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"One hand is mightier than the other, the other is the More."—Socrates.



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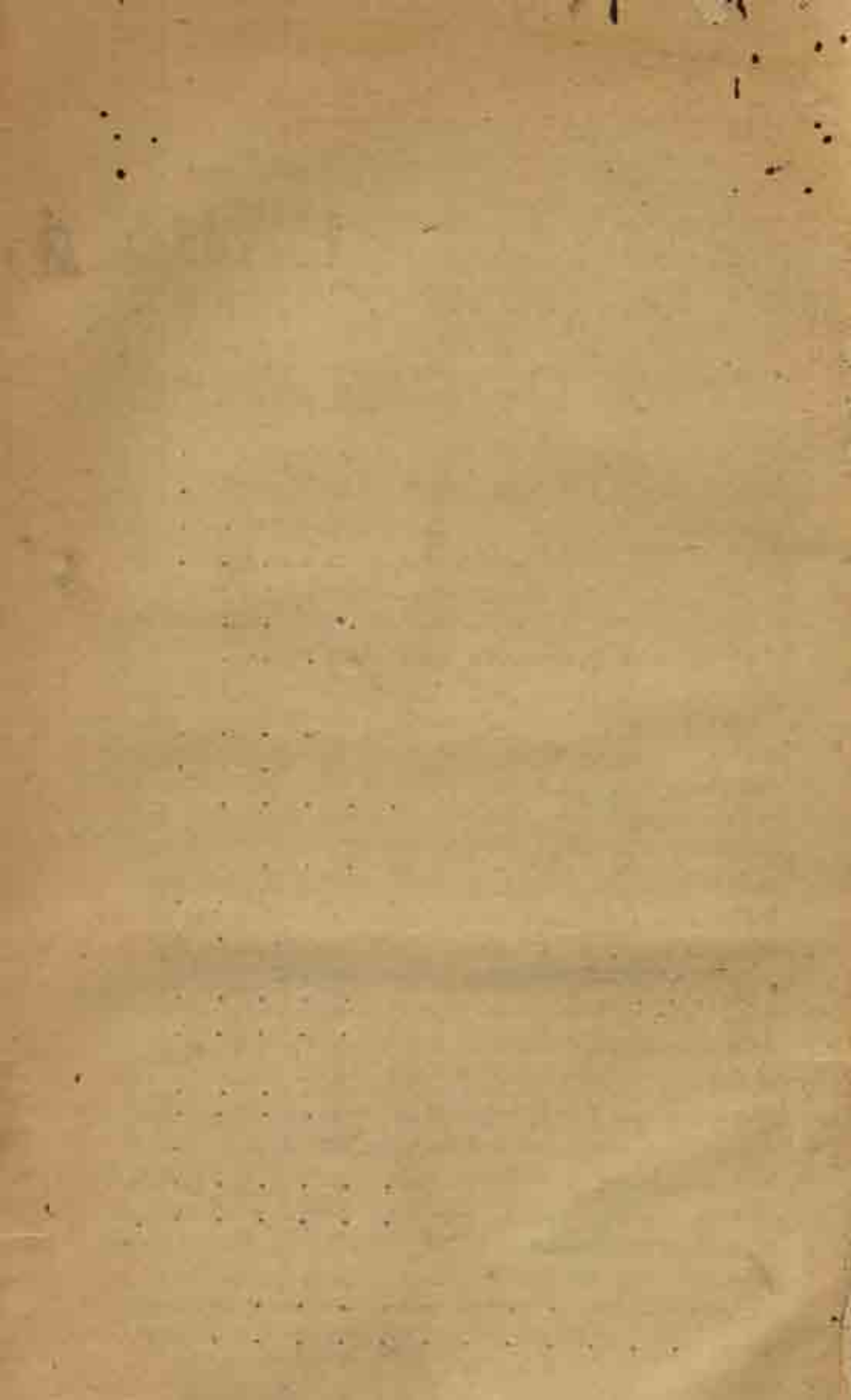
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Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1887.

CHINA.

THE SLEEP AND THE AWAKENING.

THERE are times in the life of nations when they would appear to have exhausted their forces by the magnitude of the efforts they had made to maintain their position in the endless struggle for existence ; and, from this, some have endeavoured to deduce the law that nations, like men, have each of them its infancy, its manhood, decline, and death. Melancholy and discouraging would be this doctrine could it be shown to be founded on any natural or inevitable law. Fortunately, however, there is no reason to believe it is. Nations have fallen from their high estate, some of them to disappear suddenly and altogether from the list of political entities, others to vanish after a more or less prolonged existence of impaired and ever-lessening vitality. Among the latter, until lately, it has been customary with Europeans to include China. Pointing to her magnificent system of canals silted up, the splendid fragments of now forgotten arts, the disparity between her seeming weakness and the record of her ancient greatness, they thought that, having become effete, the nineteenth-century air would prove too much for her aged lungs. Here is the

opinion of a distinguished diplomatic agent* writing of China in 1849: "With a fair seeming of immunity from invasion, sedition, or revolt, leave is taken to regard this vast empire as surely, though it may be slowly, decaying."

This was the opinion of a writer whose knowledge of China and its literature is perhaps unequalled, and certainly not surpassed; nor was he alone in entertaining such an opinion at the date on which he wrote, for by many it was then considered that the death of Tau Kwang would severely try, if not shake the foundations of the empire. But, as events have shown, they who reasoned thus were mistaken. China was asleep, but she was not about to die. Perhaps she had mistaken her way, or, what is just the same, had failed to see that the old familiar paths which many centuries had made dear to her did not conduct to the goal to which the world was marching.

Perhaps she thought she had done enough, sat down and fallen asleep in that contemplation which, if not always fatal, is at least always dangerous—the contemplation of her own greatness. What wonder if she had done so? Everything predisposed to such an attitude of mind. The fumes of the incense brought by many embassies from far-off lands, the inferiority of the subject races that looked up to her, the perfect freedom from the outer din ensured to her by the remoteness of her ample bournes—all predisposed her to repose and neglect to take note of what was passing in the outer world. Towards the end of the reign of Tau Kwang, however, the sleeper became aware that her situation scarcely justified the sense of security in which she had been reposing. Influences were at work, and forces were sweeping along the coast very different from those to which China had been accustomed. Pirates and visitations of Japanese freebooters had occasionally disturbed the tranquillity of certain places on the seaboard; but the men who now began to alarm the authorities were soon found to be much more redoubtable

* The present Sir Thomas Wade.

than these. Wherever they came they wished to stay. Submissive at first, they engaged in trade with our people, and tempted them with strange merchandize. It was not long before troubles arose which showed that the white trader could fight as well as buy and sell. The Treaty of Nankin, in 1842, which was the result of these troubles, opened four more doors in the wall of exclusiveness with which China had surrounded herself. Amoy, Foochow, Ning Po, and Shanghai were added to Canton, thus making five points of touch between China and the West. This did something to rouse China from the Saturnian dreams in which she had been so long indulging; but more was wanting to make her wide awake. It required the fire of the Summer Palace to singe her eyebrows, the advance of the Russian in Kuldja and the Frenchman in Tonquin, to enable her to realize the situation in which she was being placed by the ever-contracting circle that was being drawn around her by the European. By the light of the burning palace which had been the pride and the delight of her Emperors, she commenced to see that she had been asleep whilst all the world was up and doing; that she had been sleeping in the vacuous vortex of the storm of forces wildly whirling around her. In such a moment China might have been excused had she done something desperate, for there is apt to be a good deal of beating about and wild floundering on such a sudden awakening; but there was none in the case of China. A wise and prudent prince counselled China to pay the price of her mistakes, whilst the great Chinese statesman who is now in power, and who, since 1860, has rendered such incalculable services to his country, began that series of preparations which would now make it difficult to repeat the history of that, for China, eventful year. It is not a moribund nation that can so quietly accept its reverses, and, gathering courage from them, set about throwing overboard the wreckage, and make a fair wind of the retiring cyclone. The summer palace, with all its wealth of art, was a

high price to pay for the lesson we there received, but not too high if it has taught us how to repair and triple-fortify our battered armour; and it has done this. China is no longer what she was even five years ago; each encounter, and especially the last, has, in teaching China her weakness, also discovered to her her strength.

We have seen the sleep; we come now to the awakening. What will be the result of it? Will not the awakening of 300 millions to a consciousness of their strength be dangerous to the continuance of friendly relations with the West? Will not the remembrance of their defeats and the consciousness of their new-discovered power make them aggressive? No; the Chinese have never been an aggressive race. History shows them to have always been a peaceful people, and there is no reason why they should be otherwise in the future. China has none of that land-hungering so characteristic of some other nations—hungering for land they do not and cannot make use of—and, contrary to what is generally believed in Europe, she is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population. Considerable numbers of Chinese have at different times been forced to leave their homes, and push their fortunes in Cuba, Peru, the United States, and the British Colonies; but this must be imputed rather to the poverty and ruin in which they were involved by the great Taiping and Mohammedan rebellions than to the difficulty of finding the means of subsistence under ordinary conditions. In her wide domains there is room and to spare for all her teeming population. What China wants is not emigration, but a proper organization for the equable distribution of the population. In China proper, particularly in those places which were the seats of the Taiping rebellion, much land has gone out of cultivation, whilst in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan, there are immense tracts of country which have never felt the touch of the husbandman.

Not only for economical, but for military reasons the

colonization of these immense outlying territories has become indispensable. And recognizing this, the Imperial Government have of late been encouraging a centrifugal movement of the population in certain thickly inhabited portions of the empire. But the occupation of waste lands is not the only agency to absorb any overflow of population which may exist in certain provinces. Another and a more permanent one will consist in the demand which will soon be afforded by the establishment of manufactures, the opening of mines, and the introduction of railways. The number of hands which these industries will employ can only be conceived when we remember that hitherto they have contributed nothing to the support of the country, and that were they developed to only a tithe of the extent to which they exist in Belgium and England, amongst a population of 300 millions, the number of mouths they would feed would be enormous. These considerations will explain the indifference with which the Chinese Government have received the advances which at different times and by various Powers have been made to induce China to take an active part in promoting emigration and engagements for the supply of labour. But, even had these reasons not existed, the outrageous treatment which Chinese subjects have received, and in some countries continue to receive, would have made the Imperial Government chary of encouraging their people to resort to lands where legislation seems only to be made a scourge for their especial benefit, and where justice and international comity exist for everybody, bond and free, except the men of Han. Were it not for the onesided manner in which, in some of these countries the law is administered, one might think, from their benevolent dispensation with the *lex talionis*, that the millennium was at hand there. There is no question of an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth, excepting when the unfortunate offender belongs to the nation of the almond eye.

If any one should consider this language is too strong,

he must be strangely ignorant of the outrages committed on Chinese, and of the exceptional enactments directed against them, to which the Press and the Statute Book have so often borne testimony within the last three or four years. But, to render justice where justice is due, a disposition has of late been manifested by foreign governments to give Chinese adequate protection against the rowdy elements of their population, and to recognize the right of Chinese subjects to the same immunities as those which by the law of nations are accorded to the subjects of other Powers. The United States Government on a recent occasion energetically suppressed a hostile movement directed against Chinese, and awarded to them compensation for the losses to which they had been subjected. But if neither a spirit of aggression, springing from and nurtured by the consciousness of returning strength, nor the necessity of an outlet for a surplus population, is likely to endanger the good relations which now exist between China and the Treaty Powers, is it equally certain that a desire on the part of China to wipe out her defeats is not to be dreaded? Such was not the opinion of many who watched the course of events during the Franco-Chinese struggle for the possession of Tonquin. On every side we used then to hear it said, even in circles which took the Chinese side, that it would be disastrous to foreign relations should France not emerge from it completely triumphant. Success, it was maintained, would intoxicate the Chinese, make them overbearing and impossible to deal with. But has this been the case?

China laughed to scorn the demands of France for an indemnity, exacted the restoration of her invaded territory, and made peace in the hour of victory. Did this make China proud? Yes, proud with a just pride. Did it change her bearing, or make her less conciliating in her intercourse with the foreign Powers? No. At no time since her intercourse with the West commenced have her relations with the Treaty Powers, and

more particularly with England, been so sincerely friendly. At no time have their just demands been received with such consideration, and examined with such an honest desire, to find in them grounds for an arrangement. China will continue the policy of moderation and conciliation which has led to this happy result. No memory of her reverses will lead her to depart from it, for she is not one of those Powers which cannot bear their misfortunes without sulking. What nation has not had its Cannæ? Answer: Sadowa, Lissa, and Sedan. China has had hers, but she is not of opinion that it is only with blood that the stain of blood can be wiped out. The stain of defeat lies in the weakness and mistakes which led to it. These recovered from and corrected, and its invulnerability recognized, a nation has already reburnished and restored the gilding of its scutcheon.

Though China may not yet have attained a position of perfect security, she is rapidly approaching it. Great efforts are being made to fortify her coast and create a strong and really efficient navy. To China a powerful navy is indispensable. In 1860 she first became aware of this, and set about founding one. The assistance of England was invoked, and the nucleus of a fleet was obtained, which, under the direction of Admiral Sir Sherrard Osborn, one of the most distinguished officers of the Royal Navy, would long ere now have placed China beyond anything save a serious attack by a first-class naval Power, had it not been for the jealousies and intrigues which caused it to be disbanded as soon as formed. Twice since 1860 China has had to lament this as a national misfortune, for twice since then she has had to submit to occupations of her territory which the development of that fleet would have rendered difficult, if not impossible.

China will steadily proceed with her coast defences and the organization and development of her army and navy, without, for the present, directing her attention either to the introduction of railways, or to any of the other subjects

of internal economy which, under the altered circumstances of the times, may be necessary, and which she feels to be necessary; for, unlike Turkey, she will not fall into the mistake of thinking that when she has got a few ships and a few soldiers licked into form, she has done all that is required to maintain her position in the race of nations. The strength of a nation is not in the number of the soldiers it can arm and send forth to battle, but in the toiling millions that stay at home to prepare and provide the sinews of war. The soldiers are but the outer crust, the mailed armour of a nation, whilst the people are the living heart that animates and upholds it. Turkey did not see this, though it did not escape the keener vision of that Indian Prince who, when looking down on the little British force opposed to him, exclaimed, "It is not the soldiers before me whom I fear, but the people behind them—the myriads who toil and spin on the other side of the Black Water."

It is not the object of this paper to indicate or shadow forth the reforms which it may be advisable to make in the internal administration of China. The changes which may have to be made when China comes to set her house in order, can only profitably be discussed when she feels she has thoroughly overhauled, and can rely on, the bolts and bars she is now applying to her doors. It is otherwise with her foreign policy. Of the storms which ever and again trouble the political world, no nation is more master than it is of those which, from time to time, sweep over its physical horizon. Events must be encountered as they arise, and fortunate is the nation that is always prepared for them, and always ready to "take occasion by the hand." The general line of China's foreign policy is, for the immediate future, clearly traced out. It will be directed to extending and improving her relations with the Treaty Powers, to the amelioration of the condition of her subjects residing in foreign parts, to the placing on a less equivocal footing the position of her feudatories as

regards the Suzerain power, to the revision of the treaties, in a sense more in accordance with the place which China holds as a great Asiatic Power. The outrageous treatment to which Chinese subjects residing in some foreign countries have been subjected has been as disgraceful to the Governments in whose jurisdiction it was perpetrated as to the Government whose indifference to the sufferings of its subjects residing abroad invited it. A Commission has recently been appointed to visit and report on the condition of Chinese subjects in foreign countries, and it is hoped that this proof of the interest which the Imperial Government has commenced to take in the welfare of its foreign-going subjects will suffice to ensure their receiving in the future the treatment which by the law of nations and the dictates of humanity is due from civilized nations to the stranger living within their gates.

