for his life in the following July ; and, being acquitted by an old-fashioned jury, escaped legal consequences. But the mind of England was stirred, all the more by reason of this impunity ; and it was made generally and unmistakeably manifest that authority would be supported by public opinion in the sternest measures that might be required for the suppression of the evil.

But in those days Anglo-Indian sentiment was slow to receive impulse from home, especially when it was wise and of a reforming tendency. Experience has shown that a military caste is always tenacious of its usages ; and there were peculiar obstacles to the adoption of such a change on the part of the military caste in India. Most of the European males were in the prime of life, leading idle lives, military officers who had entered the service when the system of duelling had been an ingrained element of soldierly feeling. The Anglo-Indian ladies, too, for various reasons, were not altogether suited to exercise the salutary effect on society that may be usually looked for at the hands of civilised woman. This is a somewhat delicate subject ; it may be enough to say that what is here implied is based on personal experience of society at that date. Such as the Anglo-Indian ladies were, the young officers were eager competitors for their smiles ; and, for this and other reasons, were high-spirited, and, if the truth must be told, somewhat quarrelsome. In the opinion of such a community disputes naturally presented more reasons for fighting than for apologising ; there were, indeed, many who would have thought it derogatory to offer an apology, however wrong they might know themselves to be.

Nor did these young fire-eaters, perhaps, believe in the sincerity of the newly expressed disapproval of duelling on the part of the authorities. And, so far as India was concerned, at least, there may have been some sort of justification for their scepticism ; the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, being a veteran of the old school, distinguished in the Peninsular War, and wounded at Ligny. And, in case of reference to London, the Head of the army there was the Iron Duke himself, who was known to have been "out" in person, this very Hardinge having been his second.

Altogether, it is not wonderful if Anglo-Indian feeling should have been distinctly favourable to duelling at the very time when the practice was being condemned in England. You heard people discuss the question, it is true ; and the fact of a custom being held to admit of discussion may now seem a sign of weakness, though, no suspicion of the fact may have been general at the time. The defenders of the practice had the advantage, their assailants being in the position of faddists,

not to say milksops. It was granted by the "chivalrous" party that duelling had been pushed too far; but that a thing was open to abuse did not seem necessarily to prove that it was intrinsically bad. You need not, it was admitted, be always on the look out for offence; but if a gentleman willfully misunderstood you, there would be meanness in explanation. A case in point was that of one who was asked what he meant (by some expression that had escaped him)? "I meant," was the instant reply, "exactly what you thought I meant when you resolved to ask me." That conversation went no further; the enquirer, apparently, not being of a quarrelsome humour. But it was just the sort of thing that often seemed to justify bloodshed. Then there were more serious disputes: What were you to do if your sister were insulted? Or your wife? In those days sex was not always respected. One is reminded of the orator in the old Irish Parliament who, having occasion to question the policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, did it in this figurative fashion:—

"Sir! the P—s have been always prostitutes, politically and physically; from the toothless harridan that grins in the gallery to the white-livered scoundrel that trembles on the floor."

An encounter naturally followed, fortunately bloodless; after which the eloquent Member, being asked how he knew that Miss P. was in the gallery, airily replied; "Did I not walk down to the house with old P., arm-in-arm; and did not he tell me she'd be there?"

Those were the days when an inevitable question on the nomination of a candidate at the Kildare Street Club was:—"Did he blaze?" Before the Liberator could avoid Peel's challenge, he had proved his manhood by shooting Desterre: and even then hard things were said as to the police proceedings by which the encounter sought by the Chief-Secretary had been obviated. The Liberator was pleading, soon after in the court of Norbury, a Judge who heard cases with a pair of saw-handled pistols on the table before him. While the advocate was speaking, the Judge took up a newspaper, and affected to be absorbed in its contents. O'Connell paused, but was blandly requested to continue. "I was afraid," said the learned gentleman, "that I was not apprehended by your Lordship." "Oh!" replied his Lordship, with much suavity of manner, there's nobody so easily apprehended as Mr. O'Connell when he wishes it."

In the India of Victoria's early years, the tone may have been given by the officers; but the members of the Civil Service and the Bar were as ready to adopt it as ever could have been desired by lawyers and legislators in Ireland.

There is a Bengal Civilian still living in vigorous retirement who had several scalps to his wampum; and an officer of the days here referred to was to be seen limping about Calcutta maimed for life by this Civilian, with whom he had a dispute in a Ball-room, which led to the latter declaring that he would "spoil his dancing for him." The same gentleman had a brother in the Bengal Cavalry, a man quite of his own kidney, of which frolicsome pair a story used to be current which may be worth repeating. It was to the effect that they met, at the dinner table of a certain Native regiment's Mess, a pair of cadets who were on their way up-country to join for the first time. These two youngsters amused or, perhaps, bored, the duelling brothers by a warm paternal cordiality and an apparent ignorance of the world, and on this they resolved to practise. After the rest of the company had left, the four with whom the story deals were playing out a rubber, in the course of which Damon and Pythias, being antagonists, got into a wrangle which the wicked seniors assured them required instant solution by single combat. It was faintly objected that the night was too dark, but the brothers overruled the objection with the remark that each of them would hold up a wall-light. Accordingly the party proceeded to the mess-compound; but, on the way, one of the cadets contrived to nudge the other, and they exchanged furtive but meaning looks without being observed. On reaching the field of honour, the intended combatants were placed opposite to each other, with loaded pistols in their hands, at twelve paces, while their friendly advisers took up the other corners, each holding up a light. The word being given, the youngsters fired; a sound of broken glass was heard, and each lamp fell down, extinguished, to the ground, from the simultaneous and well aimed discharge.

A curious picture of manners and character in times of which living witnesses are still extant, is presented by a duel shared in by a gallant Lancer who died a few months ago. Of this encounter a few details will be seen presently. But first, perhaps, one may give a few words to the once famous "Banda duel," which was one of the last between Indian Officers, certain of its features being such as to bring discredit on the system and lead to its final abolition. Allowing for the lapse of time and weakness of memory, it was something of the following nature:—

In a native infantry corps quartered at the dull and unhealthy station of Banda, there was a senior subaltern who, without any extraordinary merit of head or heart, had become a leader of his comrades. He was not braver or more clever than most of them; yet they deferred to an ascendancy

due chiefly to his thick skin and phlegmatic temperament. A youngster had lately joined who, having been well-educated and having entered the service a little later in life than usual, held aloof from this hero-worship, and was generally considered to give himself airs. Little by little he found himself in a minority of one, till the other young fellows proceeded from passive neglect to overt hostility, not discouraged by the mighty L. himself. Another senior, a man who liked to stand well with each and all, alone affected sympathy with poor "Johnny Raw," to borrow a name from a comic book of the period. I fancy he had once acted as Adjutant of the Regiment, and believed himself justified in an amount of interference not dreamt of by the ordinary subalterns. At all events, he told the ill-treated ensign, one day, that his persecutors were encouraged and egged on by L. The young officer, desirous of putting a stop to things that were making his life a burden to him, took the first opportunity of resenting some offensive speech of the man whom he (rightly or wrongly) regarded as the author of his troubles, and an immediate challenge was the result. The meeting took place next morning; when L., who was a practised hand, lodged a ball in the victim's hip. The matter could not be hushed up; it was, in fact, reported by the man who had carried the tale out of which it arose, and who seems to have remembered his acting incumbency so far as to have conceived himself a sort of amateur Adjutant. His meddling, however, had one good effect: in the Court Martial which ensued, he was able to give evidence which told in favour of him whom I have called "the victim." Sir Charles Napier was then the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army; and, on the proceedings coming before him, he ordered that principals and seconds alike should lose their commissions, but reinstated the victim in a subsequent order.\* The other three were ruined for life; and their sad example must have made an important factor in the decay and ultimate extinction of the baneful custom.

The Bantia duel was, indeed, an instance of the worst and most abusive applications of duelling, and was an encounter which would not have taken place in the German army, where differences between officers have to be submitted to Courts of Honour. There was no dispute in which any one's character was seriously involved; and the duel was almost as much of a grim pleasantry, or practical joke, as the lantern-fight of Damon and Pythias. Hence the punishment of L. and his associates did not give a final quietus to

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\* The remarks of Napier are to be found in a collection of his acute but eccentric Minutes, published, many years ago, by W. Manson of Bombay.

Anglo-Indian duelling. I remember at least one case which occurred quite three years later ; a very short time, in fact, before the Mutiny, in which a very gallant officer was wounded by the son of a Calcutta Barrister, himself a famous man of the pistol.

At a date, however, but little anterior to these cases, duelling was so universally regarded as the appropriate satisfaction of honour amongst Indian officers that generals themselves went out with young officers under their own command.\* One amusing instance occurred when Sir Samford Whittingham was General of the Meerut Division. There was a young Ensign H. on leave at Mussooree when Sir Samford was making one of those prolonged inspections of convalescent depôts which officers in similar positions are still in the habit of finding necessary during the hot season. One afternoon the Ensign had been to Rajpore, at the foot of the hills, to partake of a farewell tiffin with a brother-subaltern returning to his station on the plains. The meal had been rather plentiful than prudent ; and, after taking leave of his friend, H. was riding back in the condition described by N.C. officers, giving evidence, as "under the influence of Refreshment." The afternoon being hot, he had taken off his coat and thrown it over his pony's shoulders. His way home lay along the Mall ; and, as he cantered carelessly on that frequented thoroughfare, whom should he come across but his general, attired in choice mufti, and escorting a lady ! Thoughtless and unprepared, H. happened to jostle the veteran, who, almost instinctively, hit out with his riding whip and unfortunately caught Mr. H. across the face. H., riding home in a boiling passion, related the incident to his chum, and the two hot-headed youths persuaded themselves that the General must be called on to give satisfaction for the blow. The challenge being duly delivered, Sir Sampson had no hesitation in accepting, in accordance with the views of honour prevalent at the time. This was the chivalric attitude, learned from the France of Louis XIV. A blow having been struck, it was incumbent on the parties to finish the affair by an attempt at mutual slaughter. So the antagonists met, next morning, behind the Camel's Back ; and there the old man received the subaltern's fire. Having done which, he resumed his official position, and ordered the Ensign to his bungalow under close arrest, on the ground that he had appeared, the previous day, in a place of public resort, half dressed and more than half-drunk. In the end H. was allowed to go into the Invalids ; and he lived, for many years after, on a small pension, at Mussooree.

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\* It may be remembered that the Duke of York, when Commanding-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, fought a duel with Colonel Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond.

This was not the only instance of a hostile encounter between a General and a subaltern. The case of the Lancer, already mentioned, was of a more serious origin ; in relating which one must suppress names out of respect for the feelings of many survivors, although the actual parties have passed away : but the facts shall be related without prejudice, as they were universally believed to have occurred. The younger officer had wronged the senior in a way that wounds a man's pride most deeply, though the actual injury may not be so great—namely by relieving him of a wife who, presumably, had ceased to care for her husband. Being challenged to fight, he accepted, with the full intention of receiving the general's fire without return. The meeting was held on the old Race-course at Meerut, and the senior fired with such accuracy as to hit his adversary's cap so that it flew off his head and fell to the ground, a little behind where its wearer was standing with his undischarged pistol in his hand : cavalry officers wore a convex peak of hard leather in front of their caps in those days, and the ball had glanced off without penetrating the obstacle. The Lancer's second was naturally uneasy at this combination of skill and malice on the General's part ; and, seeing that his man had not fired, proposed to terminate the matter by taking the combatants off the field. In this, however, he was violently opposed by the General, who insisted on going on ; and the discussion was closed by the Lancer, who drew himself up and said, with a smile on his handsome face :—"Give the old gentleman his whim." He then folded his arms and prepared to receive another shot ; but the veteran's nerves were upset, and his hand shook so much with excitement that the next shot missed altogether. Both seconds then agreed that the affair could proceed no further, and the General was forced off the field tremulous and pale with unsatisfied anger.

After these high tragedy scenes one's own little experiences are of the feeblest. Nevertheless I shall set out that little, not so much for any direct interest that it may possess, but as an instance of what a power seconds had when duly alive to their own responsibilities. It happened that I was living a somewhat retired life, in the house attached to the Cossipore Foundry, as the guest of Captain Broome of the Artillery, when a brother-officer drove rapidly to the door one afternoon and asked to see me. In a state of some excitement he stated his business : he had been driving all over Calcutta, he said, vainly seeking some one who would carry a challenge in his name to an officer of Native Infantry stationed at Barrackpore. The nature of the offence given was neither clear nor grave ; my visitor and I were by no means intimate ; in fact the military

man was more my friend of the two ; and altogether the affair was anything but attractive. I asked, therefore, if Mr. O. would let me consult my host ; and, on receiving permission, went to Ryome who happened to be at home, and on hearing of the matter unhesitatingly assured me that I had no option or alternative but to see a fellow civilian through his trouble. Consenting, therefore, though with some reluctance, I got into Mr. O's buggy and was driven by him to Testelin's Hotel at Barrackpore, where I left my companion to order dinner, while I proceeded in search of the opposite party. The officers of the—th had gone in to dinner, so I proceeded to the Mess-house and sent in my card for him whom I was to call to account ; this gentleman divined my purpose and sent a brother officer to see me in the anteroom. This proved to be a jovial blade, one of those who did not wait for dinner to inspire himself with adventitious gaiety ; in fact, though dinner had but just begun, he was already pretty well primed. With elaborate politeness Captain D.—assured me that his friend would have challenged mine if we had not anticipated him ; there was nothing to be done in the way of apology ; a meeting was the only satisfaction, etc. I let the potvaliant gentleman talk himself out, and then took leave of him with the feeling that nothing could be gained by discussion in present conditions. Returning to the Hotel, I made my report, which seemed to give my companion much more enjoyment than it did myself. For my part, I passed a very bad night, not seeing how to prevent a meeting, and foreseeing, in my anxious mood, nothing less than wounds, death, and dismissal from the service for the whole party. The quarrel was very paltry, and although I had heard only one side, I was by no means confident in the goodness of our cause ; in short, I made up my mind to do all in my power to prevent a meeting. I had, of course, taken the precaution to make my principal understand that he must be bound by whatever I might say or do on his behalf, a condition to which he, perhaps, subscribed the more readily that he supposed that it pointed to his being engaged to fight. Be that as it may, the morning saw me back in cantonments, where the other side, having slept upon it, were in a milder frame ; and we exchanged written explanations which seemed more satisfactory to the seconds than to the parties themselves, but which ended the affair. The story may sound the reverse of heroic, but I look back upon it with complete approval, as a good illustration of a saying of those days, to the effect that the chief danger of duelling was from the seconds.

In France, the native land of the duel, these ideas have not yet taken practical shape ; perhaps in the country the progress



of Democracy has tended to enlarge the sphere in which the custom is almost a religious rite. Every man above the rank of a peasant knows something of the use of the small sword, and seconds incur no risk to themselves, but rather credit and glory. The few duellists who are in deadly earnest may favour the use of the pistol ; but even when a man is shot, the seconds are not punished. Otherwise duels are little more than fencing-bouts without buttons ; quarrels often slight enough can thus be settled in the romantic manner so dear to our lively neighbours, with a minimum of peril to either principal or second. The first drop of blood ends the combat, from which all retire to the nearest Restaurant, and enjoy their breakfast and their pint of claret in good humour and general amity. Of course, there are occasional exceptions.

It is not such a purely decorative usage with the more phlegmatic races of Teutonic blood. The English and their trans-Atlantic cousins, when they did fight, used to mean business ; and the North-Germans, among whom militarism has maintained the custom, are putting the practice under restraint, while some of their newspapers are calling for its entire suppression. There is a story, believed to be authentic, which serves to show the different views and characters of Latin and Germanic races. The Belgians, while using, in good society, the same language and laws as the French, are so much less given to single combat that the custom may be said to be almost unknown among them. But a singular exception is related : it is said that, when the King's sister went out to Mexico with her ill-starred husband, she was accompanied by a body guard of volunteers, consisting of some of the best born young men of the little Kingdom. When they reached their destination, they naturally came into close contact with the officers of the French Expeditionary force who treated them much as Scottish boys might be treated in an English public school, laughed at for their accent, and for alleged solecisms of manner and bearing. This was for some time borne with good-humoured equanimity, until it began to be clear that it was intentional rudeness, likely to grow from bad to worse. At length the Belgians, losing patience, began to call out their ill-bred comrades, and some of the latter were killed in the combats which ensued. The Frenchmen professed great annoyance at this, and accused the others of not playing fair, or following the rules of the game ; but it was replied that those who had not originated the sport could not be blamed for ignorance ; and that, so long as the offence was continued, they should take their own views of the matter. Frenchmen, adds the story, took

the hint ; and the belligerent neighbours thereupon became better friends.

In a similar spirit was conceived the well-known tale of Lord Charles Hamilton's duel at Paris ; when, being debarred the use of pistols against a French opponent, he cut the little man on the shoulder, so that he could not use his sword. It being pointed out to the Scotchman that rapiers were used only for thrusting, he coolly answered that he had told them at starting that he was not acquainted with the use of the rapier.

The conclusion appears to be that there was in the blood of the British in India something that indisposed them to single combat, unless it was to be a matter of grim and deadly earnest. When public opinion and the authorities allowed of that kind of duel, our youngsters were as ready for them as any officers of the German army could be. Hence the class of "dandies," whose conduct at Waterloo was commended by Wellington and of whom a brilliant picture has lately been drawn by Dr. Doyle in his delightful story, "Rodney Stone." Such men, however, would not lend themselves to the theatricals of the duel *a premier sang*. Alike in England or in India, their feelings would be :—if you gave a man, begad, the trouble of making his will and getting up in the middle of the night to take an infernal cold drive and stand up in a dirty field to be blazed at, why, you must take the consequences and be d—d to you." If this was generally objected to, "it would be better to drop the thing altogether, don't you know?" A few sentences on seconds did the rest ; but it is not understood that, either in England or in India, any evil result has followed. Men of the Home Services had the Crimean War to brace their nerves ; and then, in India, came the terrible year of 1857 to draw the officers together. Soon after that the Indian Army was entirely reorganised ; officers in Native regiments became much fewer ; and, instead of being what a British General bluntly called "the refuse," were taken from among the best : where staff officers used to be sent to regimental posts as a punishment, to grow rusty and ill-tempered in a life of idleness and drink, these posts themselves became staff employ to be gained by competition and carried on in constant labour. The morale of the service rose at once ; and the civilians, barristers, etc., took their tone from the military men who formed the large majority of Anglo-Indian males. The last Anglo-Indian duel was about 1855.

#### ART. IV.—PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE IN CERTAIN SUBJECTS IN THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.

##### A JUBILEE-CONTRIBUTION TO THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

IN March 1846, in my tent in the camp of Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, before the walls of Lahore, the capital of the conquered kingdom of the Panjab, I wrote my first contribution to the *Calcutta Review*, which was then in its infancy. My subject was the "Countries between the rivers Satlaj and Jamna," a region where I had dwelt since June, 1844, and in which I had taken part in the great Satlaj-Campaign. Perhaps, of the men who took part in that struggle, no one but Field Marshall Haines and myself has survived to this date. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarking to me that, as I was a Civilian, he could not give me any military honours, mentioned me in his despatches to the India Office, and gave me charge of the virgin District of Hoshiarpur in the Jalandhar Doab, at the age of twenty-five, under the superintendence of John Lawrence, as Commissioner. Oh! the joy of that wondrous period from 1846 to 1849. The first charge of a district is like a man's first love, never to be forgotten. And such a district, half in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, half in the beautiful submontane plains with the clear streams of the rivers Satlaj and Beas, flowing on each flank: studded with mangoe groves and feudal castles: occupied by a manly race of agriculturists. I moved out alone in their midst, without guards: the troops were kept within the cantonments: here was learnt the great lesson

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,  
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

The iron hand in the velvet-glove: the soft word, and the strong order, and the instant obedience: the Court of the Ruler held in the mangoe groves, where all were welcome: the evenings spent with the people, far from the sound of the English language, and the din of cities. And, when the second trouble, the Panjab war broke out in 1849, I had my reward as regards my own district, for vain were the attempts to induce a well-satisfied people to join a rebellion which ended in the entire annexation of the Panjab. It was then that I issued the following proclamation which has often since been quoted—

LETTER OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT OF THE DISTRICT OF HOSHYARPUR, IN THE PANJAB, TO ALL THE PRINCIPAL LANDOWNERS IN THE DISTRICT, SENT BY SPECIAL MESSENGER TO EACH SEPARATELY.

I expect, and am fully confident, that you are in your own villages, and have kept clear of any rebellion. If any of your relations have joined the rebels, write to them to come back before blood is shed: if they do so, their fault will be forgiven. Consider, that I have in person visited every one of your villages, and I know the position of every one of you: what is your injury I consider mine: what is gain to you I consider my gain. The rule of the British is in favour of the agriculturist. If your lands are heavily assessed, tell me so, and I will relieve you: if you have any grievance, let me know it, and I will try to remove it: if you have any plans, let me know them, and I will give you my advice: *if you will excite rebellion, as I live I will severely punish you.* I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, I will rule it by the sword. God forbid that matters should come to that. This trouble affects your families and your prosperity. The Rajas of the country get up the disturbance, but it is the landholders whose lands are plundered. Consider what I have said, and talk it over with your relations, and bring all back from rebellion, and when my camp comes in your neighbourhood, attend at once in person, and tell those who have joined the rebellion to return to me, as children who have committed a fault, return to their fathers, and their faults will be forgiven them. Let this be known in the valley of Jeswan, and be of good cheer. In two days I shall be in the midst of you with a force which you will be unable to resist.

*Camp Hajipur, Nov. 28, 1848.*

Since that I have contributed forty-two (42) articles to the *Review* on every sort of subject. I attach a list to the last page of this my Jubilee, and probably my last, contribution, for at seventy-five years of age we are not as we were at twenty-five, "Consule Planeo," or, as we interpret it, the time of Dalhousie and Lawrence. I have the highest opinion of the value of this periodical, and of the ability with which it has, under its different Editors, been conducted for half a century. Many of those who contributed to its pages, have been my dearest friends, from the days of Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwards, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Muir, (still living) to the present period. Young men of this generation have the priceless advantage of being able to inform themselves of what their predecessors said, did, or thought, and thus a continuity of purpose is maintained. Nothing in my old age strikes me more than the vast strides, which we have made in every branch of knowledge of all time since the creation, and in every part of the world. In 1843 I was a companion of Professor Lepsius of Berlin, when he was making his earliest excavations at the Pyramids in Egypt, and this was the dawn of Egyptology: I conversed with Major Henry Rawlinson, in 1844, in Calcutta, on his way to Baghdad, with the key of the great

Mesopotamian treasure-house in his brain : this was the dark hour before the dawn of Assyriology, and the study of the cuneiform form of writing. In the same year, at Banáras, I heard with wonder of the Asōka Tablets, and of the records on rocks of ancient India : there were no Telegraphs, Photographs, Railways, Electricity, Chloroform, and many other ordinary scientific contrivances then. Africa and Oceania were merely Geographical expressions then : the classification of languages was unknown : the scientific testing of Historical Documents, now called the higher criticism, had not been developed : people were content with the interpretations and opinions of their grandmothers, and had an unlimited power of feeble acquiescence and wholesale swallowing. A healthy feeling of mistrust now exists, and a desire to know the "how," and the "why," and the "when," of each historical document. The Round World has been thrown open, and we see dimly fifteen hundred millions of men like ourselves moving on the surface, and, by facts, inductions, and reasonable theories, we are led on to believe that they have been there in their succeeding generations for ten thousand years or more from the present date, men of like passions as ourselves and like desires : waging war and committing acts of cruelty : as convinced as we are ourselves of the absolute truth of their religious conceptions and moral laws ; erecting magnificent monuments ; leaving behind them imperishable literary memorials of their pride and their greatness, and of their groping into the impenetrable darkness of the past and future ; composing great poems which can never die and grand philosophic treatises, which no time can gainsay ; calling to us across the abyss of thousands of years.

Years ago I have fallen by chance on treatises, such as Herbert Spencer's classification of the sciences, which have stirred me as I read them in my solitary canvas-tent under the mangoe-groves in my district, far away from the daily newspaper and the strife of men. I put these lines together on the chance of their falling under the eye of some one young enough to be my grandson, that he may ken what was the orbit of studies of one of the ancient men who helped to make India, in his declining years, after he had got back to his home.

I. The Religious Conceptions of Mankind.

II. The form of speech or languages spoken by mankind.

Both these were congenital gifts of the Creator to the creatures whom He made by His own will, and for His own pleasure.

III. Anthropology in all its branches. The proper study of mankind is man.

IV. Higher criticism of all ancient documents with no possible exceptions.

- V. Archæological Excavations in India, Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Central America.
- VI. Geography in all its branches, all over the round world.
- VII. History.
- VIII. Tests applied to the foundations of History.

### I. THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF MANKIND.

The science, of philosophy, or religion has come into existence during the last half century: I remember that, in 1844, a Secretary to the Government objected to the word Religion being applied to any other conception or cult, except the Christian: all others were, in a general way, though the centre of the hopes in this world and the next, and the guide of life, of millions, consigned to Satan. When the population of the round world became dimly known, it was clear that the strong man was, and had been since the creation of the world, out of possession of his own house, if any such views were true, for during the eight thousand years which preceded the Christian era, the Hebrews, about five millions, were credited as the sole representatives of a true religion in the older world, and their Scriptures as the only Sacred Books which had been written before Anno Domini.

All this has changed now: the long series of the Sacred Books of the East has revealed new worlds. Let me pass the religious conceptions of the ancient world before the great epoch of the Incarnation under review: There are two main divisions:—

I. Animising, or worship of spirits, known as Nature Worship.

II. Ethical conception, or Book-Religions.

We may pass over the first, as a disappearing phenomenon, and sub-divide the latter:—

#### I. DEAD CONCEPTIONS.

- (1) Egyptian.
- (2) Babylonian.
- (3) Assyrian.
- (4) Greco-Roman.
- (5) Teutonic, Keltic, and Slavonic.
- (6) Semitic.
- (7) Etruscan, and several others.

#### II. LIVING CONCEPTIONS.

- (1) Brahmanism.
- (2) Zoroastrianism.
- (3) Judaism.

- (4) Buddhism.
- (5) Jainism.
- (6) Confucianism.
- (7) Taoism.
- (8) Shintoism.
- (9) Animism, in many moribund forms, in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.

We know all about these wonderful phenomena now ; we knew nothing at the period at which the *Calcutta Review* commenced ; or, if we knew anything, it was incorrect or incomplete, seen darkly through the smoked glass of prejudice and ignorance : but all now is as clear as day. We have discovered that the men of ancient days, Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Zoroastrian, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucianist, who have left such indelible marks in the history of the world by their buildings and their writings, which the hand of time has spared, were not fools, or fanatics, or barbarians, devoid of the religious sense, but, according to the measure of their gifts and opportunities, wise, thoughtful, pious, and seeking after holiness according to the measure of their simple ideas, and not unconscious of, or regardless of, a future of rewards and punishments. Such phenomena of the human intellect should not be treated with contempt. They represent the state in which it pleased the All-wise Controller to allow the great, powerful and gifted races of those countries to remain for a time, to tarry His leisure, till, in the fulness of time, He sent His own Son. Whatever the Pietists of Europe may say in their ignorance and spiritual pride, He loved *all* His poor creatures then, as He does now. These are the lessons, which some of us have learnt in the last half century :—

- “ Full many a heathen lived out holy days,  
 “ Died for his Altar, for his country strove !  
 “ Spake hymns heaven-prompted, full of prayer and praise,  
 “ And words of Wisdom, Piety, and Love.  
 “ Fell not Thy shadow, Lord, on those behind,  
 “ When on the Cross Thou suffered for Mankind ?”

The world, indeed, would have been poorer, if the words of Plato, Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Buddha, and many a Papyrus, Stela, and Clay-brick from the libraries of Egypt and Mesopotamia had perished, or remained buried.

## II. THE FORMS OF SPEECH SPOKEN BY MANKIND.

The second congenital gift of God to man, as a means of communicating with fellow creatures. No tribe has been found so low in culture as to be unable to convey ideas by articulate sound, and the power is exercised unconsciously. I came across a Grammar of the Hebrew Language published at the

close of the last century at Edinbro', the author of which, in his preface, complacently remarks that there are about (80) eighty languages in the world, and that all were derived from the Hebrew. It is well on all matters to speak with reserve, subject to correction by the men of the next generation; but, as far as an opinion can be formed, based on collected facts, there are at this moment about two thousand (2,000) forms of speech mutually unintelligible, call them by what name you please, language, dialect, patois, jargon; and no one who has studied the subject, can hesitate to consign the idea of a common seed-plot for all languages to the waste-paper-basket: it might as well be asserted that all mankind, white, black, brown, yellow and red, with different physical details of structure, came from one common parent. Not only is there an essential difference in word-lore, but such a contrariety in structure, and sentence-lore, as indicates an entirely different logical conception of the mode of conveying ideas. Certain great linguistic families or groups have been built up; some languages are isolated, the sole survivors of an extinct family.

Passing on to the great human invention of expressing ideas not only by word, but by symbols portrayed on clay, metal, leaves, and papyrus, we find that the vast numerical majority of mankind has, even in the 19th century, never attained to this degree of acquired knowledge, and such nations as have attained to it, in the early period of the human race, have exercised the power in a three-fold manner:—

- I. By ideographic pictures.
- II. By syllabic cuneiform symbols.
- III. By alphabetic symbols of single sounds.

The second category is totally extinct; the first is represented by the Monosyllabic Ideograms of the Chinese; the third, in a multiform variety of the same principle, is spread over the world, conquering and to conquer. We can watch the death of languages, like the fall of the leaves from the trees in Autumn. Some more powerful and more highly developed form of speech treads out a poor feeble patois, and at the same time there is a birth of new languages of a mixed or Creole character, the result of the combination of European and non-European elements.

All this has been revealed to us in the last half century, though there are still problems which require a solution, and theories which have to be stiffened by the lapse of time and accumulation of experience.

### III. ANTHROPOLOGY.

The new Oxford Dictionary of the English language thus defines this pure Greek word of the time of Aristotle:—

- (1) The science of man, or of mankind in the widest sense



(2) The science of the Nature of man, embracing human Physiology and Psychology, and their mutual bearing.

(3) The study of man as an animal, investigating the position of man zoologically, his "evolution" and history as a race of animated beings.

The subject is inexhaustible, and full of intense interest. As we pass down the galleries of the British Museum, or the Oxford Museum, we see what man was in his savage or barbarian state in different parts of the world; we read of his religious conceptions, his ethics, his customs, his habitations, his physical features, his skull, his hair, the colour of his skin: yet he is still man, differing by his congenital attributes from the beasts around him, and the student is led on to speculate on the antiquity of man, and we find evidence of him in pre-historic Archæology, in the Cave Period, the Drift Period, and passing through the different stages of development of civilization.

All this knowledge has been acquired in the last half century. It raises a smile of pity to think of the chronological theories of good Archbishop Usher, and his date of 4,000 B.C. for the creation of man: Geological researches tell another story.

#### IV. HIGHER CRITICISM OF ALL ANCIENT DOCUMENTS WITH NO EXCEPTIONS WHATEVER.

The lower criticism confines itself to the text of ancient documents: the higher criticism considers the context, and the reasonable difficulties which arise to every intelligent mind in the study of the contents of the document. When the reputed Author of a book in his last chapter describes his own death and funeral obsequies, the higher critic demurs, and cannot pass over in silence the fact of an event being recorded in a book of reputed date, which is proved by good evidence to have taken place centuries later.

Niebuhr, the great German scholar, who died in 1831, led the way in his handling of the Roman legends; he was followed by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who died in 1842. It seemed like a great enfranchisement of the human intellect, and the same process was applied to other histories, even to those bearing the honoured names of Herodotus and Thucydides. A further extension of the principle has destroyed the unique dignity extended without inquiry to Homer. The same principles have been unsparingly applied to all the Sacred Books of the ancient nations, and at last the time came when the books of the Hebrews must be submitted to the same ordeal. Here a sensitive portion of the modern believer was touched: he could readily assent to any of above-quoted criticisms, however hard and painful to heathen believers, if they were based on accurate scholarship, and sound logical reasons, and he could not

pretend that a document of whatever date, or however long a pedigree, was anything but a representation of human industry ; but, when it came to offend his prejudices in his own particular sphere, loud was his outcry ; yet still the work goes on : if it be true, Truth must conquer. No true religion can afford, in the nineteenth century, to be supported by a lie, a fabrication, a false legendary report, a manifest interpolation, a defiance of all canons of literature.

• ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.

Archæology is no longer a mere fad, or dilettante amusement, but has become essentially practical, and the life occupation of serious, learned, and highly trained excavators ; and the results have been that a wonderful light has been thrown on the history of ancient pre-historic nations. To know something of such results is an indispensable component part of a liberal education. It is a wonderful thought, how, under the combined scientific researches of the great European nations, and the citizens of the United States, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Etruria, and Central America, have given up treasures exceeding the wildest dreams of the most enterprising worshippers of antiquity. The glory of Pompeii and Herculaneum is indeed dimmed when brought into juxtaposition with Olympia and Mykenæ.

Monumental and epoch making works have been published detailing the results of the excavations ; Museums are filled with specimens of the art and industry of man which had been buried in the earth for many centuries. The scanty outlines of History which the Greeks and Romans handed down to us, have been filled in, and we stand face to face with men and women whose very names had been forgotten, and yet who, in their time, had done deeds which ought never to have died. It seems to have been the cold stern policy of the Roman nation to flush out the civilization of the nations which preceded it, and blot their very existence out of the memory of man. Such was the fate of the Etruscan, Carthaginian, Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian nations : they were not only conquered, and that was a fair game, which they had played themselves in their own time, but the waters of Lethe passed over all those features in their individual existences, which are described in this Essay—religious conceptions, languages, customs, written documents, or engraved monuments, geographical features, historical incidents, coins, pottery, architectural remains, and it is only during the last fifty years that tardy justice has been done, and the deepest sympathy has been raised with the ever multiplying evidences of the greatness of those ancient nations, their wisdom, their

capacity, and innate goodness. A voice seems to cry from the tomb, from the ruined palace, from the desecrated place of worship: "We were men, men of like passions, like powers, like sense of His Morality, like Faith in a Creator, like expectation of Life beyond the grave as yourselves: we led the way in the great triumphant path of human development: we showed the way to pile up imperishable buildings like the pyramids: we invented the methods of conveying sound by the medium of symbols to material substance: we invented and practised the art of writing: you have only slavishly imitated our methods, distorting them to suit your miserable requirements: we designed them to suit the genius of our form of speech, and to chronicle our own ideas. Thousands of years have passed away, and yet we have lived through the great abyss of time: will anything which has come out of the boasting Europe, the so-called heir of all the ages, survive eight or nine thousand years, when the Deluge has closed over you?"

#### VI. GEOGRAPHY.

When I left Eton College, as Captain of the Oppidans in 1840, I used an Eton School atlas of the old type, which has survived in my book-case to this day: I knew where Athens, Rome and Carthage were, and the supposed route of Alexander the Great, and the pass of the Alps which Hannibal made use of; but the line of public school teaching was drawn there. When I made my first European tour in 1841, I was surprised to visit Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, and hear of the geography of Europe: when I reached India, and travelled in a palanquin from Calcutta to Benares, Delhi, and Ambala, I practically learnt the geography and topography of India. Geography was not taught then as a Science: there was no Geographical Society: the teachers of schools could not teach what they did not know themselves. As to the geography of Asia, Africa and America, it was a sealed book, and Oceania had not come into existence. The majority of mankind were only a little in advance of the contemporaries of the Apostles, who did not hesitate to call Asia Minor, Syria, and the Eastern parts of the Mediterranean *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, the inhabited world, (Acts XI. 28), or the "regions under Heaven" (Acts II. 5).

A great change has happened since then: the great Round World has been discovered. Africa is no longer a blank on the map: the Nile has been traced to its unknown source, and the Niger and the Kongo: the Mountains of the Moon have been spotted, and the teacher of geography is on the war path, and the subject is so fascinating, that hundreds gather together in great halls to hear lectures, sometimes from the very lips of a great explorer. We can imagine poor old Herodotus

asking the priests in Egypt whence the Nile came. Centuries later, no doubt, the Emperor Hadrian asked the same question, and got the same vague answers. If there is still something to find out in the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, it is well ; for it is a test of manhood to leave nothing undiscovered. •

Geographical knowledge naturally divides itself into certain needs. I. Physical, revealing all the wonders of the conformation of land and water. II. Political Geography follows : the boundaries and populations of kingdoms. III. Then follow the details of the Languages which they speak, and the religious conceptions which they profess, and the ancient customs to which they cleave. IV. Then commercial Geography tells us of the raw and manufactured products of each region, the gold, silver, opium, saltpetre, and other contributions which each country makes to the wealth of the world : a moderate sized volume for each portion of the continent tells us all this in a general way ; but volumes are required to exhaust the subject.