The arrangements for the government of her vassal States, which, until the steamer and the telegraph brought the east and the west so near, had been found sufficient, having on different occasions of late led to misunderstandings between China and Foreign Powers, and to the loss of some of the most important of her possessions, China, to save the rest, has decided on exercising a more effective supervision on the acts of her vassal Princes, and of accepting a larger responsibility for them than heretofore. The Warden of the Marches is now abroad, looking to the security of China's outlying provinces—of Corea, Thibet, and Chinese Turkestan. Henceforth, any hostile movements against these countries, or any interference with their affairs, will be viewed at Peking as a declaration, on the part of the Power committing it, of a desire to discontinue its friendly relations with the Chinese Government.

It is easier to forget a defeat than the condition of things resulting from it; the blow, than the constant falling of the fists. Any soreness which China may have experienced on account of events in 1860 has been healed over and forgotten long ago, but it is otherwise with the treaties

which were then imposed on her. She had then to agree to conditions and give up vestiges of sovereignty which no independent nation can continue to agree to, and lie out of, without an attempt to change the one and recover the other. The humiliating conditions imposed on Russia with regard to the Black Sea in 1856 had to be cancelled by the Treaty of London in 1871.

In the alienation of sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports, as well as in some other respects, China feels that the treaties impose on her a condition of things which, in order to avoid the evils they have led to in other countries, will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period. China is not ignorant of the difficulties in which this action may involve her, but she is resolved to face them, rather than incur the certainty of some day having to encounter greater ones; evils similar to those which have led to the Land of the Fellah concerning nobody so little as the Khedive.

It behoves China, and all the Asiatic countries in the same position, to sink the petty jealousies which divide the East from the East, by even more than the East is separated from the West, and combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on treaties rather than on capitulations.

In her efforts to eliminate from the treaties such Articles as impede her development, and wound her just susceptibilities, without conferring on the other contracting parties any real advantages, China will surely and leisurely proceed to diplomatic action. The world is not so near its end that she need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done that she will not have time to play the rôle assigned her in the work of nations.

TSENG.

THE EMPRESS OF INDIA.

ON New Year's Day, ten years ago, all India was astir with an event which history can never again record under anything resembling the same circumstances. The proclamation of the title by which the Queen of England associated Herself and Her Crown with the British dominion in India was indeed an act of historic and lasting importance. It did not presage war or change, nor did it assert new rights or impose fresh obligations. It was emphatically an act of grace, a message of good-will, a ratification of the noble Proclamation of 1858, when in words of benevolence and mercy the sovereign assumed the direct administration of the great dependency which the all-wise Disposer of events had brought under her gracious rule. Three centuries of incessant national activity, far from wearing out, had stimulated the dauntless spirit which animated the English nation and its sovereign when Queen Elizabeth, granting charters of imperial and commercial sway as if they were mere writs to her county lieutenants, proudly boasted that "in the frail body of a feeble woman she had the heart of a great king." The resolute kingdom which, in her reign, had begun to extend its island enterprise towards every quarter of the then known world had since grown, eastward and westward, into a mighty empire; and the magnitude of the achievement justified the assumption of a style which the practical difficulties of administration showed to be requisite.

Never, in all probability, had New Year's Day been the occasion of festivities more important in their practical significance than those with which it was celebrated in 1877, and yet the Royal Crown of this realm derived from

the addition to its ancient titles no superiority of rank in the order of sovereign states. In its original sense, indeed, the imperial title does not even denote the possession of any sort of sovereign power; but convenience of language has, more or less in all countries, but especially in those of the East, identified the title of Emperor with the idea of a paramount power charged with the external protection of a number of semi-sovereign states or distinctly separate communities, united only in their allegiance to the common protector.

This was precisely the position occupied by the British Crown in India previous to the Queen's assumption of the imperial style, and in India itself no other title had been found capable of expressing the sense in which such a position was universally understood by her Indian subjects and feudatories. In their eyes the transfer of the administration of India from the Company to the Sovereign had replaced the impersonal power of an administrative abstraction by the direct personal authority of a human being. The Queen had become *ipso facto*, their *Pādsháh*, or Emperor, and the change was thoroughly congenial to all their traditional sentiments. But to Her Majesty's Indian subjects and feudatories the Queen of England as governing India without some appropriate title was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself. It was only with the Queen of England as their *Pādsháh* or Empress of India that they could realize the existence of natural and definite relations. These are not put forward as mere arguments. They are intended as the faithful representation of thoughts which found expression among the educated classes of native society in India; and before experience had furnished practical evidence of the desirability of the change, the perception of the need of adding to the style of the sovereign formed the subject of careful consideration in 1858-59 by the Governments of Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston. The adoption of some title, correctly representing the nature of the relations between the Queen

and her Indian subjects became, as time went on, a practical necessity, and the inconvenience arising from the want of such a title was more and more felt by the Government of India in its official correspondence, not only with the feudatory princes of the empire, but also with the independent sovereigns of neighbouring territories. For the requirements of that correspondence the title of *Queen* was found to be both inadequate and misleading when employed to designate the sovereign Power of an empire comprising many semi-sovereign states ruled by kings and queens of their own in acknowledged allegiance to the British Crown. The term *Malika*, the only Indian word corresponding to the English *Queen*, was the phrase imposed on the Government of India for ordinary use in reference to the Queen. It is a term which—peace to the shades of all learned commentators on the subject!—is recognized in India as the title given to the wife of an Indian prince; and it was therefore entirely inapplicable to the true position of the British sovereign in India. This position the title of Empress does correctly represent, and the most cursory reference to the ruling titles known and understood throughout India will suffice to show how easily it is susceptible of translation into terms not only intelligible, but familiar to the natives of that country, and what is more important sufficiently impressive and significant in their eyes.

The ancient designation of Hindu dynasties was *king*. Adam was in their history king of Brahmavata. Thence sprang the Hindu designations of *Rājā*, *Rāo*, *Rānā*, and so forth, applied to the ancient Hindu and Mahratta dynasties of Rajputana, Assam, Poona, Mysore, Sattara, and Nagpore. The Buddhists adopted the same title; hence the designation of kings of Thibet, kings of Ceylon, kings of Burmah, and kings of Siam. The rise of the Suni Mahomedans brought in the appellation of *Sultan*, a word of Arabic origin answering to power, which is still used in the sense of *Sultanat* or rule, and is under-

stood by Mahomedans as referring chiefly to that authority which a prophet has over men. By this title an idea of dependence on the Khálifs of Bagdád was always implied, for which reason the early Sultans of Delhi and Jaunpore invariably called themselves "Helpers of the Commander of the Faithful," and sent embassies to Bagdád and Egypt to obtain an acknowledgment of the legality of their rule.

When Báber and his descendants established the Mogul Empire of India, they threw off the title of *Sultán*, and assumed the higher one of *Pádsháh*. This implied independent rule, and non-subjection to the Khálifs of Bagdád. The Mogul Emperors considered themselves, indeed, lawful rulers of the whole of India, although their real sovereignty fell very far short of that of the present British Indian Empire. It is not without interest to add that they never acknowledged any nationalities under them as independent, but compelled their subordinate kings and sultans to be content with such general and inferior titles as *Hákim*, *Wáli*, *Rája*, *Nizám*, *Khán*, and *Náwáb*. The princesses of the imperial family were styled *Sultán Begums*, and the sons and grandsons *Sháhzáds*. Their nobles were called *Máleks* (from the Hebrew word *Melek*), *Kháns*, *Mirzas*, *Amirs*, and so forth. The queens—that is to say, the wives of the rulers—held such titles as *Malika-i-Tahán*, and *Pádsháh Begum*, &c. Had they become reigning queens, they would no doubt have dropped the word *Begum*, and called themselves *Pádsháh*, in the masculine form. The Delhi Court, indeed, would have laughed at them had they styled themselves *Malikas*, inasmuch as feminine titles in India are held, at any rate by the masses, to imply inferiority, so much so, that, to take a solitary instance known to all, the Begum of Bhopal places the masculine title of *Náwáb* before her name. Thus it will be seen that the term *Malika*, or queen, was altogether inappropriate for the position actually occupied by the sovereign of India.

Occasional attempts to invest it with suitable dignity by the unauthorized formula of *Hazrat Malika Mu'azzama*,

corresponding to the words "most gracious Majesty," were completely unsuccessful, as the present writer can testify from his recollection of comments made to himself at some of the leading native courts. Neither chiefs nor people in fact could understand why their *Pādshāh* should be called *Malika*. Even as long ago as 1839, that title was considered by Lord Palmerston to be so inapplicable to the Queen's position in India, that he declined to receive from the Persian Government an official communication in which it was applied to Her Majesty, Lord Palmerston contending that *Pādshāh* was the proper title for a Queen Regnant, and that the term *Malika* was only applicable to a Queen Consort. Lord Palmerston carried his point; but the inconvenience which had occasioned his discussion with the Persian Government on this subject continued to obtrude itself in various forms upon the attention of Secretaries of State, Viceroys, and other authorities concerned in the administration, or representing the public opinion, of India. On more than one occasion, indeed, since the proclamation of 1858, the Queen had been styled "Empress of India" and "Empress of Hindustan," in communications addressed by the Indian Government to Eastern chiefs, although no legal authority existed for this practice. There were also occasions when important native representatives asked that the Queen might be called *Shāh-in-shāh*. The embarrassments, in short, which were inseparable from the want of some such designation, had long been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian Governments, when they were brought, as it were, to a crisis by various circumstances incidental to the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and by a recommendation on the part of Lord Northbrook, early in 1876, that it would be in accordance with fact, with the language of political documents, and with that in ordinary use, to speak of Her Majesty as the Sovereign of India—that is to say, the paramount power over all, including Native States.

With all this before them, it became imperative on Her

Majesty's Government of that day to take the matter once more into consideration. It was accordingly announced in the Speech from the Throne in the session of 1876, that whereas when the direct government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign, Her Majesty deemed that moment a fitting one for supplying the omission, and of giving thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable sentiments which she had always entertained towards the princes and people of India. This decision, announced in the Speech from the Throne, gave rise to some parliamentary discussions, in the course of which various objections to the proposed title, such as the dislike with which the Indian princes would view it, and the disagreeable ring it had in English ears, were expressed. The purpose of the present paper is not concerned with the examination of those objections. To some extent they were probably attributable to the foreign character* of a title associated with ideas of despotic government, and therefore distasteful to a nation whose representative Constitution carefully restricted the power of the Crown. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the imperial title was only assumed by Her Majesty in exclusive relation to that far Eastern portion of her dominions, where both the character of her Crown and the fundamental conditions of her government are necessarily in a measure despotic, and where, if not despotic, they would cease to be beneficent. It is often said that the British Empire in India has been won by the sword. This is true in a certain sense; but it is not true in the sense generally given to the assertion. The sword which won our Indian Empire was never drawn except in alliance with some native dynasty, for the invoked protection of some native territory, or in defence of the existence of British rule. Native India has not been conquered by the English as Saxon England was conquered by the Normans.

* Although it should be remembered that so English a poet as Spenser dedicated his "*Faery Queen*" to the "*Mightie Emperesse Elizabeth*."

The peaceful empire into which its component states, redeemed from internecine conflict, have at last been consolidated under one rule, owes, no doubt, to the protection of the British sword a longer period of tranquillity and a higher degree of social freedom than it ever before enjoyed; and these blessings it will assuredly lose if ever the power of that sword is broken. Only in this sense, however, is our Indian Empire a dominion of the sword. Its constituent nationalities are foreign to each other. From time immemorial they have been subject to a paramount power which, for that very reason, could not possibly be national. The brightest periods of their collective history have been attributable to the firm establishment and vigorous exercise of such a power; their worst calamities have arisen from the decay and abeyance of its authority. Hence the quality of the paramount power which they justly deem most indispensable to its beneficence is strength, and what they are most inclined to mistrust and resent in the conduct of its possessor is any apparent disposition to shrink from the open and definite assertion of his authority.

For this reason it was important to give proper emphasis to the new title, and yet the native mind was soon filled with distrust and prejudice in regard to it by the unfortunate opposition to the Royal Titles Bill in its passage through Parliament. It was useless to disguise the fact that the grace and value of the new title had been seriously diminished by these debates in the minds of the Asiatic races to whose sympathies it had been intended to appeal. The feeling of favourable expectation and satisfaction first excited by the prospect of the new title was now troubled and chilled. A vague suspicion obtained hold of the native mind, which, from too close attention to the arguments used for party reasons at home, conceived that the political purpose of the new title was to find a vent for the so-called imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield, and that it might even be one of covert and crafty hostility to the rights and interests of the native princes. The Queen's act had already lost

virtue; the title required to be rehabilitated in the native imagination and, practically speaking, the final effect of its adoption depended very much on the manner and circumstances of its proclamation. After careful consultation with the heads of the different administrations in India, Lord Lytton's Government had good reason to believe that a simple notification of the title in the *Gazette*, or by a circular communication to the native princes, would have left the mind of Native India in considerable confusion and doubt as to the real nature of the position which it was the object of the title to define and establish. They deemed it necessary to decide, therefore, for this and other general considerations of weight, that an imperial assemblage should be held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1877, and that durbars should be similarly convened in the principal centres throughout India for the purpose of explaining the aims and objects of Her Majesty's gracious act, and of proclaiming it in a befitting manner.

It may be said, in passing, that among the many difficult questions which came under the Viceroy's consideration in connection with this event, was that of the translation of the new title into the vernacular. At one time it was thought possible, and indeed preferable, that the English version should be unchanged. But this idea was finally dismissed for the simple reason that an inaccurate native pronunciation would greatly disfigure the English word, and probably deprive it of its full significance. What, therefore, was the translation to be? To the word *Padshah* there were numerous objections. It was a title already borne by many Oriental princes greatly inferior in power and position to the Empress of India. For similar reasons the authorities were loth to adopt the term *Shah-in-shah*, which was practically a Persian title, that could hardly be borrowed from so poor a crown. All things considered, the Government of India decided to adopt a translation which had the advantage of being the same in Sanscrit and Arabic, and of being at the same time thoroughly familiar to the

Oriental mind, not only in India but throughout the surrounding regions of Central Asia, as the recognized symbol of imperial power. This translation was *Kaisar-i-Hind*. As may perhaps be well known to many, one of the titles of the ancient kings of India was *Kesari*, of which the Persian *Kaisar* is but another form. The term *Kaisar* passed, in fact, from Latin into Persian at a comparatively early period, as it occurred in the *Shahnama* of Firdusi early in the eleventh century, and became current, not only in Hindustani, but also in the other literary languages of India. Besides these recommendations in its favour, this translation had other merits. It was sonorous. It was not hackneyed nor had it been monopolized by any dynasty* since that of the Roman Cæsars, who bequeathed to it a lofty and mysterious place in the imagination of Eastern populations. It was, moreover, classical and one of considerable antiquity, the term *Kaisar-i-Rom* being that most generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman emperors, whilst, at the same time, that term still represented the title of emperor throughout Central Asia. The translation did not of course escape criticism. Other versions such as *Taj Bakhsh-i-Hindustan* and *Zilla Subanahu* were suggested by Oriental scholars of note, but were not accepted. No; *Kaisar* was short; it was expressive; it was real; and it was adopted.

Preliminaries being thus satisfactorily settled, the projected assemblage for the proclamation of the new title was held on the 1st of January, 1877, on the large and historical plain near Delhi, when it was announced during a ceremony of most brilliant character in the presence of the heads of every government in India, of twelve hundred of that noble band of civil servants who represented all that was good and just in Western thought and administration; of fourteen thousand splendidly equipped and disciplined

* The fact that the German and Austrian ruling families preserved it, and that the present King of Prussia is *Kaisar* of Germany, should be noted, although it does not affect the writer's argument.—ED. A. Q. R.

British and Native troops ; of seventy-seven of the ruling chiefs and princes of India representing territories as large as Great Britain, France, and Germany combined ; of three hundred native noblemen and gentlemen embodying all that was lofty in intelligence and loyalty from all parts of the empire ; and of sixty-eight thousand persons, besides the floating population that visited and remained in Delhi and its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the assemblage. These few words represent facts which must, for want of space, be left to the imagination. Language, indeed, fails to convey any idea of the magnificence of the scene there enacted. The East and the West met together, it may be said, for the first time with one common object. Governors, councillors, civilians, soldiers, native chiefs, European and native gentlemen of all ranks, discussed leading questions of the day with one another with an advantage which stamped the assemblage as a useful and memorable event. No empire but that of England could have drawn together such an assemblage ; no country but India could have produced such a scene.

To this vast throng the Viceroy explained the intention of the Queen in the addition to the royal style and titles of her new Indian designation. It was, in short, but an emphatic expression on her part of a feeling long entertained, but inadequately made known of deep interest in that great dependency, which is the first charge of English statesmanship. To the civil and military officers of the Crown the Viceroy expressed Her Majesty's grateful recognition of their energy and self-devotion ; to the non-official classes of all ranks he gave the assurance of her appreciation of their loyalty and enterprise ; to the army of India he conveyed the thanks due for great and heroic achievements ; and to the native princes and to the native population of the empire generally, Lord Lytton spoke the acknowledgments of the British Government for their loyalty and attachment to their ruler, assuring

them that it was on their gradual and enlightened participation in the exercise of the mild and just authority of their sovereign, rather than on conquest and annexation, that Her Majesty relied for the development of her Indian Empire. Finally he read a telegraphic message received from the Queen that morning, which ran as follows—

"We, Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom, Queen, Empress of India, send through our Viceroy to all our officers, civil and military, and to all princes, chiefs, and peoples now at Delhi assembled, our royal and imperial greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and earnest affection with which we regard the people of our beloved empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception which they have accorded to our beloved son, and have been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to our house and throne. We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects; that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule, the great principles of liberty, equity, and justice are secured to them; and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity, and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of our empire."

This address was followed by intense enthusiasm, the whole assemblage rising and giving repeated cheers. Many of the native chiefs attempted to speak. The Maharaja Sindiah was the first to do so: he called out, "*Sháh-in-sháh Pádsháh*, may God bless you! The princes of India bless you, and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever!" This loyal chieftain, alas! breathes no more. The Begum of Bhopal, contrary to all feminine etiquette, was so carried away as to speak in a similar sense. Sir Salar Jung, who has now also passed away, speaking in behalf of the Nizam of Hyderabad, then a minor, warmly congratulated the sovereign on the assumption of her Indian title. Nothing would satisfy the Maharajas of Udaipur and Jeypore, both also now gone to their rest, but to obtain an assurance that a telegram in the name of the united chiefs of Rajputana should at once be sent to the Queen-Empress, offering their loyal fealty. The Maharaja of Cashmere, also no more, declared—as many other chiefs joined him in doing—that the day would

never be forgotten by himself or his children. It was a moment indeed of unparalleled interest which roused the deep feeling of all present.

The Delhi Assemblage, however, was not one of mere display; for, as already stated, conferences of importance were held, with great advantage to the general interests of the empire, between the Viceroy and his advisers and the different heads of administration and with the native chiefs, in regard to a large number of administrative and financial questions—such as the then past and impending famine in Southern India, the amalgamation of Oudh with the North-Western Provinces, arrangements connected with the projected abolition of the inland customs line, and reduction of the price of salt, and a mass of similar questions which might otherwise have entailed much correspondence and controversy. It must be added, in justice to all concerned, that so complete were the arrangements* and so great the exertions of all concerned to make the assemblage a success, that neither accident nor mortality marred this happy event.†

Passing on to the local durbars held on the same day at the head-quarters of each district and division throughout British India, and at the capitals of the various native

* It is not possible, were it indeed desirable, to mention in a paper of this character the personal services of individuals; else much might be said of the work of Mr. T. H. Thornton (Foreign Secretary) and others. But as an interesting fact it may be stated that the Viceroy owed much to the organizing abilities of Sir Frederick Roberts, the present Commander-in-Chief in India, in questions connected with the vast camp pitched at Delhi. It was on that occasion that Lord Lytton was first brought into close personal relations with this distinguished officer, and formed that high opinion of his abilities which afterwards induced him to entrust him with that important command in the Afghan war which brought so much renown to him and his troops.

† Two *contretemps* may however be here mentioned, inasmuch as they afforded material for much anxious discussion on the part of students of anthropology and native-stateology. The Khan of Khelat and his followers were no sooner lodged in their sumptuous camp than they ate up for supper the whole of the cakes of Pears soap which were supplied for long-neglected ablutions, and in the firing of salutes for the Empress more than one of the much-written-about guns of native chiefs burst into fragments!

chiefs and princes, it is worthy of note that the proclamation of the new title was received with corresponding enthusiasm at every place. On this point the reports of the local officers were remarkable both in substance and character, occupying in the aggregate many hundred pages of print, full of interesting detail. The masses of India, in short, welcomed the new title with marked interest and respect, and received the proclamation of it with every possible demonstration of loyalty. Throughout the whole of the British districts—notably in Madras, Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces—food and clothing were gratuitously distributed to thousands of poor, whilst many of the wealthy zemindars and municipalities gave liberal grants towards works of public utility. The durbars held at the capitals of the native chiefs and princes were equally characterized by unmistakable evidences of good feeling.

For instance—to put in a few lines what might without straining fill as many pages—in Bengal and Northern India the Rájá of Hill Tipperah personally superintended the arrangements of the durbar held at his capital, and evinced unbounded pleasure at having an opportunity of testifying his fidelity. The Maharaja of Sikkim, unable to hold a durbar in his own capital, sent all his chief officers to attend the reading of the proclamation at Darjeeling. At Moorshedabad there were special rejoicings on behalf of the late Náváb Nazim of Bengal; at Cuttack the residents subscribed a large sum to be spent in building a town hall for public use. The Náváb of Rampore proclaimed a general holiday for three days throughout his territories, and brilliantly illuminated his capital. At other places in Northern India the most enthusiastic demonstrations characterized the proceedings of the day. In the Punjab every anxiety was shown by the Native States to do honour to the occasion, and throughout this important province the bearing of the people was exceptionally cordial. In the numerous and important Hill States of the Himalayas, the Rájás observed the appointed day with the ceremonies

usual on the installation of a reigning chief. In Hyderabad and Berar, the demonstrations of loyalty towards the British Government were numerous, while throughout Central India and Rajputana the good feeling shown at the various native courts was equally gratifying. The late Maharaja Holkar gave a special donation of money towards the famine relief in Southern India, and the Nāwāb Begum of Bhopal laid aside a like sum to be spent in any good work that the British Government might select.

In Madras the Maharaja of Travancore, the Rājās of Cochin and Pudukotta, and many of the rich landed proprietors of that Presidency, held durbars at their principal stations in honour of the event; amongst others those of Chittur subscribed Rs. 10,000 towards providing the district of North Arcot with a school, to be called after the Empress of India; the day was celebrated with equal honour throughout the Province of Mysore. In Bombay the Nāwāb of Cambay released many prisoners—a measure carried out on the day of the proclamation, under certain restrictions, by the whole of the Native States—presented his troops with a day's pay, and left nothing undone to evince his loyalty. The Thakur of Bhaonagar intimated his intention—since carried out—of constructing, at a large cost, a bridge over the Aji river at Rajkote, to be called the *Kaisar-i-Hind* Bridge. Similarly, the Rāo of Kutch, the Maharajas of Edur and Kolhapore, the Nāwāb of Janjira, and the numerous chiefs of Kattyawar, celebrated the event at their capitals with every possible mark of honour. Among the latter, the Thakur Saheb of Palitana presented the town with a poor house and a clock tower at a cost of many thousand rupees in commemoration of the occasion. At Zanzibar, Muscat, Bushire, Aden, and elsewhere, the importance of the event was equally appreciated. The flag-staff of the British Residency, and those of the Ottoman and Netherland Consulates at Bushire were dressed, whilst official

visits were paid to the British Resident by the representatives of Holland and the Porte. The Sultan of Muscat, although represented at Delhi, honoured the occasion by firing at his capital a salute of 101 guns, and by paying a personal visit to the British Agent.

Whilst the assumption of the new title was thus received with unaffected satisfaction throughout India, addresses and letters from native chiefs, public bodies, and private individuals, written in divers languages and dialects, poured in upon Government in such numbers that it became impossible to reply to them except in one general letter of acknowledgment.

Taking those from the native chiefs at random, one chief wrote that the event was "intimately connected with the welfare of the chiefs and people." "The event of to-day," wrote another chief, "must be as gratifying to the rulers as to the ruled. It is a red-letter day in the annals of modern India, of which not only we ourselves, but our children and children's children may well be proud." "This is the third time," said another, "that India is going to be ruled by an empress. The first was the widow of the Hindu King Agniborna; the second was the Rizia Begum, the daughter of the Mahommedan Emperor Altamash; the third is the Queen Victoria, the English sovereign. But something greater," he added, "has been achieved. Such a powerful sovereign of so vast a territory never ruled India. This proclamation may consequently be considered superior to all its kind." "The adoption this year by Her Majesty of a title directly derived from the Indian Empire," said another eminent native nobleman, "is both a proof that England's interest is still thoroughly identified with the welfare of this country, and a sign that Her Majesty does not hesitate to extend to the people of India the advantages which must accrue from the formation of an Indian Empire based on such glorious principles and traditions as those of the British nation." "In all the changes that have taken place," declared another, "the present calls forth the

greatest rejoicing. London is 14,000 miles distant from India, yet in Her Majesty's thoughts India is ever near, and the good of her Indian subjects her chief consideration." "This signal event," said a well-known native statesman (Sir Madava Rao), "marks the completion and consolidation of a mighty political fabric. We know, we feel, we gratefully acknowledge the characteristics of the protecting pre-eminence symbolized by the imperial title." "Kind and generous were the words," wrote another well-known chief, "with which the Viceroy made known Her Majesty's motives for becoming our Empress; such friendly sentiments so warmly expressed add much to the honour of my State, and stimulate the old dependents and well-wishers of Her Majesty to fresh acts of devotion and fidelity." "The increased interest which Her Imperial Majesty has now been pleased to manifest on behalf of India," said another chief, "by granting its inhabitants the privilege of calling their sovereign their own Empress has filled the land with joy. I shall always hold myself," he added, "and the revenue of my ancestral State in readiness for the service of Her Imperial Majesty and her Indian Government, under the benign protection of which I and my people enjoy so many blessings."

Beyond the *kharitas* from native chiefs, of the loyalty and *naïveté* of which but a faint idea is given by these few selections, there were some hundreds of addresses from public bodies as gratifying in appreciation of past rule as in their honest aspiration for future progress. Whilst some of these addresses recounted in graphic language the benefits of British administration, with special reference to the abolition of infanticide and suttee, to hospitals, railways, and education; others evinced considerable acquaintance with past history and a lively interest in the questions of the hour. "The strength of England," said some, "lies in the loyalty and love of India. Let England be true to her trust, and India will be true to her faith." "The vista of the future," it was added, "presents one endless view of glory to both

countries. If it should happen that Macaulay's New Zealander shall take his stand amid a vast solitude upon a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, may future ages and future nations cull wisdom and nobleness from the history of British rule in India." "We ask," said others, "that our great legislative councils should be elective; that there should be a branch of Parliament in India for all Indian affairs; that high and responsible posts be opened to the better classes of natives; that we be permitted to keep arms; that our land rents and salt dues be decreased." "We hope," said others, "that an effort will be made to associate the great native princes in the practical work of the administration of British India, that the system of keeping political agents and military camps in native territories will give way to a more cordial association of chiefs in the councils* of the empire through some organization of a recognized diet or assembly, where they could meet one another and the great officers and statesmen who rule India and discuss all imperial questions." "An imperial government," it was added, "cannot be imagined without a constitution regulating its relations with dependent sovereigns. The germ of such an assembly exists in many durbar gatherings. Questions regarding the policy of small frontier wars with barbarous tribes, boundary disputes between Native States, and similar differences between British and non-British territory; the measures to be adopted with respect to rulers who misgovern their

* This was an idea which occurred to many high authorities in India. The appointment by the Viceroy of certain counsellors of the Empress was to some extent an outcome of it. It was thought possible by some that an Imperial Privy Council might eventually be formed of some twenty members or so, who might either assemble when called together by the Viceroy or be entitled at any time to submit to the British Government their views upon public questions and projects of law relating to the empire. Such a council might, it was argued, be entirely separate and distinct from any existing institution; it would be purely consultative, the members of it would have titles and salutes for life, and in course of time the system might be extended to local provinces and governments and prove of benefit in bringing to a solution questions on which it was good the public opinion should bear.

- territories; questions of adoption, extradition, coinage, and of imperial legislation might be referred to such a council."
- "O Mother, O Beloved, O residing in the palace of London," said other addresses, "the descendants of the great Emperor of Delhi are burnt in the fire of your might. Surely to-day angels will sing your Majesty's glory in the heavenly regions where Yadhishva, the Son of Justice, who performed the great Rajasuya festival of Pandaras 3,000 years ago at Delhi, now resides."

The warmth of feeling thus evinced by public bodies and others throughout India was reflected in the European and native press, the reproduction of whose opinions on on the subject space alone forbids. But the proclamation of the new title was not, after all, a matter of mere words. It was accompanied by numerous acts of grace, consisting generally of rewards granted for services inadequately recognized in the past; increases to pensions and jaghirs enjoyed by ancient native families whose unquestioned loyalty had rendered them deserving of assistance; the association of some of the leading native princes with the principal advisers of the Indian Government as "Counselors of the Empress," forming a nucleus, in short, of a future Indian Privy Council; the granting of numerous increased salutes (a much-prized honour) to the principal native chiefs, and the presentation to them of commemorative medals and banners which, as was rightly considered at the time, are now* highly prized by them; the conferring of honorary titles—a reward very dear to the native mind—on more than two hundred selected native noblemen and gentlemen; the presentation of a large number of sunnuds, or certificates of honour, to native and other gentlemen throughout India holding such offices as honorary magistrates, and members of municipal councils; increases of pay

* Asiatic chiefs have a great reverence for such emblems. The insignificant flags and banners given by the Emperors of Delhi are still treasured in native courts. It was not unwise to substitute for them banners and commemorative medals given by the Empress of India.

and allowances to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the native army in India, besides a large number of appointments to the Order of British India.