Cartography has taken new developments : maps have risen above the most sanguine conception, and the raised maps and even models of the Globe, bring the subject home.

#### VII. HISTORY.

A few words are sufficient : perhaps the historian still develops too much of a bias in one particular direction, allowing himself to regard facts which happened long ago from the point of view of the nineteenth century, and unconsciously colouring the policy of past ages with the colours of the historian ; his proclivities, and weaknesses. This is peculiarly the case in the history of new empires such as modern India : a new process has been proposed by Lord Acton at Cambridge, by which the causes and effects of certain tendencies in man at different periods should be traced during the succeeding centuries independently of national idiosyncracies, boastings, and humiliations, in fact a real philosophy of the history of mankind. What is liberty ? Is it an absolute moral right of all, mankind to be obtained for oneself at any cost, and respected in others at any sacrifice ? Or is it only a selfish desire, on the part of the nation which is strong, to secure liberty for itself, and to do the best to deprive weaker nations of their liberty ? Does not the history of Great Britain require being written in a philosophic spirit, a nation jealous of its own Liberty, ready to avenge any drop of blood of its own citizens, and yet ready to destroy the liberty of other nations, slay innocent and unoffending barbarians in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, or America for the mere purpose of self aggrandisement, or finding a new market for Lancashire manufactures ?

“ It is well to have a Giant's strength,  
 “ But not to use it as a Giant. ”

How will posterity judge the conduct of Great Britain? We pass hard judgment on the monarchs of Mesopotamia and Egypt, on Attila, Genghis Khan, and Tamerlane; They knew no better: Of what meaning is Christianity, if the tribes of South Africa, East Africa and West Africa are slaughtered and plundered merely to enhance the dividend of a Chartered Company?

“ In the name of the Prophet, figs,” cries the Mahometan fruitseller at Smyrna and Damascus.

“ In the name of religion and civilization, murder, and confiscation of property ” cries the Christian shareholder, led on by a so-called Christian land-pirate.

#### VIII. TESTS APPLIED TO THE FOUNDATION OF HISTORY.

When the Father of History, Herodotus, went down into Egypt, ignorant of the language, and with the credulous spirit of his age, he picked up the legends of the country from the Priests and intelligent wayfarers whom he met. Everything went down into his notebook, was swallowed, digested, and handed down to posterity in the marvellous beauty of his Ionic Greek. In the same spirit, the travelling M. P. makes a winter tour in British India, and forms an opinion on the administration of that country picked up from the “ intelligent ” man met on the Railway platform, who did not wish his name to be mentioned; from the young English-speaking native collegian; who spoke like Macaulay or Dr. Johnson; from the Indigo planter, who complained that he was not allowed to persecute the cultivators; from the anti-opium and anti-liquor fanatic and from the rabid native papers.

Fortunately other tests are supplied. I have already alluded to Geography. Things contrary to Physical Geography were impossible then, as they are now. Of History ancient men had a very strange idea. The author of Deuteronomy, whatever may be his date, invites the Hebrew to “ ask of the days that are past ; ” but it is difficult to say in what quarter they could have applied, and how they would have got a reply, as they had no records of their own of an earlier date than Moses, and even if they could have read the great Egyptian inscriptions, they would have learnt very little of any country except Egypt and the countries with which Egypt made war, and a great deal of the favour shown by Egyptian gods to Egyptian Kings.

These inscriptions are now copied and translated, and similar records of antiquity have been found in Mesopotamia,

Arabia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and in fact everywhere except in Palestine, which has contributed one inscription only of the date of King Hezekiah. The importance of inscriptions in India is very great, as in the voluminous literature of the Indians History is not represented.

Numismatics have also come to the assistance of the Historian, though at a later period, and other works of art such as Pottery, Carvings, Architectural remains, bricks bearing the stamp of the monarch who ordered the erection of the building. The evidence of Pottery is of the utmost importance, as in the late excavations in Lachish in Palestine it was found that a succession of cities had been erected on the same mound one upon the other, but differentiated by the fragments of pottery found in each.

These subsidiary survivals of past generations have enabled trained, cautious, and self-restrained students and excavators to recreate a past which has been buried for many thousand years.

“Artem, quæ latuit Græcos, latuitque Latinos”  
 “Nostrorum é tumulo suscitât ingenium.”

#### CONCLUSION.

It is well for each of us, as we turn over in this vast ocean of acquired knowledge and cautious speculation, that we cry out :—

“Domine illumina nos, ut  
 “Videamus clarè,” et loquamur humiliter,  
 “Scribamus Sapienter,” et resticetè !

It is of no use to resist the incoming flood of truth, or confine its actions to one branch of human knowledge, and shut it out from others.

Μεγαλη ή 'Αληθεια και 'υπερισχυει

Pilate asked “what is truth,” and got no answer *then* : nor can we find any certain road nineteen centuries later. We read in the Gospel of John : “Sanctify them through Thy Truth ; Thy word is Truth.” But amidst the accretions of superstition, and the envelopments of gross, interested mediæval ignorance, how can we get at the precious ore, except by careful and humble search, unbiased investigations, and strictly logical conclusions, strengthened by prayer for spiritual guidance ; for the desire for knowledge, the methods to attain knowledge, the intellect to appreciate and record knowledge are all

• Δώρα του θεου,

to be used for His glory and the benefit of mankind.

It is obvious that the orbit of inquiry and study above sketched is but a small section of the great treasure-house of piled up knowledge. I have lived on intimate terms with men who had other outlets of research, Astronomy, Geology,

Zoology, Chemistry, Botany, Geometry, and such like, which were sealed subjects to me ; but I heard from their lips, or read in their reports, of progress, progress everywhere. I witnessed lives devoted to Arts, something to my mind very inferior, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Military and Naval experiences, and such like. I witnessed many more throwing away their lives and other faculties in field sports and fleeting amusements, merely to kill the passing hour.

But for the steady, continuous, and thorough labour of a host of scholars of all nationalities during the last half century, it would not have been possible for the illustrious scholar, Hofrath G. Buhler of Vienna, to undertake with every reasonable promise of success the gigantic enterprise of compiling "an Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, the first attempt at a complete, systematic and concise summary of the vast field of Indian languages, religions, history, antiquities and art, as a book of reference for students," and a new point of departure for the further research of the twentieth century.

Those, who live into that epoch, may hope to know something. We men of the nineteenth century have been, and are still, groping in the dark. Upwards of thirty scholars of various nationalities have undertaken to co-operate to build up this great edifice, portions in the German, and portions in the English language. Natives of British India have not been found wanting in this great enterprise. There will be three volumes. I. General languages. II. Literature and history. III. Religions ; Secular Sciences ; Art. In each of these great sections of the great subject there are subordinate sub-divisions, exhausting the whole orbit which I have attempted to illustrate, as regards British India. The example will, no doubt, be followed as regards other regions of the great World now thrown open in its entirety : it is amusing to find the word "World," or "Mundus," or even "the earth," applied by some to the narrow section of the great Globe which has come within their own limited ken. Circumstances have changed with the last half century, and there is geographically little or nothing more to discover.

Laus Deo.

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*Christmas Day, 1896.* } (Æt. 75.)

## A LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

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2	1847	Jalandhar Doab.
3	1842	Palestine and Lebanon.
4	"	Present State of Turkey.
5	1853	The Ramáyana.
6	1854	Collector of Land Revenue.
7	1855	Mesopotamia.
8	1858	A District during a Rebellion.
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10	"	Examination-System. "Detur digniori."
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38	1888	The Liquor-Traffic in India.
39	1889	Relation of Missionaries to Civil Power.
40	1890	International Congresses, No. 5.
41	1893	Opium-Trade with China, 1893.
42	1894	The Ancient Religions of the World.



## ART. V.—THE STERNER ASPECTS OF NAIR LIFE.

THERE is not in the whole Madras Presidency a district more remarkable from an antiquarian point of view than Malabar. Its long stretch of sea-washed and mountain-locked landscape affords features, topographical and historical, fascinating alike to the archæologist and the sightseer. Unparalleled in rural grandeur and beauty of scenery as is this vast martial amphitheatre, there is not a spot in it but has its heroic associations. The bulk of its inhabitants are the Nairs, who differ widely in marriage, home-life, and inheritance from other communities, and they form in every way, and have remained to this day, a separate and distinct people. A military class devoted to arms, the martial spirit for which they were justly celebrated is a thing of the past; thin in numbers and the lords of the country formerly, they at the present day are comparatively poor, have much increased in numbers, and are quite fallen as a military nobility. They are, in a word, the Sudras *par excellence* of Malabar. A race *sui generis* and supreme, they have been described as "Rajputs in the rough." They possessed a council of representatives and a Constitution; and their functions in the body politic—of the *eye*, the *hand*, and the *order* as the *Keralalpathi* tersely mentions them—were of an essentially protective character. They were the appointed guardians of the public weal: they wielded in the commonwealth the distinctive privileges of the Kshatriya—prevented their rights from being curtailed, never suffered them to fall into disuse. These exclusive privileges of theirs, added to their close bond of union—the peculiar, in some respects almost unshastraic, relationship—with the Nambūthiri Brahmins of Malabar, it may be noted, point to their unmistakable pre-eminence. All I propose in this paper is to bring before the reader a few of the sterner aspects of their old rough-and-ready life.

In general everyday life, the Nair greatly resembled the Scottish Borderer of the Middle Ages. The former loving adventure and a free life, soldier by proclivity and always on the warpath, lived and moved and had his being as a fighter; while the latter—raider and cattle-stealer that he was—vented his ill-blood in constant moss-trooping forays against the Southern English. As in the "North Country," so in Old Malabar, blood-feuds and mortal combats were the rule rather than the exception: in truth, the common saying ran that "the slain rests in the yard of the slayer." For peaceful in private life the Nair by no means was. He invariably carried arms, kept a sharp look-out for those who had offended him, and thirsted

for revenge. Assassinations thus were frequent; there were often surprises and scuffles, and sometimes contests in the open field. • In passing through a crowd, he bore his head high, struck his sword upon his target, and, in the grand style, called out, not simply to obtain a clear passage quickly, but also to make known his rank and establish his dignity. When a man was slain, the duty devolved on his kith and kin to be avenged on the slayer or a member of his family. Thus the Nair hostages on board De Gama's ships, on being apprised of the bloody fate in store for them, as the Zamorin had treacherously detained the Portuguese commander on shore, are recorded to have said:—"Yes,\* there they were, and if any harm were done to the ambassador on shore, the Portuguese might cut off their heads if they pleased, for they were men who had brothers and relations on shore who would revenge their deaths even upon the person of the King."

Duels (*ankam* †) were not uncommon. They were the result of insult shown or injury done to a party by another, such conduct generally rendering a meeting in the village duel-ground (*anka-kaliri*) indispensable. The chief of the locality acted as umpire. Before him sums of money were set down as battle-wager. A long training and preparation (sometimes, it is said, for twelve years) preceded the day of battle. Trial by battle was sometimes had recourse to as a form of ordeal for settling disputes. Such combats were a royal privilege; as such they had always to be paid for by each combatant, although sometimes, in their stead, hired champions were engaged to fight. "The ‡ men who fought were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel—they were their champions. It was essential that one should fall, and so both men settled all their worldly affairs before the day of combat." Disputes as to the right of way and points of precedence, which gave rise to interminable quarrels, afforded a fruitful source of duelling in the early Portuguese epoch. The contest at one time ran so high and assumed such consequence, says Visscher, § that the rival chieftains arranged to terminate it by a formal combat, in which the Portuguese champion won. The *lex talionis* deeply permeated all relations of Nair social life; and satisfaction for every insult and injury, as amongst the Malays, was held a point of honour amongst them.

The old Portuguese records || furnish an account of a battle fought at Cochin in about 1519. The combatants were Nair chieftains, adherents of the Zamorin and the Cochin Rajah respectively. These latter, indeed, were bitterly opposed to

\* See Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*.

† Logan's *District Manual*.

‡ Logan's *Malabar Manual*.

§ *Letters from Malabar*.

|| See *Keralapalama*.

each other, and were at open war at this period. Sequera, with 500 Portuguese, was on the spot to witness the combat. "This here is the only means left us to settle the dispute" greeted the combatants, and they rushed straightway to battle. The fight had proceeded a little when a Portuguese who had watched the turn affairs had taken, sought permission to side with one faction. He had turned the tables; but the other side saw this, and their archers poured forth volleys of darts<sup>2</sup> on the defenceless Portuguese, who thereupon took to their heels and made straight for their boats. *Puli-ankam*, or fighting with tigers, is an institution peculiar to Old Malabar. In thrilling excitement and savage hardihood, no known feat of peril or bloody exercise was to be compared to this curious pastime. The fierce gladiatorial fights of ancient Rome furnished the nearest parallel to it. The combatants were, of course, skilled athletes, and they were trained up and taught to revel in this dangerous exercise. Many well-known athletes were reputed adepts in it; men like the celebrated Pyche Rajah, who is said to have indulged in it with impunity. A common method of defence in fencing may here be noted. The fencer first provided himself with a stick twelve spans in length (*pantiran*). By whirling this about rapidly fore and aft, above and laterally, he was able to hold an opponent at bay with astonishing ease, and parry hits and ward off strokes aimed at him on all sides.

A remarkable duel forms the subject of the well-known *Thachóli Pát*. This ballad, as its name implies, commemorates the exploits of the redoubtable hero, the keen athlete and incomparable swordsman, Thachóli Othénan. Despite its crude language and undefined metre, the ballad, whose authorship is unknown, is full of pathos and fire, and possesses, withal, an elemental freshness and vigour, a homeliness of manner and charm of effect, peculiar to itself. Noble and spirited ballads which give faithful presentments of the more striking episodes in the annals of Border life, or those known as the Robin Hood cycle, which recount the many adventures of the yeoman-hero and his "merry men," form no mean repertoires of national tradition and folklore. The chief interest of the Thachóli ballad, likewise, consists in its expression of the popular mind, the old-world flavour of the sentiments, manners, and feelings therein revealed, and the picturesque glimpses it affords of national types of character, now obsolete, and of social customs, laws and observances, now very much forgotten. It takes you out of yourself and wafts you, as if by an enchanter's wand, from this real working-day world of us all to its old-world substitute—a romantic yet persuasive world, a stirring world of high emprise and bloody war; and the ironic course of destiny.

The ballad, as has been said, gives (and gives with much quaintness of detail) the description of a duel—the last and crowning episode, in fact, of Othénan's life. The hero, dressed and equipped, and preceded by Squire Cháppan, armed with a lance made of the best cocoanut tree, proceeds to the temple of the Lókanár goddess. He goes there to see the *kávút* festival, accompanied by a large retinue. The temple is fenced with men on all sides, and gathered in its precincts are the ten thousand Nairs and the Princes of the four palaces. Our hero no sooner takes his seat on a platform under the banyan-tree—his wonted seat—than the Mathilúr Kurikal, with his disciples, also occupy the Thachóli's platform. The affront stings Othénan to the quick. Incensed with wrath, he bespeaks his squire to fetch his silver-handled gun. He threatens to shoot the Mathilúr peacock and all its chicks. The ballad goes on to recount how thereon the Kurikal shouts loud and challenges Thachóli Méppayil Kunti Othénan to single combat; how the latter is rebuked by his brother Kóma Kurup for his rashness, as he calls it, in "throwing a pot at a mountain," the futile remonstrance merely eliciting the rejoinder: "Am I not a man like him, too?"; and how after devotion to family gods and blessings sought of his elders and offerings made to the Lókanár goddess, he sets out with his many friends to the field of combat. Arrived there, he rushes into the arena, like a gamecock running to fight, worsts his adversary and triumphantly takes his sword seven times. But he is not left alone to glory in his victory. For, on returning to search for a dagger he has dropped on the field, he is treacherously shot by his enemy. In this extremity he never loses presence of mind, and does not allow his mean foe to escape. He braves death like the hero that he is, remains cool to the end, and encourages his weeping brother.

Othénan has been justly called the Robin Hood of Malabar, and many are the stories extant concerning him. There is little doubt that he was a man of dauntless courage and consummate address in arms, endowed with herculean strength, one who probably knew, certainly made, no difference between *meum* and *tuum*. I may mention one well-known tradition which represents him as having once jumped over a well 66 feet in circumference to escape capture by his pursuers. This well—still in capital preservation—is to this day pointed out with pardonable pride by the people of the Kadattanád locality. Lovers of legendary lore will recognize in Robin Hood's life, incidents very like those recorded concerning his rival compeer. Indeed, the *Thachóli Pát* must prove a happy hunting-ground to zealous antiquaries who, Fluellin-like, discover rivers in Macedon and Moamouth. Thus Othénan, all his life pursued

and harassed by the followers of the Kadattanád Raja, is treacherously shot ; while the outlaw, his footsteps dogged by Sheriff's men, is bled to death betrayed by a Prioress. Both face death like brave men—the former, with touching heroism asking his disconsolate brother : “ Have ye heard folk die of a bullet in the forehead ? ” ; the latter, chivalrous to the last, refusing Little John permission to burn down the Hall and all its nuns—

“ I never hurt fair maid in all my time  
Nor at my end shall it be.”

The descendants of Thachóli Othénan to this day continue as the tenants and vassals of the Kadattanád Raja.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR,  
*Triplicane, Madras.*

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## ART. VI.—STUDIES IN THE VEDANTA.

### *The Teaching of Re-birth.*

#### I. THE IDEA OF REINCARNATION IN WESTERN THOUGHT.

A VERY noteworthy fact, in the world of modern thought, is the quite recent appearance among us of the idea of rebirth or reincarnation, as a subject of reasonable speculation, a very probable theory, a seemingly simple and natural solution of many complex and difficult problems of life ; in a word, reincarnation as an idea to be seriously considered, and very probably accepted, as one of the working hypotheses of life.

There is, of course, no absolute novelty in the idea of reincarnation, of the persistence and gradual development of the individual through a series of lives. It has no absolute novelty in Europe, even Europe of the last hundred years. To touch on only one or two salient points in the past history of this idea, so far as it has influenced western thought :

The doctrine of transmigration or reincarnation, was, in Greece, known as metempsychosis. It was rather the teaching of the philosophers, and, even more markedly, of the Mysteries, and many authorities consider it likely that the Hellenic thinkers drew the idea from Egypt or India. It is still a moot point whether Thales or Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, was the first of the Greeks to propound this doctrine ; but it is certainly to the strong and masterful individuality of Pythagoras that its acceptance was due, and it is at least in conformity with tradition to suppose that Pythagoras obtained his teaching from Eastern, probably Egyptian, sources. In view of this probability, we may glance for a moment at the Egyptian doctrine. The old Egyptians held that the human race originated after the pure Gods and spirits had left the earth, because the dæmons had revolted against them, and thus incurred sin. In order to give the dæmons an opportunity to expiate their guilt, the Gods formed earthly bodies which the dæmons were condemned to inhabit, so that, by expiations in these bodies, they might regain their original purity. The dæmons, thus incarnated in earthly bodies, are the human race. The souls of men are, therefore, of equal origin, in time and essence, with the Gods, and our terrestrial life is not an end in itself, but the means of purification for the soul, through which it may return to the inborn divinity from which it has fallen. The whole Egyptian sacred polity was governed by this view of life, and the central figure in the Egyptian religion was Osiris, in whose palace the soul was

tried after death, to ascertain whether its purification was complete. Failing this, the soul was condemned to return to the earth, to renew the process of purging and expiation. But if the judge of the dead finds that no sin remains to be wiped out, the soul gradually ascends through the various celestial regions, to the highest abodes of the pure spirits and Gods, its divinity perfectly regained.

After Pythagoras, the doctrine of rebirth was treated by Plato; and Goldstücker conjectures that Plato was indebted to the philosophers of India for his teaching, as explained in several of the dialogues, notably in *Phædros*, and the story of Er in the tenth book of the *Republic*, where the question of the memory of past births is dealt with, in much the same spirit as we shall presently meet with in certain Indian sacred books. Plato's doctrine was carried on by the Neo-platonists, with a large reinforcement of Egyptian ideas.

Besides this Hellenic source of the idea of rebirth, as an influence on western thought, it should be noted that this teaching was not altogether foreign to the other great source of our moral culture, the religious ideas of the Hebrews. Goldstücker, himself a Jew and an adherent of the Hebrew faith, writes on the point as follows: "Amongst the Jews, the doctrine of transmigration—the *Gilgul Neshamoṭh*—was taught in the mystical system of the *Kabbala*, which pretends to divulge the secrets of creation and those of the nature of the divine and human soul. 'All the souls,' the *Sohar*, or the book of 'light,' the spiritual code of the system, says, are subject to the trials of transmigration; and men do not know which are the ways of the Most High in their regard. They do not know how they are judged in all times, as well before they come to this world as after they leave it. They do not know how many transformations and mysterious trials they must undergo, how many souls and spirits come to this world without returning to the palace of the Divine King? The principle, in short, of the *Kabbala* is the same as that of Brahmanism. The souls, like all other existences of this world, it teaches, must re-enter the absolute substance whence they have emerged. But, to accomplish this end, they must develop all the perfections the germ of which is planted in them; and if they have not fulfilled that condition during one life, they must commence another, a third, and so forth, until they have acquired the condition which fits them for their re-union with God. On the ground of this doctrine, which was shared in by Rabbis of the highest renown, it was held, for instance, that the soul of Adam migrated into David, and will come into the Messiah; that the soul of Japhet is the same as that of Simeon, and the soul of Terah migrated into Job.

Generally, it was supposed by writers of this school, the souls of men are reborn in men, and those of women in women; but also the reverse takes place, as in the case of Thamar, who had the soul of a man, and in that of Judah whose soul was in part that of a woman. And because Ruth had the soul of Thamar, she could not bear children until God imparted to her sparks of a female soul. If the soul of a man, however, is reborn in a woman, such migration is held by some to be a punishment for the committal of great sins, as when a man refuses to give alms, or communicate to others his wisdom. And it is by way of punishment, too, that the soul of a Jew is reborn in a heathen, or in an animal—a clean or unclean beast, a bird, a fish—or even in an inanimate object. Of all these transmigrations, biblical instances are adduced, according to their mode of interpretation—in the writings of Rabbi Manasse ben Israel, Rabbi Naphtali, Rabbi Meyer ben Gabbai, Rabbi Ruben, in the *Jalkut Khadash*, and other works of a similar character. Modern Kabbalists—for instance, Isaac Loria—have imagined that divine grace sometimes assists a soul in its career of expiation by allowing it to occupy the same body together with another soul, when both are to supplement each other, like the blind and the lame. Sometimes only one of these two souls requires a supplement of virtue, which it obtains from the other soul, better provided than its partner. The latter soul then becomes, as it were, the mother of the other soul, and bears it under her heart like a pregnant woman. Hence the name of gestation or impregnation is given to this strange association of souls."<sup>1</sup> We may remark, in parenthesis, that a very notable instance of a similar thought occurs in the Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul writes: "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you."

There are evidences to show that this Kabbalistic teaching, or something very like it, was sufficiently clearly formed in the minds of the first disciples of Christianity to leave certain indications of its existence in the text of the Gospels. Such indications are: "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come."<sup>2</sup> And they said, "Some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets;"<sup>3</sup> with the parallel text: "others said, that it is Elias. And others said, that it is a prophet, or as one of the prophets;"<sup>4</sup> and again: "And they asked him and said unto him, why baptizest thou, then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet;"<sup>5</sup> it is probable

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Remains of Theodore Goldstücker*: Vol. 1, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *τεκνία μου οὓς πολιν ἐγένωθ' ἵνα χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*

<sup>3</sup> Matt. XI, 14. <sup>4</sup> Matt. XVI, 14. <sup>5</sup> Mark, VI, 15. <sup>6</sup> John. 1, 25.



that the specific mention of Elias refers to the words of the last of the prophets: "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet;"<sup>7</sup> thus closely corresponding with the Kabbalistic idea of the rebirth of remarkable individuals, patriarchs or prophets, which has already been put forward, and testifying to the antiquity of this teaching. In the Gospels, therefore, we find the idea of reincarnation specifically put forward in the case of Elijah, Jeremiah, the prophets, the Messiah, and John the Baptist. It should be noted that, in these instances, we have rather the Indian doctrine of Avatâra,<sup>8</sup> or the intentional incarnation of a highly developed soul, to help and teach humanity, than the normal reincarnation of ordinary men, for the purposes of expiation, which, we have seen, played so prominent a part in the Egyptian and Greek teachings. The latter doctrine finds an echo in the question: "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?"<sup>9</sup> and, very possibly, in the words: "Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us?"<sup>10</sup> Further, it is at least a plausible supposition that the doctrine of final release from transmigration, or the necessity of further births, is contained in the words: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out."<sup>11</sup> We may therefore say that there are indications of at least three aspects of the whole doctrine of reincarnation in the New Testament; namely, the doctrine of the incarnation of high souls, or Avatâra; the doctrine of expiation of past sins through rebirth, and the doctrine of liberation from the necessity of future births. We may complete this branch of the subject by a further quotation from Goldstücker: "Among the early Christians, St. Jerome relates, the doctrine of transmigration was taught as a traditional and esoteric one, which was only communicated to a selected few; and Origenes, like the Kabbalists, considers it as the only means of explaining some biblical traditions, as that of the struggle of Jacob and Esau before their birth, or the selection of Jeremiah when he was not yet born, and many more events which would throw discredit on divine justice, unless they were justified by good or bad acts done in a former life; of Christian sects, the Manichæans especially adhered to this belief."<sup>12</sup>

In the Germanic mythology, and also in the teachings of the Gallic Druids, there are indications of the same belief;

<sup>7</sup> Malachi, IV, 5.

<sup>8</sup> We may illustrate the Avatâra idea by Krishna's words: "In every age, when there is a withering of the Law and an uprising of lawlessness, I send myself forth, as a salvation to the righteous and a terror to those who do evil; I come to birth to restore the Law."—*Bhagavad Gîtâ*, IV, 7, 8.

<sup>9</sup> John IX, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. III, 12: καὶ ἴξεω οὐ μὴ ἰξέλωθαι ἔτι

<sup>11</sup> John IX, 34.

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit., p. 217.

the latter, without doubt, looking on transmigrations as a means of purifying the soul, and preparing it for eternal life. A form of the same doctrine appears in the sixth book of the Æneid, in which, the best critics hold, Virgil embodied in a veiled form the teaching of the mysteries. We may therefore say that, at a period of some two thousand years ago, the doctrines of reincarnation and liberation were held all over the western world, as mystery doctrines, and, as far as we can judge, the most important part of the Mysteries. To their careful concealment in this way is, doubtless, due the fact that our indications of the presence of these ideas are not more abundant and lucid; as it is, they are quite sufficient to prove the universal prevalence of this teaching, in an almost identical form, from Judea and Egypt to the Druids of Britain, from Italy and Greece to Scandinavia. We can here only allude to the very remarkable revival of the same doctrine, within quite recent years, in the systems of some of the most distinguished of modern thinkers.

## 2. THE TEACHING OF REINCARNATION IN INDIA.

Though very much has been written concerning this doctrine in the religions and philosophies of India, it seems to us that certain points of the very highest importance have either been overlooked, or not brought out nearly as strongly as they deserve, from their inherent value. Thus, for instance, while it has been pointed out more than once that the teaching of reincarnation is absent from the very oldest Sanskrit works, it has not been at all adequately recognised that, in the passage where the doctrine appears quite clearly for the first time, a reason, of the highest historical moment, is given for its previous absence from the sacred books, a reason which sheds a flood of light on the ethical, religious, and philosophic conditions of Ancient India. Of this very striking passage, which first opens up the teaching of reincarnation, there are two versions, or three, if we count the Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad as separate works.<sup>12</sup> As Professor Deussen, in his *System of the Vedānta*, has translated the possibly secondary version from the Chhāndogya Upaniṣhad, we shall follow the other version, as it is found in the text of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, adding such passages from the Chhāndogya as may seem worthy of special comment. The passage is as follows:—

“ Aruṇa's grandson Shvetaketu came to the gathering of the Pañchālas; he came to Pravāhāna, son of Jivala in the midst of his court. The king looked up at him:—

“ ‘ Youth,’ said he.

<sup>12</sup> Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV, 9, 1, 1. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, VI, 2, 1. Chhāndogya Upaniṣhad, V, 3, 1.

- “ ‘ Sire, ’ he replied.  
 “ ‘ Hast thou been instructed by thy father in the tradi-  
 tional teaching ?’  
 “ ‘ Yes, ’ said he,  
 (1) “ ‘ Knowest thou how these beings, going forth [from life]  
 “ go towards different directions ?’  
 “ ‘ No, ’ said he.  
 (2) “ ‘ Knowest thou how they come to this world again ?’  
 “ ‘ No, ’ said he.  
 (3) “ ‘ Knowest thou how they enter this world again ?’  
 “ ‘ No, ’ said he.  
 (4) “ ‘ Knowest thou how the other world is not completely  
 “ filled by many again and again going forth [from life] ?’  
 “ ‘ No, ’ said he.  
 (5) “ ‘ Knowest thou at which offering being offered, the waters  
 “ becoming human-voiced, rise up and speak ?’  
 “ ‘ No, ’ said he  
 (6) “ ‘ Knowest thou the going toward the path of the way of  
 “ the Gods (*Devayāna*), or of the way of the fathers (*Pitryāna*),  
 “ or according to what works they approach the path, the way  
 “ of the Gods, or the way of the fathers ;—for the word of the  
 “ seer (*R̥shi*) has been heard by us’ :  
 “ Two ways have I heard, of the Fathers and of the Gods for  
 mortals :  
 “ By these two goes all this moving world, whatever is between  
 father and mother.”  
 “ ‘ Of these I know not even one !’ said he.  
 “ Then he invited him to remain [as his pupil] ; but the  
 youth, not consenting to remain, ran away. He came to his  
 father, and said to him.  
 “ ‘ Thou didst formerly declare us to be instructed in the  
 hereditary teaching !’  
 “ ‘ What, then, wise one ?’ he asked.  
 “ ‘ The friend of the R̥janyas has asked me five questions ;  
 “ I do not know anyone of them !’  
 “ ‘ What were they ?’ he asked.  
 “ ‘ They were these, said he, and told them to him one by one.  
 “ ‘ Thus thou knowest us, ’ said he, ‘ that whatever I know,  
 “ that all I have told to thee. But come, let us two go thither  
 “ and dwell as pupils in wisdom.’  
 “ ‘ Let my sire go himself !’ said he. So the descendant of  
 “ Gotamas came to where [was the dwelling] of Pravāhana, son  
 “ of Jivala. And he, inviting him to sit, had water brought  
 “ to him, and received him honourably, saying to him :—  
 “ ‘ We give a wish to thee, worthy descendant of the  
 “ Gotamas.’

<sup>14</sup> That is, “ between Heaven and Earth ;” from R̥gveda X, 88, 15 = Vāj. Samh., 19. 47.

“ The wish is promised to me !’ he said.

“ Declare to me the word that thou didst speak in the presence of the youth !’

“ Descendant of the Gotamas,’ he replied, ‘ this is amongst wishes of the gods ; mention a wish among those of men.’

“ He replied. ‘ It is well known—abundance of elephants and gold, of cows and horses, slave-girls, attendants and robes. But let not my lord be ungenerous in what is great, unending, illimitable.’”

There is a situation in the Katha Upanishad remarkably like the story we have just translated. King Yama is visited by Nachiketas, seeking for wisdom, and promises him three wishes. The aspirant asks for a knowledge of eternal things—“ the wish that draws near to what is hidden, Nachiketas chooses no other wish than that.” The king, who is afterwards the Initiator, now plays the part of the Tempter, declares this to be a secret for the gods, and offers wealth and length of days, ‘ much herds, elephants, gold, horses, . . . these beauties, with their cars and lutes.’ Nachiketas refuses, and the Tempter, become the Initiator, commends him thus : “ Thou, Nachiketas, considering dear and dearly loved desires, hast passed them by ; nor hast thou taken the path of wealth in which many of the sons of men sink.” [May we not conjecture that, in both cases, we are dealing with a tradition of initiation in the mysteries, in which the Adversary tempts the candidate with ‘ the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them ;’ only he who resists the temptation being deemed fit to receive the wished-for knowledge, as in the case of Nachiketas and Uddālaka Aruṇi, in the passages under consideration. With this should be compared the testing of the soul in the palace of Osiris, in the Egyptian mysteries, where only the pure rose upward to eternal life, the impure being driven back again into the world].

A close parallel to the words of king Pravāhana : “ This is amongst wishes of the gods ; mention a wish among those of men,” is found in king Yama’s words : “ Even the gods have doubted about this, nor easily known is this subtle law ;” in each case followed by the formula of temptation—‘ gold, elephants, cows, horses, slave-girls, attendants.’”

It may be noted that these things are precisely the objects of prayer and sacrifice in the hymns of the R̥gveda. Thus Wilson writes : “ The blessings prayed for are, for the most

<sup>12</sup> Instead of the usual reading *hasti hiranyasū dātām*, I here conjecture *hasti-hiranyasya - dātām*, *gorshvānām dātām paridhānasya*.

This is supported by the very similar passage, (1) *hhānd. 7, 24 2* : “ *Go-ashvamiha mahimā tī dchakshate hasti-hiranyam Dasabhāryam*”—“ cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and women are held to be greatness here below ;” and (2) *Katha-Up. 1, 23* : “ *Bahū pashūn hasti-hiranyasū ashvān - ime vāmadh,*” “ Much herds, elephants, gold, horses, . . . these fair women.”

part, of a temporal and personal description,—wealth, food, life, posterity, cattle, cows, and horses . . . benefits of a worldly and physical character." *Rigveda*, Vol. i., p. XXIV. Therefore Uddālaka, the descendant of the Gotamas, is simply quoting a familiar phrase, introducing it with the words, "it is well known."

The Upaniṣhad narrative continues as follows:—

" 'This, O descendant of the Gotamas, is a holy wish!' said he,

" 'I come to thee as my teacher, Sir,' said he, for with this speech the men of old used to approach [the teachers]. So he dwelt with him, after this word of approach.

" Then [Pravāhaṇa] said: 'Therefore be free from blame towards us, thou and thy ancestors, since this wisdom hitherto dwelt not in any Brāhmaṇa; but I shall declare it to thee. For who may refuse thee, speaking thus?' "<sup>16</sup>

The parallel passage in the Chhândogya Upaniṣhad brings out the force of this even more clearly.

" 'As this wisdom goes not to the Brāhmaṇas before thee, but among all peoples is the initiation of the Kṣhattriya alone.' "<sup>17</sup>

Let us for a moment recall the five questions which give the key to this wisdom. They involve the teaching of how the souls of men go forth from this world; how they return to, and re-enter this world, so that the other world is not completely filled; how some souls take the path to the Gods, while others follow the path of the fathers, and are subsequently reborn in this world; in other words, the whole doctrine of reincarnation and liberation. It is, therefore, the whole doctrine of reincarnation and liberation—the doctrine rightly held to be the heart and soul of Indian philosophy, which "went not before to the Brahmans, but was among all peoples the initiation of the Kṣhattriya alone."

To thoroughly appreciate the meaning of this most remarkable statement, we must remember that the white Brahmans were of quite different race from the red Rajputs, or Rājanyas, or Kṣhattriyas,—for the three words are synonymous; it follows, therefore, from the plain and perfectly explicit statement of the text,—a statement, the verbal accuracy of which is vouched for, by its occurrence in each of the two longest Upaniṣhads, and also in one of the Brāhmaṇas—that the doctrine of reincarnation, and the doctrine of liberation belonged originally, not to the Brahmans at all, but to the rival race, the red Rājanyas or Rājputs, with whom it was

<sup>16</sup> Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, VI, 2, 1-8.