There remained the more difficult task of devising some appropriate recognition on the part of Government of the claims of the British portion of the community, representing as it did the power in the past, by which the empire had been won and maintained, and in the present those on whose high qualifications England depended for its consolidation and advancement. The question was long and carefully considered, more especially as Lord Lytton, who never forgot the facts here stated, was personally anxious that some such recognition should be made. It seemed possible at one time to grant to all Europeans then serving under the Government of India an additional year's service towards the pensions due to them on retirement. But certain objections, principally of a financial character, proved insuperable, and the idea was reluctantly abandoned. It was therefore only possible to give some appointments to the Order of the Star of India; to create an order specially open to non-official classes, now known as the "Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire;" to improve in some degree the position of British officers serving in native regiments; and to give a day's pay to the seamen and soldiers serving the Queen-Empress within Indian limits on the day of the proclamation. That these and other rewards to Englishmen in India were not, as some perhaps anticipated, more material, was certainly not due to the Viceroy.

Passing on to further interesting facts, it may be mentioned that on the day of the proclamation of the new title nearly 16,000 prisoners were released throughout British India, carrying the feeling of rejoicing to a vast number of individuals in remote districts, who would probably have never heard of the occasion in any other way. It was suggested by some that this act might perhaps lead to a

disturbance of the public peace, or to an increase of crime. No such results took place. In fact, only two cases were brought to notice, after a considerable interval of time, in which prisoners so released were again recommitted on criminal charges. This was creditable to the judgment with which the selections for release were made, and it greatly enhanced the feeling of entire approbation with which this act of grace was viewed by the native community. Natives of India are little given as a rule to demonstrations of either grief or joy. But this boon was deeply felt. Some prisoners could not believe the news; they appeared to be under a dream; but directly they understood that *Pādshāh* Victoria had something to do with the transaction, and that it was an act of grace on her part, all doubt vanished; they broke up into knots of twos and threes; shout after shout burst from their throats while, "like a parcel of schoolboys let loose for a holiday," they went their several ways, newly clothed, and with money to pay their journey home. The women who were released threw themselves at the feet of the officials crying and shouting for joy. The effect was so great on the nervous system of one man who had for years been paralyzed, that, to the astonishment of the medical men and others standing by, he stood up, thanked his Empress, and walked away with the rest. With regard to the prisoners at Port Blair and Singapore, the announcement was received with much joy. But when the first pleasure was over, some who had spent the best part of their lives in captivity felt anxiety as to what would await them at home. One man said, "I shall find no one whom I remember at home, but at least I shall die—the sooner the better—among my own people." The head munshi of the Commissioner's Office at Port Blair had two years to serve for release. On reading out the list and finding his own name down for immediate release, he was so affected as to be entirely unable to go on with his task. In another case, a woman, a life-prisoner, was released.

She had been married to a term convict whose imprisonment had expired, but who remained on the island to be with her and their family. On hearing her name called out for release, her husband and family rushed on the officer who was reading the list, embracing and blessing him with such earnestness that he could not for some time proceed with it. The one drawback, of course, to this great act of grace was the inevitable disappointment of those who were left behind in prison; but throughout India the general conduct of such prisoners greatly improved, whilst petty crimes and offences against discipline decreased in a marked degree.

To the genius and personal supervision of the Viceroy, seconded, it must be added, by the goodwill of all classes in India, was due the success of the great event of which this is but a faint record.

And now, be it said, "Empress Day" is ever looked upon in India as one of the great days of the year. We are indeed told by a graphic writer that even the humblest ryot, "who owns half an acre of ground and, it may be, two skinny Brahminy bullocks," celebrates the day in his own humble fashion. Mahomed Dass, the magistrate's head baboo, stains his pony's mane and tail with a bright salmon pink, and in snow-white flowing garments and patent leather shoes, ambles through the village bazaar in trappings of cloth and spangles to pay visits to his friends. Long may the anniversary be dear to the two hundred and fifty million inhabitants of the greatest Eastern Empire that the world has ever seen! Long may our beloved Sovereign's rule of that Empire be attended with the respect and affection of every grade of Her subjects! Long may Her people look back with veneration and gratitude to the jubilee of a spotless and eventful reign, and appreciate the practical and worthy reasons which induced their Sovereign to assume the title of Empress of India!

O. T. BURNE.

THE GREEKS IN ASIA.

WHEN the Duke of Sparta took his Bachelor's Degree last July, Mr. Tricoupis made an eloquent speech, during the course of which he is reported to have used the following words :

" Not only has King George ruled wisely and well so far as our home affairs are concerned, but he has been in full sympathy with all our national aspirations. He has been the centre of mutilated Hellenism, the acknowledged chief of the Greeks, who, living beyond our borders, are not his subjects, but nevertheless are loyal to him and hope in him. The prince, if he follow in his father's footsteps, cannot but make us feel confident in our future destinies." *

Mr. Tricoupis was probably thinking at the time of the Greeks living in those territories, beyond the northern border, which his predecessor had vainly hoped to recover from the Turk. There are, however, other Greeks, natives of a greater, richer Greece, in Asia, who equally with their European brethren hope to see their day-dreams realized through the agency of King George and free Hellas. These Asiatic Greeks, destined some day to play an important part in the ever-recurring Eastern Question, have hitherto attracted little attention. Political interest centres in Athens and Constantinople ; ordinary life under Turkish rule is uneventful ; and if it were not that some Smyrniote occasionally falls into the hands of Greek brigands, or that misguided villagers sometimes try to escape Turkish misrule by fleeing to Russia, there would be little to remind us of the large and annually increasing Greek population in Anatolia.

The dream of the Asiatic Greeks is a revived Byzan-

* *Times*, July 31, 1886.

tine Empire, which shall extend eastward to the Anti-Taurus, and have its seat of government at Constantinople. They perceive, with the keen political instinct of their race, that the "Grand Turk" once driven from Constantinople and deprived of the prestige which he derives from its possession, could not long retain his hold upon Anatolia. With the western seaboard of Asia Minor in the hands of a rapidly increasing Greek population, and Russia playing the part of benevolent neighbour to the enterprising Greeks of Cappadocia and Pontus, any attempt to create a modern empire of Rûm with an Oriental court at Konieh or Brûsa would be impossible. The Sultan must, in the fulness of time, pass beyond the Cilician Gates, never to return; and the inheritance left void by his departure must fall to the Greeks. Greek patriots have an intense belief in themselves. They would greet with pitying smiles the sceptic who ventured to cast any doubt upon their eventual succession to this glorious inheritance; but their fertile brains have not yet thrown any practical light upon the process by which a Greek emperor is to be enthroned on the shores of the Bosphorus. In the west men look for guidance to King George, and the little kingdom which, with all its faults, has proved not unworthy of the position to which it was raised by the genius of Canning. In the south, north, and east, where men's minds are less influenced by constant intercourse with the free sons of free Hellas, all hope is centred in Russia, the "deliverer" of oppressed Bulgaria. In either case, the Greeks consider it the bounden duty of every European nation, more especially of England, to help them, and they have a firm, enthusiastic belief in the ultimate destiny of their race.

The Greeks of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands are the descendants of many tribes converted to Christianity and completely Hellenised during the period of Byzantine supremacy. The various tribes were amalgamated by ecclesiastical rule and religious zeal far more effectually than they could ever have been by Rome and her pro-consuls.

Churches arose in the most remote districts ; * the native dialects gave place everywhere to the language in which the gospel was written ; and Constantinople became at once the civil and ecclesiastical centre of the people. The religious connection with Constantinople has never been broken, and it thus happens that Anatolian Greeks, still faithful to their ancient traditions, have their eyes fixed upon that city rather than upon Athens. In the common parlance of the present day every one is a Greek who belongs to the Orthodox Church ; and it is now almost impossible to say whether the inmates of any particular village are of Pontic, Cappadocian, Galatian, Phrygian, or pure Greek origin. The amalgamation was complete ; tribal distinctions were obliterated ; and the confusion was increased, after the Moslem conquest, by the enforced removal of entire communities from one portion of the empire to another. This mixed race is essentially Greek in polity and feeling ; it has definite views and objects, and though these may appear for the moment visionary and impracticable, they are none the less deserving of attention.

The distribution of the Greeks in Asia Minor is remarkable. The settlements on the west coast are, as we shall presently see, the result of comparatively recent immigration ; whilst the eastern communities are remnants of the original Byzantine population which have held firmly to their faith through centuries of oppression. Whilst the Seljuk sultans ruled over their empire of Rûm the Christians do not appear to have been treated with exceptional harshness ; but soon after the rise of the Ottoman Turks to power a change took place. The abominable boy-tribute was instituted, and, according to traditions handed down in the old Greek families, any one heard speaking Greek in the public streets had his tongue plucked out. It

* The traveller at the present day is constantly astonished at finding the ruins of churches in the most secluded valleys of Anatolia—mute evidences of the prosperity of the country under the Byzantine emperors, and of the complete supersession of Paganism by Christianity.

is no wonder that the great mass of the people adopted Islam, and made haste to learn Turkish; and that those who remained Christians lost their mother tongue. The Greeks who worked in the mines were allowed the special privilege of retaining not only their creed, but their language; whilst those who lived in the subterranean villages of Cappadocia, or in the mountains of Pontus were able, from the peculiarity of their position, to defy the Turk and preserve their dialect. In all other inland communities Turkish, written with Greek characters, became the language of the Greek Christians. The people owe a debt of gratitude towards their priests who, during the darkest period of Turkish oppression, never allowed the feeling of nationality to die out, and preserved, as far as might be, some knowledge of the national language. There are, however, villages in the less accessible districts in which the Greek language has been so completely lost that the priest who recites the church service is as ignorant of its meaning as those who listen to him. It was my fortune to meet one such priest who had recently purchased a copy of the Psalms in Turkish, written in Greek characters, from an American *colporteur*. He could hardly believe that they formed part of that Book which he was able to read but could not understand; and was no less surprised than delighted at the new world which had been so unexpectedly opened to him. All this is, however, rapidly changing, and most strenuous efforts are being made to ensure a knowledge of Greek amongst the rising generation. It is impossible, within the limits of a magazine article, to describe with any fulness the varied conditions of life, the quaint habits, and the curious legends and traditions of these scattered Greek communities, but a few rough notes may, it is hoped, interest some of our readers in their present and future welfare.

In the islands off the west coast of Asia Minor the Turk* is rapidly and surely giving place to the Greek.

* A Turk in the Levant, and also in this article, is a Moslem who speaks Turkish; he may, or he may not be, of Turkish origin, and most frequently is not.

Whenever land is for sale the purchaser is a Christian not a Moslem; and if the same rate of displacement continues, there will not, fifty years hence, be a Turk on the islands. The increase in material prosperity since the War of Independence is almost as marked in some of the islands as in free Hellas; and each year the area devoted to the cultivation of the olive and vine is extended. It is true that the taxes are collected in a harsh and wasteful manner, and that a Christian is still at a disadvantage in the courts of law; but, on the whole, the conditions of life are not very hard, and the islanders have a growing feeling of security which is not always felt by the villagers of Cappadocia. Every Greek islander from "far off" Samothraki to Rhodes knows that the European Powers would not permit any serious act of oppression on the part of the Porte; and that a "massacre" on the smallest scale would probably be the forerunner of a Turkish exodus from Europe.

Let us take, as an instance of insular progress, that most delightful of islands, Mytilene, where the hottest summer's day is tempered by the cool sea breeze, and abundant springs give a never failing supply of pure limpid water. Less than forty years ago there were on the island 60,000 Turks and 30,000 Greeks; there are now 20,000 Turks and 80,000 Greeks, and this change in the population has been accompanied by an ever-increasing prosperity. New houses are constantly being added to the numerous well-built villages; the hillsides are clothed with olive and vine; well kept orchards grow fruit for the Constantinople market; and each year shows an increase in the exports and imports. The modern Lesbians are well made, handsome of face, active, and intelligent; they are excellent merchants, good sailors, hard-working agriculturists, or skilful craftsmen. The women are pretty, but aged at thirty; they are spinners of flax, cotton, and wool, from which they make excellent cloths; and they excel in those beautiful embroideries which form part of every girl's trousseau.

The island is the paradise of peasant proprietors, the despair of land registrars. More than three-fourths of the people are landowners; and it is said, with fine exaggeration, that there are 3,000,000 properties. One Lesbian may hold from 400 to 500 parcels of ground scattered, as from a pepper-box, over hill and plain; whilst another may own but three or four olive trees. The possession of land has a sobering influence on the people. Throughout the island there is absolute security; in striking contrast to the mainland, no one goes armed; and the only disturbers of the peace are the wild revellers who grow quarrelsome over their cups. The minute subdivision of the land is due to an old fashion, now fast dying out, which renders it incumbent upon a bride to bring to her husband a furnished house and plot of ground. The fashion has its inconveniences. Landed proprietors find it impossible to live upon their estates; small scattered holdings add to the cost of transporting produce, and they are so unfavourable to the cultivation of wheat that two-thirds of the quantity required for consumption on the island has to be imported. If it were not for the safety-valve provided by the adjoining coast districts there would soon be an economic revolution. The Lesbians are good masons, excellent cabinet-makers, and cunning in the construction of all manner of water conduits. As summer approaches there is an exodus to the mainland where they ply their trades, and, as their enemies assert, live upon Turkish hospitality; in the early autumn they return, laden with Moslem piastres, to help their wives with the olive crop. The fishermen are also away for weeks catching and drying octopi, with which the narrow seas abound, for the Constantinople and Smyrna markets. During the absence of the men the women cultivate the ground, and at the same period sturdy Albanians flock to the island to build the dry stone walls which form the basis of the terrace culture, and in the construction of which they are said to have no rivals.

The relations of the sexes are still peculiarly Oriental.

On Sundays and holy days the men sit in one part of the village, the women in another. On festival days the men and women dance at opposite ends of the same field, and they never mix with each other. Maidens go to church but twice a year—on Easter Day for conscience' sake, and on St. Theodore's Day to meet their future husband, a custom probably handed down from the days when Christian maidens did not go to church through fear of amorous Turks who lay in wait by the way. A love-match is unknown; wise match-makers arrange the preliminaries of marriage. There is much hard bargaining; negotiations, which may collapse over a copper stewpan, go on for months. When the terms are finally settled, a formal contract is drawn up and signed, and if either of the high contracting parties fail to carry it out within twelve months, he or she has to pay 10 per cent., *ad valorem*, on the lady's dowry. The dowry fashion, which prevails amongst Moslems as well as Christians, bears hardly on the men. A father must go on slaving until he has earned the dowries, without which he cannot hope to marry his daughters; and a brother cannot, for very shame, marry before his sisters have been settled in life. The custom occasionally leads to comical, sometimes to tragical, situations; and, as may be readily understood, it does not tend to family rejoicings when a girl is born into the world.

European culture is extending among the wealthier classes, and strenuous efforts are being made to educate the masses. Education is free, supported by communal taxes and legacies. Each village has its primary schools in which Greek is taught by masters and mistresses who are either free Hellenes or Lesbians who have passed a qualifying examination at Athens. All boys and girls when they leave the schools are able to read and write, and the girls to sew and embroider. From the primary schools the boys can pass to a high school or college, which claims equal rank with those of Smyrna and Chios. In this college the course of instruction includes

Greek, French, and Turkish ; and a sufficiently high standard is maintained in all branches of knowledge to enable the lads, if they so mind, to go on to the Lyceum at Athens. This general education of the masses would soon lead to the disappearance of most of the old customs and quaint superstitions with which the island abounds if it were not for the conservatism of the priests. All praise and honour is due to those priests who in the dark days did so much to preserve the religion and language of the Greeks ; but the parish priests of the present day run some danger of being left behind by the rising generation, and if they do not take care, a time will come when they will no longer be able to retain their hold upon the people.