<sup>17</sup> Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, V, 3, 7.

a secret teaching, a part of the traditional wisdom of the Mysteries, just as it was, in later ages, in Egypt, Greece and other nations of the west. The red Rajputs, therefore, were the Masters and Initiators; the Brahmans, their humble pupils, and this not in some obscure science, but in the very doctrine which is generally spoken of as the heart and soul of Brahmanism, of Brahmanical philosophy. In that case, a borrowed heart; a soul, the free gift of their rivals the red Rajputs; the deed of gift being preserved quite indubitably in the two greatest Upanishads. This is certainly a very remarkable, and hitherto quite unsuspected, result; yet we can bring in support of the justice of it no less a witness than Shankarâchârya, the greatest of all Brahmans, in any age.

For, in his commentary on the passage we have quoted, in the Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upanishad, he paraphrases the words we have translated, thus:—

“As this wisdom asked for by thee, hitherto, before being bestowed on thee, dwelt not, has not a dwelling, in any Brâhmaṇa at all, so thou also knowest that this wisdom went by the spiritual succession of the Kṣhattriya, and this condition also should be preserved by me if possible.”

On the parallel passage in the Chhândogya Upanishad, he comments thus:—

“This wisdom before thee goes not to the Brâhmaṇas, that is, went not. For the Brâhmaṇas were not initiated into this wisdom. . . . Among all peoples, initiation, the initiating of pupils, of the Kṣhattriya, the Kṣhattriya-race, was into this wisdom. For so long a time this wisdom came down the chain of spiritual succession of the Kṣhattriya.”<sup>18</sup>

To make the matter perfectly clear and beyond all doubt, we may note that, in the same commentary, Sankara describes this hereditary mystery teaching of the Râjanyas or red Rajputs in these words:—

“The paths of reincarnation (*Samsâra*) of all beings from the Evolver down to the inanimate; and the narration of those who seek liberation (*Mumukshûnâm*) through renunciation of passion (*vairâgya*),”—this is the wisdom, or science, which never came to the Brahmans before, but was the mystery doctrine of the Râjanya alone.

### III. REINCARNATION AND THE RĠVEDA.

In the light of our knowledge that the white Brahmans and the red Rajputs, Râjanyas, or Kṣhattriya, really belonged

<sup>18</sup> I have in each case translated the Commentary of Sankara from the excellent editions of the Upanishads, published by the *Anandâshrama* of Poona: No. 15, p. 767, No. 14, p. 245.

to two widely different races, we shall be able to see in a new light, sentences like this of Professor Cowell's:—

“The great teachers of this highest knowledge are not Brahmins, but Kṣhattryias, and Brahmins are continually represented as going to the great Kṣhattryia Kings to become their pupils,”<sup>19</sup> or of Professor Deussen:—

“Numberless indications point us to the truth that the real guardians of these thoughts were originally not the priestly caste, absorbed in their ceremonial, but rather the caste of the Kṣhattryias. Again and again, in the Upaniṣhads, we meet with a situation where the Brahman prays the Kṣhattryia for instruction,”<sup>20</sup> or of Professor Max Müller:—

“The Brahmins seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upaniṣhads, Pravāhana Jāivali, King of the Pañchālas, silenced Shvetaketu Atuneya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kṣhattryias only, but no Brahmins, had ever known before.”<sup>21</sup>

To understand the true force of this, we must remember that we are dealing with a difference, not of caste, but of race, and that the doctrines which were the peculiar property of the red Rājanya race included those of Reincarnation and Liberation.

In the Upaniṣhads, it will be remembered, we were told, that Shvetaketu had been initiated by his father in the wisdom of the Brahmins; another passage referring to the same persons, tells us that Shvetaketu's learning included “hymns of the Ṛg-Veda, the Sāma Veda, and the Yajur-Veda.”<sup>22</sup> We have, therefore, a statement, capable of being tested, that a Brahmin might be learned in these three Vedas, as Shvetaketu and his father were, while yet knowing nothing of the teaching of Reincarnation and the teaching of Liberation. We shall now put this statement to the test.

As it is well known that the Yajur Veda and the Sāma Veda are composed almost wholly of materials taken from the Ṛg-Veda, and re-arranged for ceremonial purposes, we need not go beyond the question, whether the doctrine of reincarnation is contained in the Ṛg-Veda hymns.

The first verse quoted by Brahmin scholars to show the presence of this teaching in the hymns is the thirty-second in the hundred and sixty-fourth hymn of the first “circle” or Maṇḍala. The word *Valuprajāh*,<sup>23</sup> occurring in this verse, is rendered by the commentator “is subject to many births,” with the alternative interpretation “has much offspring,” or

<sup>19</sup> Elphinstone's *History of India*, ed. Cowell, appendix VII, p. 282.

<sup>20</sup> *Das syst m des Vedānta*; Introduction, 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Chips from a German Workshop*; II, 338.

<sup>22</sup> *Chhāndogya Upaniṣhad*, VI, 7, 2. 8: “*Rchah somya yajūṣhi sādūni-itī*”

<sup>23</sup> *Ṛgveda*, I, 161, 32.

“has many children;” now it is quite clear that only the latter sense is natural and admissible, while the former, on which is based the supposed presence of the teaching of re-birth, is as clearly an afterthought, artificial, and foreign to the original intention of the hymn. Another passage pointed to as containing this doctrine, is in the sixteenth hymn of the last Maṇḍala: “May the eye go to the sun, the breath (*Ātman*) to the wind. Go to heaven and earth, as is the rule. Or go to the waters, if it is pleasant for thee there. Under the grass linger with thy bones.”<sup>24</sup> Now no one reading this verse would for a moment dream that it alluded to the soul’s development through a series of births, any more than do the words “ashes to ashes, earth to earth.” Yet Sāyaṇa, in his Commentary, transforms it as follows: “O departed one, may the potency of thy sight go to the sun, thy breath to the wind, and thou thyself, through thy duty well done, to heaven, to enjoy the fruit of it. Or to the earth, or the waters—the mid-world—if the fruit of thy works (*Karmaphala*) is laid up in the mid-world; remain among the herbs with the parts of thy body.”<sup>25</sup> Even more striking is the transformation worked by Sāyaṇa’s Commentary on the same verse repeated elsewhere: “O departed one, may the potency of thy sight go to the sun, thy breath to the outer air, and thyself, through thy duty well done, to the heaven-world to enjoy the fruit of it, and go to the earth-world or the water, the potency of the eye and other powers, until the gaining of a body once more; the governing power of each of them will come to thee after a body has been gained by thee in the celestial and other worlds. In whatever world thy happiness is laid up, having gone thither, then entering into plants, and by them, as by a door entering the bodies of father and mother, gaining there fitting bodies, be raised up by these bodies.”<sup>26</sup> Now, not only can we see that this is an addition to the sense of the original verse involving the forcible introduction of the teaching of re-birth, but, further, we shall presently be able to point to the source from which the thought and even the very words of this addition were drawn.

These are the clearest passages which have hitherto been adduced from the R̥g-Veda, in support of the idea that the doctrine of re-birth is to be found there; but it is quite clear that they fail to do this. That this failure is generally recognised by scholars, may be seen from the following statements.

Dr A. Weber writes<sup>27</sup>: “In the songs of the R̥ik (R̥g-Veda)

<sup>24</sup> R̥gveda, X. 16, 3

<sup>25</sup> Sāyaṇa, *ad loc cit*

<sup>26</sup> Sāyaṇa *ad Pāṇinīya Āraṇyaka* VI. 1. 22

<sup>27</sup> *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen gesellschaft*: Vol. IX, 238.



there is as yet no trace to be found of transmigration (reincarnation)."

In the same sense Zimmer says<sup>28</sup>: "Of the later Indian teaching of transmigration (re-incarnation) we have no indication in the Veda."

But we may make this demonstration even more convincing by pointing to the fact, that while the teaching of re-birth cannot be found with any certainty in the hymns of the R̥g-Veda, they do contain clear, "even if scant, indications of quite a different belief, as to the destinies of the dead; belief, moreover, which stands in sharp contradiction to the teaching of re-birth, and is quite irreconcilable with that teaching. The belief of the hymns is briefly described in these words: "The oldest view, as it rules in the hymns of the R̥g-Veda, knows as yet no transmigration (re-incarnation). The souls of the good go, after death, to Yama's heaven of light, where they lead a blissful life in the company of the fathers; the evil remain shut out from it and go (according to a less distinct and perhaps secondary view) into 'the nether darkness.' There is no return of either to earth life."<sup>29</sup>

The following hymn of the R̥g-Veda gives us one of the clearest pictures of the aspirations of the pious<sup>30</sup>:

"Where is uncreated light, the world wherein the sun is set: in it, Soma, place me, in the unchanging world of immortality. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where is the Son of the sun, king (Yama), where is the firm mansion of heaven, where are those running waters; there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where are desire and pleasure, where is the red firmament of heaven, where are the food of spirits and abundance; there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!

"Where happiness and bliss, joy and rejoicing, wait; where the wish's wishes are fulfilled, there let me be immortal. Distil the draught for Indra!"

In spite of the beauty of language which this hymn undoubtedly has, we can find nothing really spiritual in the longings expressed in it; none of those "sparkles of everlastingness" that shine forth from the Upaniṣhads. So much is this so, that an acute critic has been constrained to say<sup>31</sup> that "everything in this Brahmanical hymn bears the character of indolent supersensual sensual enjoyment,"—of those very "dear and dearly loved desires," the refusal of which won for Nachiketās the praise of King Yama himself, the

<sup>28</sup> Altindisches Leben, p. 408

<sup>29</sup> Deussen, *Das System des Vedānta*, p. 386, based on R̥gv. X, 14, 10 and R̥gv. X. 152, 4.

<sup>30</sup> R̥gveda, IX, 113, 7-10.

<sup>31</sup> Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 532.

celestial counterpart of those riches of "elephants and gold, cows and horses, slave-girls, attendants and robes" which Uddālaka Āruṇi brushed aside as worthless, in the presence of the better way.

One of the chief sources of the soul's enjoyment in this sensuous paradise is the food and drink offered at burial, or at stated intervals afterwards; <sup>32</sup> another is the reward of works following it into the other world, the fruit of "offerings and pious gifts" (*iśhāpūrta*).<sup>33</sup> The Atharva Veda is full of descriptions of the streams of blessings into which gifts given to the priests during life are transformed in the other world; streams "with ponds of butter and banks of honey, with spirituous liquor instead of water; full of milk and water and buttermilk."<sup>34</sup> So much for the Vedic paradise.

As far as we can learn from the R̥gveda, this paradise was the natural destiny of all men who lived good lives according to the ideals of the Vedic polity; and as these ideals simply embodied the opinions of the multitude, it is natural to conclude that the reward of paradise was the normal and general destiny of all. So much is this so, that only the slightest indications of a place of punishment for evil doers, in "nether darkness," are to be found in the R̥gveda hymns: "Those who betray brotherless maidens, who lead ill lives, as women who deceive their husbands, who are evil, false, untrue, have shaped for themselves that deep dwelling-place."<sup>35</sup> There is great obscurity concerning this nether region, and there is even a group of indications that this "nether darkness" is the kingdom of Yama, to which "steep path" leads, that is, probably, a region beneath or within the earth, the "world of the fathers" (*pitriloka*), to which leads the "way of the Fathers" (*pitryāna*), in contradistinction to "the world of the Gods" (*devaloka*), reached by the way of the Gods (*devayāna*) and conceived as in heaven, the luminous sun-world above the earth, whither only the beloved of the Gods can go. We should thus have a conception very like the classical contrast of Hades and Olympus, or Elysium,<sup>36</sup> the latter "clothed with wider ether and purple light," whither chosen heroes only go.

But the indications in the R̥gveda are too scanty to allow us to reach a certain decision. We must turn to a later epoch of Indian life before we get vivid descriptions of these worlds of the dead, and the fate of those who dwell there; and we shall find throughout two quite incompatible beliefs, one of which we shall be able to trace to the teaching of the Upanishads, the hereditary secret doctrine of the Rājanyas, while

<sup>32</sup>. Atharva Veda, XVII, 4, 32 ff.

<sup>33</sup> R̥gveda, X, 14, 8.

<sup>34</sup>. Atharva Veda, IV, 31.

<sup>35</sup>. R̥gveda, IV, 5, 5.

<sup>36</sup>. Odyssey VI, 44. Æneid VI, 638.

in the other we may see either a development of the Brahmanical belief of the Vedic hymns, or only a fuller statement of the belief, of which there are traces in the R̥gveda, but no clear and adequate description. In the meantime, one thing remains quite certain. Of the teaching of reincarnation there is no certain trace at all in the hymns; rather there is a consensus of evidence and authority pointing to the fact that for the hymns, this doctrine did not exist; so that it would be perfectly true to represent the Brahmins, Uddālaka and Shvetaketu, as familiar with R̥g. and Yajur and Sâma, and yet unable to answer the questions "how those who have departed return to this world and enter this world again."

We have thus verified one part of the story of Pravâhaṇa,—that touching the ignorance of the Brahmins,—and this strongly reinforces our willingness to believe the other part,—that which asserts the knowledge of the Kṣhattryas, the Râjanyas, and their hereditary possession of a mystery-doctrine, including the teachings of rebirth and liberation. We shall now turn to an analysis of this teaching, as it was explained by King Pravâhaṇa, the son of Jivala, to the Brahmin Uddālaka Āruṇi, descendant of the Gotamas.

#### IV. THE PATHS OF REBIRTH AND LIBERATION.

Before coming to translate the mystery-doctrine which King Pravâhaṇa imparted to the Brahmin Uddālaka, after testing him, and proving him to be a fitting pupil, we may prepare the way by a few general statements. The doctrine taught by the Râjanya sage is still a mystery teaching, and is, therefore, clothed in a certain symbolism,—which is in reality quite simple and lucid, making the teaching more vivid, and in no degree obscuring it. For not only do we find a complete unveiling of this symbolism, in numerous passages in the Upanishads, but such an unveiling is in many cases not even needed, as the similes and images used are universal and based on natural fitness. The leading thought is, that the manifest universe is divided into three worlds, or planes, or spheres, which we may call the spiritual, the psychic, and the physical. These three worlds are in the ultimate truth, only three phases, or moods of the fourth, which is the divine, the absolute, the eternal.

Now these three worlds are spoken of by an imagery of great natural beauty, as three "fires;" the purpose being to fix our attention on them as manifestations of energy rather than form, of force rather than matter. And this foreshadows in a remarkable way the last results of our own science and philosophy; for while, in philosophy, Schopenhauer sees in the whole world only an objective manifesting of Will; in science, we have

Faraday very profoundly suggesting that the atom is in reality only a centre of forces ; the solid nucleus being either a myth or a superfluity.

We shall, therefore, constantly find the Upaniṣhads speaking of life as the out-breathing of three fires, "the spiritual fire," "the psychic fire," and "the vital fire." There is nothing local or strained in this comparison ; for we ourselves use exactly the same image, when we speak of "the fire of genius," "the flame of passion," "the glow of health," broadly corresponding to the same three ideas. Now the three worlds, spiritual, psychic, physical, are, by a very natural imagery, very often expressed by the simile of the heavens, the air, and the earth ; just as we used the same word, heaven, in a natural and spiritual sense, for the sky and for paradise. We have also a quite common habit of expressing psychic things in terms of the air and its phenomena, as when we speak of a mind being clouded ; a storm of passion ; an electrical nature,—that is, one charged with lightning ; or, to quote a more stately image, from the Preacher : "the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them, while the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain."

So universal is this symbolism and comparison between spiritual life and the serene firmament, between the psychic life of emotion and passion and the ever-changing atmosphere,—that we must believe it flows from a relation not less universal ; a relation lying in nature itself. Thus also we find the sun and moon constantly used, in all religions and all poetry, to symbolise the clear spirit and the changeful mind ; so that, for the former, we may quote "the Sun of Righteousness"<sup>37</sup> and "the righteous shine forth as the sun,"<sup>38</sup> from writings dealing almost wholly with the spiritual world ; for the latter similes, between the changeful mind and the changing moon are endless ; while there is a further propriety in the image because, as the moon borrows light from the sun, so the psychic nature, the mind that doubts and intends, draws its light from the soul.

Yet another image of like universal nature, the contrast between day and night, light and darkness. The part that this image has played in the Zoroastrian and Manichean systems is well known ; we need only give one other instance of its use. When Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, says : "Ye are all the children of light and the children of the day : we are not of the night nor of the darkness ;"<sup>39</sup> we require no commentator to tell us that he is not speaking of the natural

Malachi, IV, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Mathew, XIII, 43.<sup>39</sup> 1 Thess V, 5.

day and night, of twenty-four hours, but is using the words as a vivid simile for spiritual and material things and their opposition; nor must we forget that words like "spirit" and "matter" are themselves similes, perhaps distinguished only by being less poetic and forcible than those of old.

So that we have such natural images as heaven and earth, sun and moon, light and darkness, night and day; and beyond this transparent veiling the mystery-language of the Rājanya teaching hardly goes. What is peculiar to it, is a certain minuteness of fancy, which carries the same imagery into a richness of detail, such as we hardly expect, and such as we shall not find so universally used as are the first broad outlines of imagery. In treating of the question of re-birth the Rājanya teacher begins, not as we should, perhaps, expect, with the present life and a soul already embodied; but, very philosophically, with the spiritual condition before the descent into this world, and the spiritual world from which, according to the doctrine of emanation, not only the natural body, but the whole natural world, proceeds. This is expressed as follows by Pāvāhana.

"Descendant of the Gotamas, the other world is a fire; the sun is the fuel of it; the rays are the smoke; day is the bright flame; the spaces are the embers; the interspaces the sparks."

"In it, in this fire, the bright ones offer Faith; from that offering, the lunar lord is born."

Here we have the similes for the spiritual world which we have already spoken of; and again it requires no commentator to tell us that this fire is celestial fire, that the sun is the "Sun of Righteousness," that the day and the bright spaces of the sky and the rays are all fitting symbols of that luminous world, that immortal sea which "our souls have sight of," to use the splendid imagery of Wordsworth, expressing precisely the same thought.

A little more difficulty is contained in the picture of Faith (*śhraddha*) sacrificed by the bright ones, but we have only to remember that Faith is often used in the Upanishads as a synonym of the soul (*buddhi*), and that the bright ones (*devāḥ*) are its powers, in this case the powers that make for re-birth, to understand what is meant. The soul's powers that make for re-birth, "sacrifice" the soul's dwelling in the spiritual world, and bring it downwards towards the earth. The world it enters is, as we shall immediately see, the psychic world which lies between, and joins, the two extremes of spiritual and material; its vesture there is no longer of the "sun," but of the "moon," that is, a psychic vesture, belonging to the changing emotions and passions of the mind. Hence, after

the soul's first descent, we find it described as the "lunar lord," or, as we might otherwise express it, the psychic body. The world in which the psychic body is thus born, Pravâhâṇa symbolises thus :—

"Descendant of the Gotamas, the storm-power is a fire; the circle of seasons is its fuel : the clouds are the smoke; lightning is the bright flame; the thunderbolt, the embers; the flashes, the sparks."

"In it, in this fire, the bright ones offer the lunar lord, and from that offering the descending waters are born."

It is a matter of considerable difficulty to paraphrase the symbolism of this section; because, though our language has a certain abundance of words for the purely spiritual world which is reached by the highest aspirations of faith and genius, we are singularly poor, both in understanding and expression, with regard to the world which lies between the spiritual and the physical,—the psychic, or astral, world, to use two of the more usual words applied to it. Hence, for the "storm-power" or the "rain-power," the psychic "world of waters," or "the astral light," to use the commoner expressions, we have as slight resources of language as we have comprehension. Only the extreme lucidity and propriety in the old symbolism saves us from entire confusion. From these lucid symbols we can grasp the conception that, as a cloud condenses into water, so the "lunar lord," the psychic body, condenses or changes into a more material form, as a preparatory to fully entering the physical world. This very simple allegory is at the root of much that the Upanishads say of the soul's rebirth through the medium of "rain" and "food;" the former being a synonym of what, for want of a better word, we may call condensed astral matter; while by the latter is expressed physical matter, as it is perceived through the senses. So that the passage through "rain" and "food" means the passage through the lower psychic or astral condition to the physical or material. There is another sense in which this simile is true. Just as the evolution of man is completed in the convergence of two streams—the Spiritual, from above, and the Physical, from below<sup>40</sup>—so that lesser evolution comprehended in a single birth is completed by a similar convergence of the spiritual individual with the vital, physical body; the first basis of which is furnished by the parents, being derived by them from food, which is derived from plants, these again being nourished by rain. In the Upanishads, the sections treating of the physical origin of the new body are concluded thus :—

"In this fire [the union of the sexes] the bright ones offer seed; from this offering the man is born."

<sup>40</sup> For a clear apprehension of this, see the concluding Section of "*Darwinism*," by A. R. Wallace, F. R. S.

The "waters," or astral form, having condensed into "food," or the physical form, thus take final shape as the new-born child ; thus it is that "the waters rise up with human voice," in the phrase of the question originally put to Shvetaketu ; the human voice being the voice of the new-born child. This metaphor is of great interest in its way, because it shows us that, at the time of putting the question, not only the doctrine of the descent into birth, but even the symbolic presentation of this doctrine, as a series of sacrifices, was present in the Rājanya teacher's mind ; so that, along with the "traditional teaching" handed down among the Kshatriyas, we have the best grounds for believing in a "mystery language" also, based on a vivid and natural use of metaphor and simile. This fact will strongly support our consistently interpreting the symbols in each part of the doctrine in conformity with a comprehension of the whole.

The life of the new-born man is described with the brevity of a Parish Register :

"He lives while he lives ; when he dies—"

We need not press the point here, but it would seem to us that this sentence implies the belief that the scope of the man's life is already largely determined when he comes to birth ; in other words, implies the doctrine of Karma, which will be treated explicitly a few sections later on. This is interesting, as further strengthening the idea that the Rājanya seer was developing no new views, but simply repeating an already well-known teaching. Indeed, we can nowhere find any real trace of the "development" of this, or, indeed, of any spiritual doctrine ; the invariable rule is that we find the teaching at its best in the very earliest form in which we know it ; after which it will be seen to degenerate, but never to develop. We suggest that this principle be kept in mind in all researches into the change or continuity of religious ideas ; and we believe that the contrary opinion, the view that religions improve by development in time—is due to an improper extension of Darwinian ideas to a field which does not rightly belong to them, and in which they are contradicted by facts.

To continue our translation :—

"He lives while he lives ; when he dies, they bring him to the pyre. Of it, fire is the fire, fuel is the fuel, smoke is the smoke, flame is the flame, embers are the embers, sparks are the sparks."

This return to direct language further emphasises the fact that what went before was metaphor and symbol. The text continues :—

"In it, in this fire, the bright powers offer the man. From this offering the man (or, the spirit) arises, of the colour of the

“sun”: that is, again in a psychic or astral vesture. Then we come to the dividing of the ways :—

“They who know this thus (the initiates in esoteric wisdom) and they who, in the forest, follow after the soul and the real come to the flame; from the flame, they come to the day, from the day to the increasing half (of the month); from the increasing half to the six months when the sun goes northward (the summer); from these months to the world of the bright powers, from the world of the bright powers to the sun; from the sun to (the world) surcharged with lightning; them, surcharged with lightning, a spirit, mind-born, going, leads to the worlds of the Eternal. In these worlds of the Eternal they dwell, great and mighty. For them there is no return.”

These last words very strongly recall the verse we quoted before :—

“Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of the Eternal, and he shall go no more out;”<sup>41</sup> and it is almost impossible to avoid the belief that they indicate an identical idea.

We need not insist on what we have already said, as to the symbolic use of darkness and light, day and night, and the like, to express polar opposites in spiritual things. It is quite clear in what we have translated, that we are dealing with spiritual worlds in ascending order, or, to express the same idea in other words, with the spiritual sides or poles of a series of ascending planes, from the psychic up to the world of the Eternal. In his commentary, Shaṅkara expresses this by saying that not the day, the bright fortnight, the summer, are meant, but the spiritual reality (*devatā*) underlying them.

The characteristics of those who follow this “path of the Gods” (*devayana*) to the worlds of the Eternal, from which there is no more rebirth, are that they follow “faith and truth,” or “the soul and the real” (*Shraddhām satyaṁ upāsate*),—the path of union with the real Self, which is the message of the Upaniṣadś. The spirit, born of mind, which leads them to the worlds of the Eternal, is undoubtedly no other than that higher Self, regarded as a mind-born son of the Eternal.

Contrasted with those who follow the better way, the spiritual path taught in the Upaniṣads, we find the followers of the traditional system of the Brahmans, the path of priestly ritual to which Uddālaka himself had hitherto belonged, but willingly and unhesitatingly abandoned for the better way. This traditional worship of the Brahmans had, for its aim, as we have pointed out already, success in this world and the next; material well-being here; sensuous delights there. These

<sup>41</sup> Revelation, III, 12.



things were to be gained by pleasing the Gods, who, in return for sacrifices and burnt offerings, allowed themselves to be "milked" by their worshippers, as the R̥gveda chastely expresses it. To make quite clear that this and nothing else, was the tenor of the Brahmanical faith, we may quote a few lines from a source above cavil or dispute,—the Bhagavad Gītā.<sup>42</sup>

"The Lord of beings (Prajāpati), of old, creating being accompanied by sacrifice, declared : ' Be fruitful through this ; may this be a cow of plenty (Kāmadhuk) for you.'

"Nourish the Gods by this, and let the Gods nourish you. Mutually nourishing each other, ye shall obtain supreme happiness.

"For the Gods, nourished by sacrifice, will give you the feasts you desire. He who eats what they give without payment, he, verily, is a thief.

"They who eat the leavings of the sacrifice are set free from all sins. But they, sinful, eat sin, who cook for themselves alone."

This is one of those passages which, as Goldstücker noted of the Mahābhārata in general, mark the hand of the Brahmanical editor in what is properly a poem of the Kṣhattryas. The fate of those who follow this religion of barter is thus described by the Rājanya sage :—

"And those who win worlds by sacrifice, gifts, and penance, they come to the smoke ; from the smoke, they come to the night ; from the night to the diminishing half (of the month) ; from the diminishing half to the six months when the sun goes southward (the winter) ; from these months to the world of the fathers ; from the world of the fathers to the moon ; gaining the moon they become food ; there the bright ones,—as they say to the lunar lord, increase ! decrease !—feast on them thus."

Here again, we need hardly repeat that the smoke, the fortnight of the waning moon, the half-year of the waning sun, and the lunar world are used as symbols ; as the darker material sides or poles of the worlds whose bright, spiritual poles the sons of liberation gained. For convenience, we may place the two series together, beginning with the highest :—

THE PATH OF THE GODS.	THE PATH OF THE FATHERS.
1. The World of the Eternal.	—
2. The world of lightning.	The world of the moon.
3. The World of the Gods.	The world of the Fathers.
4. The six increasing months.	The six decreasing months.
5. The waxing moon.	The waning moon.
6. The day.	The night.
7. The flame.	The smoke.

<sup>42</sup> *Bhagavad Gītā*, III, 10ff.

If we were to search all nature for a series of symbols to express the dual nature of six ascending planes of being, we could hardly find any images of equal vividness and propriety. Those who are to be reborn, it will be noticed, pass into the same worlds as the children of liberation, excepting only the highest. But they tend to the opposite and material poles of each of these worlds; to the dark lining of the illumined cloud.

The symbol of their "becoming food for the Gods" is not less transparent. The "Gods" are conceived as reservoirs of spiritual power, isolated from the Eternal, the supreme spiritual power, for the space of each world-period; and to whose charge the forces of visible nature are committed. The mercenary worshippers—the essence of whose belief is the desire for well-being for their separated individual souls—rise up to these reservoirs of power and become absorbed into, and identified with them. They thus spare, for a period, the power of the "God" in whom they are absorbed, "waxing" into the fulness of that power, according to the strength of their spiritual longings; then "waning" out of it again, as their unsatisfied earthly tendencies re-assert themselves. Thus they increase and decrease, like the moon. Their descent to earth is thus described:

"When their cycle is complete (*pari-ava-eti*), they descend "into the ether; from the ether to the air; from the air to rain; from rain to the earth. When they have reached the earth, they become food, and are offered again in the fire of man, born again in the fire of woman, and come back into these worlds. Thus verily they turn round after [the law] (*anu-pari-vart-ante*)."

Here, it seems to us, the teaching of the Rājanya sage properly ends. It will be noted that he uses yet a third series of symbols for the higher planes through which the returning souls descend; so that, taking all three series of similes together, we may gain a very clear conception of these superior worlds. At the conclusion, he recurs to the imagery with which the doctrine began—the symbol of the fires; thus the complete life-cycle is fully and perfectly depicted, and nothing is needed to supplement, or in any way amplify, the doctrine. It is quite complete, and covers the whole ground.

#### V. OTHER PASSAGES IN THE UPANIṢHADS.

In the text, as we have it, however, there is a codicil or concluding sentence. And they who know not these two paths, "they are worms, moths, like the serpent here."

The last lines of the teaching are expanded as follows, in the parallel passage in the fifth chapter of the Chhāndogya Upaniṣhad:

“ They whose walk in life was fair, for them is the prospect that they may enter a fair womb,—a Brâhmaṇa womb, or a Kṣhattriya womb, or a Vâishya womb. But they whose walk in life was foul, for them is the prospect that they may enter a foul womb,—a dog’s womb, or a sow’s womb or a Chhaṇḍâla’s womb.

“ And they who [go] by neither of those two paths, become these small beings, perpetually returning, of whom it is said : “ ‘be born! die!’ This is the third place. Therefore the other world is not over-filled. From this, let him seek refuge. Therefore there is this verse :

“ The thief of gold, the drinker of spirits, the defiler of the teacher’s bed, the slayer of prayer,—these four fall, and fifth he who associates with them.

“ And he who knows these five fires thus, not even by associating with these is he stained by sin ; but pure and purified he gains a holy world, who knows thus, who knows thus.”

It would be easy to find reasons for regarding this as a later addition to the doctrine,—a teaching of tradition, rather than of revelation. To begin with, we should hardly expect a Râjanya to give the Brâhmaṇa precedence, in the enumeration of pure births, at the very moment when, having convicted the Brahmans, son and father of ignorance, he has received Uddâlaka as his pupil ; to be initiated for the first time into true wisdom, in the school of the Kṣhattriyas. Further, it is not in harmony with the spirit of that teaching to give such precise details of the destiny of reborn souls as could only pander to popular curiosity, but in no way lead to true enlightenment. So that in no passage of the Upaniṣhads do we find any soothsaying as to the decrees of Karma, as to the fruit of this or that act,—such as we do find, for example, in Manu’s Code, which is the embodiment of Brahmanical tradition. If the path of rebirth is itself a destiny of darkness, to be shunned for the path of liberation, there can be no profit in promising this or that reward in a future birth, since such promise and hope can only bind a soul that should be free. Lastly, the fact that there is nothing to represent this passage in the older version of the Bṛhadâranyaka Upaniṣhad, would, in itself, justify us in regarding it as of later origin.

But these objections do not so fully apply to the codicil, or concluding line, which we have already translated from that Upaniṣhad, though we are strongly inclined to believe it did not originally stand there. For we can find a certain fitness in such a third alternative as is there suggested.

We have the two paths : the path of liberation for those who, free from selfishness, have recognised within them the true Self, the Real ; and the path of rebirth for those who,

under the bondage of the personal idea, selfishly seek for material success here, and sensuous delight hereafter. These two classes practically exhaust mankind. To the former belong the just souls, made perfect, who are as rare as the sacred flower of paradise. To the latter belong the vast majority of religious mankind ; and, as Tolstoi says, all mankind have some religion. Their fate is a reward in paradise, and, then, to be reborn into this world ; after death, yet another celestial reward, followed by a new rebirth. And this returning cycle is continued indefinitely, until they become free from the personal idea, untie the knot of the heart, and thus destroy the centre to which clung the downward forces of desire, whose re-assertion brought about the descent from paradise, and the new rebirth.

But there is yet another class, besides these two : those whose thoughts and imaginations have been so wholly confined to the material visible world, that they have, literally, no desires and aspirations beyond it ; no upward forces whatever to raise them at death to the superior worlds. Though without desires that lead upwards, they are not without tendencies downward. It will, therefore, follow, that they are immediately born again. To such "immediately returning," might well be applied the image of "worm, or moth, or serpent ;" the worm and moth who so quickly reproduce themselves in their progeny ; the serpent who sloughs one skin, only to appear in another. To suggest that we are taught literally that those who have no upward desires leading them to the world of the Fathers are born as worms, moths, or serpents ; or, as the other version has it, dogs or swine, is to be guilty of a capital fault in critical insight, a failure to see that we are dealing with symbology all through ; here, not less than when day and night, sun and moon, are used as images of contrasted spiritual and material powers.

There is a passage in the fifth question of the Prashna Upanishad which sheds much light on the same question of three degrees in the destiny of souls. It is touched on, under the symbol of the sacred syllable, OM, which, in its three-fold division (*aum*), stands for the three fires or the three worlds we have already spoken of : the heaven-world ; the psychic world ; the physical world. The first letter, or measure, stands for the physical world of material life ; the second, for the psychic world of emotion and passion ; the third letter or measure for the celestial, spiritual world of pure will and wisdom.<sup>42</sup> Keeping this in mind, we shall have no difficulty in understanding what follows :

"Then Shâiva Satyakâma asked him : ' Master, he who here amongst men, until he goes forth, meditates on the sacred "OM, which of the worlds does he gain thereby?'

<sup>42</sup> Māṇḍūkya Upanishad.

" He answered him : ' This sacred OM, Satyakāma, is the higher and lower eternal. Therefore he who knows, follows after one of these by this offering : If he meditates on one measure, informed by this, he immediately returns to the world. Him the Rg. verses lead to the world of men, and there, endowed with fervour, service of the eternal, and faith, he enjoys greatness.

" ' And if he meditates in his mind by two measures, he is led by the Yajur verses to the middle world, to the lunar world. After enjoying expanded greatness in the lunar world, he returns again.

" ' Again, he who meditates on this by three measures, as OM, and through this syllable, meditates on the supreme spirit ; endowed with brightness, with the sun, as the serpent is freed from its slough, so he is set free from all that is evil ; he is led by the Sāma verses to the world of the eternal ; he beholds the in-dwelling spirit above the highest assembly of lives."

To express the same idea in other words, he whose mind is filled with only one aspect of life, the physical and material, is reborn immediately after death, because there are in him no upward tendencies to lift him to paradise.

He whose mind is occupied with the psychic world as well as the physical, having thus the forces and powers which, expanded, will build up his paradise, enters that paradise after death, and dwells there until these forces have run their course ; then when his radiance has become quiescent, he is born again through the tendencies lying latent in his mind, according to his imaginings."<sup>44</sup>

Lastly, he in whom spiritual being has been developed, as well as psychic and physical, has thus entered the real world, and in him the personal self has given place to the real self. In this way he is " clothed with the sun." As the real self, there is no necessity or purpose for any further rebirth in the unreal worlds ; for the real self " is the home of lives, the immortal, the fearless, the better way, from this they return no more."<sup>45</sup>

In the passage we have translated, the Rg. verses stand for physical desires ; the Yajur verses, for psychic and emotional longings ; the Sāma verses for pure spiritual will.

It will be seen that we have here precisely the same teaching as in the history of King Pravāhaṇa and his Brahman pupil. There is the way of liberation, of entry into the world of the real, the eternal. There is the way of rebirth, after a period of rest in paradise, " the lunar world ; " the duration of this period depends on the power and quantity, so to speak, of the longings

<sup>44</sup> Prashna Upaniṣhad, III, 10.

<sup>45</sup> Prashna Upaniṣhad, I, 10.

and aspirations that make for paradise, since these are real forces, subject to the law of conservation. Their distinctive element is that they are longings for paradise for oneself, for one's own personality, and therefore quite other than the pure spiritual aspiration towards the eternal, for the sake of the eternal. They contain within them that very centre of selfishness which makes liberation impossible; round which cling the latent material longings which will bring about rebirth, when the "radiance" becomes quiescent," that is, when the longings for paradise have been satiated by dwelling there. Lastly, there is the way of immediate rebirth, through these same material longings, failing the existence of any desire for paradise. This rebirth, we are expressly told, is in the human world, the world of men; and this strongly supports what we have said as to the metaphorical meaning of the "worms, moths, serpents" in the former teaching. We have here no development of doctrine, as some critics are inclined to assert; but simply a symbolical expression, in the one case, of what we are told more directly, in the other case. We repeat again what we said already: Religions do not develope; they degenerate.