On the mainland the displacement of the Turkish population by Greeks is, perhaps, more marked than it is on the islands. Villages and even districts which, less than fifty years ago, were Moslem are now partly or wholly Christian. On the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora most of the villages are Greek ; the Greeks are in a large majority on the island of Marmora, and the smaller islands ; they are quite one-half of the population in the Dardanelles district ; and they are rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth, and influence. From Edremid, the ancient Adramyttium, to Smyrna, the villages on the coast are nearly all Greek, the rich lands in the valleys of the Caicus, the Hermus, and the Meander are gradually passing into Greek hands ; at Pergamum, *Philadelphia, Manisa, Aidin, &c. ; the Greeks are increasing, the Turks decreasing ; "Giaour" Smyrna has a native Greek population of over 30,000, in addition to more than 20,000 free Hellenes ; and the many villages round Smyrna which were at one time almost exclusively Moslem, are now almost exclusively Greek. A similar change is taking place in the coast districts south of Smyrna, but there it is not so marked, for the rough nature of the country renders it less attractive to settlers.

The origin of this colonization of the coast districts

must be sought in the increased security to life and property which the Greeks have enjoyed since the War of Independence, and the establishment of Greece as a kingdom by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. At first little effect was produced, but the condition of the Christians was further improved by the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskalissi; the issue of the Hatti Sherif of Gülhane; and the Crimean War. Since the Crimean War and the publication of the Hatti Hamayún, in 1856, the European Ambassadors at Constantinople and the numerous Consuls throughout the Levant have constantly brought pressure to bear upon the Porte in favour of the native Christians; and the last Turco-Russian War, which resulted in such an enormous loss of Moslem life and proved so disastrous to Turkey, has greatly improved the status of Christians throughout the Ottoman Empire. Security to life led to a rapid increase in the population of the islands, and men commenced emigrating to the rich fertile plains of the adjoining coast, where they could earn a livelihood with greater ease, and eventually acquire land. The movement, once started, went on at an ever-increasing rate, and it is estimated that more than 200,000 Greek islanders have emigrated into the Smyrna districts alone during the last forty years.

Greek colonization has not unfrequently followed in the footsteps of humble commercial enterprise. Andreas, the younger son of a large family, finds himself unable to make his way in his native island; he forthwith invests his small earnings in miscellaneous articles, especially such as are in favour with Moslem wives and maidens, and starts off to seek his fortune as a pedlar, on the mainland. He sells his goods at from 50 to 100 per cent. profit, and lives whilst travelling on Turkish hospitality; when he has disposed of his stock he returns to the nearest town to replenish, and then takes to the road again. After a little experience Andreas settles in a Turkish village, and opens a small shop; he is always ready to give credit on good

security, at a high rate of interest, and, for a further consideration, to take payment in kind; he receives the corn, oil, or whatever it may be, at prices much below their market value, and readily disposes of them at a profit, through his compatriots in the nearest town. Needless to say, Andreas grows rich whilst the villagers grow poor; he is soon joined by his cousin Dimitri, and others, who have heard of his success, and the peasants become poorer still; at last a succession of bad harvests places them at the mercy of Andreas and his friends, and forces them to part with their houses and land; they move further inland and the village becomes a Greek colony. It is the same with the wealthier Turks; the old Bey, who owns a large estate near our village, has always kept open house and never taken thought of the morrow; he has still to entertain his guests, and marry his children, but his expenses have increased, and he is sometimes in want of ready-money; he applies to Andreas who is always pleased to supply his wants, on good security, at 25 to 30 per cent. interest. The Bey never dreams of paying, and the debt increases until one dark day, Andreas closes his purse and threatens to sell the old man up. In the good old days Andreas would have lost his head, and the Bey's lands would have passed intact to his heirs; now, a compromise is effected, part of the land is surrendered at once, and for an additional loan the remainder goes to the Greek at the old Bey's death. Even at the present day Andreas is hardly in a position to fight his battles with the Bey alone; he gets a cousin from free Hellas to join him in the loan and thus secures the support of the Greek Consul. The debt becomes a European question; the Bey knows that if he went into Court he would have to pay his debt to the last para; and he therefore prefers to give up part of his property. In nearly every town Moslems are now found who have been reduced from comparative affluence to poverty; and who vainly regret that they had not paid more attention to the old precept to distrust the Greeks.

There is now going on in these coast districts, what might almost be called a struggle for existence between Greek and Turk, and in this struggle the advantages are all on the side of the Christian. The Greek marries young, is very prolific, and, living under more favourable conditions than the Turk, manages to raise his family. He is shrewder, better educated, suffers less from official robbery than his neighbour, and is not liable to the conscription. The Turk, on the other hand, rarely raises a large family; infanticide and abortion are common; there is no skilled medical attendance; and half the peasant children die before they attain their first year. The Turk is apathetic; his education, which consists of learning verses from the Koran in a language that he does not understand, hardly fits him for a struggle with the keen-witted Greek; he has to bear the full burden of the conscription, to supply recruits for the police force, and altogether his pursuits are more calculated to shorten life than those of the Greek.

The busy town of Aivali, opposite Mytilene, is a good example of Greek progress on the mainland. In June, 1821, when the Greek fleet, under Tombazes, anchored off the island of Muskonisi in support of an expected rising of Anatolian Greeks, Aivali, or Kydonies, was a flourishing commercial town. It had 30,000 inhabitants, 3,000 stone houses, churches, oil mills, soap works, and a celebrated college which had been founded in 1813. No town in the Levant had more civil freedom; it enjoyed special privileges granted by the Sultan, and its municipal authorities were elected by the people. On the 15th of June the Turks poured into the town from the surrounding villages; it was burned and destroyed; and, with the exception of 4,000 saved by the Greek fleet, all its inhabitants were murdered or sold into slavery. For thirty years Aivali lay waste and desolate; it then began to rise from its ashes, and it is now a flourishing town of from 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, all Greek, with a Greek

Town Council, and Greek-speaking Turkish officials. On Muskonisi, separated from Aivali by a few hundred yards, of shallow water, a town of almost equal size is growing up, and the Turkish village of Ayasmat, whose people took a leading part in the murders of 1821, is now almost entirely Greek. The Greeks of Aivali have been allowed considerable latitude in the management of their affairs, and they have shown themselves not unworthy of the trust. They have organized a Greek police force to protect their olive gardens, and a night-watch to patrol the town after dark; and they have also a fire brigade with four small engines. The traditions of the old college have evidently not been lost, for nowhere has a more determined and successful effort been made to provide gratuitous education for the rising generation. Profuse expenditure on education is a national characteristic, and to acquire a sufficient fortune to found and maintain a school or hospital in his native town is the honourable ambition of many a Greek merchant. The wealthy Aivaliotes have not been behind hand in these matters; they have established a gymnasium in which French, Turkish, and ancient Greek are taught besides mathematics, history, and geography; a higher school for girls in which French is taught, several smaller schools for boys and girls, and a *kindergarten* on the most approved model. Masters and mistresses are brought from Athens, and good editions of the Greek classics are obtained from Germany. From these schools young men, whose parents can afford the expense, go to Athens or Constantinople to complete their education, and they return as doctors, merchants, or schoolmasters, to stimulate others by their example. Aivali has some dozen churches, a large hospital, several hundred shops, and two hotels, but it is above all things an "oil town," three steam and ninety hand presses are constantly squeezing oil from the crushed olives, and a dozen manufactories are converting the refuse into soap; oil is in the air you breathe, in the water you drink, and, at every footstep on the unpaved streets, it

oozes from the fatty earth. There are also numerous stills in which the famous mastic of Aivali is made, and so many *cafés* in which it is consumed as to give rise to the ill-conditioned report that an Aivaliote never goes to bed sober. Whether this accusation be right or wrong, there can be no question that more life and activity is to be found in Aivali than in any other town of Anatolia with the single exception of Smyrna.*

The colonists who have been pouring into Western Anatolia are enterprising, intelligent, keen-witted, and gifted with a rare commercial instinct. They have an ardent love of, and desire for liberty, coupled with a deeply-rooted intolerance of every one who happens to differ from them in creed or opinion. With many of the best qualities of the Hellenic race they combine some of the worst, such as instability of character, indifferent morality, and disregard of truth. They are at the same time parsimonious and extremely fond of show; the better class houses in the towns are built on a European model, but all around them is waste; the rooms are fitted with cheap, showy, French or Austrian furniture, which is only used on state occasions; the women of the family, mere household drudges, clad in simple garments during the week, turn out on Sundays and fête days to flaunt their abundant jewelry and gaudy coloured silk dresses in the eyes of their neighbours; the food, except when a guest is to be honoured, is of the simplest, and, to a European, there is a general air of discomfort about the domestic life which is not inviting. Drunkenness is very prevalent, and, in the larger towns, the young Greeks spend their evenings at some casino, or *café-chantant*, where drink, play, and loose companionship do not tend to improve their morality.

Thieving and brigandage are supposed to find a natural

* The development of Smyrna has been equally remarkable during the last forty years; it is rapidly becoming a European rather than an Oriental town, but, as its development is largely due to European trade and companies, Aivali has been selected as an example of Greek enterprise.

home amongst the Greeks of Western Anatolia ; they are, it is true, far too frequent, and sometimes assume alarming proportions, but, on the whole, the condition of the country has been much exaggerated. Brigandage is due partly to Turkish misgovernment, and partly to political agitation, and if it were not for the connivance of Turkish officials and the evils of Hellenic Consular arrangements, the crime could soon be checked. In the Smyrna district a large majority of the criminals are Hellenes, but the Greek Consul has no power to try them ; they have to be sent to Greece where they are rarely tried, and whence they sometimes return by the next boat. The Greek Consuls are afraid or unwilling to deal with the criminals ; and it is only when a determined man, like the late Midhat Pasha, happens to be Governor, that they are kept in order. Midhat Pasha quieted Smyrna by seizing and locking up a hundred of the most notorious criminals, who had previously been allowed to walk the streets untouched ; when he fell, the Greek Consul applied for their release, the new Governor gave way, and the robberies recommenced. The question of Greek protection is a very delicate one, and must always be a source of danger. Near Smyrna there are villages wholly colonized by free Hellenes who claim the protection of their Consul, and in one case, the Greek Consul is said to have claimed as Hellenes the Greeks of a certain village, who had for several generations been Ottoman subjects. According to Ottoman law no Turkish subject can leave landed property to an alien, and it is therefore obvious that there must always be troublesome agrarian and other questions which can be used as a pretext, should either Greece or Turkey wish to quarrel.

The Greeks of the south coast of Asia Minor are far less educated and less enterprising than those on the west ; and, with the exception of a few merchants and educated men, they speak only Turkish. Long servitude and loss

of language have had a depressing effect; the national character has deteriorated; the old Greek liveliness has disappeared; and the genius, the liberal spirit, and love of arts of the ancient Hellene have been replaced by ignorance, servility, and gross superstition. Everywhere, however, progress is now being made; Makri, the ancient Telmessus, has sufficient commerce to ensure a weekly visit from the steamer that plies between Smyrnia and Adalia; and the Greeks of Castel Rosso still show, as sponge-fishers and smugglers, that boldness and independence which characterized them when their land-locked harbour was a nest of pirates. No change can be more striking than that from Aivali, with its bustling activity, to the quaint and somewhat sleepy mediæval town of Adalia, where each step brings us face to face with some striking relic of Roman, Seljuk, or Venetian rule, and massive walls still separate the Christian from the Moslem quarter. Until 1812, when Muhammad II. broke the power of the local chief, Tekkeh Oglu, the position of the Adaliole Greeks was one of great misery; the reforms of Muhammad brought some alleviation, but the people had lost their language, and with it had gone that desire for education so congenial to the Hellene. The War of Independence gave rise to a slight movement in favour of Hellenism, but it soon died out, and showed no symptom of revival until the Crimean War. The last Turco-Russian War has, however, been a new starting-point, and efforts are being made to ensure the complete Hellenization of the community. There are now two schools for boys and two for girls, with masters and mistresses who have been educated at Athens; and as there was no one with sufficient spirit to endow the schools, the School Committee was granted a monopoly of the wax used in the churches; this gives an income of £300 a year, and with a small tax, provides free education for all children.

The Adaliole Greeks have many striking peculiarities; in feature, dress, and habits, they often resemble Jews more

nearly than their co-religionists in the west ; and there is a story of a certain Archbishop of Pisidia, who, upon landing at Adalia to visit his diocese for the first time, asked in an indignant tone why all the Jews in the place had come out to greet him instead of his flock. There is, in fact, a native tradition that the Adaliothe Greeks are descended from Jews brought from Palestine, and forcibly converted to Christianity, during the time of the Empire—possibly a reminiscence of something that occurred in Hadrian's reign. The Adaliothes are, as a rule, ignorant, illiterate, and opposed to education ; there is much drunkenness, and their habits and dress are thoroughly Asiatic. They talk Turkish, and write it in Greek ; the priests, who officiate in Greek, do not understand what they read ; and though the young learn Greek in the schools, they rarely use it in conversation. Pan-Hellenism is, however, spreading, and it seems impossible for the rising generation, after studying the noble literature of ancient Greece, to relapse into barbarism. Their home and family life is miserable, and quite as despotic as that of the Moslems ; the men eat with their fingers, and apart from the family ; there are no tables, and the food is served in a copper dish placed on a stool ; there are no beds ; both sexes lie on the ground without taking off their clothes ; except when they go to the bath, the women rarely comb their hair ; the young men are beginning to wear European clothes, but the girls follow the conservatism of their mothers both in dress and habits. The women wear a fez, with a narrow cotton necktie wound round it, and a gilt plaque on the top ; the hair is cut short in front so as to leave a straight lock on either side, and long plaited tails of false hair, sometimes decorated with gold sequins, hang down behind ; they wear gaudy silk trowsers, embroidered jackets of velvet or cloth, long robes, like dressing-gowns, open in front and closed behind, and the highest heeled of French boots. The ladies have a great weakness for jewelry, and some of the necklaces, &c., made of old

Venetian coins and Ghazis (the gold coins of Muhammad) are not only beautiful, but valuable.