We saw that the condemnation to renewed earthly life after paradise is imposed, not, as we might expect, on immorality and sin, but rather on formal and selfish religion; on longings, called religions, for one's own well-being here and in the other world.

There is a passage in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣhad which brings out the same thought in a remarkable way.

"Infirm rafts are these, formed of sacrifice, wherein is the baser work of the eighteen sharers in the sacrifice. They who delight in this as better, fools, go again to decay and death.

"Others, turning about in unwisdom, self-wise, thinking they are learned, fools, go about staggering, like the blind led by the blind.

"Turning manifold, in unwisdom, these children, thinking: 'We have accomplished the work'; busy with a work that frees them not from desire, by this injured, they fall when their worlds have faded away.

"Thinking sacrifices and gifts are best, deluded, they know not the better way; after enjoying their good works at the back of heaven, they enter this, or some lower world.

"But they who worship in the forest, with favour and faith, peaceful, wise, free from worldly wealth; by the sun-door they go forward, free from lust, where is immortal spirit, the eternal self."

The very striking phrase, "the back of the heaven," vividly

pictures what we have called the material pole of the celestial world ; that region where self-centered longings build up a paradise of delight between death and rebirth. Yet again, we have the very just idea that the length of the sojourn there depends on the power of accumulated longing that has to be sated ; that is, on a quite intelligible law of mental, and moral force, quite clearly conceived as such ; and not on any capricious favour of the gods. The whole passage is marked by indignation towards the most characteristic elements of the Brahmanical religion—those very sacrifices and gifts which were to win the favour of the gods, and thus secure the well-being of their worshippers. What is here attacked is that very priestly system represented by Shvetaketu and Uddālaka, before the latter was initiated into the wisdom of the Rājanyas ; the teaching which was, in all worlds, the hereditary teaching of the Kṣhattriya alone, and had hitherto reached no Brahman.

Only one detail remains to be touched on. In the parallel passages, in the Chhândogya and Brhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhads, which contain the story of Pravâhana and his pupil, it has been noted that, in one version, *tapas* is mentioned as distinguishing the sons of liberation ;<sup>46</sup> while, in the other, it is connected with the formal and selfish religion of the way of rebirth.<sup>47</sup> And critics have found a contradiction in this. There is really no contradiction. In the two passages, the word appears in two different and contrasted senses, for each of which quite sufficient evidence can be produced. When connected with the way of liberation, it means fervour, or fervent aspiration ; the union of intention and will ; or, insight into spiritual things, with power to make this insight effectual. Here, then, faith is the reaching up to the real, the spiritual ; while fervour is the illumination resulting from this, as well as the will which makes that illumination effectual in life. This is precisely the thought contained in the triad, *pistis, gnosis, sophia* ; that is, aspiration, illumination, accomplishment, *sophia* always carrying with it the idea of executive knowledge, that is, knowledge translated into act. This is the reconciliation of the old controversy between faith and works, when "works" are taken in the spiritual sense, as opposed to the ritual "works of the law."

When *tapas* is connected with the path of rebirth, its meaning is quite different. It now means "penance" or "mortification," undertaken with the aim of personal spiritual gain,—the very gain which sets up the centre of selfishness condemning the soul to renewed earthly life. Both these meanings are so well known and so well established that

<sup>46</sup> Chhândogya Upaniṣhad, V, 10, 1.    <sup>47</sup> Brhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣhad, VI, 2, 16.

it is unnecessary to cite authorities and examples in support of them.

This, then, is the teaching of rebirth and of liberation from rebirth.\* When rightly treated we can see that the deepest and most important spiritual questions are here raised, with singular penetration and lucidity; and that solutions are offered, which are worthy of the best consideration that the best minds can bring to them.

In the centuries or millenniums which have passed, since the Rājanya seer initiated his first Brahman pupil, neither the substance of these questions, nor our means of solving them, have changed at all. No advances that we believe ourselves to have made, whether in science or religion, invalidate in the least the soundness of the conclusion reached; even though much of our thought may have tended to the third alternative here suggested, the entire absorption in material aims. In this materialism, there is as little novelty as there is wisdom; though in the Upaniṣhads it is treated as something other than a philosophic revelation:

“The great Beyond gleams not before the child, maddened  
“by the lust of possession, deluded. ‘This is the world;  
“there is no other!’—thinking thus, he comes again and again  
“under Death’s dominion.”<sup>48</sup>

CHARLES JOHNSTON.



## ART. VII.—IS INDIA RUINED? 1

**T**HIS question, which has been raised by a London daily and one of its correspondents, is not without a certain piquancy. It would certainly be what is vulgarly known as "nuts" to the envious foreigner if that vast and populous dependency, built up by British valour and genius—and made an Empire by Lord Beaconsfield—were to crumble and dissolve after so brief a term of life. It is not yet forty years since the provinces acquired by a chartered company were appropriated by the Crown; and the critics now assure us that British India is bankrupt, and that her inhabitants can be saved alive only by immediate transfer to native rule. India contains an area and population about equal to the population and area of Cis-Vistulan Europe; and the whole of this quasi-continent is said to be dependent on alms for its existence; save and except the few oases which have the happiness to be ruled by Asiatic despots. The British citizen is invited to rouse himself to so alarming a situation, and to insist peremptorily on a searching public inquest into the condition of his three hundred millions of dusky brethren. In the meanwhile the machine is ready to burst, and the British Government is sitting on the safety-valve. So say the pessimists, extreme, yet not perhaps without all show of reason.

To their alarming contentions, however, the official experts entirely demur. The finances may be in a temporary embarrassment, but that is through no fault of theirs. For the rest, the people of British India are better off than they ever were before having a free press, light taxation, and all the rights of British citizens not domiciled in the British Islands or in self-governed colonies. They can enter the administrative hierarchy through the same door of competitive selection that is open to native Britons; everything is done openly and in good faith; and the Indian Empire is the envy of admiring nations and the marvel of the age.

It would be presumptuous to decide such an issue on the evidence at present available, conflicting and defective as it is. The good-will and industry of the Anglo-Indian authorities cannot be denied. Their claim to exclusive experience and their always implied assumption that Indian administration is a mystery not to be understood by the uninitiated—whether in India or at Home—may not be completely admitted. No doubt, the state of the finances is partly due to causes beyond their control; imperial taxation is certainly light, especially so in the "direct" form; trade and the press are free; there

are Universities in India to control public education, and the young man who goes to London and submits himself to examination has a fair chance of entering the "Covenanted Civil Service" (or official hierarchy). All which can hardly be called "sitting on the safety valve."

On the other hand, a few facts are evident which go a long way towards justifying those who say that all is not well. India may not be ruined; indeed, to say that this was so would be a gross and manifest exaggeration in face of the admissions in the last paragraph. Yet that the system that has prevailed there for the latter part of the century has caused serious evils and dangers may, perhaps, not be so difficult to show. Ever since the great Liberalist movement of Europe, in 1830, doctrinarism has been active among civilised nations; and it may well be that the introduction of European novelties into the life of almost primeval communities has been like pouring new wine into old bottles.

In examining that view we should have to step back at least as far as the dawn of direct empire under Dalhousie: indeed, the actual commencement of the occidentalising process appeared in the days of Bentinck. It was that Governor-General (1827-35) who made English the classic of education for India in lieu of the learned languages of the East. But Bentinck had wise advisers, and his reforms were mostly of unquestionable benefit. Above all, he is noticeable as having made no conquests, and but one—a very small and justifiable—annexation.\* His successors were occupied with war and external politics, so that they had but little leisure for philanthropic experiment. It was in the time of the ardent Dalhousie that the occidentalising process set in fast and furious.

His annexations made little impression at the time, or rather were almost universally accepted as justifiable and advantageous. They were of two kinds, of which only the second will affect the present question. The Punjab and Lower Burma were gathered in as the fruit of conquest; and even those who deplored additions to the load of "the weary Titan" were disposed to regard these as disagreeable duties to which no alternative appeared. But there were annexations of a second class of which the need was by no means clear, and which were chiefly justified on theoretic grounds.

The British Government, delegated to the company, had gradually taken the place of the old Moghul Empire, which had occupied a legal, if not latterly a substantial, overlordship in the country. Amongst other attributes of such a sovereignty

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\* Bentinck's administration began with a deficit, but ended with the substantial surplus of a *lakh* and a half of rupees. Like other great men he died a commoner and undecorated.

had been the admitted power of confirming titles to the succession in Hindu and Moslem principalities, especially in cases where the prince should have died without natural heirs. In such cases—that is to say, among Hindu States—it was usual for a substitutive heir to be brought forward, either by adoption of the prince, or—where death had prevented him—of the widow or widows. The demands of Hindu law and the desire to preserve the dynasty combined to render such adoptions obligatory ; and their recognition by the paramount power was a graceful and appropriate feudal ceremony which had generally been willingly allowed by the Company. But the new Governor-General was a Scots noble of earnest mind and deep convictions ; and he thought that nothing was so conducive to the true welfare of the Indian races as to be brought under the direct influence of British administration. He therefore resolved that the confirmation of such adoptive successions should no longer be a mere ceremonial, or matter of course—as, with some specially exceptional cases, it had usually been—and he laid down the rule that in future no opportunity should be lost that should present an occasion for conveying the benefit of British administration to the inhabitants of feudatory states. This was the so-called “ doctrine of lapse ” which Dalhousie applied to several kinds of State during his protracted incumbency.

Differing, somewhat, from both classes was the annexation of Oude, consequent on the deposition of the titular “ king ” for incorrigible mismanagement of his dominions. This annexation was made under instructions from Home ; but by that time the Company had lost all initiative ; and the measure emanated, in all probability, from the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston. Nevertheless, this annexation also flowed logically from the Dalhousie principle, which may be best expressed in the Governor-General’s own words : “ I cannot,” he wrote, “ conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for taking possession of States and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government.”

That policy, in its cruder shape, was, indeed, soon swept away by the logic of events. The year following the annexation of Oude brought the outbreak of Fifty-seven ; and, when the wrecks of that *Année Terrible* had been cleared away, one of the healing measures introduced by the first Viceroy was a permission to adopt without let or hindrance from the paramount power. But in other respects the introduction of Western ideas became more systematic, less controlled, than it had ever been before. New Codes were passed, an income-tax was imposed, the charges of administration increased rapidly, both in India

and at Home. Lastly, the Civil Service, the governing class of the country was no longer to be recruited by nomination, but was to be thrown open to young men from English, Scottish and Irish Universities, who might score the greatest number of marks in an open competitive examination.

Now, it may be quite right that selection by the most readily applicable form of scrutiny should be applied to certain careers. It is not, indeed, understood that this method of selection has received the practical stamp of approval in the general business of the nation ; we do not hear of bankers or mercantile firms appointing their subordinates by open competition : even Members of the House of Commons have to submit themselves to other tests. But, whether in the abstract right or wrong, the application of the system to natives of India desirous of taking part in the administration of their own country is a purely Western idea, quite foreign to oriental habits. Here, then, we encounter a sort of climax to all the other alien institutions which have ensued upon the assumption of direct Imperial rule, which is a virtual denial of the principles avowed by the great men of the Company's time, which cannot be agreeable to the Natives, and which has not been a complete success, even though it may not yet have brought about the "Ruin of India."

The principles above referred to were often expressed by Sir Thomas Munro, who died in harness as Governor of Madras, and by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who, for a memorable period, was Governor of Bombay. This may be called "ancient history" ; but the opinions of those eminent men will be found to derive special value from this very antiquity. For, if they pleaded for a generous confidence in native experience and ability before the experiment had been partly made and before the foundation of Universities and the general development of education had provided a crowd of competent candidates in India, how much more would they do so now ? As to their personal claims to consideration, let us revive for an instant that bygone time, and think what sort of record those men made in their own day.

"By the statesmen of sixty years ago," wrote his biographer in 1888, "Munro was regarded, as the ablest Indian official of his time." He goes on to cite the testimony of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, "two men very different in character, by no means of one mind in politics, but cordially agreed in the high estimate which they formed of Munro. . . The late Lord Ellenborough, a man very unlike either the Duke or Canning, an unsuccessful administrator, but a remarkably shrewd critic, ranked Munro above all his Indian contempo-

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\* *Life, etc.*, by Sir A. Arbuthnot, K. C. S. I.

raries."\* His memory is still cherished, we are told, at Madras and in Southern India. Of Munro's friend, Mr. Elphinstone, we have similar, and even greater, things to cite. "During his first season in London"—in 1831, after his retirement from Bombay—"Anglo-Indians talked about him as . . . head of the Board of Control . . . The Duke of Wellington, who was now Premier, openly said he ought to return to India, possibly as Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough offered him the post of Ambassador to Persia. . . . In August, 1834, when Lord William Bentinck's term of office as Governor-General was drawing to a close, the Chairman of the Company wrote to him proposing to submit his name to the Ministry. . . . as Lord William's successor. . . . Towards the end of the year. . . . Lord Ellenborough came back to the Board of Control. . . . and offered Elphinstone the still vacant succession. . . . A few weeks later Elphinstone received yet another proposal—to proceed to Canada as Commissioner, to settle the bitter quarrel then pending between that colony and the mother-country." All these offers were successively declined.\*

Surely, these were not men to urge opinions formed on insufficient knowledge or imperfect reflection. What those opinions of theirs were shall now be shown, as concisely as possible, but in their own plain and forcible language.

Munro, after serving thirty years in various subordinate posts, assumed the Governorship of Fort St. George (Madras) in June 1820, at a time when Canning was still President of the Board of Control, or, as we should now say, Minister for India. To him wrote Munro, soon after :—

"Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from power. . . is much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school books can be in elevating. . . . We are working against our own designs ; and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people and the keeping them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers. . . are matters quite incompatible with each other."

And, further on in the same letter :—

"All real military power must be kept in our own hands but they might with advantage. . . be made eligible to every Civil Office under that of a member of the Government."

Three years later, in an important Minute on the state of the country, Munro returned to the subject, writing as follows :—

"Our books alone will do little or nothing. To improve the

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\* *Mounstuart Elphinstone*, by J. S. Cotton, M. A. ('Rulers of India.')

character of a nation, one must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. *Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science* will ever raise the character of a people. Let them be excluded from all share in the Government, from . . . every office of high trust and employment, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust—and all their knowledge and all their literature . . . would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

This is, indeed, strong language from the old soldier-civilian ; and fortunately the alternative submitted by him did not fully come to pass. In the two generations that followed on the passing of this State-paper, a little opening was made to let natives of India in : small as it was, it was enough to keep open a loophole for hope ; and the educated natives have not evinced the total degeneracy feared by Munro. What has been done, however, slight as it has been, may fairly be ascribed to the original impulse given by this fine old officer.

With greater precision and moderation argued the scholarly and accomplished man who governed the Sister-Presidency at the same period. Elphinstone's views, says Mr. Cotton, were maintained by him consistently to the day of his death : and, be it remembered, they were the views not merely of an experienced administrator, but of a high-born patrician, energetic and able, but deeply versed in ancient and modern literature. Passing over writings in which Elphinstone echoes or confirms the opinions of Munro, we must make room for a few words in which he takes ground more especially his own :—

"It has always been a favourite notion of mine that our object ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to the natives that the Tartars are in to the Chinese : retaining the Government and Military power, but gradually relinquishing all share in the Civil administration, except that degree of control which is necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction . . . The period at which they may be admitted to Council seems to be distant."

This was written privately, to an influential friend, in 1826 ; but the project forms part of a far-seeing scheme which the writer, both then and afterwards, held before himself as an ultimate ideal. What was to be the final goal, end, and termination of the paradoxical power of the British in India ? Not, as he hoped, overthrow by a mutiny of the Prætorians—though that was to be feared and watched against. This far-seeing man wrote to Sir James Mackintosh, as far back as 1819, that the "death of our Indian Empire" might find a seed in the Native Army—"a delicate and dangerous machine." Nor would he anticipate invasion by a foreign power, "if we can

manage our native army and keep out the Russians." Rather than ignominious fates of this sort, he preferred to look for "the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for us to retain the government. . . A time of separation must come; and it is for our interest to have a separation from a civilised people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous people in which it is probable that all our . . . commerce might perish, etc., etc."

Nearly thirty years later Elphinstone wrote to a member of the Indian Government in the same strain:—"We must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest, as well as their own land and that of the rest of the world; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions." In 1858, during the excitement of the Mutiny and the debates and discussions on the future Government of India, he went a step further, and remarked that a time must come when natives would have to be introduced into the new Council of the Secretary of State.

Such was the policy recommended by the two most distinguished of the Company's servants in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, nor was the recommendation quite unheeded. So far back as the time of Bentinck, it was promised that considerations of creed and colour should no longer affect appointments to the public service in India; and, stating this principle, the Governor-General added that he was "determined to throw open the door of distinction to the natives, and to grant them a *full participation in all the honours and emoluments of the State.*" This avowal of a local ruler was to a great extent adopted by the Queen's Proclamation on taking over the country in 1858. And in 1870 an Act of Parliament was passed to give effect to the policy.

Thus, after a lapse of half a century, it seemed likely that the qualified native was at last to be put into the position postulated for him by Munro and Elphinstone; and to be offered a chance of becoming, in his own country, more than a head-constable, a tax-gatherer, or even a County Court Judge. Act 33 Vict. c. 3 provided that the authorities in India might appoint any native to any office, place or employment, subject to rules to be approved by the Home Government. In announcing this Act to the "Indian authorities," the Duke of Argyll—then Secretary of State—spoke of the "principle of careful and cautious selection," adding that "a more free employment of natives in the Uncovenanted Service and promotion *according to tried ability*, would seem to be the method

. . . least open to objection . . . a competitive examination of the best kind." It was not, however, till six years later that the rules contemplated were framed ; and up to 1882 there had been twenty-nine appointments of "statutory civilians" made in conformity with these provisions.

For some reason or other, the rules were then re-considered ; and the Act has been since that time more or less in abeyance. At present no Hindu, Muslem, or Parsi can hold any of the posts which the Act was intended to affect unless he is a member of the Civil Staff Corps known as the "Indian Civil Service," almost as complete and exclusive an oligarchy as the world has ever seen, and claiming a lien on all the best posts in the country. And to get his son into that service, an Indian parent must make up his mind to maintain him after he is grown up and to accept the expense and anxiety of sending him across the sea to a strange country, where he must pass three or four years away from his friends and kinsfolk, from the society of his fellows and the altars of his gods.

The opening to natives of posts of dignity and emolument under the direct control of the imperial Governors was thus once again—if not negatived—reduced to its most embarrassing conditions. But that was not the only way in which Asiatic ideas were capable of conservation, and the ideas of Munro and Elphinstone of being forwarded. The first impulse of the Home Government had been generous enough, and the proclamation which formed the inaugural charter is always understood to have been drawn up under the personal revision of the Queen herself. In the spirit of that weighty declaration Canning issued letters patent conferring on each feudatory chief the right of adopting an heir on the failure of male issue. About a year earlier the first Viceroy had already vested the Oude Barons with quasi-independent rights, which were destined to be more accurately defined a few years later. A new order of Knighthood was introduced, in virtue of which merit would be decorated without distinction of creed or colour ; and the Zemindar, Nawab, or Raja became the "companion" of the Secretary, the Member of Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor. Lastly, a substantial reform in the relations between the Government of India and the feudatory Provinces was tacitly introduced, by which the last remnant of Dalhousie's policy was torn away. Instead of seizing every opportunity of introducing British administration, every care was to be henceforth taken to maintain the old native rule. If a ruler proved incorrigibly weak or wicked, the remedy was to replace him by a better man, not to annex the State, confiscate the revenues, or substitute British officials for those hitherto employed. These unwritten laws have now become



a part of the Indian constitution, by prescription of time and by use; and the Province of Mysore was in 1881, actually handed over to be administered by the ancient dynasty, the European officials being removed.

But these things have only been the work—the incomplete work—of one school of statesmen, and have been watched with jealous eyes by the disciples of Dalhousie. In the Viceroyship of Sir John Lawrence, a strong endeavour was made to reduce the power and rights of the Oude Barons, or Talukdars: and a still stronger attempt was made to discredit the administration of the indigenous chiefs by the same Viceroy. The affair was originated by no less a person than the present Premier, then—1867—Secretary of State for India. Lord Cranborne, as he was then called, had taken part in the debate which, after the fashion of Indian affairs, preceded by about thirteen years the retrocession of Mysore; and in the course of his speech made some remarks about the comparison between native and British systems of administration which did not recommend themselves to Sir John's pre-conceived opinions. Whereupon there appeared a sort of confidential circular by the Viceroy, addressed to a number of selected officers, in which they were requested to "set out in writing the genuine outcome of their own experience and researches on the question broached by Lord Cranborne."\* The officers addressed probably did their duty as honourable men; but the public would have believed their report with more complete confidence had not the Viceroy given such a distinct lead in his circular by expressing the foregone conclusion that the subjects of British administration were happier than the rest of the Indian peoples, *Sua si bona norint*.

But, indeed, there could be but little doubt in any one's mind as to Lawrence's bias. A very short time after the suppression of the revolt of 1857, he had thus expressed himself:—

"Placed as we are, widely separated from the constitutional Governments of England and America, our Government is established, as all Governments should be, for the good of the people. But while, in their case, the popular will is generally taken as the criterion of the public good, that is not always the case in India. . . We are here "by our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, and by the will of Providence. These alone constitute our Charter of Government, and in doing the best we can for the people, *we are bound by our conscience, not by theirs.*"

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\* *India under Victoria*, by L. J. Trotter, Vol. II, p. 231. The letter of the Government of India (drafted by the late Mr. John Wylie) was dated 1st July 1867.

This was going back to the days of the Puritans ; but it contrasted with the views of the other School, and with much of our own recent experience. Civilian management had not been so sympathetic or so fortunate in dealing with the Orissa famine just before the issue of the *Si bona nobiscum* circular, but that the Viceroy might have had his doubts. Here was a case of dearth and scarcity not many miles from his own door in Calcutta ; and a firm in Calcutta urged upon the Viceroy the necessity of buying grain to pour into the afflicted districts. But because the Civilian Lieutenant-Governor and his Revenue Board objected to interference with "the laws of political economy," the proposal was rejected. This was in February 1866 ; and by the end of the year one million of deaths had followed. Lord Cranborne's doubts can hardly be said to have been without foundation : the Civilians of Bengal had no intelligent sympathy with their native subjects.\*

This want of perception is, indeed, hardly to be wondered at, for it would not be easy to describe, in terms that would be generally intelligible, a Society whose very origin and frame are so different from anything with which we are familiar in Europe. We can only by a momentary effort realise the condition of races whose evolution is pre-historic and whose ideals are contemporaneous with Nebuchadnezzar. But, broadly transposed into the language of modern life, the social system is of some such kind as that of nations mentioned by Herodotus seen after more than three generations of Western influence. There is a Government administered by aliens exercising despotic sway with democratic maxims, together with a landed aristocracy clinging to existence in spite of all that British officials have done to bolster up the peasant-proprietors and village-communes. The members of this aristocracy are debarred from all paths of honourable ambition, and are naturally idle, extravagant, laden with debt and hastening to decay. There is a middle class—if "class" be not an inappropriate word for a number of disconnected individuals. The members are either lawyers, usurers, or minor Government employés. Lastly comes the proletary population, mostly engaged in agriculture or in ministering to the simple wants of the agriculturists, excepting a small minority who work in factories, dock-yards, tea-plantations, etc.

The rate of wages is very low—perhaps on an average not more than three pence a day—but in ordinary times it affords a bare subsistence. These poor people are all in debt, and

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\* In reporting this case Lawrence blamed the Lieutenant-Governor for giving too much confidence to his European Subordinates, not recognising that he had done the same himself.

when famine comes they have no resources : they must either go to the nearest relief-works or starve on their own dung-hills. Doubtless, this pauper-population has many 'advantages' which were not enjoyed by that of the same regions a century ago. In 1783 there was a wide-spread drought, and a famine ensued which has left a deep impression on the popular mind. The *Calcutta Gazette* for May 1784 noted that at Lahore wheat was selling at the rate of a rupee for eight pounds ; and many parts of the Upper Provinces were entirely depopulated. In Central India and the Deccan things were probably better ; and the rice-crop did not fail in green Bengal ; but supplies could only have been sent up to the afflicted tracts by country-cart at the rate of ten miles a day ; and at the end of one hundred miles the stocks would have been consumed in feeding the oxen by which the carts were drawn. All this is now changed : when one part of India is afflicted with protracted scarcity, the high prices attract food-stuffs from quarters where these things are cheaper, and railroads diffuse the means of subsistence until prices become equalised : if the famine should unhappily spread over the whole land, grain is brought from more fortunate countries oversea at rates of freight brought down by competition of ship-owners. These are undoubted advantages directly attributable to British rule. Many others could be enumerated, did space permit. Peace is kept ; epidemics are stamped out ; the public revenue is raised with a minimum of oppressiveness, contracts are enforced, and so on.

But it may still be objected that the inherent "polarity" of human affairs asserts itself, and that all these glories have their attendant shadows. The easy diffusion of commodities causes death in the districts which are tapped by the rail ; taxation, if not oppressive, is inexorable ; the enforcing of contracts is sometimes crushing to the poor ; the cessation of war, the diminution of pestilence, the spread of cultivation and the destruction of snakes and tigers, remove natural checks on the increase of population where all marry on arriving at puberty. The enumeration of the people two generations ago was by no means made with scientific accuracy, but so far as can be learned—the inhabitants doubled in number between 1831 and 1891.

As the great majority are still dependent on the land for their living, this must be leading to an increased pressure on the means of subsistence. India is not ruined ; but it cannot be denied that she is in a position of crisis. Candour compels the admission that there are serious evils ; and that we are still confronted with the inherent difficulty of carrying on Western administration under Eastern conditions.

Nowhere does the danger of crudely thrusting Western

ideas into Eastern administration appear so strongly as in the treatment of famine relief so often mentioned in these pages. European political economy teaches non-interference, and the laws of supply and demand; making good its doctrines by induction to a certain extent. But suppose that the induction fails; that the supply is tied up and the demand excessive: that the stocks have wholly given out, or that the dealers have combined to establish "a corner." What is the use of establishing relief-works and paying wages daily, if there is no grain to be bought with the money? Nothing worse could happen than the Orissa famine in the worst administered native State; and it is the business of the Government of India to see that native States are administered well.

Therefore, without endorsing blindly all the criticisms and suggested reforms of the adversaries of things as they are, we may, perhaps, be thankful for them; and, whenever there is a question of transplanting the British oak to the bank of Ganges, beg for a pause to consider whether the banian tree may not be a more appropriate vegetation. Really this appears the only foregone conclusion with which the subject ought to be approached by any Briton conscious of the smallest share of responsibility.

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## ART. VIII.—THE CUSTOMS OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA.

THE position of India and its natural advantages of soil and climate leave little room for doubt that it was one of the earliest settlements of mankind.

The aboriginal inhabitants were a race of savages widely dispersed over the country. They lived in marshy tracts and caves, and subsisted on the chase, the first form of subsistence for man not yet merged from a state of utter savagery. To make the supply of food more certain, they, by and bye, reared animals and adopted the life of shepherds. They thus became a class of hunters and herdsmen. The use of metal being unknown to them, they used stones and flint-weapons for their warfare. Agate knives and hard unimpressible instruments of combat, supposed to have belonged to these early races, are still found in the Narbada Valley. These were succeeded by tribes still ignorant of the use of metal, who, extending as far as the depths of Central India, used polished flint axes and handy, well-shaped stone implements for hunting purposes and for war. Weapons of similar shape and size have been found in the North of Europe. Remains identified as of a yet later date show that after them came a race of people who had made fair progress in their mode of living and the arts of war and peace. They wore copper and gold ornaments, and fought with iron weapons. They knew how to make circular vessels of earthen ware. Their rude stone implements, articles of circular shape, and the upright slabs and mounds underneath which they buried their dead, have been excavated in different parts of the country, and coins of Imperial Rome have been dug out from their graves. Some of the Anamali hills in Southern Madras, which are now almost uninhabited, abound in great stone monuments, which the primitive tribes raised over their dead. Throughout the length and breadth of India, cromlechs, cairns and barrows are to be met with which are precisely similar to those of European countries. The hill people to the north of Sylhet still preserve this most ancient style of monumental architecture.

Such were the race of men invaded and conquered by a fairer race of the Aryans, who, descending from the north at some remote period of history, drove the people of the country invaded to the southern tracts, the slopes and spurs of the Himalayas, the steep and forest-covered ranges and the most barren and inaccessible parts of the country. They were driven to

forests, hills and remote lands in the same way as had been the Saxons on the Norman conquest of Great Britain, or as the Goths had withdrawn to the Galician and Asturian Mountains on the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

The aboriginal tribes observed no distinctions of caste. Their worship was a mean and despicable idolatry. The objects of worship were first the heavenly bodies. The Sun-god, styled Bura Pennú, was the God of Light. He was regarded as self-existing, omnipotent, mighty, the creator of all objects and persons and the source of good. The oblations to this god comprised a fowl with rice and the juice of cocoanut; the priest in making the offering said:—

“You, O Bura Pennú, created us mortals, giving us the attributes of hunger: thence corn-food became necessary for our subsistence, and thence arose the need of fields that yielded harvests. You gave us every seed and gave us sense to sow them. You gave us bullocks; made them obedient to our command; taught us to make ploughs and to plow. Had we not been versed in this art, we could not have performed your worship. Grant the prayers we now make. In the morning we rise, before the light, to our labour, carrying the seed, and taking our bullocks to our fields. Save us from the tiger and the snake, from stumbling-blocks and from lightning, hail and storm. Let the seed appear like unto the earth to the eating birds and like stones to the eating animals of the earth. Let the grain spring up suddenly, like a dry stream swelled in a night. Let the earth yield to our plough-shares, as wax melts before hot iron. Let the hard clods melt like hail-stones. Let our ploughs spring through the furrows like the recoil of a bent tree. Let there be such a return from our seed, that so much shall fall and be neglected in the fields, and so much on the roads in carrying it home, that when we shall go out next year to sow, the paths and the fields shall look like a young corn-field. From the first times we have lived by your favor. Let us continue to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship, and that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites.”

Next came to be worshipped the goddess-earth, called the Tari Pennú, having immediate command of all that is on earth. She was the creation and consort of Bura Pennú, the God of Light. Human beings being her daily food, nothing but human blood could console her. Hence the offering up of human sacrifices to propitiate the goddess. The Mariah and Kondh sacrifices were made until the British period, when a stop was put to them by the action of the English authorities. They were offered not only on behalf of individuals, but of whole tribes and communities desirous of averting the Tari's

wrath. The victim was either bought or brought up from infancy for the purpose. He was looked upon as a sacred object in life, and, when consecrated in childhood, was well nourished and even married, his children being subject to the same ritual on attaining the age of discretion. The earth, according to aboriginal belief, was originally soft. Since the institution of human sacrifices in honor of the Earth-Goddess, it had attained its present firmness, and the people inhabiting it have been happy and prosperous. The priests maintain that "since the institution of this ritual, the world has been happy and rich, both in the portion which belongs to the Khonds and the portion which belongs to the Rajas (Hindus). And society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the bonds between ruler and subject arose, and there came into use cows, bullocks and buffaloes, sheep, and poultry. Then came also into use the trees and the hills, the pasture land, the grass, and irrigated and dry fields, and the seeds suitable to the hills and to the valleys, and iron and plough-shares, and arrows and axes, and the juice of the palm-tree and love between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households. In this manner did the necessity for the rite of sacrifice arise."

The mode of executing the unfortunate victim was horrible. He was tied to a post fixed in the midst of a multitude of spectators. The priest then came, and, addressing the victim, said :—

"The Earth-Goddess demands a sacrifice ; it is necessary to the world ; the tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison ; fevers and every pain afflict the people ; shall you alone be exempt from evil ? When you shall have given repose to the world you will become a God."

The village chief now comes and says :—

"This usage is delivered down to us from the first people of the first time. They practised it. The people of the middle time omitted it. The earth became soft. An order re-established the rite. Oh, child, we must destroy you. Forgive us. You will become a God."

The priest then reminded the assembled people that the Deity created the world and everything that lived ; that he was his minister and representative, and that in this capacity it was a duty imposed on him to make the sacrifice. He then wounded the victim slightly with his axe and the whole crowd then rushed on the sacrifice and stripped the flesh from the bones, the snatching away of a strip being considered a meritorious act and its possession a fortunate circumstance.

The priest then invoked the Tari Pennú :—

"You have afflicted us greatly ; have brought death to

our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn ; but we do not complain of this. It is your desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and then to raise us and enrich us. Do you enrich us ! Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed ; let children so abound that the care of them shall overcome their parents, as shall be seen by their burned hands ; let our heads ever strike against brass pots innumerable hanging from our roofs ; let the rats form their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk ; let all the kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every day. We are ignorant of what is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us."\*

It is clear from the above that, although the horrible practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds and Mairs was put a stop to during the British period, it had existed among the aboriginal tribes from times immemorial, and that their forefathers in remote antiquity practised it.

The objects of worship, after the heavenly bodies, were the elements of nature, which were more dreaded than revered, and honour was shown to them more to avoid dishonour and avert wrath than to secure bounty and beneficence. Similar considerations led to the worship of local deities of a malignant, oftener than a munificent type. The ministers and priests of these aboriginal races were sorcerers and conjurers, and they were believers in witchcraft and necromancy. They were, as a general rule, polytheists, not idolators like the later Hindus. They were devil-worshippers and paid religious reverence to the tiger, the leopard, the snake, to some prodigious stone or tree. Snake-worship indeed seems to have become general throughout India. The dynasty of the Nágás, or snake-worshippers, of Cashmere was converted to Buddhism only two centuries before the Christian era. The *Nag Panchmi* festival is still observed by the Hindus, and the snake devata, or God, worshipped on the appointed day by the votaries of the Brahma. Up to this day the remnants of the aboriginal tribes have divinities of their own different from those of the kindred tribes.

In religious and social matters, the aboriginal tribes stood in juxtaposition to the ordinary Hindus. General Briggs has drawn the distinction. Thus, while the ordinary Hindus are divided into castes, such a distinction is unknown to the aboriginals. Among the Hindus widow-marriage is forbidden. The aborigines not only remarry their widows, but they join her in marriage generally with the brother of the deceased husband, thus following the practice of the Scythian tribes in this respect. The Hindus venerate the cow and abstain from eating beef.

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\* Journal of Royal Asiatic Society for 1852, vol. XIII.



The aborigines feed alike on all flesh. The Hindus are forbidden by their religion to use fermented liquors. The aborigines drink to excess. No ceremony, civil or ecclesiastical is complete without it. Notice the festivals observed by *Chamdrs* (workers in leather), *Kahdrs* (bearers), *Ahirs* and *Gwalas* (cow-herds), barbers and other low castes in north-east and south of India, and Central India where the aboriginal element prevails. The Hindus carefully abstain from eating food not prepared by those of their own caste. They will not eat with men of another caste, or even with a wife if she belongs to another caste. The aborigines do not observe these formalities. They will partake of food prepared by any one, and will dine with a wife of whatever caste. Among the Hindus the spilling of blood is an unpardonable offence. The aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without sacrificing a live victim. Among the Hindus the office of priest is hereditary among the Brahmans. The aborigines recognise merit and supposed real worth for such an office. Any man skilled in magic and sorcery, in divining future events and in curing diseases by charm or spell, by the touch of hand, by breathing on the person afflicted, or by casting an eye on him or practising some mysterious act, is hailed as a priest and respected as such. He also authorises the slaughter of sacrificial victims. The Hindus burn their dead. The aborigines bury theirs, and with them their arms and sometimes also their cattle, as among the Scythians. On such an occasion a victim used to be sacrificed to atone for the sins of the dead. The Hindu civil institutions are all municipal. Those of the aborigines are all patriarchal. The Hindu Courts of Justice were composed of equals. Those of the aborigines were constituted of heads of tribes, or of families, and chosen for life.