Marriages are generally arranged by agents representing the interested parties, and as soon as the preliminaries are settled, the betrothal follows; there is no ceremony, but two handkerchiefs are given to the agents by the parents of the girl as a token, and one of these is given to the bridegroom-elect, who keeps it till the wedding. Marriages always take place on Sundays, and some time beforehand the bride-elect and her friends meet to pack the trousseau, which consists of clothes, cooking utensils, and other household necessities. On the Saturday the bride's parents keep open house, and her friends and relations present her with gold sequins, which are placed on a plate in front of her. On the Sunday the bridegroom is shaved and has a bath, and the bride dresses herself in bridal attire, which has previously been sent to her by the bridegroom, so that she may go to church dressed in his clothing. In the afternoon the bride is blindfolded, and closely veiled, a procession is then formed by the female relatives of the bridegroom, and, headed by discordant, noisy music, the bride is dragged to church by her two best ladies. It is obligatory for the bride to show the greatest grief, and unwillingness at leaving her old home; and should she fail in this respect the groom may give her up on the ground that such a hard-hearted girl would never make a good wife. After the usual ceremony of the Greek Church, the priest ties the bridal crowns together with a silk string, and the marriage cannot be consummated until he cuts the string on the following Tuesday. From the church, the bridal procession, now unaccompanied by music, proceeds to the groom's house, which has been ready swept and garnished; leaving for a moment the guests outside, the newly-married pair enter the house, and the groom removes the bride's veil; the lady then humbly kneels and kisses her husband's hand in token of submission, and he, raising her up, presents her with a purse, filled according to his means, and places her

under a bower of branches, in a corner of the reception-room, to receive the guests, who are now admitted. As each guest passes the bride, she bends and kisses his hand; and during the reception, which sometimes lasts for hours, she is never allowed to sit down. Dancing and feasting of a very noisy, convivial kind, now commence, and continue day and night until the Tuesday; and during this time the bride and bridegroom are never allowed to be alone together for a moment. On the Monday the groom's friends present gold sequins to the bride, which are generally made into necklaces; and the groom and his father-in-law keep accurate lists of the gifts with a view to future restoration on similar occasions. Whilst going through this long, tedious ordeal, the newly-married couple are constantly haunted by the fear that some enemy may suddenly appear and publicly tie a knot in his handkerchief; for, should this dire event take place, they can never live together as man and wife, and must part for ever. All the ceremonies and superstitions with regard to death and burial, which are prevalent amongst the Greek islanders, exist in an exaggerated degree; when, for instance, a death occurs, a small jar of water is placed on the top of the house, and no cooking is allowed for forty days. During this period the friends, relatives, and even neighbours are obliged by custom to supply the mourners with soup and boiled fowl.

Superstitions such as belief in the evil eye, in lucky or unlucky days for commencing a journey, changing a residence, or doing any particular work; in the efficacy of charms for curing diseases, in love philtres, in sorcery, &c., are common to Moslem and Christian; and both have a firm belief in the healing properties of a spring, to the west of Adalia, in which the image of the Virgin is said to have been seen. Every Sunday and Friday numbers of people visit the spring, and on Lady-Day the Christians have a convivial meeting which lasts two or three days. These superstitions have far more influence over the daily life of the Greeks than their religion, for they do not understand

a word of the church service, and look upon church attendance as a mere form which must be gone through to ensure salvation. All the old customs and traditions will disappear as education and civilization progresses; but it is to be hoped that, before the old order gives place to the new, some one may do for the Greeks of the south coast what Mr. Theodore Bent has done for those of the Cyclades.

The Greek communities of Eastern Anatolia may be roughly grouped into those of the Cappadocian plains; those of Kaisariyeh and Mount Argæus; and those of Pontus. The Cappadocian Greeks have a reputation throughout Asia Minor for energy and commercial activity; there are few towns in which a merchant from Kaisariyeh is not to be found; and the rocky nature of the country drives even the poorer classes to seek their living elsewhere. Perhaps the most interesting *trait* in the character of these Greeks is their intense love of their native country; the great ambition of every man is to earn sufficient money to enable him to build a house and settle down in his beloved Cappadocia. The young men go off to Constantinople for a few years, and then return to marry and build a house; a couple of years of married life sees the end of their savings, and they have to revisit the capital, sometimes remaining there ten or fifteen years, to earn sufficient to support themselves and their wives for the remainder of their lives. Each village is connected with some particular guild in Constantinople; one supplies *bakals* or small storekeepers, another sellers of wine and spirits, another driers of fish, another makers of caviare, another porters, and so forth. One curious result of this acquaintance with the outer world is that the travelled Cappadocians take a keen interest in European politics, and that the weekly post brings to every village one or more copies of the Greek newspapers published in Stamboul. The people have no marked political aspirations such as those which prevail amongst the Greeks of the west coast; they dream, it is true, of a new Byzantine

Empire, but any sympathies they can spare from an all-absorbing love of money and gain are devoted to the Russian.

The south Cappadocian district, in which St. Gregory of Nazianzus once ministered, shows many signs of growing prosperity ; building is going on, and the people are vacating, for houses above ground, the subterranean villages, to which they owe the preservation of their faith and language. These villages are known by Greek as well as by Turkish names ; in some Greek is spoken by Moslem and Christian, in others a Græco-Turk jargon, and in others Turkish only ; and this mixture is found even in the churches where the descriptive remarks on the holy pictures are often in Turkish written in Greek characters. Some of the villages have a mixed Greek and Turk population, but they are of the same stock, and the features of the people throughout the district have a certain resemblance to those of the race depicted on the Cappadocian monuments. The only distinction between Greek and Turk, except such as is directly due to difference of religion, is the quaint head-dress of the Christian women ; a cloth coming just above the mouth and wound round the chin and head like the bandage of a corpse. The superstitions and traditions are also the same : both sects reverence the skeleton of St. Gregory at Gelvereh, and in one instance, at Mamassún, the Momoasson of the Itineraries, the Christians and Moslems own a church in common, and hold in equal veneration a box of human bones, said by the one to be the bones of St. Mamas, and by the other to be those of a celebrated Christian who adopted Islam as his religion.

The whole district is filled with rock-hewn habitations, churches, and tombs, but the most remarkable excavations are the subterranean villages already alluded to. Hassa-keui, a typical village, is, to outward view, simply a collection of mud hovels on a bare level plain ; but each hovel is connected with a subterranean house excavated in the soft volcanic rock. The visitor, on entering one of the

hovels is conducted through a winding passage, with mud walls, to a closed doorway ; here the passage begins to descend, and when it has attained a depth sufficient to allow of a roof of rock, from three to four feet, it is closed by a huge cheese-shaped stone, which can be run backwards and forwards at will. The mechanism is not unlike that of the well-known entrance to the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem, except that in this case the stone can only be moved from the inside. In ordinary times the stone is rolled back into a passage prepared to receive it, and is kept in position by a small stone wedge ; when danger threatens, and the family retire below ground, the wedge is removed, and the great stone disc rolls across the passage into a groove cut for it in the opposite wall. All the underground houses are on the same pattern—a large chamber for the horses, oxen, goats, and donkeys, with mangers and store-places for grain and fodder ; two or three smaller chambers for the use of the family, with recesses for bedding and cooking utensils, and a well or cistern supplied by rain and snow water. The houses communicate with each other by rock-hewn passages, provided with rolling-stone doors, but usually closed by dry stone walls ; there is thus perfect circulation throughout a subterranean village, and if one house is forced by an enemy, the inmates retire to the next and close the passage behind them. On the approach of danger the villagers drive in their live stock, close the passages, and remain under ground until the storm has blown over ; and their religious wants, during seclusion, are met by one or more subterranean churches. The last time that the population bodily disappeared below ground was during the troubled period when an Egyptian army marched through the Cilician gates, and sent a force to occupy Kaisariyeh.

The Greeks of Kaisariyeh still display that force of character and aptitude for commercial enterprize which has made their city through all ages the trade centre of Eastern Anatolia. Their talented prelate, who is not unknown to

Western divines, has devoted his energies to the education and welfare of his flock; under his fostering care schools are being established in the villages, and unceasing efforts are being made to improve the condition of the peasantry. The villages on the slopes of Argæus offer a spectacle of wealth, comfort, and prosperity which is not to be found elsewhere in the interior. Under the term Pontic Greeks, may be included all those Greeks who live in the hill-country bordering the southern shore of the Black Sea. They are generally agriculturists, and in many instances have preserved their language as well as their religion. Far more ignorant, and far less cultivated in every way than the Cappadocian Greeks, they have often the sturdiness and independence of mountaineers, and have been known to meet in open fight and hold their own against the dreaded Circassians. The mountain Greeks are exceedingly superstitious, and entirely under the influence of their priests, who are little more advanced than themselves. In some of the wilder districts the men present a rather uncouth appearance, with their long unkempt hair, and eager, excitable manner; but they are, when their fear or caution is overcome, extremely hospitable to strangers; and any one who wishes to observe primitive Greek habits, and gather up the old Greek folklore before it has passed away, could not do better than spend a couple of months with them in their lovely mountain homes. The sympathies of these Pontic Greeks are entirely Russian, and every year a few families emigrate, not always to their own profit, to Russian soil.

The Anatolian Greeks are clannish, and firmly united by one common bond—the orthodox Greek Church; they are active, intelligent, and naturally endowed with a quick perception; laborious, engaged day and night upon their affairs, and devoted to commercial pursuits; they learn quickly and well, and become doctors, lawyers, bankers, accountants, innkeepers, &c., thus filling all the professions; they are very imitative, and easily led by those who win their confidence; but gifted with an irritating self-compla-

cency and prone to reject advice, especially when it is given with an affectation of superiority. They have that versatility of character, that love of adventure and intrigue which distinguished the ancient Greeks; and a certain restlessness and "smartness" in their commercial dealings and speculations which not unfrequently lead to disaster; at the same time they have a power of recuperation, which is quite American; and a man who has lost a fortune one day, seems to find little difficulty in amassing a new one. Wealth is considered the chief happiness of life, and a love of gain, developed early in life, begets too often a belief that all means of obtaining it are fair. It is a lamentable fact that the pursuit of riches has been so absorbing as to leave little room for those nobler sentiments which raise men above their fellows; yet who can blame the educated Greek Christian who, practically debarred from all participation in the government of his country, finds employment for his active intellect in the delicate demesnes of commerce and finance. The democratic feeling is very strong; the sole aristocracy is that of wealth, which every one may acquire; and ancient lineage or rank confer no special distinction. The children of rich and poor go to the same schools, and receive the same free education; and thus every Greek arrived at man's estate thinks that he is equally fitted with his compeers to rule a state, to lead an army in the field, or to command a fleet.

The Greeks contribute nothing but the poll-tax to the military strength of Turkey, and as little as they can to its revenue; they have, however, much power and influence in the provinces, from the hold which they have acquired on the finances of the country. Greek financiers at Constantinople, Greek tax-gatherers, and business agents in the provinces, monopolize more than half the financial transactions of the Ottoman Empire. They would thus appear to have an interest in supporting Ottoman domination; but the spread of Pan-Hellenism is creating a feeling that there are higher interests connected with a resuscitation of the

Byzantine Empire. Amongst the many causes which are tending to the Hellenization of the Asiatic Greeks, are the spread of education, the patriotic feelings awakened by studying the literature of ancient Greece; the presence, as teachers, of men and women who can speak, from personal experience, of free Hellas and her capital, and above all, the annual gathering at the island in the midst of the *Ægean*, which has so happily been selected to be the Delos of the modern Greek. Whether the desire for a Byzantine Empire will ever pass beyond mere sentiment, depends upon Europe; the Greeks of Asia will not move without a promise of European assistance; but it is highly probable that if Russia, in furtherance of her own designs, were to send a fleet to the west coast of Asia Minor, and incite the people to rise, they would do so. The Greeks do not want the Russian, and have no particular affection for him; but they want freedom, and to obtain it they will make use of any one who will help them. Greek politicians are not troubled with vain scruples in the pursuit of their object; the friend of yesterday will be cursed to-day, and blessed to-morrow, according as he is supposed to oppose or support their visionary schemes. The position the Greeks occupy in Europe and Asia, and the increased importance which Greek countries have acquired by the opening of the Suez Canal, render their future secure. Every year which passes without a violent reopening of the Eastern Question is in their favour; they can afford to wait, and, whilst taking every advantage of their geographical position, and the commercial instinct of their race, allow their destiny to work itself out. A strong Greek State would, I believe, be advantageous to England; but the idea of a new Byzantine Empire is a dream of the far-distant future; vast changes must take place before it can come within the range of practical politics; and meantime the Greeks of Asia would do well to bear in mind that Russia's policy is the same now as it was when the Emperor Nicholas addressed the following pregnant words to Sir Hamilton Seymour:—

"I will never permit an attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics—asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and would carry it on as long as I have a man and a musket left."

C. W. WILSON.

FAMOUS WOMEN OF INDIA.

IN an article contributed by Mr. Keene to *The National Review* of last October, that writer portrayed, in the interesting style of which he is a master, some of the "women of Indian history." In selecting the Empress Nur Jahán and the Begam Samru as the chief illustrations of his theme Mr. Keene had, doubtless, an eye to the theatrical fitness which brings into prominence men and women whose careers startle and amaze. It must be admitted, too, that whilst Nur Jahán is a type of the Muhammadan lady of a lofty social position in the palmy days of Muhammadan supremacy in India, the Begam Samru not unfaithfully illustrates the position which could be attained in the days of the decay of that supremacy by a lady in whose veins flowed the blood of the Turk or of the Arab. I venture to think, however, that there are types nobler, and characters more sympathetic, illustrative of the real women of India, than those mentioned by Mr. Keene. To one of these, Sikandar Begam of Bhopál, he has indeed referred, only, however, to dismiss her in two lines. There are others, scarcely less interesting, but standing on a lower moral platform, who are at least typical. To one or two of the more famous of both these classes, I propose now to devote a few pages.

The noblest type of the Hindu rulers was the lady who is known as Alia or Ahlya Bae. To understand what this woman was, what she accomplished, what obstacles she overcame, it is necessary to take a glance at the principality over which she ruled, and the circumstances which called her to become its chief administrator.

Between the years 1724 and 1765, Mulhar Ráo, a shep-

herd by caste, and originally a weaver of blankets by trade, conquered and formed into one compact principality the territory which is still known as the dominions of Holkar. Mulhar Ráo was, in fact, the founder of the Holkar dynasty—a dynasty which takes its names from the village of Hol, on the river Nira, where he spent his youthful days, and “kar,” signifying inhabitant.

Mulhar Ráo died in 1765, at the ripe age of seventy-six, leaving behind him a great name and a principality which brought in an annual gross revenue of 7,500,000 rupees. He had had but one son, Khandi Ráo, whom he had outlived, for Khandi Ráo had been killed at the siege of Khambhir, near Dig, in the year 1754. He had, however, previously married Ahlya Bae, of a family named Sindia, distantly related to the Gwáliár family, and by her he had had a son and a daughter. The son, Máli Ráo, succeeded to his grandfather's principality on the death of Mulhar Ráo in 1765, but he did not long survive him. Always of weak intellect, he displayed very shortly symptoms akin to madness, and died about nine months later. The daughter had been married into another family, and by that act had forfeited her claim to the succession.

For the moment, then, a crisis ensued. The prime minister of the time, the man who had been prime minister and confidant of the founder of the dynasty, strongly urged that recourse should be made to the time-honoured custom of adoption; that whilst a handsome provision should be made for the queen-mother, Ahlya Bae, a child distantly related to the family should be proclaimed heir, the actual administration to be placed in his own hands. He pursued this end with all the persistence of one in whom love of power had become ingrained; offered a large bribe to the arch-intriguer of Púnah, Ragúnath Ráo, uncle to the then Peshwa and afterwards Peshwa himself, and endeavoured to enlist partisans on all sides. When he believed his scheme ripe for execution, he waited upon Ahlya Bae to announce it. But he encountered a spirit before which his

own had to quail. "I will not consent to your scheme," she said, "because it is derogatory to the House of Holkar, of which I am the legal representative. I disapprove still more of the means you have adopted to carry through your intrigue. You will find you have failed, and that I am mistress here." In fact, whilst the minister had been intriguing, Ahlya Bae had been gathering together her resources. She had secured the strong support of the famous Madhaji Sindia, of the Peshwa himself, and of other Marátha chieftains. The minister soon found he had made a mistake, and, like most Asiatics under such circumstances, submitted with a good grace.

Though Ahlya Bae was now firmly established, she had yet to prove her capacity. The first evidence of this was in her choice of instruments. The period, it must be recollected, was the dark period which intervened between the decay of the Moghol Empire and the establishment of the British dominion on its ruins. It was a period of lawlessness and disorder; when "the buffalo was to the man who held the bludgeon;" when might was right, and when the break-up of the empire had unloosened ambitions on every side. That, at such a period, a woman should be able to maintain her hold on a principality but recently constituted, and with a revenue of 7,500,000 rupees, was theoretically an impossibility. But Ahlya Bae was a very remarkable woman. To great insight into character she added the strength of will which imposed, and a devotion to her semi-regal duties which gave her complete command of the situation. No sooner did she recognize that her position was secure than she selected as her minister and commander-in-chief a man whose great capacity was not marred by the latent fire of ambition. This man was Tukaji Holkar, belonging to the same clan as that from which Mulhar Ráo had sprung, not indeed related to, but much trusted in earlier days by that chieftain. He was a man over forty, an age when the mind becomes confirmed in its habits, and known to be prudent, circumspect, and able. The

result proved the justice of her discernment. Bound to his mistress by ties of respect and esteem, Tūkaji Holkar conducted the affairs of the State for thirty years with ability and justice—not a single cloud embittering throughout that period his relations with Ahlya Bae.

Much of this was due, doubtless, to his staidness, his probity, his circumspection; but the main merit is to be found in the character of the lady. Extremely pious, and much given to the exercise of the duties of her religion, she yet found time to attend to all the important affairs of State which press themselves on the attention of a ruler. Discarding the system of seclusion introduced into India by the Moghols, she transacted business every day, unveiled in open durbar. "She heard," wrote Sir John Malcolm, "every complaint in person; and although she continually referred causes to courts of equity and arbitration, and to her ministers, for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty on all points connected with the administration of justice, that she is represented as not only patient, but unwearied in the investigation of the most insignificant causes where appeals were made to her decision."

The time she selected to transact her public affairs contrasts strongly with that adopted by the Moghols, and considerably, though to a less degree, with that used by our own people. She wished to keep the morning for herself, in a manner to be presently described, and thus to secure for her people uninterrupted enjoyment of the hours best fitted for the cultivation of the soil. Leaving the mornings free, then, she used to hold her first court at 2 p.m. It sat generally four hours. Resuming, then, at 9 p.m., she carried on her duties till 11 o'clock. Then the day closed. By this unremitting attention to business she ensured happiness and contentment amongst her people, whilst the same cause contributed to the pleasing result that during her thirty years of rule, despite the lawlessness of the times, her dominions were but once invaded, and then unsuccessfully.

Ahlya Bae was of middle height, spare in person, with a

complexion which, though of dark olive, was clear. She was very cheerful, was not easily roused to anger, except when, provoked by wickedness or crime:—on such occasions the most esteemed of her attendants trembled to approach her, for, to use the expression made to Sir John Malcolm by an eye-witness, "her countenance struck terror into the minds of the boldest." Her mind had been very carefully cultivated, and she was singularly quick and clear in transacting public business. She used to rise an hour before daybreak, say her morning prayers and perform the ceremonies usual to pious Hindus. She then heard read some chapters from the Purānas or sacred books, distributed alms, and gave food, in person, to a number of Brahmans. Her own breakfast was then brought. After the meal she generally took a short repose, rising and dressing so as to appear in the public darbar at 2 o'clock. Her life presented, to use the graphic language of Sir John Malcolm, "an extraordinary picture: a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance, a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, yet receiving no impressions except what promoted the happiness of those under its influence; a being exercising, in the most active and able manner, despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action, and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others." Can we wonder that the natives of Malwa, quick, impressionable, and sympathetic, should have regarded her as a saint, and, after her death, should have worshipped her as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Divinity? Surely, in a mundane point of view, it was no mean accomplishment to successfully rule, during thirty of the darkest years of the history of India, an inland territory, surrounded by ambitious and predatory warriors, to secure peace, prosperity, and happiness for its inhabitants, and to leave it then, its revenues enormously increased, to her successor! And yet this is what this extraordinary woman actually accomplished.

Ahlya Bae died in 1795. Her faithful minister, Túkaji, succeeded her. On his death two years later, Daolat Ráo Sindia endeavoured, by murder and artifice, to take possession of his territory, but was eventually foiled by the daring and notorious Jeswant Ráo, the son of Túkaji by a concubine.

A striking contrast to Ahlya Bae, whilst in many respects a typical representative of one class of the ruling women of India, was Túlsi Bae. This lady was the favourite mistress of the Jeswant Ráo just referred to. She was a married woman, very beautiful, very fascinating, and possessing a great charm of manner. Jeswant Ráo first saw her under circumstances similar to those under which David first saw Bathsheba. His passions kindled on the instant, and, acting more precipitately than the famous Hebrew king, he caused the husband to be imprisoned, and carried the wife to his palace. It was not necessary to deal so summarily with the husband as David dealt with Uriah. Glad, probably, to be rid of a woman whose nature he knew to be profligate, the bereaved, but not disconsolate, prisoner agreed to accept a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money, with his freedom, as an exchange for the wife who had deserted him.

Túlsi Bae soon obtained an overpowering influence over Jeswant Ráo, and when that prince, a year later (1808), became insane, she assumed the regency of the principality. Recollecting the virtuous and prosperous government of Ahlya Bae, the Court and the people admitted her claim as soon as it was advanced. A short experience sufficed to show them how far the new ruler fell short of her predecessor. Her administration was full of storm and disaster, and every historian of that period attributes its evil course to her character. Grant Duff, in his history of the Maráthas, speaks of her as "a woman of profligate habits, and of most vindictive disposition, totally unfitted for high station, or for the exercise of the power with which she was vested." Sir John Malcolm, if his criticism is not quite so severe, gives an account of her actions

which quite justifies the conclusions of Grant Duff. "She had been tutored," writes Malcolm, "in more than the common arts of her sex, and she possessed sufficient learning to be considered an extraordinary person in a country where women are seldom at all instructed. She was handsome, and of winning manners, but violent in her disposition, and most dissolute in her morals. She appears to have had considerable talent, and sometimes displayed great resolution; but the leading feature of her character was a cruelty of disposition, which seems almost irreconcilable with that seclusion in which she had been brought up, and in which, contrary to the example of Ahlya Bae (whose exact opposite she appears to have been in every particular), she continued till her death." In one outward observance, in particular, Túlsi Bae took a course the reverse of that adopted by her great predecessor. I have related that it had been the custom of Ahlya Bae to sit in the *darbar* and administer justice, unveiled. Túlsi Bae always sat behind a curtain, communicating with her ministers through a *confidante*, a woman who remained unveiled on the outside. The reason assigned for this conduct was the possession of youth and beauty which might distract; but Malcolm is inclined to think that it was the consciousness of being absolutely shameless which prevented her from weakening her influence by showing herself to her subjects as she actually was. Yet, a good horse-woman, she did not hesitate to appear in public on horseback, attended by a large party of ladies of the first families in the State.

Such was the woman to whom was committed the charge of the edifice built by Mulhar Ráo, adorned and strengthened by Ahlya Bae, lost and regained by Jeswant Ráo. The times were out of joint. The policy of the great Marquis, who had made British India, had been reversed by a pusillanimous Court of Directors, who, mistaking abstention for policy, had abdicated their duties as rulers, and, withdrawing British influence from Rajputána

and Central India, had allowed those fertile provinces to become the prey of the marauder and the murderer. It was the era of Amir Khán and the Pindáris, an era when, from the fear that if they maintained order they might be accused of bloodguiltiness, the British Government, whilst carefully administering the territories it had conquered and occupied, winked at the perpetration of the most horrible cruelties in the territories which still remained independent. At the time of which I am writing, the freebooter Amir Khán had his hand on the throat of Holkar's dominions, and was pillaging and plundering Rajputáná.

The first act of Túlsi Bae was to place her authority on an irremovable basis. Knowing that Jeswant Ráo's life was precarious, she caused to be adopted a child of his, Mulhar Ráo by name, then but a year old, born of a low-caste mistress, thus securing her regency for many years to come. She confirmed likewise the actual prime minister, Bálárám Set by name, in his office. Hardly had she carried to conclusion these necessary acts than she discovered that the army was in a state of mutiny. An officer, named Dherma Káur, surrounded the encampment at Máo, in which Jeswant Ráo and his mistress had taken up their abode, and seized the power of the State. But Túlsi Bae was equal to the occasion. She sent pressing entreaties to the commander of Amir Khán's forces in the vicinity. It would be too long to enter into a detailed account of the transactions that followed. It must suffice to state that after much intriguing and much bloodshed, Amir Khán came himself to the rescue, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, and took prisoners Dherma Káur and his leading associates. He made them over to Túlsi Bae.

The ruler of the State had now her first opportunity. It would seem that Dherma, though he had rebelled, was a man of strong character who might, with proper treatment, have been brought to be one of the pillars of the State. But Túlsi Bae at once ordered him to be executed. The bold character of the man stands out in his dying moments.

"The executioner," writes Malcolm, "made an ineffectual blow at his neck with one hand. Dherma turned towards him with a stern look, and said, 'Take both hands, you rascal; after all, it is the head of Dherma that is to be cut off.'"

The rebellion of the army and the necessity to call in Amir Khán proved to Túlsi Bae that she had made a bad choice of a minister. Mere removal was no remedy for Túlsi Bae. She always felt, with the enemies of the great Lord Strafford, that "stone dead hath no fellow." She therefore arranged with Amir Khán, before he departed, that whenever she might send Bálárám to his camp he was to kill him, and she gave him a written warrant to that effect. The hour arrived, and Bálárám presented himself to Amir Khán. The result was very curious, very illustrative of the manners of the times. Amir Khán showed Bálárám the warrant, and told him that he must execute it unless he would accept bills for a large amount which he at once proceeded to draw. Bálárám had no option but to accept the bills. Amir Khán then escorted him back to the Court, and persuaded Túlsi Bae to reinstate him in his post. Bálárám's first act was to discount the bills he had accepted. The purpose of Túlsi Bae, meanwhile, was only deferred.

A little later Jeswant Ráo died. Shortly afterwards Túlsi Bae openly displayed the passion she had conceived for Ganpat Ráo, the Dewan of the Court. To obtain money for their joint needs, she despatched this man to Daolat Ráo Sindia with a proposal to mortgage a portion of the territory of the Holkars. The bargain was only prevented by the interference of Amir Khán. Her profligacy, however, continued to increase. Acting in conjunction with her lover, she drove to death, under circumstances of great cruelty, her former confidant, Mínah Bae. Then ensued a scene, frequent enough in those days, impossible now, in India. Her troops—the artillery and two battalions of infantry excepted—rose in

revolt and formed the plan of depriving her of the custody of the infant prince. Túlsi Bae, resolute and active, took refuge in Gangráor, then a strong mud-fortress on the Kala-Sind, and from behind its walls endeavoured to sow disunion in the ranks of her enemies. But those enemies were vigilant and well-advised. Manœuvring suddenly and skilfully, they seized the person of the paramour, Ganpat Ráo, and only just missed the capture of Tantia Jogh, the ablest general of the regent. But the failure to seize this man was fatal to the plans of the mutineers. Jottibah Naik, an adherent of Túlsi Bae, marched from Mau, attacked them the moment of their first despondency, and compelled them to raise the siege.

They still, however, possessed one enormous advantage, the possession of the person of the individual to whom Túlsi was devoted, and they appeared resolved to use that advantage to the utmost. Increasing the rigour of his confinement, they caused the news of it to penetrate within the walls of Gangráor. Túlsi, mad with love, was driven to despair. She pawned her jewels to obtain money, and then despatched Tantia to secure, at all costs, the release of her lover. Tantia, by large gifts, persuaded the mutineers, not only to deliver up their prisoner, but to disband themselves.

Success gave birth in the minds of Túlsi Bae to projects of revenge. She had long been watching her opportunity to get rid of Bálarám Sét, the minister whom she had once condemned to death, but for whom the craft of Amir Khán had obtained a pardon. Bálarám had just then re-awakened the long-stored fury of his mistress by venturing to remonstrate on the continuance of her open criminal intercourse with Ganpat Ráo, which, he said, had become the scandal of all India, and brought shame and disgrace on the family of Holkar. From that moment his fate was sealed. Three days later he received, at midnight, an order to attend the regent. He was asleep at the time, and his wife, who expected the worst from the manner and

language of the messenger, earnestly entreated him to refuse to follow him. But Bálárám disregarded her remonstrances, and proceeded to the presence of Túlsi Bae. He found her attended by Ganpat Ráo, and surrounded by armed adherents. Though he saw at a glance that he was doomed, he still pleaded for life. His pleadings were stopped by Túlsi accusing him of being the author of all her troubles, which she proceeded to name in detail. Bálárám's denial was interrupted by the order, from the mouth of the regent, to strike off his head. When the two sipahís, who stood nearest to him, hesitated to obey, the paramour, Ganpat Ráo, asked them if they did not hear the voice of their mistress. The two men, both Hindus, nobly answered that they were soldiers, and not executioners. Ganpat Ráo then struck the first blow himself; a satellite named Hassubah Hazuriah struck the second. The body, after being hacked by others, was then dragged into a dark room. There the murderers stripped it of its ornaments, and the chief murderer himself is said to have taken a jewelled necklace as his share of the spoil. The report was spread next morning that the minister had absconded, but no one was deceived.

The murder produced consequences immediate and serious. Ghafúr Khán, the lieutenant of Amir Khán, who commanded a large body of men in the territories of Holkar, sent a private message to Tántia Jogh, the commander of the regent's troops, to upbraid him with the sanction of such an outrage, and asking what he was to say to Amir Khán. Tántia, faithful to his mistress, reported the message to her whilst he tried to amuse Ghafúr Khán with an evasive answer. The haughty spirit of Túlsi Bae was roused to indignation by the message of Ghafúr Khán. Demanding in a fury whether he was master or she was mistress, she sent him a message to the effect, that if he were so very anxious to meet Bálárám, he should meet him. Alarmed at this message, Ghafúr Khán moved off to a distance, but almost immediately returned to the vicinity

of Gangráor. Three days later the regent noticing, from the walls of that fortress, a movement which seemed prompted by a desire to surround it, sallied forth, mounted on an elephant and with the young Mulhar Ráo by her side, to attack him. She is said to have displayed coolness and courage till a shot struck the howdah on which the young prince was seated. Alarmed for his safety, she placed the boy on horseback in the arms of her paramour; and mounting another horse herself, rode off, followed by the child and her escort, to the town of Alót, a distance of sixteen miles.