The aboriginal worship survives to this day, in some form or other, among the Hindu community. The Revd. Dr. Stephenson, who has paid much attention to this interesting subject, attributes this to the inability of the Brahmans to suppress certain rites performed by the aboriginal races on their conquest. The Brahmans on that account adopted the ceremonial or festival into their own religion, representing this as a special boon to the deity concerned. Thus, in the Deccan, Vetal, a chief of the Pishachas, the implacable or malicious foes of the old conquering tribes, is worshipped in the form of a stone, coloured red beneath and white above to represent fire. He is placed within a circle of other stones, similarly coloured, with one stone outside as if for a sentinel, these other stones being taken as part of the fiend army under his command. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a cock whose

blood is offered to the deity in a vessel, and he smells it and is satisfied. The cultivators in the Deccan extensively worship the Mhasohas represented in round stones, stained with red lead. The Holi festival, which gives license to the Hindus to commit a variety of excesses, is held in honour of a female Rakshas, named Dhunda, who, before her slaughter by the Maha Deva, obtained a solemn pledge from him that she should be worshipped every year in a style of unusual joy and merriment. The Dewali festival was, according to Kartika Mahahtyama, established as a boon conferred on an Asura and a Daitya slain by the Brahmanical gods. Yamana, after subduing the Balli Kingdom, failed to suppress the festival, and it was made a part of the Brahmanical faith.

The struggles for supremacy between the Aryans and aboriginal tribes have been commemorated in the Rig Veda, literally 'fount of knowledge,' or 'fount of vision,' the earliest Hindu records, believed, from the agreement of the solstitial points with those cited in the Vedas, to have been arranged in the fourteenth century before the Christian era, or 3,300 years ago. The Vedic poets of course narrate their stories from tradition and from rites already observed; so the influx of the Aryan immigrants must have preceded the compilation of the sacred hymns, and, as these were composed at several periods, the work of immigration must have continued for several ages, the exact period of which is quite uncertain. The hymns were committed to memory by the Aryan bards, and in this form descended from father to son for several generations as a sacred heritage, until the invention of writing enabled the priests to put them more permanently on record.\*

The victors had little sympathy for the vanquished aboriginal tribes and called them by scornful epithets. They styled them the Dasyas or 'enemies,' the Dásás or 'slaves,' 'Rakshasas,' or monsters, titles which were not such as to create a favorable impression of the new comers in the minds of the original inhabitants. In the Vedic hymns they are called 'flat-nosed' and 'dark-coloured.' Indra is described as having torn off the black skin of Asura†, 'the aggressor.' He is again referred to as having 'scattered the black sprung servile hosts,' and is styled as 'the slayer of Vritha' and 'the destroyer of cities.' He is invoked to destroy the dark colour of the Dasás by annihilating them, and to shelter and protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always victorious in the struggles for supremacy, and it happened at

\* The Vedic hymns consist of 1,017 lyrical poems and 10,580 verses. They have been translated into English by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson.

† Asura is one of the names by which the aboriginal tribes are referred to in the Vedas. • •

times that the tables were turned in favor of the 'black skin,' who became victorious. In course of time the word *Dásá* was accepted to denote servitude, and taken as equivalent to a common menial or slave. Being themselves of fair complexion and possessing well-shaped features, the invaders called the subdued people 'black men,' and black they essentially were. Their physiognomy very much resembles that of the Mongolians, or Negritos, the colour being almost black, the hair coarse and woolly, the lips thick and projecting, and the nose short and flat. The agreement to this day between the habits of the descendants of these races, still living a primitive life and inhabiting different parts of the world widely separated from one another, their mode of life and the implements they use, is most striking. The boomerang used in early times by the natives of Australasia, which is preserved in the British museum, corresponds exactly with the missile used for similar purposes by the wild tribes of Southern India. A curious and interesting resemblance exists between the bows, arrows, javelins and spears used by the wild tribes in inaccessible regions, and their common agreement, coupled with their resemblance in a greater or less degree in features and habits, is proof that, however remotely situated from one and another, they have descended from one common stock, and that of Turanian or Scythian origin.

Many Hindi words of non-Sanskrit origin bear a close resemblance to the Tartar, or, properly speaking, the Turanian tongue. Philologists have discovered that about one-tenth of the words used in Hindi are of non-Sanskrit origin. As we go further to the south, we find that one-fifth of the words in Mahratti are not Sanskrit. Proceeding still further southward it will be found that the languages spoken there, namely, the Telugú, Tamil, Malayan and Canarese languages, are more free from the mixture of Sanskrit. The words used in these languages agree in roots and construction, and the dialects and idioms bear a close resemblance to each other; and, as they exhibit more or less affinity to the Tartar tongues, it is clear that the first wave of conquest from the north which rolled over India was of Turanian origin. From Beloochistan to Burma, the affinity of the aboriginal tribes may be read through their countenances, in their dark colour, high cheek bones, flat noses, thick lips, broad jaws, wide chins, deficient beard and round faces.

The aborigines, from their contact with the Aryan and Western invaders, have, to a certain extent, abandoned their savage habits, and adopted civilized life. They till the soil, live in huts or mud houses, wear clothes, and have formed themselves into village communities. They also exchange the

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products of their lands for articles of daily life, such as cloth and brass utensils ; but for all that they completely differ from the civilized people in their habits and customs, mode of living, religious beliefs and language. They shun the society of reformed men and adhere strongly to their ancient peculiarities, religious beliefs, rites and superstitions. Others of them who may be called the lowest types of human beings, still live a life of savagery, in dense unhealthy forests and jungles, or inaccessible recesses of mountains and tracts of low hills. They live almost naked in rude huts, and, like their forefathers in remote antiquity, whose character was portrayed by the Aryans in the Vedic poems more than 3,000 years ago, subsist on the chase or such fruits, herbs and roots as are known to them and are within their reach. The wilder tribes of Gonds in the Central Provinces still cling to the forest, and subsist on the chase. Before the rise of the Mahrattas, this ancient race ruled the Central Table-land. Quite recently they used flint points for their arrows. The tract of country between the Vindhia and Jujadri hills, which further on extends to the east, emerging into a vast forest tract, forms the chief range of the Indian aborigines, and is marked in the maps as Gondwara, or the country of the Gonds. They have a legend that their ancestors were created at the foot of the Dewalgiri peak. Until lately they buried their dead with the feet turned to the north, under the belief that this would enable the dead to start readily, when recalled to life, to the north, his ancient home. This, of course, points to the fact that, though living in the burning deserts of Central India, they preserved a dim memory of the times when their primogenitors in ages gone by lived on the mighty hills. The practice of polyandry, according to which one woman becomes the common wife of several husbands, is still practised in some of the Himalayan hill tracts, as well as among the Nairs, an aboriginal tribe of South-Western India. The Puliards of Southern Madras, a ravenous wild-looking people, with long loose hair, worship demons and live on jungle products, mice and such small animals as they are able to catch. The Mundaws have no fixed abode, but wander in the jungle, shelter themselves under the shade of small trees and graze their cattle in the innermost hills.

The Andaman Islanders in the Bay of Bengal are the rudest specimen of the aboriginal races. When the British officers visited the Islands in 1853, to establish a colony, they were surrounded by ferocious fierce-looking naked cannibals. They used a particular noise, like a savage cry, to denote joy, sorrow, friendship or enmity, and on festive occasions daubed themselves with red earth. They worshipped

an evil spirit which caused diseases, and which they extolled as their sole deity. They attacked the British with showers of arrows, and it was only by slow progress that they could be induced to build sheds close to the British settlement.

The Marias of the Central Provinces use, as their war weapon, bows of great strength which they hold with their feet, drawing the string with both hands with much force. The Maris, a still wilder race, were so shy that they fled from their huts on the approach of a stranger. The officials of the Raja levied the yearly tribute by beat of drum, when the representatives of the tribe placed the tribute in the shape of jungle products, &c., at the appointed place, and then fled to their jungle retreats, never daring to approach the men who had come to collect the taxes.

In the tributary hill states of Orissa there is a tribe known as the Juangs, literally the leaf-wearers, whose females wore no clothes, and the only articles with which they covered their person were a bunch of leaves tied before and behind, and a few strings of beads round the waist. Those under British influence were induced through the heads of clans to wear strips of cotton, but many of them are reported to have relapsed to their foliage attire. They had no knowledge of metal and had no word for iron in their language, and used flint weapons until quite recently the foreigners taught them the use of metal. The head of the family with all the female members lives in one small hut, while boys and young men occupy separate quarters of the hamlet. Some of the Assam hill-men are of black colour, small size and fierce look. They live a primitive life, have no words to measure lands or compute distances while on travel. They measure the length of their journey by the quantity of betel leaf they chew, or the number of quids of tobacco they consume on the way. The Bhils of Khandes and Rajputana were formerly a predatory clan. They have now been converted into peaceable cultivators and loyal soldiers. The Mhairs of Rajputana were another marauding race of aborigines, who for centuries were known as exterminators. Many of the Santals north-west of Calcutta are hunting forest tribes. They are mostly of very low stature, but stout and well proportioned. They have their Race-gods, Tribe-gods and Family-gods, and they revere the spirits of their forefathers, as well as river-spirits, forest-spirits and evil spirits, and offer oblations to mountain-demons, well demons and a countless host of other unseen beings. The Santals respect their women, and no one is allowed to take more than one wife. Young people make their own choice. The 'Great Mountain' is the Race-god of the Santals. It is also an object of worship by the other aboriginal tribes, a circumstance indicating that in

remote antiquity those tribes, like their conquerors, migrated from the northern hills.

The Garrows, a tribe inhabiting the north-east, are black. Mr. Elliot, in a paper cited by Sir William Jones speaks of them as possessing noses "flat Cafri (negro) like." According to General Briggs the British officers engaged against the Bhils in 1816, "came back with a notion that their features partook of the African negro." Such is the trait of the aboriginal tribes of India which struck early observers. And they have borne this trait for more than 3,000 years, for they are called black in the Vedic hymns, the oldest record of Hindu civilization.

The Bedars of the Deccan are a most warlike aboriginal tribe. They were subdued only towards the end of the last century by a dynasty of Mahomedan conquerors, that of Mysore. The Bedar Raja of Sorapore in the Nizam's dominions surrounded by his faithful tribe claims a lineage extending over thirty centuries.

The Kandhs, another large group of the non-Aryan race, inhabit the steep and forest-covered ranges that rise in the deltas of Orissa and Madras. They, like the Santals, have a multitude of race-gods, tribe-gods and a host of malignant spirits and demons. But the chief among the objects of worship was the Earth-god, to propitiate which human sacrifices were made twice a year, namely, at the times of sowing and reaping of the harvest and on occasions of special distress and calamity. The victims were kidnapped from the plains, and a stock in reserve was kept in every thriving Kandh village to meet any emergency that might arise. Full particulars of this horrible ceremony have already been given. As the time for sacrifice arrived, the victim was brought to the appointed place with great ceremony, was welcomed at every house he passed on his way, and sacrificed among the shouts of the populace, it being whispered in his dying ear, that he had been purchased for price and that he would go straight to the heavens. His blood and slices of his flesh were distributed to the village people as sacred and precious objects which would bring blessings on the family and peace and plenty on their land and cattle. The human sacrifices were abolished under British rule, and the Kandh priests told that the Earth-god could as well be appeased by a sacrifice of goats or buffaloes under that government. Among the Kandhs caste distinction is unknown. A bride is bought by the bride-groom's father for a price. She must be several years older than her husband elect, and must remain as a servant in her father-in-law's house until her boy-husband grows old and is able to live with her. The chief ceremony at a Kandh wedding consists of the forcible carry-

ing away of the bride in the middle of the feast by the party of the bridegroom.

That the predominating and essential element of the Indian population was aboriginal race is apparent from the circumstance of their having given names to many districts and towns. Thus the Bengis gave their name to Bengal. They are found not only in Bengal, but as far north-west as Delhi. The Tirhus gave the name to Tirhut, and the Koles to Kolwan and Kolywára. Numbers of these Koles have emigrated as labourers to Mauritius. A race west of the Iravulli hills and as far south-west of India as Goa called the Kolis, is supposed to be another branch of the Kole tribe. They work as fishermen or ferrymen, and many act as porters. According to General Briggs, when Europeans had their first dealings with them and employed them as porters, they were called Kulis (a corruption of Kolis), and the word is now applied to all porters without distinction of race or caste. The Bhils gave their name to Bhilwara or Bhillwan, the Gonds to Gond-wána, the Mans to Mandesa, the Malas to Malda or Malpur, the Domes to Domapur, the Mahars to Maharashtra and the Mirs to Marwara. The prevalence of the power of the Mirs is attested by such names, given to large towns, as *Ajmir*, *Jasslemir*, *Kashmir*, &c. The hunters, have left few landmarks behind, but the pastoral tribes called by the Hindus Gwals and Ahirs have left a monument behind in the name of such cities as Gwalior, Gyalgarh (Gwalgarh), Asir, &c.

It has already been noted that the aborigines point to the hills on the north of India as the home of their ancestors. Recent writers have divided them into three great stocks. The first stock is styled the Dravidian, a people supposed to have entered the Punjab by the North-Western passes. Being driven away by the Aryan invaders, they found refuge, after long wanderings, in the sea-girt extremity of the Peninsula of India, and they now inhabit the southernmost part of the country, as far down as the extremity of Cape Comorin. The Sanskrit authors style the races of the south by the general name of Dravidas. The new non-Aryan immigrants held them in such hatred that intercourse with them was considered profane. There is a passage in the Code of Manú laying down that the Aryans who go to live in Dravida, the Tamil country, are *ipso facto* cut off from their brethren. The language of these non-Aryan tribes was so uncouth that the refined Aryans called them by the name of *Mlechchas*, meaning people of broken speech, or rude, imperfect utterance, but they have nevertheless at the present time given their language to twenty-eight millions of people in Southern India. Their dialect, equally with the languages of the Aryans who subdued them, seems, however, to have sprung

from the same fountain, the north-west of the Himalayas. Remnants of these Dravidians, known as Brahuis, entered the Punjab from the Sindh passes long before the Aryan invasion, and their dialects resemble the primitive Central Asian languages. The principal tribes of the Dravidians are the Gonds in the Central Provinces, the Uraons in Chota Nagpur, and the hill-men of Raj Mehal or Máler.

The second group is called the Colarian. The non-Aryans under this group are believed to have made their way into Bengal by the North-Eastern passes. The Santáls are the most numerous of the Colarian race. The Kirkus, another Colarian, but less numerous tribe, inhabiting the west of the table-land, speak a dialect resembling the Santáli. The Savars, another branch, are a wandering race of wood-cutters inhabiting Northern Madras and Orissa. Their fragments have been traced in Central India and Rajputana. The Juangs, a remnant of the non-Aryans, have a common origin with the Colarians whose words they have unconsciously preserved in their language. There are nine principal languages of the Colarian group, some of which are separated only by dialectical differences. Some of the isolated tribes of the Colarians who entered India by the north-eastern route are still to be seen in their hill fastnesses and forest retreats around Bengal, and the dialects they use are akin to those of the Chinese.

The third group called the Tibeto-Burman is of a later growth. It is believed to be an offshoot of the great wave of Mongoloid immigrants who, leaving their home in Central Asia in remote times, found their way into the upper basin of the Brahmaputra Valley, but a great portion of them made their way towards the sea in the Burmese peninsula, or made choice of the table-lands of Tibet and the higher culturable vales of the Himalayas for their home. They came less in contact with the Aryan invaders than their brethren of the first two groups, and their social organisation was therefore less influenced by the changes introduced by the new-comers.

The aborigines who kept aloof from the Aryans, or remained in an isolated state have, more or less, preserved their national characteristics. But the bulk of their castes and tribes, by coming in contact with the Aryan invaders, have been merged into Hinduism, and, rising in the scale of civilisation, have lost their identity in the Hindu community. The crushed tribes of the aborigines, whose nationality has been swept away by the waves of Aryan invasions and Mahomedan inroads, are the Bhars, formerly masters of the Central and Eastern tracts of Oudh, and the traditional fort-builders, to whom are popularly attributed the ancient ruins, and who were crushed by Sultan Ibrahim Shirki of Jounpur in the 15th century; the Gaulis, an



ancient ruling race in Central India, the Ahams of Assam, the Gonds of Nagpur, the Chandals, the Bundelas of Bundelkand, and the Bhils of Khandes. . Certain low castes and out-castes preserve their national characteristics to this day, though they are surrounded by Hindu and Mahomedan populations. Among these are included the Gipsy clans, such as jugglers, tumblers or rope-dancers, scavengers, basket-weavers, greengrocers, cobblers, serpent-charmers, monkey and bear-tamers, and certain other wandering wild tribes.

The humanising and salutary influence of British rule and the sympathising co-operation and tenderness of its officers, coupled with the vigilance exercised over them, have turned many of the aboriginal tribes from highway robbers and marauders into peaceful cultivators and loyal soldiers. They have changed their bloody weapons and rude warlike implements for implements of husbandry, or for arms to be used for the defence of the Empire which has given them peace. British enterprise has laid open before them new fields of energy and activity, and their determined valour and indomitable courage as soldiers, and unswerving loyalty and devotion as servants, have formed the subject of warm eulogies in official reports. According to General Briggs the aborigines of the Carnatic were the soldiers under Clive and Coote, and they fought heroically at the celebrated battle of Plassey under the former General. Colonel Dixon, in his report to the Board of Directors, dwells at some length on the "fidelity, truth and honesty" of the Mhair tribes of Rajputana. Sir James Outram took the Bhils of Khandes so much into his confidence as to make their chiefs his hunting companions.

The little Gurkhas of the Nepal hills, ruddy-faced, short and stout, fought gallantly side by side with the British before Delhi.

Colonel Todd, in his unrivalled work on Rajistan, speaks warmly of the truthful habits of the hill-races, their attachment to their masters, and their implicit obedience to recognised authority.

The non-Aryans, whom the Vedic tribes encountered on their march to the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, are believed to be a different race from the Dravidians of the South, who must have immigrated into India long before the former tribes. The belief is strengthened by the fact that, unlike the non-Aryan tribes of the regions of the Indus and the Ganges, who opposed the new comers and are by them styled in the Vedic hymns as *Dasyus* or *enemies*, and *Sudras* or *Serfs*, the non-Aryans of the South are described as friendly forest people, whose Monkey armies assisted Rámá, the great Aryan hero, against the demon King of Lanka or Ceylon.

That the non-Aryans of the north-east were Scythianised by a conquering race long before the Aryan invasion of India does not, I think, admit of any doubt. The hill men of Nepaul, short in stature, but stout and strong; the Garos of Bengal, with round face and light or deep brown colour and small eyes, and the Santhals, another small people, have evidently a Scythian mixture in them. The evidence afforded by fragments of prehistoric speech, and the Pralait or ancient spoken dialects, further shows that the black races received such civilisation from the conquering tribes of the north-east as the latter possessed, for in the Vedic hymns, composed many generations ago, the Aryan singers speak of those races in terms showing that they were not mere savages, but were familiar with the arts of life. Thus, Indra, the early Hindu god, is described as "destroying the cities of Dasyus," "levelling with the ground the well-built dwellings of the Asuras," and "annihilating perennial cities of the Asuras." He is eulogised as "the destroyer of hostile and ungodly cities," and "the slayer of the Dasyus and the destroyer of their iron cities." He is invoked "to repair to the cities inhabited by the Rakshasas." He is celebrated as "having bowed down the thunderbolt of the ungodly Asura" and as having "with the adamantine thunderbolts destroyed the hundred ancient cities of Samhara."

Further to the south we find the testimony of the Tamil language, which has not only survived the learned Sanskrit language, but contains a literature scarcely inferior to its rival, to prove that, long before the Aryan advance to that part of the country, the aboriginal races of the Dravida had attained to a degree of civilisation not inferior to that of their brethren in the north-east. When the Aryans visited the North-Western frontier, the Gauda Dravidians were already found in flourishing communities. According to Bishop Caldwell, they formed marriage ties, were acquainted with agriculture and the art of war. They armed themselves with "swords" and "spears," and made use of "bows", and, "arrows." They knew the arts of "spinning," "weaving" and "dyeing," and their sepulchres show that they were well versed in "pottery." They were ruled over by "kings" who dwelt in "strong houses." There is also evidence to show that they had a "powerful kingdom" existing in the south, which long successfully opposed and withstood Brahmanical invasion. It was no doubt the wealth possessed by the aboriginal tribes that stimulated the fiercer race from the north to deprive the original inhabitants of the country, who were leading a peaceful life, of their liberty, reduce them to bondage and render them homeless. "Festivals" were not unknown to them, and these were presided over by "mins-

trels" who recited 'songs.' They worshipped God, whom they called Ko, or King, and constructed "temples" in his honour which they styled Ko-il, or the house of God. The Gauda Dravidians tilled the soil and worked the mines. Their presence at a very early period can be traced from the north-west across to the north-east, and from both extremities to the furthest south. "Philosophy" and "Grammar" were entirely unknown to them, and they had no words to express the operations of the mind. Numerals were known to them up to a hundred, and some could count up to a thousand.

Bishop Caldwell fixes the period of the Aryan emigration to the south at B. C. 350. The Aryans settled in the new country not as conquerors but as instructors, diffusing, in the land of their adoption, the Brahmanical civilisation which they brought with them. The Brahman priests came to be called sages and hermits. They diffused Sanskrit, made kings their disciples, and were not only revered, but came to be worshipped as deities. The sage Agastya, who introduced philosophy into the court of the first Pandyan king, became a deified hero. He composed many treatises, and is believed to be still alive, though invisible to worldly mortals. He shines in the heavens as the mightiest star on the regions of Southern India. Even the stupendous Vindhya Mountains prostrate themselves before him, and the sacred river Tinnivelli springs from the hills, his supposed home, and is called after his name. The Brahmans came to be called the "fathers" of the Dravidian races less advanced in the arts of life, and, although they called them Sudras, they were not as a class treated with contempt or despised and scorned as their brethren of the north, and the ideas of servitude did not prey on their mind. That was, however, only the commencement of Hindu civilisation among the Dravidians—for the task of real reform was not accomplished, until the 8th century of the Christian era, or the rise of Kumarila, the Brahman reformer of Behar, who gave a fresh impulse to intellectual activity.

I have already adverted to one of the earliest waves of Indian conquest being of Scythian or Turanian origin. That more than one wave swept over the country, is rendered probable by the circumstance of the Scythian words spoken in the northern families of the Indian tongues differing to some extent from those used in the southern families. The Turanians subsequently achieved great celebrity in temple-building in India. They were not devoted to war, or versed in literature and science, but they were such expert temple-builders as the world has never seen. Ferguson, the great authority on Indian architecture, in his admirable work, has dwelt at full length on the Turanian temple-building in India. The pagodas

built in several parts of Madras were, according to him, erected by the race of men which the Brahmans conquered and in part destroyed. All belonged to pre-Aryan stocks, and many must have become the ancestors of the Sudras in the south and presumably of tribes inhabiting other parts of India.

Although more than 3,000 years have elapsed since the aboriginal tribes were subdued by the fair Aryans, yet the belief that they are the real and rightful masters and owners of the soil seems still to pervade them. Go into the deep forests of Gondwana in Central India for purposes of sport. The tawny wild men who act as your guides or hunters, if asked about deserted cities, ruined hamlets and mutilated stone walls of ancient forts, marks of old embankments, tanks and other excavations which will meet your eye here and there in your sojourn in the wilderness, will tell you that they were the works of their ancestors, the old Gond Rajas. There is a saying among the Minas of Rajputana that the Raja is the proprietor of his share of produce, but the Mina is the proprietor of the land. In spite of their faithfulness as servants and their attachment to their masters, the feeling that lies at the bottom of their inveterate habits of spoil and plunder is that of their being the rightful occupants of the country, the true and real owners of the soil; for what they take they regard as their own. Even the Hindus seem to admit their primitive title. The installation of a new Raja of Merwar in Rajputana is not considered complete until the blood drawn from a Mina's toe is applied on the forehead as a *Tikah* or emblem of royalty. The same ceremony is observed on the succession of the Raja of Udepur, one of the most ancient Hindu principalities in Rajputana, showing that the primordial title of the aborigines is still recognised.

M. L.

## ART. IX.—BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON. 1

*Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal, Member of the Institute of France, Fellow of the Royal Society; a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc.* By Sir WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K. C. S. I., M. A., LL.D., a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, etc. JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street. London: 1896.

IT is now more than fifty years since Brian Houghton Hodgson terminated his political career. A new generation of Anglo-Indians has arisen since then to whom his name is little more than a vague memory, and who are not even aware of how much India owes to the indomitable energy, courage and acumen of the brilliant young civilian who, passing into the Company's service at the unusually early age of eighteen, worked his way up to the post of Resident in Nepal before he had completed his thirty-third year. In Europe it is on his achievements as a scientist, and an oriental scholar that his fame chiefly rests; and the important services which he rendered to his country in her eastern empire—his efforts in the cause of vernacular education—his schemes for the enlistment of Ghurkhas into our army, and for opening up trade with Nepal—are already but dimly remembered even by those destined to be most benefited by them, a reproach which Sir W. W. Hunter's recent book on the subject will doubtless do much to remove.

Brian Hodgson was born in 1800, at Prestbury in Cheshire, where his father occupied the position of a country gentleman following no profession, but employing himself chiefly in sport, a taste which he transmitted to his son, who managed, in after years, to turn it to good account during his labours in Zoology and Ornithology. When Brian was still but a child, his father, thinking to improve the prospects of his increasing family, went into partnership with a cousin in a bank in Macclesfield which, after a brief period of prosperity, failed, leaving Mr. Hodgson a practically ruined man. Fortunately, however, his wife who appears to have been a woman of singular beauty and great strength of character, had influential friends; and one of them, the Earl of Clarendon, procured for her husband the post of guardian of the Martello Towers, while a few years later Mr. James Pattison, another old friend and a Director of the East India Company, secured a nomination for Brian to the Company's Civil Service, and after passing a successful examination, he entered Haileybury and came out to India in 1818.

From that time forward till he was past middle life, it may almost be said that he was the mainstay of his chronically impecunious family—making an allowance to his parents; starting his brothers in life, and paying their debts after their death; providing the means to meet the expenses of his sisters' marriages, and, in short, doing all that in his lay to lighten the pecuniary burdens which pressed on the old folk at home, and which kept him, almost to the end of his career, a comparatively poor man. So heavy was the drain on his purse that, even with a salary of Rs. 4,000 per mensem, he was unable to free himself sufficiently from debt to allow of his taking a much needed holiday to England, and in 1836 we find him, in a letter to his father in which he sets forth some of the heavy demands he has had to meet on account of his brothers, writing as follows:—

“ May I hope, then, to be excused making you a remittance this year? My pension period is approaching, and I shall have to pay half its value, or Rs. 50,000, ere I can get it. But whence obtain the money, if I never begin to save? And what will country and kin ~~have~~ me, if I stay above twenty-three years at one stretch in this land? I have, I hope, still a warm heart and a true, but Nature will assert her authority; and as you so beautifully say in reference to poor Ned as compared with me, the golden links which bind us are not proof against the vile solvent power of Time, and absolute non community of ideas and pursuits.

“ Try it how we will, we cannot keep up a community of that sort for years unnumbered; and gradually all images of affection become shadows of shades. If then we are to know each other again in this world, I must hasten to you in 1840. Nor will I fail, should impecuniosity not interpose. Meanwhile do, if you can, keep the idea of me distinct; for it was not with a dry eye that I read your unintentional declaration to the contrary. I remember you and my mother as freshly as though we had parted yesterday. Yet it is true that the details of the image was fainter and fainter. God's will be done.”

The India to which young Hodgson came was very different from that with which we are acquainted, and it is difficult for even the most imaginative among us to realise how great that difference was.

“ India,” says Sir W. W. Hunter, “ was a place of exile to a degree which we of the present day can scarcely understand, and the exiles found far fewer interests outside the routine of their ordinary work. The alleviations of Indian existence which we regard as matters of course—a cheap and abundant supply of ice, the European telegrams every morning at breakfast in varied and well-written newspapers, the weekly mail from England with its budget of letters and new books, the summer trip to the hills, and the inexpensive frequent holiday home—were all unknown to our forerunners in Bengal at the beginning of the century.

On the other hand they had the hookah, the heavy midday meal, and the still heavier afternoon sleep. English ladies, although more numerous than formerly, had not yet acquired an absolute predominance in Calcutta, or completely imposed their social standards. Some

of the great Calcutta houses have wings or annexes which are still pointed out as the native female apartments of those days. Calcutta society, which now strikes a new comer as bright and friendly, only left an impression of weariness in the memoirs of a century ago. Macaulay's recollections of the Calcutta dinner-parties as combining the dullness of a State banquet and the confusion of a shilling ordinary refer to a period not long after Hodgson's arrival.

Brian Hodgson entered the College of Fort William, for a year, to perfect himself in the native languages and to study Indian law, his companions being all very young men who, with a superabundance of animal spirits and plenty of leisure, made the most of both by indulging in extravagances and follies which, though regarded with good-natured leniency by society in those days, would be voted bad form by Calcutta society of to-day. Hodgson, however, does not appear to have fallen in readily with the dissipations in which these young gentlemen engaged. His active mind was already probably too much occupied with serious subjects to leave him either the time or the inclination for senseless frolics of the kind perpetrated by his fellow students. He had, moreover, been brought up with a wholesome disgust for drunkenness, a vice only too common in the early days of the century, and one of his first experiences after landing in the country did not tend to lessen his repugnance to it. He was invited by one of his fellow passengers on the voyage out, the Colonel of a crack regiment, to dine at mess, and as soon as the cloth was removed, several large cases of wine, which his host had brought out with him, were brought into the room. The door was then locked, and the Colonel, turning to his guests and pointing to the wine, said, "Gentleman, there is your night's work," a work which they did so effectually that by the end of the evening almost all the entertainers and the entertained were under the table. It is, however, recorded in the Colonel's favour, that he allowed Hodgson to pass the bottle on the score of his youth, and that he did not insist on his sitting out the revel.

His handsome face, his charming manners and his amiable disposition soon gained for him a position in the best Calcutta society, and he was introduced into the inner circle of Government House by Lady D'Oyly, the wife of Sir Charles D'Oyly, then Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Marquess of Hastings. Lady D'Oyly was a noble-minded and beautiful woman of twenty-nine, and the two struck up a friendship which lasted till her death in 1875, and which exercised a most beneficial influence on Hodgson's life. He had not, however, completed his first year in India before it became painfully apparent that the climate of Calcutta was not suited to his constitution, and as he was not disposed to spare himself either in the matter

of study or in that of social amenities, his health began to break down. He had a severe attack of fever which, in spite of the most careful nursing, he could not throw off; and finally his medical adviser offered him the choice of three alternatives—"six feet underground—resign the service, or get a hill appointment." The second of these alternatives was rejected as being worse than death, as he was unable to brook the idea of returning an invalid and a burden on his father's hands; hill stations were not, in those days, to be had for the asking—indeed a hill appointment was "almost an impossibility for a young civilian, and it seemed for the moment that death would end his Indian career, when he suddenly found himself, to his surprise, appointed, through the influence of Lady D'Oyly, to the Assistant Commissionership of Kumaon, to which place he proceeded without delay.

Here he learned his first lessons in frontier administration, and he could hardly have had a better opportunity for the purpose, or a more interesting task than he found cut out for him there. India, in her outlying Provinces, was, in those days, an excellent school for a man of character—one in which he learnt self-reliance and self-control, and acquired that intimate knowledge of the country which can be gained only by daily intercourse with the people, and to the lack of which are probably due so many of our administrative blunders in recent years. Kumaon in 1819 was, perhaps, the most favourable school for the future Resident of Nepal that could possibly have been found. During seventy years it had been suffering the miseries of invasion and conquest, first at the hands of the Rohillas and then at those of the Ghurkhas, who oppressed them with a tyranny that has passed into a proverb, and on Mr. Traill, the then Commissioner, and his new Assistant, devolved the stupendous task of converting this "shattered principality into a British Province.

They marched, says Sir W. Hunter, from hamlet to hamlet, and, after long and apparently inconclusive talks with the elders, fixed some sort of rough assessment on each cultivated valley or hill-side. Their only roads were narrow footpaths and zigzags up the precipices, sometimes mere ledges cut out of the rock with a thousand feet of sheer descent below. Their shelter was a little hill-tent, a dismantled tower, or a draughty temple, often open on three sides to the storms. But they were both young men, indeed astonishingly young, considering the duties assigned to them. Hodgson was nineteen, Traill under thirty, and they went joyously to work "to settle" the province.

The young Assistant, while travelling through the hills, was brought necessarily into close contact with the people, and the hardships and dangers which he and his followers shared together established a bond of fellowship between them, and



afforded him unusual opportunities for studying their character, and he found in them qualities which commanded his respect and won his affection—"powers of endurance, steadiness of nerve, resource in unexpected difficulties," and a cheerfulness and sense of humour which caused them to make light of difficulties which would have appeared insuperable to people of the plains. "Of their honesty," Mr. Traill in his Report says:—

"too much praise cannot be given. Property of all kinds is left exposed in every way, without fear and without loss. In those districts whence periodical migration to the *Tarai* takes place, the villages are left with almost a single occupant during half the year, and though a great part of the property of the villagers remains in their houses, no precaution is deemed necessary, except securing the doors against the ingress of animals, which is done by a bar of wood, the use of locks being as yet confined to the higher classes. In their pecuniary transactions with each other, the agricultural classes have rarely recourse to written engagements; bargains concluded by the parties joining hands (*hath marna*) in token of assent prove equally effectual and binding as if secured by parchment and seals."

But Brian Hodgson was not destined to remain long in Kumaon. In 1820 Mr. Stuart, the Assistant to the Resident in Nepal, died, and probably, it is thought, on the recommendation of Traill, to whom Gardner appears to have applied for advice as to a competent man to fill his place, Hodgson was appointed to the post, which he held for two years. He was fortunate in finding in his chief at Kathmandu a man who was in every way worthy of admiration and imitation, "Found at Kathmandu," he writes, "in the head of the Embassy, another man to form myself upon, a man with all the simplicity and more than the courtesy of Traill,—a man who was the perfection of good sense and good temper; who, liking the Nepalese and understanding them, was doing wonders in reconciling a Court of Chinese proclivities to the offensive novelty of responsible international dealings through a permanent diplomatic establishment in their midst—a Court whose pride and poverty made it, moreover, jealously fretful at the novel sight of the costly and pompous style then inseparable from our Indian embassies." It would be beyond the scope of a review article to give a detailed account of the history of the State of Nepal; suffice to say that when young Hodgson joined his appointment, the stirring events which had characterised the previous fifty years or so had been followed by a re-action of "sullen acquiescence" and the Nepalese, after having harassed us continually with their aggressions and insolence, had finally been obliged to submit to our arms.

° Traill's Report, p. 64. Reprint of 1851.

When Mr. Gardner assumed the Residency he found Bhim Sen in complete control of the factions which made up the Gurkha nation. Soon after Gardner's arrival at Kathmandu, the nominal Raja died, leaving an infant two years old as his successor. Bhim Sen remained in power as Prime Minister, with the Queen-Mother as nominal Regent during the long minority. He conciliated the Gurkha chiefs by keeping up a large standing army, and by a display of almost insolent indifference to the British Resident. At the same time he avoided any cause of actual rupture with the English power. Gardner perfectly understood the position. His business was to do nothing, so he and the Prime Minister, while privately good friends, maintained in public an attitude of haughty aloofness, like two estimable augurs without a wink or a betraying smile.

Hodgson was of too active a temperament to brook the prospect of sitting still and doing nothing, and he kicked against the monotony and inactivity of a life spent in the narrow round of Residency routine, where the restrictions put upon his liberty were such that he could not go out further than a morning's ride from the Residency walls, and, seeing no prospect of the Residency falling vacant, he managed, through the influence of friends at headquarters, to get an appointment as Deputy Secretary in the Persian Department in the Foreign Office in Calcutta. It was a much-coveted prize of the Junior Service, leading sometimes to the very highest positions and affording peculiar opportunities for personal distinction, and its attainment by so young a man was regarded as a singular piece of good fortune. But, alas for Hodgson's hope of a "career in the great arenas of Indian diplomacy and administration," he was again stricken down by his old complaint and once more he had to choose between a grave in Calcutta and life in the hills. The Assistant Residency at Nepal having been filled up, he had to be content with a subordinate position in Kathmandu, where he assumed charge of the Post Office. But it was only for a time. The Assistant Residency again falling vacant in 1825, Hodgson was re-appointed to it; and eight years afterwards, when Mr. Maddock, who had succeeded Gardner as Resident, took furlough, Lord William Bentinck appointed Hodgson to the post.

The political outlook in Nepal had not improved during the time that he had been absent from Kathmandu. The Queen Regent had died, leaving the Prime Minister, Bhim Sen, completely master of the situation; each party in the State began to intrigue one against another and for support from without, and the difficulties and anxieties that beset the path of the new Resident can be realised only by those who have themselves some personal knowledge of native courts. More than once, in reading Sir W. W. Hunter's interesting Biography, one is made to feel that it was only his exquisite tact, his courage and his thorough knowledge of the people with whom he had

to deal, that saved Hodgson and his staff from a fate similar to that which so recently overtook the Resident at Manipur and his officers. In a private letter he relates on one occasion :—

"I was called to the Darbar ostensibly for a mere formal visit. I went as usual with the gentlemen of the Residency at 7 P.M. At 10 o'clock I rose to go, but the Raja begged me to stay awhile, and so again at 11 o'clock, and again I think at midnight. Still something was always urged by the Court to keep us, and though no adequate cause was assigned, I assented in order if possible to discover the real cause of our detention. I felt there *was* some cause, and possibly a serious one, as I whispered to Dr. Campbell, and I wanted to fathom the mystery.

"Soon after midnight, at a sign from one of the Raja's attendants, his Highness asked me to go to the Queen's apartments. I went. Her Highness received me with scant civility, and presently grew angry and offensive with reference to business. I replied at first seriously," and then passed to compliments ending in a jest. "This made her laugh, and under cover of the momentary good-humour, the Raja carried me off, apparently only too happy to have thus easily got me through an interview demanded by his virago of a wife, who was the prime-mover in all the mischief then brewing. It was daylight when I and the gentlemen left the palace, and shortly after came rumours of an uproar in the Nepal cantonments. It was reported to me that the troops at the capital were in a mutinous state, and were threatening mischief to the Residency, they having been told that the Resident had been all night insisting on a reduction of the Gurkha army by instructions from his Government."

"Ere long the report of the mutiny was confirmed by the appearance of a large body of soldiers in arms moving on the Residency. Arrived at an open space two hundred yards from the embassy-house, the troops called a halt and held a palaver. The men objected to perpetrate so cowardly an act as the destruction of the Resident, 'he being a good gentleman long known to them, and always kind and courteous to them and their families.' The palaver ended in a deputation of a select body of them to the Darbar to say that, if they were to do such a deed, they must have a *Lal-mohar* (a formal order under the royal seal) to that effect."

He managed to convey to the Raja that he had seen through the object of this strange attempt to detain him and his staff during the night, and that "measures were already taken to secure vengeance, if needful, for their deaths."

"By the beginning of 1835," says Sir W. Hunter, "seven factions had developed at the Court of Nepal, all requiring to be carefully watched by the Resident, each from time to time coquetting for his support, and from time to time making appeals to the popular warlike sentiment in Nepal against the presence of a foreign representative at their capital. Hodgson had the delicate task of maintaining an attitude of dignified non-interference towards them all, which should not improperly pledge his Government on the one hand, nor give offence on the other. The principal *dvamatis persona* in the series of tragedies that followed may be briefly enumerated.

First, the *saindant* King ambitious of becoming actual ruler, at first with the help of Ranbir Singh, the brother and rival of the Prime

The Residency Surgeon and Honorary Assistant Resident.

Minister, subsequently with the aid of the Pandi faction hostile to the Prime Minister's whole clan. After suffering many degradations, the poor King was finally deposed in 1847, and died a State prisoner.

Second, the King's chief wife, known as the Senior Queen, who tried to assert her authority by the help of the Pandis. After furious outbursts in which she more than once quitted the palace in a rage, she died on her way into exile, as rumoured at the time from poison, but apparently from jungle-fever caught on her flight towards the Indian plains in 1841.

Third, the King's second wife, known as the Junior Queen, who hoped to rise to power by supporting the Thappas (the clan of the Prime Minister Bhim Sen), and by opposing the Pandis. After a long struggle, she obtained her full political rights as Queen in January 1843, restored the Thappas with the gallant Matabar as Prime Minister, lost her power on his assassination in 1845, and was afterwards exiled to the Indian plains.

Fourth, the Chauntias, or collateral branches of the royal race with hereditary claims to high office. Kept down during the long supremacy of Bhim Sen, they reasserted their rights as his power waned, and secured the Prime-Ministership for their clan more than once after his fall, but lost their leaders by exile and assassination, and finally went down in the great massacre of 1846.

Fifth, the Thappa family, headed by the Prime Minister Bhim Sen who after a six year's struggle to maintain his power since the death of the old Queen-Regent was degraded in 1837, and cut his throat in prison to avoid torture in 1839. His rival brother Ranbir became a fakir, or wandering mendicant, to save his life. His gallant nephew Matabar, after long exile, obtained the Prime-Ministership through the influence of the Junior Queen in December 1843, and was murdered in 1845.

Sixth, the rival family of the Pandis, who had been crushed for thirty years by Bhim Sen. Headed by Ranjang, the son of the Prime Minister murdered at the beginning of the century, they began to reclaim their rights in 1834. By the palace intrigues of the Senior Queen, Ranjang obtained more than once the Prime-Ministership, and after many murders perished himself in the general slaughter and exile of the Pandis in 1843. His principal kinsmen were beheaded. The aged Ranjang "was brought to the place of execution, but being in a dying state, he was merely shown to the people and then removed to his own house, where he died naturally a few hours afterwards."

Seventh, the Brahman party, in turn allied and opposed to all the foregoing factions of the military castes. Unjustly kept out of their hereditary appointments, the Brahmans emerged with Raghunath Pandit as their leader on the downfall of Bhim Sen. During the confusion which followed, the hostile factions allowed Raghunath Pandit to obtain the Prime Ministership till each could gather its own forces. The Brahman, however, discovered the times to be too perilous for a man of peace, and finding himself unsupported even by the poor King, soon resigned the premiership. He reappeared from time to time, especially as chief of a coalition ministry in 1840; always keeping out of harm's way, and content to retire to the safe seclusion of a religious life whenever danger threatened.

"All these factions came in their turn to the front amid palace intrigues and massacres during Hodgson's Residency from 1833 to 1843. Each did its best to establish its power by destroying its rivals, and, with the exception of the Brahman party, each, when its time arrived, shared the common fate of slaughter and ruin. The

ablest and most confident of the rival ministers Matabar Singh, when finally established his supremacy, told the Resident that since the foundation of the Nepalese dynasty, every Prime Minister had met with a violent death, but that, for his own part, "he hoped he would escape." One dark night, less than three months later, his mangled corpse was let down by a rope into the street from a window of the palace.\*

The year 1837 was one of revolution and counter-revolution in Nepal; Bhim Sen had been thrown out of the Ministry, and Ramjang Pandi appointed Prime Minister, and it was a period of excessive labour and anxiety to the Resident.

"In January 1838 three messengers, disguised as religious mendicants, brought a rumour to Nepal of a rupture between the British and the Court of Ava. Forthwith Nepal despatched an emissary to Burma, taking Sikkim and Assam by the way. As the year advanced, negotiations which the Nepalese believed to be profound secrets, but each move in which Hodgson recorded with an imperturbable face, were carried on with the great Native States of India, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Sindhia, Haidarabad, the Muthas and the Sikhs; while communications were opened with China, Afghanistan, and Persia. Three thousand additional rounds of powder and cannon-shot were seized out from the central arsenals to the garisons along the British frontier of Nepal.

At length Bhim Sen privately sent secret information to the Resident that the Darbar were prepared for hostilities in October, should the accounts received from Ava, Pekin, and Lahore be favourable by that time.† As rumours thickened of our being in trouble with Burma, Afghanistan, and Persia, the Darbar became impatient, "and the Raja was formally petitioned by a body of Chiefs in Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened."‡ The expulsion would probably be accompanied with massacre, and fears were felt in Calcutta lest the furious Queen's favourite, now become Prime Minister, might murder Hodgson and his staff to win popularity with the army, and to commit the King irrevocably to war.

Hodgson maintained an attitude of calm which almost seemed indifference, and kept up his polite intercourse with the Court as if nothing were happening which could not be adjusted in the ordinary course of diplomacy. On his remonstrance the King issued royal mandates in September recalling several of the secret emissaries to the Native States. At the same time he still more secretly sent forth new ones. His Highness even went so far as to address a complimentary letter to Lord Auckland "professing the most amiable views towards the British Government." Amid these courtly hypocrisies the unhealthy months slipped by during which Nepal might have struck her blow; and with the commencement of the cold weather came the news that a British force was ordered to assemble on the Nepal frontier.

The Government of India at that time had its hands too full with preparations for the Afghan War to be at all prepared for hostilities in Nepal, and it was hoped that, until the storm in Afghanistan had blown over, the Resident would be able to keep things quiet there, which he did with great success for

\* Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, pp. 343-346, Vol. ii. Ed. 1880. This was in 1845, after Hodgson left Kathmandu.

† *Excerpts from the Letters of the Resident, ut supra*, p. 81.

‡ *Idem*.

four years; although in spite of the assumed friendliness of the Durbar towards the British Government, the task was one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.

"We have narrowly escaped a war with Nepal," he wrote to his father, February 1st, 1839, "and now I see many symptoms that the escape was but temporary, and that unless our Governor-General makes up his mind to more resolute remonstrance than heretofore, Gurkha presumption and duplicity will speedily enforce our taking up arms against Nepal."

In July the aged Minister, Bhim Sen, worn out by the persecutions of his enemies, committed suicide, and the war party was left supreme, but still Lord Auckland's hands were tied, and he could only protest feebly against the Government of Nepal.

"I am directed to state," wrote his Secretary,\* "that the measures of indignity, insult, and cruelty which the Government of Nepal has adopted towards the late and able Minister of that State, have been viewed by the Governor-General with feelings of extreme disgust and abhorrence. They portray a spirit of vindictive hatred towards the late General Bhim Sen, venting itself on its unfortunate victim by outrages so atrocious and unmanly as to lead to the belief that the moral feeling of the Court has been much vitiated since the deposition of Bhim Sen, and that, under the present system and the present Government, the manners of the people will rapidly sink into a state of barbarity from which they were being gradually weaned by a long course of pacific rule, under an able and comparatively enlightened administration."

And so things went on, Hodgson in the meantime doing his utmost by diplomacy to effect a change of ministry, and his efforts being successful saved the necessity for a war which the British Government would have found extremely inconvenient, if not actually impossible. In January 1841 our army in Afghanistan suffered one of the most appalling disasters recorded in history—4,500 men with 12,000 Camp followers were annihilated in the snows of the Afghan passes, only one solitary individual out of 16,500 souls escaping to tell the tragic tale to our garrison at Jellalabad. A month later Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough probably the most incompetent, as he was the most self-sufficient, Viceroy India has yet known. One of Lord Auckland's last acts was to place on record his appreciation of Hodgson's services in a formal Despatch stating:—

"The issue of your late proceedings has been so successful as to prove that you have acted throughout these transactions with a thorough knowledge of the native character, and with a degree of skill, prudence, and forbearance that is highly creditable to you. His Lordship begs to congratulate you on the favourable issue of your last struggle."†

\* Letter from T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Resident in Nepal, dated Simla, August 15th 1839.—*India Office MSS.*

† Secretary to Government of India to Resident in Nepal, February, 18th, 1842.—Hodgson Private Papers.

He also wrote to him from the Sandheads, a private letter  $\eta$  which he says—

"I write these few hasty lines to you, to take leave of you, and to wish you such good health as may enable you to complete your labours in Nepal, and afterwards to enjoy many years of comfort in England. It is most satisfactory to me on the eve of my departure from India, and when there is so much of gloom and danger in one quarter of our political horizon, that the prospects in regard to Nepal are better and more promising than they have long been. Once more I thank you for all you have done, and I wish you well."

Of Lord Ellenborough Sir W. W. Hunter says :—

Of the remarkable man who succeeded Lord Auckland on February 28th, 1842, it is even now difficult to speak. Endowed with his father's gifts of forensic skill and eloquence, Lord Ellenborough's oratory won for him a reputation in Parliament which was never altogether lost by his mingled vacillation and rashness in action. History writes of his brief Indian career in the language of indignation. Its verdict may in several respects require to be reconsidered and in certain details to be modified. My purview is here restricted to his connection with Nepal. There as everywhere he determined from the outset to make his personality felt. In order, however, to understand his action in Nepal, it is necessary to have some idea of the general tenour of his administration and of the character of the man. For the present I prefer to quote the summing up of the most smooth-voiced of Indian historians rather than to myself pronounce on the idiosyncrasies which led to Lord Ellenborough's recall at the end of two years.

"He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Afghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands; and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumph, with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Afghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Afghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Sind, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior; but he did not. For the internal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do anything.

"War and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was proceeded, nor a just and natural preparation for that which is to

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\* Letter marked "private" from Lord Auckland to B. H. Hodgson, dated March 7th, 1842, from the Sandheads.—Hodgson Private Papers.

follow. Everything in it stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and, but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Sind, like a meteor, its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance.\*

The events which led up to the great crisis in Hodgson's political career were as follows :—

Two months after the news of the annihilation of our Kabul force, the war excitement in Nepal exploded in an outrage on the Residency. The Raja, finding himself powerless to control his son, announced his intention of abdicating in the prince's favour. The peace Ministry of the royal collaterals found themselves equally powerless to control the war party, and could only give a trembling support to the Resident by secret warnings. A lawsuit with a British-Indian subject trading with Nepal was made the pretext for an outbreak. This man, Kasinath by name, the representative of a mercantile house at Benares, had during two years† been living within the Residency bounds under medical treatment for a painful disease, while prosecuting his claims and defending counter-claims in the dilatory courts of Kathmandu.‡ Suddenly on the morning of April 23rd, 1842, writes Hodgson in one of his private notes, "my people hurried into my room with the intelligence that the Raja attended by a large train was approaching the Embassy, and that in fear of him but in sight was a regiment of soldiers with loaded arms.

"The news came from the friendly Ministers, who, taken by surprise, could only send me a word of caution and hurry after the Raja to the Residency. Accompanied by Dr. Christie, who happened to be with me at the moment, I hastened to the entrance gate, at the same time sending word to the commanding officer of my escort to bring his men quickly for the ostensible purpose of making the usual salute to the sovereign. I thought that, in case of contemplated violence, the presence of the escort for the purpose of salute might prove a deterrent, though of course no effectual protection if the worst came to the worst. When I got to the gate the Raja had already arrived with his son and a huge posse of retainers and chiefs, among the latter the friendly Ministers.

"With little preface the Raja said to me he had come to demand and to insist on the surrender of the merchant. I explained that he could not be given up, because the case was not one of disputed jurisdiction, but of strong-handed interference with all legal proceedings." § "Kasinath then, at Mr. Hodgson's request," says the official narrative, "made his obeisance to the Raja and declared he had no

\* *The History of the British Empire in India*, by Edward Thornton, Vol. VI., pp. 548, 549. Ed. 1841-45.

† Statement by Lieutenant F. Smith, in command of the Resident's Escort (Appendix VII., Secret Consultations of the Government of India, August 3rd, 1842, No. 66).—*India Office MSS.*

‡ The case is stated at great length in the Petition of Kasinath Mull of Benares to the Resident at Kathmandu, dated February 27th, 1842.—Secret Consultations of August 3rd, 1842, No. 51.

§ Hodgson's habitual moderation when speaking of an opponent appears here. The scene is described by the Escort Officer in his official narrative as follows: "I found the Raja in a great passion and insisting that Kasinath should be given up to him. The Resident remonstrated, saying he was a British subject and could not. The Raja then became very violent."—Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra* (*India Office MSS.*).

¶ Lieutenant F. Smith's Statement, *ut supra*.



wish or intention of opposing him, and that all he wanted was justice. The Raja then ordered him to be seized."

"Notwithstanding the Raja's vehemence of demand," to resume from Hodgson's own note, "I steadfastly but courteously continued to refuse compliance. His Highness at length rushed at the poor merchant and attempted to bear him off. I threw my arm round the merchant and said sternly to the Raja, 'You take both of us or neither.' This was more than the Raja could screw up his resolution to do," although his hot-headed son urged him to do it with abuse and even blows. Seizing the moment, I made an appeal to the Raja's better feeling (I had known him from his boyhood), and thus at length I cast the balance against the mischief-makers. But it was not until a full hour of imminent risk had elapsed, during which the friendly chiefs, as they passed and repassed me in the surging crowd, dropped in my ear the words: 'Be patient and firm; all depends on you. We cannot act now, but we can and will exact an apology when the Raja's fit of violence has abated, and we have got him away.'"

Later in the day, the Raja and his heir-apparent made a second attempt in person to seize the man—an attempt again frustrated by Hodgson's calm determination that they must take himself as prisoner as well as the merchant or neither. Eventually they calmed down, and sent the friendly Ministers to negotiate with the Resident. Hodgson declared "that he could only be guided by the rules of his office; but if they would prepare a statement of the case and their decision, he would submit it to the Governor-General in Council for his orders." In the end the merchant of his own accord went with the friendly Ministers and made his obeisance to the Raja, the Prime Minister and chief spiritual head of the State, "being security for his safety and return to the Residency."

Hodgson reported the occurrence to his Government, and received in answer a letter, dated May 8th, 1842, which disclosed the change of attitude towards him that had accompanied the change of Governor-Generals. Lord Ellenborough "had been led to indulge the hope that the communications between the two States would henceforth have been of the most amicable and courteous character."† It is scarcely needful to repeat that neither his predecessor, Lord Auckland, nor his Council in Calcutta from whom the new Governor-General was then separated by six hundred miles, nor Hodgson himself, had ever indulged in any such hope of permanent cordiality.

Lord Ellenborough, therefore, heard of the recent affair "with much disappointment and regret." He was good enough, however, to say that "his Lordship cannot believe that you would act in a manner so entirely contrary to the known views and wishes of your Government as to attempt to extend the privileges of British subjects or your own authority beyond the just limits which the laws of nations and a solemn Treaty assign to them; still less that you would evince a want of personal consideration for a friendly and independent sovereign. Nor could his Lordship believe, on the other hand, that that sovereign could so far forget his personal dignity and the obligations of the public law and Treaty as to offer an intentional insult to the Representative of his Court of a sincerely friendly Power and to place under prosecution a British subject."

\* Lieutenant F. Smith's "Statement of what occurred on Saturday, April 23rd, 1842"—*India Office MSS.*

† Secret Consultations of the Government of India of August 3rd, 1842, No. 67, Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Resident in Nepal, dated Allahabad, May 8th, 1842, para. 3.—*India Office MSS.*

“Meanwhile his Lordship thinks that the State presents on their way from Nepal, in honour of his accession to the Governor-Generalship, “at a moment when the cloud of misunderstanding has passed over the sun of friendship,” should await the period when that sun shall burst forth in all its former effulgence to give light and splendour and prosperity to two great and friendly States.”

Hodgson did not know exactly what to make of this letter in Lord Ellenborough's finest vein. He felt that somehow he was placed on his defence by a Governor-General absolutely ignorant of the situation. The letter was to be communicated to the Raja—a letter not only full of pompous inanities, but one which would, in Hodgson's judgment, undo the good results of Lord Auckland's policy in Nepal and endanger the lives of the friendly Ministers. He therefore determined to take upon himself the responsibility of not delivering it. He communicated, however, a modification of its views to the Raja in less injudicious terms, reported his action to the Governor-General, and hoped for his Lordship's approval when the facts were fully laid before him. The Governor-General replied, after some intermediate rebuke, that “the step you have taken is not only in direct disobedience of the instructions you received, but it may tend to produce serious embarrassment to the Government, by compelling it to adopt an extreme course with respect to the Raja of Nepal at a time when it is certainly not desirable to create a division of the British forces and to impose new burdens on the finances.” His Lordship directed, therefore, that “you will be relieved in your situation of Resident at the Court of Nepal at the earliest period at which the season and the exigencies of the public service may permit such relief to take place.”\*

Regarding the propriety of Hodgson's action in this matter there will, doubtless, always be some conflict of opinion; but there can hardly be any as to the high-handed and impetuous conduct of Lord Ellenborough at the time, and the obstinacy and disingenuousness of his subsequent behaviour. Brian Hodgson was placed in a peculiarly difficult position—suddenly called upon by a man new to the country and totally unacquainted with the people with whom he had to deal, to do what to his experienced mind appeared to be fraught with the gravest peril to British interests. He had to use his own judgment, and there can be no doubt that in doing what he did on his own responsibility, until he should have had time to explain matters to the Viceroy, he acted, if indeed, to his own undoing—for the good of his country, and saved her from embarrassments she was in no way prepared to meet. Speaking of the circumstance forty years afterwards, Hodgson himself says:—

“The new Governor-General, although away from his Council and in opposition to his Foreign Secretary, who was the only responsible officer with him, summarily condemned ‘the tried and successful policy of his predecessor,’ and ordered a dangerous communication to be made to the Raja of Nepal. ‘It seemed to me impossible to follow such a course, and, as his Lordship declared that his object was

\* Letter from the Secretary with Governor-General to the Resident of Nepal, dated Allahabad, June 21st, 1842.—Hodgson Papers.

peace, I ventured to disobey orders which I thought would certainly imperil it."<sup>a</sup>

Public sympathy was entirely on Hodgson's side in the matter, and great indignation was felt and expressed at the spectacle of a valued and experienced Representative at a Native Court being summarily dismissed by an inexperienced, but self-opinionated Governor-General who had been at his post only a few months, and who acted entirely on his own responsibility; and although Hodgson resigned the service on being offered the insultingly petty post of Assistant Commissioner at Simla, he was received with acclamation by the Court of Directors in England, and found himself the hero of the hour.

One of the first problems that had presented themselves to Hodgson when Assistant Resident at Kathmandu was that of finding some safe outlet for the activities of the military castes, and he conceived the plan of negotiating "with Nepal for the service of a portion of her organised troops as mercenaries." The Nepalese are an essentially military people, and all able-bodied men of the higher classes are enrolled into the army by rotation, thus causing, from time to time, a large overflow of fighting material, with warlike instincts, but with no opportunity for their display, and the idea occurred to Hodgson that it would be greatly to our advantage to utilise their services by enrolling them into our army. He was quick to see that these hardy mountaineers possessed qualities which gave them a great advantage over the Company's "Sepoy," and which rendered them invaluable in certain kinds of warfare, and that from many other points of view they would form a most important addition to our forces in this country.

"These Highland Soldiers," he says, "who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our sepoys who must bathe from head to foot and make Puja ere they begin to dress their dinner, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours—the best part of the day. In war the former [*i.e.*, the Gurkhas] carry several days' provisions on their backs; the latter [the Company's old sepoys] would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards and goblins and evil spirits."

This scheme was not carried into effect for some time, although Lord Dalhousie was quite alive to its merits and reorganised the local Gurkha battalions into regiments in 1850. When the Mutiny broke out in 1867, however, "the authorities,"

<sup>a</sup> Autobiographical Memoranda written by Mr. Hodgson in 1881.—Hodgson MSS.

says Sir W. Hunter, "fell back when too late on Hodgson's scheme which would, humanly speaking, have rendered such a catastrophe impossible." That it would have done much to crush out the rebellion and to prevent its reaching the terrible dimensions it assumed, is certain, but whether, as Sir W. Hunter thinks, it would have rendered the outbreak "impossible," is open to doubt. After the Mutiny, Hodgson had the satisfaction of seeing his plan successfully carried out, our Ghurkha force being reorganised on a permanent basis, and numbering at the present time fifteen regiments, nearly 14,000 strong. Another means by which he proposed to utilise the increasing pressure of the military castes in Nepal was by providing some "peaceful outlet" for her commercial capabilities by encouraging her to trade with Great Britain, and converting her into a common mart, where an interchange of the commodities of India with those of inner Asia might be effected. He drew up a very exhaustive Report on the subject, in which he entered into the minutest detail, and which forms a handbook to the articles of Himalayan trade—"qualities most profitable and the colours most in demand in the first third of the nineteenth century." So minute were his suggestions that he even went so far as to lay down rules for the packing of Merchandise from Calcutta.

"The Merchants," he says "wares should be made up at Calcutta into secure packages, adapted for carriage on a man's back, of the full weight of two Calcutta bazar maunds each.\* Because, if the wares be so made up, a single mountaineer will carry that surprising weight over the huge mountains of Nepal; whereas two men, not being able to unite their strength with effect in the conveyance of goods, packages heavier than two maunds are of necessity taken to pieces on the road at great hazard and inconvenience. . . . Let every merchant, therefore, he quaintly concludes his dissertation on packing, 'make up his goods into parcels of two full bazar maunds each, and let him have with him apparatus for fixing two of such parcels across a bullock's saddle.'"

His energy in this direction met, happily, with immediate reward. The Government of India approved his scheme, and he had the gratification, while Resident at Nepal, of seeing an immense development of our trade with that country, and in 1891 the Nepalese exports and imports had grown from Rs. 3,000,000 in 1831 to a trade with British India alone of over Rs. 33,000,000. It was some years later, when he had returned to the Himalayas in a private capacity, as a scholar, that, in his pleasant retreat at Darjiling, he conceived the idea of a European colonisation of the Himalayan borders. He urged the rearing of the more costly of the sub-tropical plants under European

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\* About 169 pounds avoirdupois.

supervision, and singled out tea-planting as the most suitable of these; and although the enterprise was very tardily taken up, it is to his valuable suggestions, backed up by practical experiments on his own account, that we owe the fact that in the year 1896, four hundred tea plantations were in existence in the Darjiling district with five millions sterling invested in them. His plans for agricultural settlements in the hills by Europeans, by means of which he foretold that India would defy the world, have, however, owing doubtless to the cheapness of native labour, which renders it impossible for Europeans to compete with it, not yet been realised. But it is not beyond the bounds of probability that in some not very distant future there will be found, in some such scheme, the partial solution of the great Eurasian question which is such a perplexing one at the present day.

But it is as the champion of Vernacular education that Brian Hodgson was most conspicuous to the Indian world during the first twenty years of his service, when a fierce controversy raged on the subject, those in favour of English being headed by Lord Macaulay and Sir Charles Trevelyan, and the other side by John Russell Colvin, Henry Thoby Prinsep and Horace Hayman Wilson. Into this controversy Hodgson threw himself heart and soul on the side of the orientalist, and declared that if "the education of the Indian peoples were to become a reality, it must be conducted neither in English nor in the classical languages of India, but in the living vernaculars of each province."

Macaulay's famous minute for a time decided the question, although Hodgson, nothing daunted, replied to it in two letters to the *Friend of India*, in which he traversed the major premiss of Macaulay's argument, which assumed that, to quote his words, "we have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue," an assumption which Hodgson declared to be unfounded, and he reiterated his conviction that, "if any scheme of public instruction were really to reach the Indian peoples, it must take as its basis their mother tongues." The controversy ended, in Sir W. W. Hunter's opinion, in a complete triumph for the orientalist.

"Of the four million pupils," he says, "in Indian schools and colleges recognised by the State in the last year of Hodgson's life, three and a half millions \* were receiving education entirely in the vernacular, and the remainder partly" in the vernacular and partly in the English language. This was the result for which Hodgson began to labour as a young man of thirty-five, and which he saw accomplished at the age of ninety-four."

It now remains to touch briefly on the attainments of this remarkable man as a scholar. As a student of Buddhism his

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\* Parliamentary Statistical Abstract relating to British India, for 1893-4.

researches were more exhaustive than those of, perhaps, any other labourer in the same field, and won for him from Mr. Austine Waddell, the title of "the father of modern critical study of Buddhist doctrine," while his great but generous rival, Csoma de Körös wrote of him : " Mr. Hodgson's illustrations of the literature and origin of the Buddhists form a wonderful combination of knowledge on a new subject with the deepest philosophical speculations, and will astonish the people of Europe."

• He was the largest and most munificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts, and vernacular tracts that ever went to India.\* He was also an erudite student of the new materials which he thus collected, nor did the originality of his conclusions less impress his contemporaries than the stores of buried learning which he brought to light. Having gathered together his data and used them so far as his hard-earned leisure allowed, he handed them over to the learned Societies of India and Europe in trust for scholars who could bring to their investigation the final processes of modern research. His magnificent liberality enriched not only the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Asiatic Societies in Great Britain and in India, but also the Institute of France and the Society Asiatique de Paris with treasures which have not even yet been completely explored.

As a naturalist his contributions to the Asiatic Society were both numerous and valuable, and in his special line, ornithology, he attained to the highest rank. How much more he might have done for science and philosophy had he remained to carry on his researches in India, can only be guessed by those who are capable of appreciating the energy of the man; but unfortunately his wife's health proved unequal to the Indian climate, and he left this country in 1858 and returned to England for good. There he entirely regained his health, and for thirty-six years enjoyed, with one sad break, the pleasures afforded by home ties and congenial society, for which, as is shown in some of his letters, he had so often yearned in the days of his solitude in Nepal; and it was not until he had attained the great age of ninety-four that death terminated his interesting and useful career. The perseverance and industry with which during his whole life he pursued the most recondite studies; the varied nature of his attainments; the thoroughness he imported into everything to which he put his hand; the integrity and amiability of his character, all tend to make him, whether regarded as diplomatist, administrator, scholar, or simply as a man, one of the most striking and beautiful figures in Anglo-India History.

• \* *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge* (Ed. 1883), Preface, p. vii, by Mr. Cecil Bendal, M.A., whom I have to thank for much kind aid.

## ART. X.—SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA.

RELICS of ancient serpent-worship are to be found throughout peninsular India; but this peculiar cult is essentially aboriginal, and is foreign alike to the Aryans and the Dravidians. There is no evidence to show that the early Dravidians ever were serpent-worshippers. While the Dravidians were occupying the countries between the sea coast and the Vindhya mountains, the Northern parts of India were still inhabited by certain aboriginal tribes, among whom the prevailing form of worship was that of the *Nagas*. It was at this time that the first immigration of the Aryans into India took place. The solar race of the Aryans, mentioned in the Ramayana, entered India by the upper valley of the Indus. They were a pure and unmixed race, and it was repugnant to their feelings to mingle with the serpent-worshipping aborigines, whom they looked down upon as *Dasyas*, and with whom they refused to have anything to do. Hence neither the Vedas nor any of the earlier Sanskrit writings contain any information about serpents or serpent-worship. Even in the Ramayana, where some slight references to the *Nagas* occur, they are given no prominence whatever. Subsequently, however, we find another migration of the Aryans into India, that of the heroes of the Mahabharata, otherwise known as the lunar race. They were a much less pure race than the solar, and they did not scruple so much to mix with the serpent-worshippers.

In the Mahabharata, we find the following highly interesting account of the *Nagas*. The *Rishi Kasyapa*, much pleased at the disinterested devotion of his two wives, *Kadru* and *Vinatha*, asked them to demand of him any gift they would most like to have. Thereupon *Kadru* expressed a strange desire to become the mother of a thousand *Nagas*, while *Vinatha* desired to be blessed with only two children equalling the thousand children of *Kadru* in name and fame. The longings of the fair ones being granted, *Kasyapa* went his way to the mountains to do penance. In due course, the two wives became pregnant, and, to the surprise of all, brought forth as many eggs respectively as they were promised children. These eggs were carefully preserved by the mothers. After the lapse of a long period, *Kadru's* eggs gave birth to a thousand serpents, which afterwards attained a singular distinction in Hindu tradition. But the two eggs belonging to *Vinatha* still remained as they were, without showing any signs of breaking. She had already waited for five hundred years. It was a period long enough to exasperate anyone. She, therefore, seized one of

the eggs, and gently broke it open, when out flew, in all his glory, the great bird *Aruna*. He seemed annoyed beyond measure at being brought to the light of the world before his appointed time. Knowing that his own mother was the cause of this misfortune, he pronounced upon her a bitter curse that she should be enslaved by *Kadru*. But when he saw how miserably she would, in consequence thereof, have to rue her fate, he consoled her with the hope that, if she abstained from repeating the same experiment on the other egg also, she would be freed from the bondage by his brother who was yet to be born. Thereupon he flew up to heaven, where he afterwards distinguished himself as the charioteer of *Surya*, the sun. Some years later, a dispute arose between *Kadru* and *Vinatha* as to the colour of Indra's horse, *Uchaisrava*. The former maintained that it had a spot on the tail; but the latter denied the statement and they agreed that the vanquished party should become the other's slave. It then transpired that *Vinatha* was in the right. Knowing this, *Kadru* was seized with despair, and requested her children that some one of them should go and form into a black spot on the tail of *Uchaisrava*. The Nagas at first declined to do so dishonest a deed, whereupon *Kadru*, becoming enraged, pronounced a curse upon her children that they would be consumed by fire. At the critical juncture *Karkotaka*, observing the great mental pain of his mother, readily came to her rescue, and, doing her will, not only saved her from calumny, but also made poor *Vinatha* her slave.

In the meantime *Vinatha's* egg broke open, giving birth to the great king of birds, *Garuda*. As he grew up, he came to know of the deceit practised on his mother by *Kadru* and her son; and that moment the hatred for the serpents which has subsequently rendered itself so proverbial became implanted in his heart. In every possible way he tried to induce the serpents to free his mother from bondage, but in vain. At length he plainly asked them what he could do in order to please them. And, being told to get them the elixir of immortality from the *devas*, he went up to heaven, and, after a hard and severe fight with the latter, succeeded at last in securing the elixir. Coming back to the earth and placing it before the serpents, he obtained the freedom of his mother. The serpents, who had gone for their bath before partaking of the *amrita*, were however deprived of it by Vishnu, who quietly went away with it before they returned. What happened after this bitter disappointment to the snakes, is a long story. We are told that the Nagas all migrate into the nether regions, or *pathalam*, to a separate world known as the *Nagalocam-Sesha*, or *Sri Ananta*. There the most pious and famous among them



is chosen to be the bed on which Vishnu reposes. He is represented with a thousand heads with which he is said to form a canopy over Vishnu's head. It is interesting that, while one of the most renowned of the serpent race serves for Vishnu's bed, the king of birds, whose hatred for serpents is proverbial, is employed by the great god to ride upon. 6

Later on in the Mahabharata we find the *Pandavas*, and especially *Arjoona*, continually coming in contact with the *Nagas*. The first of these occasions seems to be the burning of *Kandhava*, in which the serpent *Thakshaka* plays an important part. During the banishment of the *Pandavas*, *Arjoona* marries the daughters of two *Naga* chieftains. And the whole narrative of the *Nagas* is continued with great interest till *Janamejaya*, in order to avenge the foul murder of his father by *Thakshaka*, undertook the great sacrifice for the extirpation of the serpents. The work of destruction went on unchecked, but was at length stopped through the intervention of *Astika*, a nephew of *Vasuki*. After this event it is not until 691 B.C., that we hear of a *Naga* Dynasty on the throne of Magadha. Under the reign of the sixth of the race, Buddha was born, and in connection with Buddhism some further light is thrown upon serpent-worship.

The Buddhists may be said to be essentially a serpent-worshipping race. With regard to this point, Mr. Fergusson says: "No race ever permanently adopted Buddhism who had not previously been serpent-worshippers." Although this statement is not to be taken without qualification, yet it is true to a very great extent. When the Buddhists were hard pressed in argument by a certain ruler of the Punjab, *Nagaraja* hastened to the rescue, proclaiming to the world that the words uttered by *Sakyamuni* were heard and noted down carefully by the *Nagas*, from whom he said he had again received them. After the decline of Buddhism rose those two great classes into which the whole Hindu race, broadly speaking, may now be divided. These are the *Saivites* and the *Vaishnavites*. The *Vaishnava* faith descended from a group of faiths in which the serpent always played an important part. The eldest branch of the family was the *Naga* worship pure and simple. *Vishnu*, as we have already noticed, reposes on *Sesha*. And, again, according to the *Bhagavatam*, it was with the assistance of the serpent *Vasuki* that the ocean was churned and *Amrita* obtained. There does not seem to be any trace of serpent worship mixed up with the first form of faith above mentioned, namely *Saivism*. True, *Siva* is represented as holding a cobra, and the serpent is often twisted round his neck and with his hair. But there it is an implement of terror, not an object of worship. As the destroyer, *Siva* is represented with every-

thing that can add to the terrible. In his hands the serpent is only a sword, or the trident, and the chaplet of skulls contributes only to overawe and impress the beholder. It is only the common earthly serpent, taught to do the will of its master. Occasionally, however, the serpent does appear in a more religious aspect in connection with this form of faith. For instance, in many a *Saiva* temple the hood of the serpent is represented as forming a canopy over the *lingam*. But in such cases the *Naga* always appears in a markedly subordinate character, so that we are quite justified in believing that the object of the *Saivites* was to represent the Nagas as doing homage to *Siva*.

At the present day serpent worship exists more conspicuously in Southern India than anywhere else. In Ceylon, perhaps, there is a great admixture of this form of worship. The three or seven-headed *Naga* is there found adorning almost every sacred spot. Snake stones found in Southern India are generally in sets of three. The first of these is a male, the second a female, and the third consists of two intertwined, representing the children of the first two. They most abound within and around Jainā temples. In Mysore amongst the Jainā remains is the figure of a naked woman with a serpent twining round her right thigh. South Canara contains one of the most noteworthy serpent temples. The temple itself is without any architectural pretensions, being built entirely of laterite. The image is shapeless; the locality extremely wild and feverish. But in spite of this, during the December festival, a great many persons resort thither. In the Madura temple, between the images of *Hanuman* and *Garuda*, stands one of the seven-headed *Nagas* richly jewelled and under a splendid canopy. The two gold statues of the seven-headed *Naga* at Srirangam are even larger than those at Madura. In the Southern district of Travancore is a finely sculptured serpent temple, and in the bed of a river opposite there rises a tall rock known as *pāmpu-pūra*, with a shining band suggestive of a serpent's body. We understand that snakes are kept in Guzerat, both as objects of worship and to destroy rats. No Hindu ever kills a serpent willingly. Should one be killed in his vicinity by a Mahomedan, or any other alien religionist, they remove its body, put a piece of copper money in its mouth, and with deep veneration burn it in order to avert the apprehended evil.

A snake festival has none of the elements of Brahmanism in it. No Brahman acts as priest in any serpent temple. The worshippers bathe, mark their forehead with red colour, and go to the place where cobras are known to live. The sacred stones there are anointed, and offerings also are made to them. Small new earthen saucers, filled with milk, are left by the

stones, or near snake holes, if any, and if the snakes appear and drink, it is esteemed a most fortunate circumstance. The worshippers also take a little earth from near the snake holes. It is supposed to act as a marvellous remedy for such diseases as leprosy, &c., and to remove the barrenness of woman. Persons who have made vows sometimes perform the ceremony known as *Angapradikshanam*, or rolling round the temple. It is performed with great rapidity, fury and vociferation. In Madura there is a certain sect of people who undertake to perform as proxies on payment of a certain fixed sum.

*Naga* stones, properly erected, ought to be built on a stone platform facing the rising sun. They are placed under the shade of two *pepul* trees, *arayäl*, wedded together by a ceremony as in the case of human beings. A *nem* and a wood-apple form living witnesses of the wedding. The expenses required for this ceremony are too great for men of ordinary wealth, so that very often the ceremony is dispensed with and only one *pepul* tree is used. No Hindu points to a serpent stone, lest the finger so pointed should wither from off the hand.

P. SHANKUNNV, B.A.

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## ART. XI.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

(Continued from the *Calcutta Review* for January 1894).

### THE HOOGHLY MUNICIPALITY.

HOOGHLY, as we have seen, was almost in a state of nature before it was settled by the Portuguese, the site of the town that afterwards arose, being for the most part covered with jungles and marshes. It was by reclaiming the jungles and filling up the marshes, that these foreigners laid the foundations of their settlement. The merchants who first came to the place to dispose of their cargoes, built mere sheds of bamboos for their temporary residence. With the increase of their trade, the bamboo sheds were replaced by brick-built houses. Of these buildings, the greater part were used for the storage of merchandisc, and a few only for purposes of habitation. Sâtgáon was then the main centre of trade, but it was rapidly declining. The Saraswati having begun to be silted up, communications by large boats and larger vessels were becoming increasingly difficult, owing to which the once-flourishing trade\* of the place was considerably affected. The Portuguese, taking advantage of this state of things, tried to divert the trade to their own settlement, and in this they were eminently successful. This diversion of trade from the imperial port was one of the grounds afterwards urged by the Moghul Viceroy of Bengal for attacking Hooghly and turning the Portuguese out of the Province.

Hooghly continued to prosper under the parental care of the new settlers, and its fame soon spread far and wide. The settlement, as we have already shown, † was made somewhere in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the first and foremost of the four "Great Moghuls," Akbar, was on the throne. The necessary permission having been given by the provincial Chief, the Portuguese lost no time in availing themselves of it by creating a permanent settlement. The town which they built probably extended from the northern limit of the present circuit-house ‡ to the southern border of the present Joraghat (double ghat). It is certain that they had no land higher up the river, and it is almost equally certain that they had none lower down, except, perhaps, the quarter known as Hárdártuli. As this part of Bengal

\* See Kabikanan's *Chandi*.

† *Vide* Chapter I.

‡ This building stands on the boundary-line which separates Bandel from Keota.

was then anything but safe, the Portuguese thought it prudent to take steps for the protection of their settlement, and, accordingly, with the permission of the Moghul Viceroy, they built a fort and dug a moat round three sides of the town, the fourth being protected by the river, so that, when the moat was filled, as it was daily by the tidal waters, the settlement assumed the aspect of a small island. The fort had been built previous to 1585, the year in which the place was visited by the English traveller, Ralph Fitch.

As the fame of Hooghly began to eclipse that of Sâtgaon, the Moghul Governor who had his headquarters at the latter place, built a castle in the new town and garrisoned it with Moghul soldiers. In 1603, it would seem, this castle was captured by the Portuguese and its garrison killed to a man. It is probable that the Moghul soldiers, or the Governor of Sâtgaon, were much to blame, otherwise the Great Moghul, Akbar, whose reign was one continued series of successes, would not have allowed the Portuguese to go unpunished. As a matter of fact, they were not disturbed either in the reign of that Emperor or in that of his son, Jehangir. Hooghly rose to be the principal seat of commerce in this part of Bengal, and attracted people from all quarters. The Portuguese came in large numbers, some from Goa and some from the mother-country. Thus, in course of time, the number of Europeans alone came greatly to exceed ten thousand. Though the trade was principally carried on by water, still the town possessed almost all the advantages of lands within municipal bounds. There were good roads for the convenience of passengers and equally good drains for the discharge of surplus water. Indeed, sanitation appears to have made a fair progress, and the general health of the towns-people was far from bad. As a matter of fact, we hear of no epidemic having broken out during the whole period the Portuguese held it. And not only sanitation, but what is called supreme law,\* to wit, the safety of the inhabitants, was duly provided for. There were night-guards who were not allowed to sleep over their duty as some of them now do. Though the surrounding villages now and then suffered from the ravages of robbers, Hooghly itself was seldom the scene of such disturbances. The only oppression which the natives suffered was from the Portuguese themselves, and this was sometimes very unjust and arbitrary. Even the serious matter of religion was interfered with, and not unfrequently people were forcibly converted to Christianity, against the spirit of its teachings.

The Portuguese at Hooghly reached the acme of their power and affluence in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

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\* *Salus populi suprema lex.*

But their fall was as sudden in its occurrence as it was terrible in its consequences. This event took place, as we have already stated,\* in 1632. The town was destroyed and with it the Portuguese trade in Bengal became a memory of the past. The offices were removed from Sátgáon to Hooghly which became the chief port, if not the only port, of the western arm of the Ganges. Thus, as a matter of fact, the prosperity of the town was not much affected by its change of masters. A Fouzdar was appointed to keep the country under check and control, and he fixed his head-quarters at Hooghly. This officer was liberally paid, and possessed considerable powers. In fact, he was only second to the Chief Governor of Sircar Sátgáon. The Portuguese fort having been demolished, another fort was built by the Moghuls for the protection of the town. Close to the fort were the private palace and gardens of the Fouzdar. These works occupied the ground extending from the deep ditch to the west of the Post-office buildings right up to the place on which the present jail stands.

Shortly after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the English came to Hooghly for purposes of trade, but they were not allowed to build a factory until the year 1644. The Dutch also arrived about the same time, but they soon removed to the neighbouring village of Chinsura† and established there their settlement, which they afterwards strongly fortified. The north gate of their fort stood somewhere on the land which adjoins the Joraghat. The Dutch drove as brisk a trade at Chinsura as the English did at Hooghly, and as both these nations were remarkable for commercial enterprise‡ they received great encouragement at the hands of the Mogul Governors. But though the town did not suffer in point of trade by the expulsion of Portuguese, there was some falling off in a sanitary point of view. The roads were no longer kept as neat and clean as they had been during the time of the Portuguese, nor were the drains properly looked after. Nevertheless, it would seem that sanitation was not altogether neglected, and this is best proved by the fact that during the Mogul sway, the townsfolk did not suffer from epidemics, nor was there much sickness in the land. True to their instinct, the Mogul officers never attempted European cleanliness in their persons, or European neatness in the places they lived in or governed. But there was one important improvement which the town owed the Moguls. This was its division into eighteen *mohul-*

\* *Vide* Chapter I.

† The philosophic historian of the *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, the Abbe Raynal, describes Chinsura as a suburb of Hooghly.

‡ Commerce raised Holland from her morasses, and Venice from her canals. Chinsura was the chief trade-mart of the Dutch in Bengal.

las,\* or wards, some of which are traceable even in the present day.

With the loss of Moslem supremacy in Bengal, Hooghly<sup>†</sup> was cast quite in the shade. In January 1757 it was captured and sacked by the English. This terrible mishap gave the death-blow to its pride and prosperity. Calcutta was established as the seat of Government, and all the public offices were removed there. Hooghly thus fell into sad insignificance. True, it continued to be the residence of the Fouzdar, but it lost its former importance. Even that office was at last abolished in 1793<sup>†</sup>, and in 1795 the Hooghly district was formed. With its formation into a district, Hooghly regained some of its former importance, though it was a mere trifle in comparison with what it had been before. An officer was appointed, who exercised the functions of both Judge and Magistrate, the revenue jurisdiction remaining, as before, with the Collector of Burdwan. Though the town became the head-quarters of the district, it but ill deserved that honour, to such a low state it had fallen. Indeed, it was anything but a respectable-looking town. The Judge-Magistrate described it in 1814 as "a small straggling town," and, what was more to be regretted, it was anything but secure. The authorities soon adopted suitable measures for improving this deplorable state of things. The Government passed Regulation XIII in 1813, and thus sowed the first seeds of Municipal Government in Bengal. Under its provisions the inhabitants of towns were empowered to make better provision for watch and ward, and for the protection of their property. As Hooghly needed such a law, it was introduced into it early in June the following year. Sixty Chowkidars were appointed to the two main sections, Bali and Gholeghat, into which the town was divided, and as they were only too earnest and careful in the discharge of their duties, the sleepless gentlemen of the night found their palmy days numbered. The Magistrate reported that since the establishment of the Chowkidars, there had been no robberies or even thefts.

The Regulation of 1813 was certainly a wholesome law, but the procedure prescribed in it was not equally happy. At any rate, serious defects were found in its working, and it was deemed absolutely necessary to remedy them. Accordingly, Regulation XII<sup>‡</sup> was passed in 1816 which

\* The town has now been extended to the northern limit of the village of Mir-Kala, and the number of *Mohullas* increased to thirty seven.

† Mr. Morley, however, says that the Fouzdar's were abolished in 1781. *The Administration of Justice*, 1858, p 51.

‡ This Regulation was a little modified by Regulations VII of 1817 and III of 1821.

besides remedying those defects, laid down, for the first time, rules for conservancy, lighting and other municipal purposes. About this time, Mr. C. D. Smyth, whose name has justly become a household word in this part of Bengal, joined the District as its judicial and executive Head, and it is to him that Hooghly owes many of the improvements which still live to tell their own tale. But as Mr. Smyth was engaged in other matters in the first few years of his rule, none of these improvements date from a period anterior to the year 1823, in which a calamitous flood ravaged this part of the Province. In fact, it was this disastrous visitation which gave a strong impetus to his mind, and mainly led to his initiating the reforms which he had so much at heart. He looked about for funds, and finding to his satisfaction that the town duties levied under Regulation X of 1810 showed a surplus, he took some two thousand rupees out of them, and spent the amount on the improvement of the town. But he did not stop here. In fact, this was only the beginning, and, as the measure elicited praise from the higher authorities, it was followed up, until in 1829 the town assumed a very respectable appearance. In that year nearly five thousand rupees were spent, and as Mr. Smyth was also a thorough man of business, the money was laid out to the best advantage. The public road near the Collectorate was widened; the Civil Court tank, the Pipalpati tank and some other tanks were excavated, trees were planted by the sides of the roads, and some of the roads themselves were metalled with brick. The handsome masonry-ghat which bears the familiar, but not the less honoured, name of Smyth was built in the same year. The old circuit-house also dates from about the same time.

While these improvements were being made in the town, down came like a bolt from the blue the order of the Government of India discontinuing "the further appropriation of the surplus town duties to purposes of public improvement;" dissolving the local committees and placing their duties in the hands of the Magistrate. Thus the noble work which Mr. Smyth had taken in hand and in which he had made considerable progress, had suddenly to be stopped, and it is, therefore, no wonder that we hear no more of municipal matters until 1837, when a change for the better came over the aspect of affairs.

By Regulation XV of that year, the maximum Chowkidari assessment under Regulation XII of 1816 was raised to Rs. 2, and the principle of applying the surplus collections to improvements in the town was re-affirmed. Two fire engines were purchased from Calcutta in this year. The work which had to be stopped towards the close of the year 1829, was



resumed with re-doubled vigour, and the result was that Hooghly as well as Chinsura soon presented "an appearance of neatness and regularity not often observable in the towns of the Lower Provinces." But the work of improvement was not yet complete, notwithstanding the progress which had been already made. Some parts of the town were still overgrown with jungle and contained many stagnant pools which required to be filled up at once. The river, moreover, was subject to contamination from corpses and carcasses and the dirty contents of conservancy carts which used to be constantly thrown and emptied into it.

The offices of Judge and Magistrate having been separated\* by this time, Mr. E. A. Samuells was placed in charge of the executive department. This officer was a worthy successor of Mr. Smyth in the Magistracy, and gave his heart and soul to the work he was entrusted with. Owing to the increase of Chowkidari tax by Regulation XV of 1837, collections could not be made with ease and punctuality. The Chowkidars grumbled for the arrears into which their pay had fallen, and the safety of the town was jeopardised. At this juncture some leading men of the place came forward and offered to take the collections into their own hands, guaranteeing the full amount of the existing assessment. The Magistrate, Mr. Samuells, approving of this system of local self-government, reported their offer to Government for sanction, and, on this being granted, called a public meeting of the inhabitants on the 5th June, 1840. The meeting was a great success, and a committee consisting of nine members was appointed to take into consideration measures for the Municipal management of the towns of Hooghly, Chinsura and Chandernagore. Baboo Rama Prosad Roy, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, and Syed Keramat Ali, the recognised head of the Mahomedan community, took part in the proceedings. The Meeting, indeed, may be said to mark an epoch in the annals of the Municipal Govern-

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\* This was certainly a move in the right direction. Dr. Adam Smith very properly observes: "When the Judicial is united to the Executive power, it is scarcely possible that justice should not frequently be sacrificed to what is vulgarly called politics. The persons entrusted with the great interests of the State may even without any corrupt views sometimes imagine it necessary to sacrifice to those interests the rights of a private man. But upon the impartial administration of justice depends the liberty of every individual, the sense which he has of his own security. In order to make every individual feel himself perfectly secure in the possession of every right which belongs to him, it is not only necessary that the judicial should be separated from the executive power, but that it should be rendered as much as possible independent of that power." *Wealth of Nations*, Book, V, Chap. I, Part II. See also Sir Richard Garth's *A few plain Truths about India*.

ment of Hooghly. The Committee, appointed at it, elected Syed Keramat Ali as President, and Baboo Eshan Chundra Banerjee of the Education Department as Honorary Secretary. This being done, they requested the Magistrate to make over to them the full control of the conservancy, collecting and Chowkidari establishments, and to appoint a writer "to do the drudgery." But as the Magistrate was not legally competent to grant such request, the Committee was placed in an entirely false position. In the meantime, the President and the members quarrelled over the appointment of a Bukshée, and the result was that the former threw up his appointment, when Moulvie Akbar Shah, one of the members, was appointed President in his place. To add to the confusion, the people, mistaking the real object of the meeting of the 5th of June, took it to be a preliminary to fresh taxation, and threw every possible obstacle in the way of the Committee. Thus, as a matter of fact, nothing of real importance had been done, when, in September 1841, the term of one year for which the Committee had been appointed expired.

Considering the untoward circumstances with which the Committee had all along struggled, there seemed to be little probability of its being elected a second time, but, as good fortune would have it, it was re-elected in February 1842. Its first act, after its re-election, was the very proper and sensible one of asking the Magistrate to move the Government to define more clearly its duties, powers and responsibilities, and the outcome of this request was the passing of Act X of 1842,\* —the first purely Municipal law in Bengal, "to make better provision for purposes connected with the public health and convenience." By this Act the inhabitants of the town into which it was introduced were empowered to appoint a Committee, and the Committee, so appointed, was empowered to impose a tax on houses not exceeding 5 per cent. on their annual value. The details of the working of the Act were provided for by rules, and the Government reserved to itself the right of dissolving the Committee at any time. Under this Act Chandernagore was added to the Municipality, which formerly included only Hooghly and Chinsura. The Committee began their work in right earnest, but an unforeseen occurrence soon presented itself which upset all their plans. In August 1844 the country was suddenly overtaken by a formidable flood, which in violence and the amount of injury done by it was second only to the memorable flood of 1823. Many breaches were made in the Damodar embankments, and the consequence was that the villages all round were inundated. The

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\* This Act was repealed by Act XXVI of 1850

waters reached Chinsura and Hooghly, and filled all the ditches and drains. This flood was followed by drought, and the drought again was followed by another flood in 1845.

For some time before that year Mr. G. P. Leycester was Magistrate, but he soon left the District, making over charge to Mr. S. Wauchope. The latter, too, remained only for a short time, and we find him succeeded in the next year by Mr. A. Reid. Mr. Wauchope had already distinguished himself as an executive officer; but much greater reputation was in store for him when, in his capacity of Dacoity Commissioner, he succeeded in putting down dacoity which had become so very dangerous to the peace of the country. The magisterial authorities being busy with more important matters, the Municipal administration of the town showed little sign of improvement. In fact, this state of things continued till 1856, when the Government passed Act XX, thereby repealing Act XII of 1816, which had all along been in operation.

By the new Act power was given to the Magistrate to determine the number of Chowkidars, with the limitation that in no case should it exceed one to every twenty-five houses. In the matter of assessment, option was given to levy the tax either according to the circumstances of the people, or according to the value of their holdings. But before the authorities had had time to put this Act into working order, the Scpoy Mutiny broke out and spread from one end of Hindustan to the other. At this time Mr. F. R. Cockerell was the Magistrate of Hooghly. Fully alive, as he was, to the danger which was hanging over the British Empire, he did not forget the ordinary duties of his office. Nay, he even found time to look after the improvement of the town. As Hooghly stood in need of a Strand Road, he made up his mind to construct one, and at once commenced work which had advanced far towards completion when the exigencies of Government service compelled Mr. Cockerell to leave the district, making over charge to Lord Ulick Browne. Only the finishing touch, as it were, had to be put to the work by the latter officer, and yet, taking the whole credit to himself, he put up a commemoration stone bearing his own name and that of the Jailor. The Strand Road is certainly a valuable acquisition to the town, for, besides affording considerable facilities for locomotion and transit, it has added much to its beauty and symmetry. But, unfortunately, since the construction of the splendid Jubilee bridge over the river at Gholaghat, it has been wearing away, and it is apprehended that, unless preventive measures are taken, it will be swept away altogether in the course of a few years. In this state of things it behoves both the Magistrate and the Municipal Chairman to make every possible effort to check the further encroachment of the river.

Hitherto, no attempt had been made to reduce municipal administration to a system. But, as years rolled on, such a system became necessary, and, accordingly, in 1864, the Bengal Council passed Act III, which was the *first* attempt in that direction. This Act was introduced in Hooghly in the following year, when luckily the Magistracy was in the hands of Mr. R. V. Cockerell, a worthy brother of Mr. F. R. Cockerell. The Cockerells have done yeoman's service to the district, and it is only just and proper that their names should be held in grateful remembrance. As under the Act the Magistrate was to be the Chairman, Mr. Cockerell formed a Council of his own, and, with the assistance of his co-adjutors, proceeded to supply the wants of the town. But nothing could be done without money. Accordingly, assessment operations were set in motion. Baboo Romesh Chundra Mookerjee, who had distinguished himself as Darogah, was the officer selected for this purpose; but unfortunately his proceedings caused great dissatisfaction. That the hardship was keenly felt is evidenced by the heavy arrears which were found to be due at the end of the year. The demand for the year was Rs. 28,000 and odd, but the amount actually realised did not come up to Rs. 22,000.

While assessment was busily going on, the Magistrate put his hand to a work of public utility. This was the making of a road from the Hooghly Railway Station to the side of the river at Bāboogunge. Some portions of the private lands which fell in the road were purchased, and some portions given free of charge by their owners. The work was commenced in 1865, but although it was continued without intermission, it was not completed before 1868. The Chairman's report of the 2nd June 1866 shows that in the year under review more than twelve thousand rupees had been spent on the road. Indeed, it cost in round numbers eighteen thousand rupees. But, heavy as the cost was, the road is certainly a very valuable acquisition to the town. Indeed, as far as road-making goes, the Cockerell brothers might well vie with Mr. D. C. Smyth who was the first to make some good roads in the station which still testify to the deep interest he took in its amelioration and advancement. Mr. R. V. Cockerell carried out some other works of civic improvement, but that for which he is best known, and which very properly bears his name, is the splendid road we have spoken of above.

Mr. Cockerell left the district for good in 1870, when Mr. F. H. Pellew took his place in the Magistracy and the Municipality. In that year was passed Act VIII, which provided for the appointment, dismissal and maintenance of village Chowkidars. This Act underwent some modifications in subsequent years.

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\* By Acts I of 1871 and 1886

but the main provisions have remained unaltered up to the present time. In 1871 fever raged very violently in the district, and as subsoil, humidity and obstructed drainage were considered to be its proximate causes, the Hooghly and Burdwan Drainage Act\* was passed. But, beyond passing the Act, no noteworthy attempt would seem to have been made to introduce a better system of drainage. In fact, as far as the town is concerned, its drainage is still anything but good. But it is gratifying to observe that the Municipality has at last warmed up to its duty, and has made a survey and measurement of the town in view of a better drainage scheme; and it is needless to say, the sooner the scheme is put into operation the better.

In 1872, when Sir George Campbell was in charge of the Government of Bengal, a census was taken of the whole province, and it was found that the population of the Hooghly Municipality amounted to 67,538, showing a decrease of more than 2,500 souls from that of 1837. This fact is alone sufficient to show that the health of the town, so far from improving, had deteriorated, and this conclusion is confirmed by the successive reports of the Civil Surgeon.

Act III of 1864 had worked pretty well, but change of circumstances necessitated an alteration in some of its provisions, and accordingly, in 1876, the Bengal Council repealed it, along with its subsidiary Acts, by Act V, which was properly styled the Mofussil Municipalities Act. As a supplement to the latter Act was passed in 1878 Act VI, which provided for the construction and clearing of latrines in first class Municipalities. These two Acts remained in force till 1884 when they were repealed by Act III, which is the governing law on the subject. This Act which came into force on the 1st August had for its object the amendment and consolidation of the law relating to Municipalities. The principle of this Act is very different from that of the English Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, for while, under the latter Act, Municipality means the whole body of the inhabitants of a borough, under the former, the body corporate is constituted by the incorporation of the Commissioners only; but since the introduction of the elective system, the difference has to a considerable extent disappeared. Although, as a matter of fact, the Commissioners form the body corporate, two-thirds of their number being elected by the rate-payers, the inhabitants of the Municipality as a body have evidently a voice in the Council.

In order to understand the general scope of the Bengal Act, it is necessary to consider what the purposes are to which the Municipal fund may be applied, and how they have been provided for. Those purposes, as stated in section 69, are as

\* Act V of 1871.

follows:—1. Construction and improvements of roads, bridges, and the like. 2. The supply of water, and the lighting and watering of roads. 3. The erection and maintenance of offices and other buildings. 4. Other works of public utility for the promotion of the health, comfort or convenience of the inhabitants. 5. The construction and repair of school-houses and the like. 6. The establishment and maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries. 7. The promotion of vaccination. 8. The maintenance of a fire-engine.

The Municipal fund is mainly derived from a house-tax\* and a conservancy tax. The holdings are assessed according to their annual value, which is determined by the gross annual rent for which any holding may be reasonably expected to let.† The only exemption is in favour of holdings of which the annual value is *less than six rupees*.‡ The prevailing rate of taxation is

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\* The principle under which house-tax is assessed in England is thus laid down by J. S. Mill :—“ When the occupier is not the owner, and does not hold on a repairing lease, the rent he pays is the measure of what the house costs him ; but when he is the owner, some other measure must be sought . A valuation should be made of the house, not at what it would sell for, but at what would be the cost of rebuilding it, and this valuation might be periodically corrected by an allowance for what it had lost in value by time, or gained by repairs and improvements.” *Political Economy*, Book V, Chap. III.

† This is the right principle ; but houses not inhabited should not be taxed at all. On the subject of house-tax, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* may be advantageously consulted. In that learned work, the father of political economists observes :—“ Houses not inhabited ought to pay no tax. A tax upon them would fall altogether upon the proprietor, who would thus be taxed for a subject which afforded him neither conveniency nor revenue. Houses inhabited by the proprietor ought to be rated, not according to the expense which they might have cost in building, but according to the rent which an equitable arbitration might judge them likely to bring, if let to a tenant ” Book V, Chap II, p. 355. Edinburgh, 1829. A little further on, the author says :—“ Untenanted houses, though by law subject to the tax, are, in most districts, exempted from it by the favour of the assessors.” This is as it should be. It is also worthy of remark that, as when a house is rebuilt, improved or enlarged, there is a new valuation for purposes of taxation, so by parity of reasoning in the event of a house having suffered much from wear and tear of time, there should be a new valuation with a view to the reduction of its tax. But unfortunately this equitable principle is seldom, if ever, acted upon in this Municipality.

‡ Mill very properly observes —“ As incomes below a certain amount ought to be exempt from income-tax, so ought houses below a certain value from house-tax, on the universal principle of sparing from all taxation the absolute necessities of healthful existence.” *Political Economy*, Book V, Chap. III. Houses being *necessaries*, they should not be so heavily taxed as *luxuries*. Hence, house tax must from its very nature be moderate ; but, unfortunately, for the public, this sound principle is not always acted upon. In civilised Greece, even war tax, which is so very necessary for the defence of the country, was very moderate. The Abbe Raynal says :—“ The impost laid by Aristides on all Greece for the

not the maximum rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. allowed by the Act, but  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. only. The conservancy tax is a little more than half of the house-tax. In 1889-90 the total income was Rs 56,861, but in the next year it fell to Rs. 49,531, and in 1892-93 it was still less, being Rs. 47,438 only. Thus the average income may be stated in round numbers at Rs. 50,000; and the average expenditure also being about the same amount, equilibrium is nearly maintained.\* This being the state of the finances of the Municipality, let us see how it has served the purposes for which it has been established and maintained.

At the outset of British rule in Bengal, the district had no road worthy of the name.† As for the roads spoken of by the great geographer, they were, as a rule, strips of land set apart at the various settlements for the purpose of public trade. Metalling and raising were quite unknown, and bridges there were only few.‡ This state of things continued till Mr. C. D. Smyth was appointed to the district.§ Now, what was true of the district in general, was not untrue of the head station. This town, too, stood in sad want of roads. But, with the advent of Mr. Smyth, this want was removed to a considerable extent. He constructed some good roads, most of which, if

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support of the war against Persia was so moderate, that those who were to contribute of themselves called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country in which taxes made the happiness of the people!" *History of Settlements in the East and West Indies*, Book XIX.

In Chapter V. of the aforesaid Book V, speaking of *local* taxes as distinguished from *general* taxes, the author says:—"It is an important principle, however, that taxes imposed by a local authority, being less amenable to publicity and discussion than the acts of the government, should always be especial—laid on for some definite service, and not exceeding the expense actually incurred in rendering the service." He then goes on to say that when, for instance, the tolls on roads or bridges have repaid with interest the whole of the expenditure, the road or bridge should be thrown open to the general public *free of toll*. In this connection we deem it proper to notice that in this Municipality *no tolls* are levied on roads or bridges.

\* It is observable that while the population increased from 31,177 in 1890-91 to 38,060 in 1892-93, the number of rate-payers decreased from 8,406 in 1890-91 to 7,715 in 1892-93; and, accordingly, there has been some diminution in the income.

† In Rennell's Map of the Hooghly district, however, it is shown as traversed by roads in every direction, but they were rather tracks set apart as roads than roads themselves.

‡ Toybnee, p. 105

§ Even in 1837, the Magistrate remarked that "there was not a single road in the district which a European vehicle could traverse, while the number passable for hackeries in the rains are lamentably few." In connection with road making, we deem it proper to mention the name of Baboo Chaku Ram Singh, Zemindar of Bhasara, who at his own expense constructed and also kept in repair an excellent road from Tribeni to his own village. He also gave Rs. 500 for the repairs of the Hooghly town roads.

not all, are still in existence in some form or other. The example set by Mr. Smyth was not lost upon his successors, so that Hooghly does not now stand much in need of roads. In fact, it is almost covered with a net-work of roads and lanes; and if one or two deficiencies were supplied, it would be well-provided so far as road-making goes.

Besides the Grand Trunk Road, there are the Strand road, the Pipalpati road, the Pánkhátuli road, and the Chuck Bazar road, all running southwards towards Chinsura. The Bolá-gore road, which after meeting the Grand Trunk Road, passes through Bali and the places to its south, supplies the wants of the people residing in the western quarter of the town. Corresponding to these roads which run north and south, there are the Jubilee road and the Cockerell road running east and west. The Jubilee road has been recently made, and, as it was constructed during the time when Mr. B. Dé was the Chairman of the Municipality, it bears his name. But, as a matter of fact, the road was not the work of the Municipality. It was constructed by the Railway Company for the easy transit of their building materials, and has since been purchased from them by the Municipality, which has metalled it. This road commences from the Imambara ferry-ghat and runs up direct towards the west, until it meets the Pánkhátuli road, whence, taking a little turn, it moves on like a huge unwieldy cobra before it crosses the Cockerell road, whence it runs direct towards Chinsura. The Cockerell road is the best in the whole station. It lies like a long wide riband, having its one end at the Báboogunge ghat and its other at the Hooghly Railway station. It is so straight that even a blind man might travel by it without the aid of a guide. At the boundary between Hooghly and Chinsura, there is a lane which runs westwards from Joraghat. If this lane were widened into a road and made to join the Chárghátá road, it would not only be a source of great convenience to people living in that quarter, but would add to the beauty and symmetry of the town. The Bolagore road extension, which passes through Bali and its neighbourhood, also needs to be widened in some places. Some of the bye-ways, it is true, are not as good as might be wished, but it is impossible to give general satisfaction in this respect. Thus, on the whole, Hooghly cannot be said to stand much in need of the means of easy and convenient locomotion and transit.

But the mere making of roads is not all that is required of a Municipality; it is equally necessary to maintain them in proper order. It is often found that to get a thing is not so difficult as to retain it. In the matter of roads, other people might learn from the French. Europe of all parts of the world



is famous for its roads, and France of all European countries stands conspicuous in this respect. French roads are the best in the whole world.\* Their road-men pay particular attention to the roads, and are always vigilant over them. If anything goes wrong, they readily set it right, always acting upon the maxim of "a stitch in time saving nine." To construct a road is not so difficult as to keep it in order. Good roads become bad roads through neglect, while bad roads become good roads, if well cared for. French roads are well kept in both wet and dry weather. If there is mud in the roads, the road-men soon scrape it off, and if there is dust they sweep it off. This should be done in every respectable Municipality, but, as a matter of fact, it is seldom done. We hope, however, that in the matter of the maintenance of the roads, the Municipal authorities of this town will try to follow the French, and if they need ocular demonstration of the doings of that civilized nation, they might satisfy themselves by a glance at their only remaining settlement in Bengal. Bridges there are few in this town, and they are not badly kept. But some hollow places require to be spanned by culverts, for in the rainy season locomotion becomes difficult in consequence of the overflow of water in them. This want is keenly felt in certain parts of Gholeghat and Ball, and I need not say that it should be supplied without any further delay.

Nothing is more conducive to health than pure, wholesome water, and it is no exaggeration to say, with the Sanskrit poets, that it is *life* itself. That this is so, we need not go far for proof, as it is best evidenced in Calcutta which, since the introduction of water-works, has, from an unhealthy place, been turned into almost a sanitarium. But all places do not require such works, nor can all places afford to pay for them. Hooghly is too poor to bear such an additional charge, and, unfortunately for us, we have no Nabob Gunny Meah or Nabob Ahsanollah amongst us. It is true, Mahárájá Durga Charan Laha is a native of Chinsura. But, though the Mahárájá has certainly the means, I doubt very much if he has also the wish to emulate these benefactors. We are told, however, that at a meeting which was held for the purpose he offered to pay ten thousand rupees for the proposed works, on condition that water should be supplied to the inhabitants free of charge; but where is the remainder of the amount to come from? It is open to question whether such works are absolutely necessary in this part of the country. Here the water of the river is not brackish as in Calcutta, and, except in the rainy months, it

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\* See also Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book V, Chap. I, pp. 305-306.

remains sufficiently pure, requiring no filtering before it can be drunk. In this opinion we do not stand unique, as we are borne out by the Administration Report of the Municipality for the year 1890-91. In that Report it is stated, evidently on the authority of the local Civil Surgeon, that the river water in this part of the country is *not unwholesome*, and that the water of the tanks resorted to by the people is also good.\* This being the real state of things, and as increase of taxation will make the burden intolerable, we may well defer the introduction of water-works to some future time. For the present, as a provision against the impurity of the river water during the rains, some additional tanks should be excavated, which should be reserved for drinking purposes only. To force water-works upon the people when they do not urgently require them, would be neither just nor proper. We need not remind our Chairman, in passing, that, while there was only one meeting in favour of the scheme, there have been several to protest against it.

Russell in his *Diary in the East*, observes that wind in Cairo means dust, and dust means utter discomfort. Now, what is true of that *Grand City* is also true of many other places in the East. Hooghly is not an exception. In the hot season dust rises on the least provocation. In such a place, road-watering is absolutely necessary, and the Municipal authorities too are not remiss in this matter. But unfortunately for the general public the watering is not done in the way in which it should be done. The fact is that while some favoured spots are watered to the consistency of clay, not a few are left wholly to themselves. In this connection, we ought to notice the benefit which has been conferred on the Municipality by the present Chairman by sinking a large well at Bhutkháná, mainly for the purpose of watering the Pánkhátuli and Pipulpati roads. This well, though it cost a pretty large sum, has done much good in the way of supplying water for watering the roads as well as for domestic purposes. An establishment of fifteen *gariwans* and ten sweepers has also been kept up for the purpose of sweeping the roads and removing the street sweepings.

The lighting of the town again has not been forgotten, the present Chairman especially deserving credit for having increased the number of lights from 300 to 462. In Calcutta, the lights are so many and are so beautifully arranged that it seems as if the festival of the *Dewali* were celebrated there

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\* In the Serampore Municipality also, there are no water-works, and yet the people do not seem to suffer at all. "The river water is used by almost all the people residing close to the river. The people who live in the interior obtain water from tanks for drinking and other domestic purposes." *Administration Report of the Serampore Municipality for 1892-93.*

every night. Although this is not the case in Hooghly, still the lights that exist are reasonably sufficient for the purposes for which they have been set up.

Next in importance to the supply of *pure* water is the drainage of *impure* water. Water has been called life, but what is *life* under one state of circumstances may prove *death* in another. Water which in its running state conduces to health and happiness becomes a fruitful source of injury and misery when it is allowed to stagnate. This is the main, if not the only reason why low marshes and silted up streams breed malaria and give rise to fever and other diseases. The Districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Burdwan and Hooghly, were at one time very healthy; but they have become for some years very unhealthy, simply because the rivers and streams, which were the natural channels, have silted up and ceased to perform their functions, thereby producing obstructions and causing ague and fever. The silting up of the Saraswati has contributed, not a little to the production and spread of malarial fever in Tribeni and its neighbouring villages, all of which were in days not long gone by remarkably healthy spots. The drainage of the Dankunja *bheels* in this district has considerably improved the health and fertility of the surrounding villages. Not many years ago, Calcutta was little better than the notoriously unhealthy places lower down the river, but since the introduction of water-works and the improved system of drainage, a great change for the better has come over it, insomuch that it would be no exaggeration to say that it has become almost a sanatorium.\* Except in the comparatively dirty quarters of Bali, the general health of the town is not bad; but, bad though it is not, it can not be said to be positively good, and this is mainly owing to its defective drainage. True it is, there are no marshes or swamps in it, or the place would become a regular Golgotha; but the existing drains are so ill kept that they have almost ceased to perform their functions. As they stand at present, the waters, not finding proper outlet, stagnate, and by coming into close contact with rank vegetation, breed malaria. Now that the Municipality has gained importance

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\* The island of Bombay was for a long time an object of general horror. No man chose to settle a territory so unhealthy as to give rise to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monsoons.* The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoa trees; it was with stinking fish that the trees were dunged, and the coasts were corrupted with infectious fens. Afterwards, with the advent of the English, the insalubrity of the air was corrected by laying the country open and procuring a drain for the waters. The Abbé Raynal's *History of European Settlements in the East and West*, Book III., J. O. Justamond's translation, 1873.

as a public institution existing for the promotion of the health and comforts of its inhabitants, it is its bounden duty to show that it has not been remiss in duly executing the grave charge which it has taken upon itself to perform; and, as we have stated before, the proposed drainage scheme, in view of which survey has been made and levels taken, should be put into actual operation without delay.

Besides adopting means to promote the health of its inhabitants, however, a Municipality should proceed further and also provide means for the recruiting of health when it has been put out of order. The human body, as the Bengali adage goes, is a store-house of distempers, and however carefully we may try to keep it from going wrong, it will now and then lose its even tenour and have to seek the aid of the healing art for the restoration of its normal condition. Our Municipality does not fulfil its duty in this respect, for the Commissioners have no dispensary of their own.\* The only public dispensary which exists in the Municipality is the Imambara Hospital, the whole expenditure of which is borne by what is called the Mohsin funds. This Hospital has been in existence since 1836,† and has, we must admit, done some good to the general public. A Cholera Hospital has since been established in Chinsura, mainly through the exertions of the present Chairman. The attempt is undoubtedly a very noble one, and we hope and believe that it will prove a successful institution in the cause of humanity.

If, again, it is necessary to provide means for the health of the body, it is equally necessary to provide means for the health of the mind, ignorance being no better than savagery. This want can only be supplied by proper education, and education, as a rule, cannot be imparted without the agency of schools. Of all the duties entrusted to Municipal bodies, the encouragement of education, more especially primary education, is one of the most important, and it is needless to say that this duty should be performed to its fullest extent, of course as far as the funds in hand will admit. In the Administration Report for 1865-66, we find no expenditure entered under the head of public instruction; in fact, there is no such item mentioned even by name. But since then matters have improved, and we find that in 1889-90 Rs. 800 was spent on that account, which was increased to Rs. 980 in the next following year. In 1892-93 the expenditure under this head came up to

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\* The Serampore Municipality has two Dispensaries of its own, which are maintained at a cost of about Rs. 4,300.

† The Serampore Native Hospital was also established in this year, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Marshman and Dr. Voigt, the Surgeon. F. G. Elberling's Report, 1845.

Rs. 1,859. In this connection we would suggest that, if the Municipality can manage to establish and maintain a free school in the town, it will do an immense deal of good to poor people who cannot afford to pay for the education of their children.

In hot countries like Bengal, small-pox\* is very common, especially in the months of April and May. Inoculation was all along the settled practice in Bengal, and it still lingers in some out-of-the-way villages, but the practice now in general use, as being favoured by Government, is vaccination.† One of the prescribed duties of Bengal Municipalities is the promotion of vaccination. For this purpose a staff of vaccinators is maintained at the expense of this Municipality, who go about vaccinating the people. Vaccination at a certain defined age has been made compulsory, and any departure from this regulation is met with due punishment.

In connection with the subject of health, the matter of burning ghats and burial grounds should not be left unnoticed. Neither the one nor the other should, if possible, exist in the heart of the town. They should be relegated to the extreme limits, and although that might entail some inconvenience on people engaged in the performance of the most painful of all duties, this does not count for much, when compared with the danger arising from the effects of cremation and interment in the midst of a crowded locality. The Kálitolá burning ghat is not so objectionable as the Ghutia Bazar ghat, and if it be possible, the latter should be closed up and a new one built in its stead in a less crowded quarter. The burial grounds which are in the midst of the town are seldom resorted to, most of the corpses of Mahomedans being interred in the maidan at Karbelá, near the Hooghly Railway Station. The Bandel burial-ground for Roman Catholics cannot be removed, but its situation is not objectionable. The Gorasthan burial-ground for Protestants and the Mogultuli burial-ground for Armenians have become almost useless in consequence of the paucity of these sections of the population in the town.

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\* This dreadful scourge was unknown in antiquity, it having arisen in modern times. Indeed, David Hume very properly observes :—" Diseases are mentioned in antiquity, which are almost unknown to modern medicine ; and new diseases have arisen and propagated themselves, of which there are no traces in ancient history. In this particular we may observe, upon comparison, that the disadvantage is much on the side of the moderns. Not to mention some others of less moment, the small-pox commits such ravages as would almost alone account for the great superiority ascribed to ancient times." *Essay on Populousness of Ancient Nations*. See also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Vol. I.

† The law relating to vaccination is embodied in Bengal Council Act V of 1880. Opinions differ as to the superior efficacy of vaccination ; and, some doctors even go so far as to condemn it. It seems to us that in Bengal it would be well if the old practice of inoculation were restored.

A word or two about the offices and other public buildings, and I shall have done with this part of the subject. On this head we are sorry to observe, the Hooghly Municipality has not much to boast of. It has no school, no dispensary, no hospital of its own. But, though poor in these matters, it is rich in the possession of a building for its office. This is the Jubilee Hall, which is situated in the very heart of the town, and owes its existence to Mr. G. Toynebe, of whom we have already spoken in connection with his useful publication. This gentleman called a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Hooghly and Chinsura on the 21st March 1887, and thus laid the foundation of a work which has since become an institution of the town. Before this building was erected, the Municipal Office had only "a name," but, since its erection, it has also found "a local habitation." Though not a splendid thing, it very well answers the purposes for which it was built. It is a one-storeyed house, comprising four rooms, two open verandahs, and a central hall, which gives it its name. This is the main office, in which all principal affairs are transacted. The building is also utilized for the purpose of holding public meetings. Thus, it is not only a business resort, but subserves other important purposes as well.

A short description of the Municipality may fitly close this paper. It consists of Hooghly Proper and the townships of Chinsura and Chandernagore, and covers an area of six square miles. It extends along the west bank of the Hooghly river, from the northern extremity of Mircala to the southern extremity of British Chandernagore, with an average width of a little above a mile. It is divided into six Wards, of which three are in Hooghly Proper, two in Chinsura, and one in Chandernagore. The administration of the Municipality is conducted by eighteen Commissioners including the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman. Of these Commissioners, twelve are elected by the rate-payers and the remaining six are appointed by Government. The number of rate-payers is 7,715. The Hindus muster strong in all the three towns of which the Municipality consists. The number of Mahomedans does not exceed six thousand souls. At one time there were many Europeans living in Hooghly and Chinsura, but a change has since come over the place, and the European population has been reduced to less than a dozen.

SHAMBHOO CHUNDER DEY,  
*Hooghly.*

## ART. XII.—GREEK SONNETS.

### DELPHI.

No mild majestic Christ compassionate,  
But Lord of song, and lofty as a star,  
Flashed from that mystic cave oracular,  
Dread presage of inexorable Fate :  
What time Defiance rang from State to State,  
And, as an orient storm-wave, surged afar,  
Thro' thunder-gloom of peoples massed for war,  
The Delphian's rhythmic rede predestinate.

Now o'er yon peaks no chants divine are blown,  
Where that illusive Fane, the Doubter's goal ?  
The Musés' aëry fountain sobs alone,  
Thro' thy dim grot no maddening vapours roll,  
And no prophetic utterance rends thy soul,  
O weird, wan priestess ! for the God has flown.

### CHAERONEA.

Of that dread hour I see the shadow loom,  
When Philip's host, in bodeful panoply,  
Swept toward the shock, and outraged liberty  
Could yield her sons no refuge save the tomb :  
Not their's to cleave that adamantine gloom,  
To strike the blow that glorifies the free,  
Not their's to emulate Thermopylae,  
And wrest Redemption from the grasp of Doom.

What Shape, august in anguish, mourns them still ?  
That head up-thrown, those grim teeth sternly set,  
He who hath gazed on once may ne'er forget :  
By tragic pangs, by patriot passion's thrill ?  
And thy supreme invulnerable will,  
O tameless lion, thou art conqueror yet !

## PLATÆA.

No perished State has left so pure a name;  
 Lonely the dolorous walls—but deem thou not  
 This, save by scholars, scarce remembered spot,  
 Less worthy of a Pericles' acclaim,  
 Than his own Athens' more resplendent fame :  
 Hence sprang the hearts whose blood pulsed fiery-hot  
 In that red death-grip, ne'er to be forgot,  
 When Hellas' heroes set the world aflame.

Be sure, where fell the foremost, there were they,  
 When o'er yon plain, to freedom consecrate,  
 From stern Cithæron surged the war-array :  
 The Spartan's ruthless steel, the Theban's hate,  
 This their sole guerdon ! When shall dawn the day  
 Of high deliverance from the chains of Fate ?

## SPARTA.

An ageless oak she seemed, foredoomed to grow  
 For ever scathless—hath she fallen thus ?  
 Where now Terpander's lyre tempestuous ?  
 Where old Tyrtæus' lilt ? who long ago  
 Sang spring-tide songs, that set her soul aglow,  
 Of glory's awful laurel amorous,  
 But rugged as her own Taygetus,  
 And shifting as her own Eurotas' flow.

Let other States Circean spoils amass  
 Of wealth, art, culture—she the men of steel,  
 And calculative craft, who scorned to feel,  
 Nurse of Lysander and Leonidas :  
 She whose three hundred made three millions reel,  
 When Freedom's Star flamed quenchless in the pass.



## MYCENAE.

Was't here Cassandra's soul-flash clove the gloom?  
 Around these haunted walls—this palace—clings  
 The hour when Fate's intolerable wings,  
 O'er-shadowed Him, the conqueror, lured to doom:  
 Lo! mystic gleams death's awful house illumine,  
 Can this be he to Ilion led the kings?  
 What woes, what wars, what fiery passion-springs  
 Slept in that splendour of Atrides' tomb!

Greek of the Greeks in truth, and born too late  
 In alien clime, though not too late for Fame,  
 Schliemann! could magic spell reanimate  
 Thy potent touch, MYCENAE were the name  
 To waft thee, with rekindled hopes affame  
 For victor quest, beyond the lions' gate.

## DELOS.

Sea-Queen, who sprang to greet thy Sun-Lord's kiss,  
 Priestess of sacred splendour, rhythmic state,  
 Did no swift prescience of some shrouded Fate  
 Flash thro' thee, darkening toward such doom as this?  
 Here, on the wreck of thy Acropolis,  
 Let fond impassioned fancy recreate  
 The loved lost Gods' who left thee desolate,  
 Isle of Apollo and of Artemis!

Time was when o'er those many-remembered seas,  
 Leapt, from Ionian lips, the lyric strain,  
 Ere soared the Pilot-Star of Pericles,  
 And Athens swayed her democratic main;  
 Now lone and low the Delian's shattered Fane,  
 And tuneless mourn the choral Cyclades.

C. A. KELLY.

ART. XIII.—DEATH AND LIFE.

CONFITEBRIS VIVENS,

Ecelus, XVII, 28.

The clouds are parted, and the air grows cold ;  
The darkened summits of the hill  
Lay a sharp shore against the twilight sky  
That deepens like a lake of molten gold,  
And the bare boughs are still.

Here, in forgotten graves,  
How many of our foregoers have found  
Return to that maternal breast  
Which nursed their infancy ! No sound  
Moves them to labour ; but the long grass waves  
The flag of their emancipated rest ;  
And we who mourn believe ourselves the slaves  
Of time, envy their slumber under ground,  
And say that their enfranchisement is blest.

But if it be, then nothingness is best,  
And all our love of earth, our joy  
In living, whatsoever loads we bear,  
With means that we employ  
To brighten our dark nights and days of care,  
Is frustrate ; idle all our generous strife ;  
Heroes have lived and poets sung in vain ;  
The dead are happy, being free from pain,  
And life is a delusion and a snare.

If that be true, as those who teach us say,  
And man continues when his soul has fled  
So that the ghosts of them we call The Dead  
Made pure by freedom from the cage of clay

With yearning presence watch us night and day;  
It is great marvel that they are not led  
To stanch some of the tears that mourners shed  
Or quench the doubts that blight us with their Nay.

But one is there, the Father and the Friend,  
The spirit of which our own is but a breath,  
Teaching our manhood as he tamed our youth :  
He guides the soul that loves him, till the end  
Restores it to the giver and blesses death  
For those who, seeing not, believe the truth.

And look ! The light is passed ; night's ebony maw  
Has swallowed all the liquid sky ;  
The outline of the hills, the traceried trees  
Are blotted ; our intensest gazing sees  
No sign of what, an hour ago, we saw :  
And yet, we know, where darkest shadows lie,  
The far-off stars are shining on the head  
Of many a roosting bird and sheltering sheep,

Not death but life is round us spread,  
Light, and not darkness.

Let us leave the dead—  
While yet our warmly stirring pulses leap—  
Neither pursue them to their doubtful bed  
Nor envy what we call their happy sleep.

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# THE QUARTER.

TOWARDS the close of December last, the London *Times*, "gloried with the triumphs of science over disease, confidently predicted, with reference to the Plague, that "the death-list in Bombay would not exceed one thousand for the whole outbreak in a city with over three-quarters of a million inhabitants." Three weeks later it had to acknowledge that the plague had caused the death of some 2,500 human beings in the city in question, and that its grip was not to be shaken off by hygienic measures. The daily telegraphic reports up to 9th March, although not complete, gave 5,357 new cases and 5,046 deaths, shewing that not only had the efforts of the doctors failed to stamp out the disease, but that its effects were nearly always fatal. Europeans have enjoyed a considerable degree of immunity, and when attacked seem to recover more frequently, owing presumably to their better style of living. The latest statistics (9th March) show 7,146 deaths in Bombay City, and 4,897 in other parts of that Presidency.

Dr. Hankin in December gave it as his view, that rats and insects that fed on dead rats, were sources of infection, and that the disease was not due either to air or food; but that it was communicated by indentation through the skin—we presume by the action of flies, mosquitoes, bugs or ants. We take it that the plague is regarded by Dr. Hankin as a contagious and not an infectious disease. His idea, moreover, was that the damp portions of houses stood most in need of disinfection, and advised the use of chloride of lime in the form of powder, as less likely to hurt caste feelings than disinfectants in a liquid form. The use of anti-toxic serum has been under trial. Surgeon-General Cleghorn commenced his inspection in the first half of January. He recommended compulsory segregation, and the free admission of sun-light and fresh air into houses. His plan was the isolation of patients and the removal of inmates of buildings, where the plague had appeared. Professor Haffkine recommended a military cordon round Bombay, which, of course, would have paralysed trade. The Plague Committee decided to give effect to Dr. Cleghorn's schemes, and to get the heads of families to consent to the evacuation of houses in which plague cases may have occurred—the patients to be put under treatment, and the uninfected to be accommodated in healthy localities. The Government of Bombay has since transferred the powers of the Municipal Corporation and Commission to a special Plague Committee for the purpose of dealing with the plague.

The action taken by the Government of India under the Pilgrims Act, which has left Calcutta and Madras as the only places open for the departure of pilgrims to Mecca, caused some excitement at Madras, both the local Government and the Municipality being averse to the measure. A public meet-

ing was called to protest against Madras being allowed to remain a pilgrim port; the Supreme Government for a time refused to interfere, but ultimately issued a notification forbidding the embarkation for the purposes of a pilgrimage of persons from Bombay and Sind to any Indian ports.

Among the places other than Bombay where the plague has broken out, are Poona, where up to date 407 cases had occurred and 408 deaths, and Karachi, where up to date 2,262 cases had occurred, and 1,995 deaths.

Special measures have been adopted by the Continental Governments in view of the possibility of the plague reaching Europe from India. The French Government has prohibited the landing, at French ports, of any goods from plague-infected places in India. Passengers are now subjected to special quarantine measures, and are to enter France only by Pauillac, St. Nazaire, Havre and Dunkirk. The British Government has been in communication with the French Government with a view to mitigate the rigours of quarantine.

A plague conference has been held at Venice. Owing to the plague being reported at Kandahar, Russia has formed a military cordon on the Bokharan frontier. The anti-toxin, so long in preparation by Professor Haffkine, had at length reached a stage at which it might be largely used in cases not moribund. The preventive lymph for inoculation was found so successful that the Municipal Commissioners, on the recommendation of Dr. Weir, have sanctioned the erection of a large building in the native town for the gratuitous inoculation of all comers. Men, women and children of all races have already been inoculated, and the number was increasing daily by the last report. Two more medical men who had gained experience at Hongkong, have arrived at Bombay and been placed on duty in the Secretariat. Dr. Yersin, the plague specialist, has also arrived.

Donations of breadstuffs in Russia, for the sufferers by the Indian famine, are to be conveyed carriage free to Odessa, and thence by free transport to India, by the ships of the Volunteer fleet. Accordingly large consignments of corn destined for India have been coming in to Odessa since 30th December.

By the end of November the exports of wheat from India had practically ceased, and that of rice declined largely. Lord G. Hamilton's excuse for delaying sanction to the opening of a famine fund in England, *viz.*, that an appeal to the public before the area and intensity of the evil were known, would mar its effect, reads well in theory; but, considering that the distress was foreseen so early at least as the autumn, it does not justify the delay on the part of the Government, or relieve them of responsibility for the loss in the meantime of many lives through starvation and its effects. At last, at the Council of Thursday, the 7th January, Lord Elgin announced that

private charity might usefully supplement official effort. He himself had accepted an offer, to preside at a Famine relief meeting in Calcutta, as thousands, perhaps millions, of people over a large area would be in distress for months. A national Indian Famine Relief Fund was at once opened at the Mansion House, Her Majesty opening with 500 pounds.

Lord G. Hamilton's forecast of the extent of the famine contemplates it as affecting 37 millions of population in British territory to the end of March, perhaps to the end of June, besides 6 millions in Native States. It is expected to cost the Indian Treasury in relief and loss of revenue from four millions to six millions sterling.

The great meeting, presided over by the Viceroy in Calcutta, came off at the Dalhousie Institute on the 14th January, and shewed that the authorities had become alive to the situation. The Government of India has declared itself responsible for supplying food to maintain life; but is the timeliness of the supply of such food no element in the responsibility? What if the food comes to centres to which the surrounding population have become too feeble to travel, or at a time when the debilitated condition of the miserable victims of weeks or months of starvation prevents their assimilating it? Is it enough to tell us in the middle of January that the number of persons on relief works had risen to 1,332,000 when we are assured that thousands are reduced by starvation to a state in which they are incapable of work?

To illustrate what we say, look at the condition of the Central Provinces in the middle of December last. A late member of the Bengal Civil Service and one who was on famine duty in Madras in the Great Famine of 1877, when five millions perished, writes to the following effect: "Prices have risen till they have doubled, and for some time past, reached starvation point for the poor. Everywhere there are traces of the greatest suffering. People emaciated to a terrible degree are now aimlessly wandering about and dying daily on the roads. At present there are more than 1,700 persons in the Jubbulpore poor house, in the last stage of exhaustion and collapse and the medical officer in charge tells me, that but few of them have any chance of recovering." Comparing his present surroundings with his experience in Madras in 1877, he says: "I then held charge of the most afflicted District (Cuddapah); but I never at any time saw anything there worse than the spectacle the Jubbulpore poor-house now presents." That this was so, was shewn by copies of three photographs which were made, on the 15th December, from groups of the inmates, and circulated with the *Statesman*, very shortly after. Mr. Goodridge writes that so far back as in September, the death-rate had risen in the District of Jubbulpore to 97'38; in Saugor to 98'68; in Damoh to 138'07; in Seoni to 70'72; in Mandla

to 108·28, while in some of the towns the figures were still more appalling, though not produced by epidemic disease. The death-rate per mille was—

Jubbulpore city	...	...	117·02
Marwara town	...	...	182·66
Shora town...	...	...	225·59

One point made clear by the results in the Central Provinces is that a "famine of labour" can only be met successfully *by being taken in time*. If the people are not kept in fair condition, but allowed to fall below a certain point and become enfeebled, future efforts can do little to restore them to health. And notwithstanding private efforts in every part of the Division for feeding the famine-stricken in relief houses and giving them blankets, the death-rate has been fearful, and the misery widespread.

At the Calcutta Meeting the scheme of relief proposed was disclosed to the public, who were invited to co-operate in relief operations. A Central Committee was also organized, and a subscription list opened, Lord Elgin heading it with Rs. 10,000 and Ralli Brothers following with Rs. 20,000. One lakh and thirty thousand Rupees were subscribed on the spot. A Central Committee was organized, with the Queen Empress as *Patron*; the Viceroy and Governor-General as *President*, and the heads of the local governments and administrations, including the Commander-in-Chief, as *Vice-Presidents*, and the Chief Justice of Bengal as *Chairman*. The Members of this General Committee formed so long and unwieldy a list that the first thing it did on coming together the following day (Sir Francis MacLean being convener and Chairman), was to appoint an Executive Committee for Calcutta, and Provincial Committees for other parts of the country.

The telegram sent to the Secretary of State by the Viceroy has also been communicated to the public. It shows the relief operations which are given below in a tabulated form :-

Presidency or Province.	Relief works.	Workers	Children and other Dependants.	Gratuitous relief to	
Punjab ...	...	28	30,489	10,278	353
Test works	...	36	4,391	...	.....
N.-W. P. and Oudh	...	64	279,428	77,645	39,544
Bengal...	...	87	68,476	18,000	13,593
Test works	...	5	422	.....	.....
Burmah	...	4	24,727	.....	5,407
Madras	...	21	19,543	.....	.....
Bombay	...	80	2,32,413	.....	6,917
Test works	...	28			
Central Provinces	...	99	149,062	.....	.....
Test works	...	8			

Besides above, there were poor houses as given below—

	Poor houses.	inmates.	
N.-W. P. and Oudh	...	112	44,348
Bengal	...	8	13,593
C. Provinces	...	61	16,027

In the C. Provinces there were on the same date 29,027 on railway works.

These statistics, it will be observed, take no note of the abnormal mortality caused by the famine. The reason given in Parliament for not shewing mortality tables simultaneously with tabulated relief operations, is that they take so much more time to collect. Let us, however, look at the following table which compares the mortality in the Central Provinces, one of the two worst stricken Divisions (the other being the Punjab), from 1st January to 30th September 1896 with the mean of ten previous years, 1886 to 1895.

Districts.	Population (Census 1891.)	Deaths at normal rate, 2'6 per mille.	Actual Deaths.	Excess over normal.
Narsingpore ...	367,026	8,586	12,646	4,060
Hosungabad ...	525,276	12,285	16,371	4,086
Nimar ...	172,120	4,023	6,839	2,816
Burhampore ...	81,366	1,899	2,206	307
Betul ...	322,196	7,560	8,874	1,314
Chindwara ...	339,443	7,938	10,807	2,869
Balaghat ...	383,331	8,964	12,458	3,494
Bandara ...	742,850	15,448	15,709	261
Nagpore ...	757,862	17,730	20,137	2,407
Wardha ...	400,854	9,378	12,872	3,494
Chanda ...	561,099	13,122	14,104	982
Raipore ...	1,755,698	29,376	28,943	-433
Bilaspore ...	827,433	19,359	21,725	2,366
Sumbulpore ...	388,205	9,081	8,979	-102
Jubbulpore ...	574,838	13,446	21,874	8,428
Saugor ...	191,743	13,842	27,004	13,162
Damoh ...	325,613	7,614	17,929	10,315
Mirwara ...	173,308	4,050	7,898	3,848
Mandla ...	339,373	7,938	15,088	7,150
Seoni ...	370,767	8,667	13,903	5,236
C. P. Totals ...	9,501,401	220,306	296,366	76,060

These figures are contributed from the official Gazette by an intelligent correspondent of the *Pioneer*, and their value consists in the fact that the deaths from cholera have been eliminated, the number (296,366) at foot of the column of actual deaths in the first nine months of 1896 being the result after deduction of the fatal cholera cases. Notwithstanding such deduction, the excess over the normal rate of death reached the frightful figure of 76,060 over the entire area of the Central Provinces to the end of September last.

On the 13th February there was a public Meeting at the Town Hall, Jubbulpore, with a view to elect a Divisional Committee and a District Committee, whose duty it would be to receive and expend the funds allotted to the Jubbulpore district, and also to collect funds locally. The Commissioner was present, and invited discussion as to the best mode of applying



the money in the relief operations. Among the measures proposed Mr. Goodridge, whose experience and interest in famine matters was invaluable, suggested the purchase of cattle from cultivators, offering to sell them below value, to be restored to them when the time came for cultivating the soil to receive the next *kharif* crops; (2) the purchase of seed-grain to be supplied to cultivators when sowings begin; (3) supply of additional rations and clothes to poor houses and relief workers. These suggestions were cordially approved by the Commissioner, who gave particulars of what was being done in the Division. We have not space to go into details; suffice to say that at the end of January 183,000 persons were receiving relief from Government in this Division, but later there had been a substantial fall in numbers, owing to harvesting operations. But though the crops in some parts were promising, and prices might rise slightly when the new grain came in, material alleviation of the situation could not be looked for, until the early monsoon crops had been gathered. A recent tour of Mr. Goodridge in the Jubbulpore Division has disclosed other aspects of the misery of the people. At the relief works the people were in rags. The plough-cattle are being extensively sold and slaughtered for the benefit of butchers and hide merchants, and it is feared that sowing operations among the Ghonds will be materially retarded.

Next to the Central Provinces, the Punjab has suffered most. The Branch there of the Famine Fund reported in the middle of February that their local funds were exhausted, the losses of cattle had been enormous, and the proprietary body had come to the end of its resources. Eleven lakhs of rupees were asked for to aid the aged and infirm and children, to maintain orphans, and to relieve poor but respectable persons who would sooner die than beg; and also to provide seed-grain and cattle for cultivators.

Lord Elgin, shortly after his return to Calcutta, presided at the Meeting of the 14<sup>th</sup> January. Better late than never; but no efforts now put forth can overtake the continuing effects of the disastrous delay on the part of Government in uniting with private benevolence to save life.

The Royal Commission for inquiring into Indian expenditure, Civil and Military, commenced its sittings under the presidency of Lord Welby, at the India Office, on the 8<sup>th</sup> February. The first witness examined was Sir Henry Brackenbury, late Military Member of the Viceroy's Council. Then came Lord Roberts and others. We trust that the expenditure on account of the annual picnics to the hills will be thoroughly investigated and declared.

In our last summary the scheme of the Port Commissioners, for restricting the use of the jetties to import cargoes, had not been sanctioned by the Government of India, pending a more definite expression of the views of the Chamber of

Commerce. The Chamber were engaged in placing the question before the whole body of members (165); but before its promised reply could be received, the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Marine Department, addressed the Financial Secretary, giving the *pros* and *cons* of the proposed arrangements. Sir Alexander Mackenzie's opinion was that the objections to the scheme, which come mainly from the P. & O. Company, had been entirely met by the Port Commissioners; and that the only one of any weight would cease to have force if the Government of India would sanction the purchase, by the Commissioners, of a powerful tug steamer to assist vessels moving from the jetties to the docks. Colonel McArthur's letters to the Financial Department have been published; and they shew that no improved arrangement would enable the jetties to meet both import and export transactions, while the cost of such improvement would render it impracticable. On the other hand, any inconvenience and expense caused to shippers dissatisfied with the Port Commissioner's arrangements at the Docks, would be trivial in comparison with the loss and harassment caused to importers and ship-agents by a block at the jetties. As regards the particular point at which the Government of India hesitated, *viz*, the possibility of the scheme being objected to by the commercial interests concerned, His Honour thinks those interests are powerfully represented in the Port Commission, who have in view the good of the trade of the Port as a whole. Since the publication of this correspondence a special general meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, convened by leading objectors to the scheme, threw out by a majority of 34 against 18, a Resolution protesting against the decision of the Government of India regarding the use of the Kidderpore docks for exports.

Though not so distinguished a phrase-maker as Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone has dropped epithets which "stick." Such is the title which he bestowed on the Sultan of Turkey, on the occasion of the unveiling of a stained glass-window presented to the parish church at Hawarden, to commemorate the slaughter of the Armenians in Turkey; when he called him "the greatest assassin in the world." The present position, however, seems to be this. Our prime Minister, has succeeded in bringing about a concert of the Powers, which will consider measures of coercion rather than suffer a fresh rebuff at the hands of the Sultan. Notwithstanding the determination of England not to act against Turkey, except in concert with Europe, Lord Salisbury in the debate on the address from the throne, used language, the significance of which can hardly be overestimated. When reviewing our past policy, that of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, he said that we had "put our money on the wrong horse," when we backed the Sultan against the Czar Nicholas. With the Armenian problem still unsolved, the interest of the quarter

has, however, centred upon another phase of the Eastern question—we mean the relation of Crete to Turkey. This brings the Greek to the front, and intense excitement has been manifested in Greece in the affairs of Crete. The scheme of the Powers for the reorganization of a Cretan gendarmerie has proved the signal for re-lighting the torch of civil war in Crete. The Mahomedans swarmed into the Hera Klion, where the Christians had entrenched themselves in strategic positions, and collisions became inevitable. The panic and the fighting broke out again at Canea, notwithstanding the presence of Major Bor of the British army in provisional command of the Cretan gendarmerie; and Canea was only restored to order by patrols of blue jackets and marines from the British, French and Italian men-of-war in the Bay. The real conflict is, however, between Turkey and Greece, and Greek and Turkish forces were collecting near the frontiers of Albania. The former has appealed to the Powers, and the latter is not to be bullied by diplomacy into forsaking the Christians in Crete, whither she has despatched a squadron. In February, popular meetings were held all over Greece, demanding the annexation of the island; while the Powers have advised Greece to recall her warships from Crete. The foreign Admirals have prepared a plan for the coercion of Greece, including the blockade of the Piræns and the Cretan coast, and the seizure of Greek warships disobeying orders. The autonomy of Crete with a Christian governor under the suzerainty of the Sultan is what the Powers have agreed to. But fighting continues in Crete between Greeks and Mahomedans. The bombardment of Canea by the Powers, when confirmed in Parliament, evoked strong feeling—the opposition howling and hooting, and Sir W. Harcourt protesting against British shells being used against Cretan Greeks. On the 6th March upwards of ten thousand people assembled in Hyde Park to protest against coercion being applied to Greece. One hundred members of the House of Commons, including Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Herbert Gladstone, lauding His Majesty's services in the cause of civilization. Parties of volunteers were leaving England to join the Greek army. These practical demonstrations indicate the trend of public feeling at home beyond dispute or doubt. While we are going to Press, the reply of Greece to the collective note of the Powers has been received. It urges the restoration of Crete to Greece and says that Greece cannot withdraw her troops as that would leave the Cretans to the mercy of the Mahomedans.

The Anglo-American treaty of general arbitration was signed at Washington on the 11th January by the British Ambassador, Sir J. Pauncefoot, and by the Secretary of State, Mr. Olney. It needs, however, the confirmation of the Senate of the United States to whom it has been sent. The committee of that body have made such recommendations as deprive it of all that was valuable. If accepted with the modifications

suggested, it would be a shame, and would amount to an agreement that both parties will arbitrate "when they feel like it, and not otherwise." It is said to have been shelved by the Senate, for the present.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, as the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign has been called, is attracting attention as regards the best mode of celebrating it. Different schemes have been proposed, all more or less partaking of the practical character of the English, for associating it with some philanthropic or charitable purpose, such as a gigantic scheme for the collection of money for the benefit of the London Hospitals. As regards the ceremonial to be observed, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught have been discussing it with the great officers of State at Marlborough House. The prime ministers of all the self-governing colonies have been invited to come to England to take part in the celebration; and it has been proposed that detachments representing their military forces as well as those of the dependencies of the Crown shall be brought over.

The modification of the Merchandise Marks Bill, if not its repeal, is being contemplated, as the scare implied in the words "made in Germany" is dying away. It is being felt that we need not go on advertising our competitors in neutral markets, and, as the *Times* says, "apart from advertisement of our rivals, is it not plain that we are frequently striking at some home industry? There are, no doubt, some articles which are produced both in this country and abroad, the English article being higher in price, but better in quality. People do not want to be protected from German articles that are good and cheap. They buy them even with 'made in Germany' staring them in the face, and they will leave them alone when English ones, equally good, are offered at the same or a somewhat lower price."

The year opened with one of those massacres which demonstrate the need of coercion for savage kings. A peaceful mission, headed by Acting Consul-General Philips, consisting of seven European officers, Civil and Military and 250 natives, was proceeding from the West-Coast of Africa to the City of Benin, on the frontiers of which they were fired upon, surrounded and captured. There seems hardly a hope that any have escaped or been spared. The savage brutality and reckless cruelty of the King of Benin seems to make the overthrow of his rule one of the duties we owe to humanity.

A punitive expedition to Benin city began to advance on the 3rd February, consisting of a Naval Contingent and other troops. Several posts had been occupied, and the first village on the road to Benin taken and stockaded.

Among the personal changes recorded in our last summary was the appointment of Mr. W. William Mackworth Young, C. S. I., to succeed Sir Dennis FitzPatrick as Lieutenant-

Governor of the Punjab. Sir Dennis made over the reins of Government to Mr. Young on the 5th March.

The Obituary of the Quarter includes the names of the Right Reverend George Wyndham Hamilton Knight Bruce, first Bishop of Mashonaland; Lieutenant-Colonel David Mackinlay Potter; Hon. George Von Bunsen; Lieutenant-Colonel John Thomas Carruthers, I. S. C. (retired); Major-General Henry Thomas Richmond; Major-General George Borlase Tremenheere; General Henry St. Clair Wilkins; Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, G. C. B.; Sir John Brown; Mr. Bertram Wodehouse Currie; Lady Forwood; General Sir George Colt Langley, G. C. B.; Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Grant Maltby, I. S. C.; Major-General J. D. Mein, Royal Artillery; Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Cobham Nicholson, M. D., I. M. S. (retired); General Meredith Read; Mr. Alfred Turner; Herr J. W. Von Wasielewski; Rev. James Ind Welldon, D. C. L., Honorary Canon of Canterbury; Rev. Herbert Evans, D. D.; Colonel C. H. Ewart, I. S. C.; M. Vivien de St. Martin; Mr. Richard Vigors Doyne, Barrister; Mr. A. C. Duff, I. C. S.; Major-General John Innis Gibbs, B. C. S. (retired); Surgeon-General Manifold; Surgeon-Major Robert Manser; Lady Elizabeth Vilfiers; Mr. James Talboys Wheeler; Major-General George Augustus Williams; Sir Travers Twiss; Rev. Thomas Hooper, Mr. Frederick John Mouatt, M. D., F. R. C. S., L.L. D.; Mr. Robert Keith Pringle; Lieutenant-Colonel Montague Brook Wilbraham Taylor; Sir Isaac Pitman; Mr. S. E. J. Clarke, Secretary to the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce; Karl Herman Satherberg; Mme. Edith Wynne (Mrs. Agabeg); General Sir Robert Phayre, G. C. B.; Sir Thomas Spencer Wells; General Alfred Butler Little; and Mr. Montague Vizetelly.

Of these Mr. Doyne, an advocate of the High Court, will be recalled to mind as having taken a leading part in the agitation which was set on foot against the License Tax, when he delivered one of the most powerful and exhaustive speeches which have ever been heard in the Town Hall of Calcutta. Dr. Mouatt was a familiar figure to a past generation. He was a man of great versatility of talent, and rendered services in Calcutta in his youth, as a Lecturer, and in maturer years in the educational department as well as in his own profession, as a promoter of sanitary reforms. Mr. Talboys Wheeler was a literary celebrity in his way, and excited the jealousy of his covenanted superiors by his brilliant talents. Mr. S. E. J. Clarke's merits are being recognized everywhere, and are too fresh in our memories to need to be repeated.

March 12th, 1897.

L.