Notwithstanding her flight the possession of the person of Mulhar Ráo gave Túlsi Bae a power and influence which no other considerations could outweigh, and in the negotiations which followed with Amir Khán and his adherents on the one side and Daolat Ráo Sindia on the other, she made the fullest use of this advantage. But there occurred something just about this time which changed the course of events. After ten years of sleep, the British Government woke up to the fact that the policy of non-intervention introduced on the departure of the great Marquis Wellesley meant nothing less than the sanction of wholesale murder and atrocity in the unprotected districts. The Governor-General of the time, known to history as the Marquis of Hastings, determined then to take efficacious measures to restore and to maintain law and order throughout Rajputaná, Bandalkhand, and Central India generally. For this purpose he marched himself with one force, and despatched into Malwa another under Sir Thomas Hislop. This latter, setting out from Púnah, crossed the Narbada on the 14th and 16th of November (1817), and reached Ujjen a few days later. To the discerning eyes of Túlsi Bae, then at war with the Muhammadan faction of Amir Khán, it seemed that not a moment was to be lost. She despatched to the British commander an earnest request that she and the young prince might be received in the British camp, and be regarded as under British protection. But be-

fore an answer could be received the war party had assumed the upper hand, and determined to resist the British advance by force. As a preliminary to carrying out this resolve, they seized the person of the young prince and Ganpat Ráo, and put to death Túlsi Bae. The manner in which this revolution was effected is told in full detail by Sir John Malcolm, whom I have followed throughout in this narrative.

The British force was advancing on Méhidpur. The war-party of the court of Holkar, led by Ghafúr Khán, eager to avenge the murder of Bálarám, resolved to remove the woman whom he and they regarded as the cause of all the misfortunes of the country. As a preliminary to this end they saw it would be necessary to separate the young Maharaja from the regent, for the possession of his person was the main prop of her authority. A watch was accordingly set upon his movements, and, one afternoon, the 20th of December, as he was playing in front of his tent he was enticed to a sufficient distance from it and secured. A guard was then placed over the tent in which Túlsi Bae resided. For a moment her lover, Ganpat Ráo, seemed disposed to attempt her rescue; recognizing, however, almost immediately that the case was hopeless, he turned and fled for his life. But he was pursued and captured and brought back a prisoner amid the jeers, the insults, and the blows of the conspirators.

The fate of Túlsi Bae could not be doubtful. Regarding her the conspirators also felt that "stone dead hath no fellow." It was a question between her life and their lives. "Not a foot stirred, not a voice was raised," to use the words of an eye-witness, "to save a woman who had never shown mercy to others." Early the following morning she was carried in her palanquin to the banks of the river Siprá; there removed from it, her head was severed from her body, which was then cast with contumely into the river. She had lived unrespected; she died young, handsome, fascinating, not yet thirty, yet unpitied—a contrast in every respect to the wise and virtuous Ahlya Bae.

I now propose to give in some detail the story of Sikandar Begam, the mother of the present ruler of the State of Bhopál.

Bhopál was carved out as a principality for himself at the close of the seventeenth century by an Afghan nobleman who had served with distinction under the Emperor Aurangzib. This nobleman, Dost Muhammad by name, waited, however, for the death of the emperor and the convulsions consequent thereupon before he ventured upon the bold step of establishing a Muhammadan state in the very heart of a Hindu community. But when that event occurred, in 1706, he struck vigorously and struck well, and when he died in 1723, the territory had been marked out on a basis so firm that it has survived to the present day.

Perhaps one main cause of that survival was the fact that the descendants of Dost Muhammad possessed the prescience to recognize, amid the decay of the Moghol Empire, the rising fortunes of the British. It became a cardinal principle of policy with them to support under all circumstances, even though those circumstances might seem adverse, the strangers from the West. A memorable instance of this occurred in 1779. The convention of Wargaon (January, 1779) had struck a deadly blow to British power in Western India. The very maintenance of that power seemed to depend, and did for the time depend, upon the opportune arrival of a force of between four and five thousand men which Warren Hastings, with marvellous prevision, had despatched from Bengal. This force met with numberless obstacles and difficulties in its progress through Central India. Every State but one refused it the smallest assistance. The exception was Bhopál. When the difficulties in the way of the British leader, Colonel Goddard, had become almost unsurmountable, the ruler of Bhopál offered him a path through his territories, and furnished him plentifully with supplies. This was the beginning of a friendship which has continued unbroken and with advantage to both parties to the present hour.

During the terrible period of Marátha supremacy over Central India the territory preserved its independence, mainly through the vigorous and energetic character of its prime minister and real ruler, Vizier Muhammad. This man died in 1816 with the reputation of being the greatest warrior and the wisest politician that Central India had ever produced. His son and successor Nazzar Muhammad trod in the footsteps of his father, and an era of unexampled prosperity seemed dawning on the principality when he was killed by the accidental discharge of a pistol in 1821. He left behind him a widow Kúdsia Begam, and one daughter, Sikandar. It was arranged, with the sanction of the British Government, that his nephew, Munir Muhammad, should be betrothed to and eventually marry Sikandar, whilst the widow, Kúdsia Begam, should be regent during her minority.

Kúdsia was then but seventeen, fond of power and ambitious. She began well, for she continued in office the tried ministers of her late husband, and for some time followed their advice in all things. For six years affairs marched without a hitch; then ensued the first crisis. The nephew to whom her daughter was betrothed, Munir Muhammad, claimed the hand of his promised bride, and demanded to be invested with supreme authority. The ambition of Kúdsia took the alarm. Acting in concert with her chief nobles, she cancelled the betrothal, paid off the lover, and betrothed her daughter to his younger brother Jehághir.

This success, combined with the love of power to which the unfettered possession of supreme authority had given an enormous impetus, rendered Kúdsia bold. For eight years longer she deferred her daughter's marriage with Jehághir, and when at last she assented to it, she did so with a mental resolve still to rule. Her daughter Sikandar, then sixteen, was a girl of great abilities, a lofty ambition, and iron resolution. Jehághir was of a commoner type. He possessed the ambition without the abilities and without

the resolution. There was to be a triangular duel, in which the highest mental qualities would achieve success.

Jehānghir struck the first blow. He aimed at the imprisonment of his mother-in-law, Kúdsia. Up to a certain point he succeeded. But he lacked the iron nerve of a conspirator. When Kúdsia was in his power he let her go—he let her go bent on vengeance.

Then ensued a civil war, in which Jehānghir was worsted and besieged. As however from his fort he still continued the turmoil which the war had begun, both parties appealed to the British Government as the supreme arbitrator. That Government decided that Jehānghir was to rule, whilst Kúdsia Begam was to receive for life an estate of 60,000 rupees per annum. The decision was accepted and carried out.

One of the parties to the triangular duel was thus eliminated. During the two years it had lasted Sikandar had enjoyed many opportunities of testing the character of her husband. She had weighed him in the balance and found him wanting in all the qualities which inspire respect. She bore with him, however, for a short time, but, finding at last that he contemned her opinion and disregarded her advice, she resolved to give him a free rein. Confident that time was on her side, she left him and went to live with her mother.

The result was such as she had foreseen. After six years of weak and dissolute rule Jehānghir died (1843). For a moment it seemed as though his death was to be fruitless for Sikandar. The British Government appointed her mother's brother to be sole regent for the one child—a daughter—whom Sikandar had borne to Jehānghir, and confided the child to the care of Sikandar.

The resolution of the British Government was gall and wormwood to the ambitious lady. When it was announced to her in bland terms by the British agent, the sarcastic reply, "Am I, then, a wet-nurse?" might have revealed to him something of her character. But she said no more.

She knew her uncle, and once more was content to trust to time. Again did time vindicate her confidence. Three years of weak rule showed the incompetence of the uncle, and in the fourth year, nerveless and despondent, he resigned his office. During those years Sikandar had impressed her character on the British political agent at Bhopál. The agent again had reported to his Government. The result was that on the resignation of the uncle, Sikandar Begam was appointed, with the full approbation of the nobles, regent of Bhopál.

She was then in the prime of life of a Indian lady, for she was twenty-eight years old. She was not handsome, but she possessed a countenance which displayed intelligence, earnestness, and resolution. Unlike ordinary women of her religion, she never attempted to hide it from the public gaze. In this she was politically wise, for no one could see that face without recognizing the intellectual strength of her to whom it belonged.

Sikandar at once took the reins into her own hands. She became her own prime minister, and began the reform of the abuses which had the most attracted her attention whilst she was yet powerless. During the six years which followed she paid off the entire public debt of the State; she did away with the system, till then in vogue, of farming the revenue, and made arrangements directly with the heads of villages; she abolished monopolies of trades and handicrafts; she re-organized the mint, placing it under her own personal control; and she re-formed the police. Nothing escaped her vigilant ken. She not only inaugurated reforms, but she chose the instruments, and saw that the reforms were carried out. Her energy, her ability, her assiduity, and her determination, ensured success in all that she undertook. Nor were those qualities spasmodic. Continuing as she had begun, she introduced measures for the promotion of female education; directed the construction of works for supplying her capital with pure and wholesome water; made roads and caravanserais; and, in many

other ways, did all that was possible for the progress of her people and the prosperity of her country.

Sikandar Begam was still guiding the State vessel with energy, uprightness, and vigour when the storm of the Mutiny burst over India. Not for a second did she hesitate; not one uncertain sound did the trumpet blow in her territories. In April, 1857, she communicated to the British agent the treasonable documents which had reached her. In June following she expelled a man engaged in raising troops for a purpose he did not care to avow. In July she afforded shelter to the British officers who had been driven from Indur by the mutinous troops of Holkar, and caused them to be escorted safely to Hoshangabad. She did all this and more of the same character under great difficulties, for her mother and her uncles were urging her to declare a religious war against the infidel; her own troops, commanded by British officers, had mutinied, and she had but her own brave heart with which to take counsel. Acting on its beatings, she was in this crisis as "thorough" as she had ever been before, and as successful. With a strong hand she put down the mutiny of her troops; with infinite tact she allayed the religious excitement in her capital. Then, when the tide turned, and she saw that the belief in the triumph of the British was spreading among her people, she ventured upon acts still bolder. All that she could give—supplies, men, carriage—she gave with a liberal hand to the paramount Power.

That Power was not unmindful of her loyalty, her steadfastness, and her courage. When the Native States were dealt with after the complete suppression of the mutiny, Sikandar Begam exchanged the title of Regent for the higher dignity of Ruler in her own right, with succession to her descendants; a district, that of Bairsia, was added to her dominions; and four guns were presented to her. Four years later she received from the hands of the Viceroy the Grand Cross of the Star of India.

Two months later, October, 1863, she proceeded on a

pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving her daughter as regent. Her experience of travelling in Arabia, short as it was, brought to her mind in strong contrast the order and rule of law prevalent throughout India. She returned to Bhopál at the end of 1864.

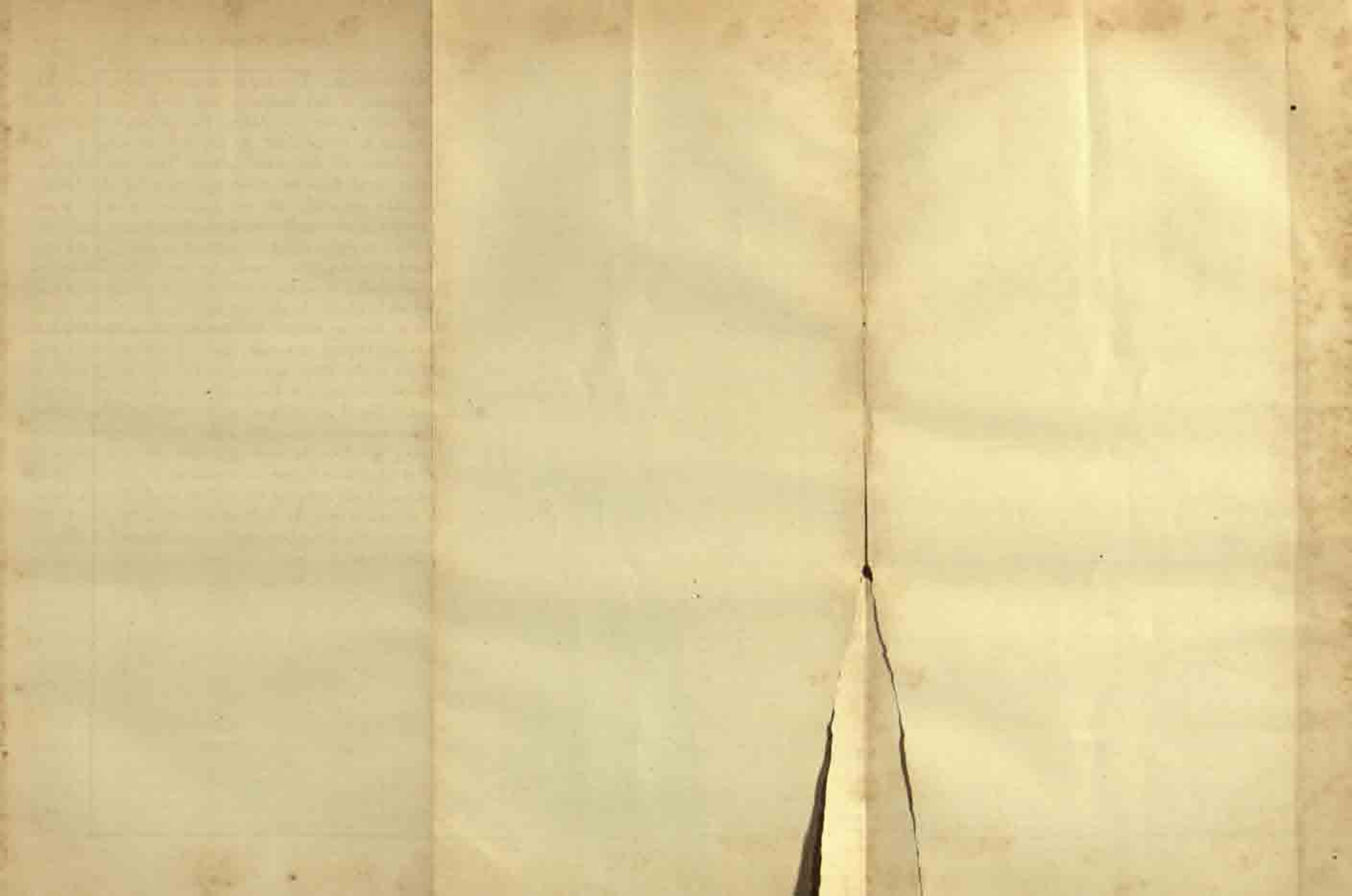
She lived four years longer, governing Bhopál with wisdom and prudence. The last time I saw her was at the Grand Durbar at Agra in 1866. She then looked well, and her intellect shone forth as brightly as ever in conversation. About two years later, October 30, 1868, she died, leaving behind her a reputation without spot, the best of all legacies to her successors. On that occasion the Government of India issued a general order, in which her great qualities and her great deeds were fitly recapitulated.

The list is much longer, but those ladies I have selected are fitting types of the ruling ladies of India. In Ahlya Bae we see great qualities displayed at the most critical period of the fortunes of a young State called into existence just as the Moghol domination was breaking up. We see religion without bigotry, calmness of purpose and great resolve without cruelty, absolute government without oppression, evidenced by a young woman suddenly placed in a position of great responsibility; we see her maintain peace, almost entirely unbroken, amid surrounding war; administer real justice, when around her charmed territory the law is trampled upon; ensure prosperity amid encircling slaughter. Túlsi Bae, the opposite type, succeeds to the same dominions in times perhaps as disastrous, but which an Ahlya Bae would have known how to control. But the energies which Ahlya had devoted to government Túlsi spends upon her passions. The one chooses as her instrument the ablest and most trustworthy men; the other, the handsomest. The one cares for, the other neglects, the interests of the subject. Each reaped as she had sown; in each case, likewise, the territory reaped as the ruler had sown. The types were exactly opposed.

Both those ladies were Hindus. Sikandar Begam was

a Muhammadan. The argument to be drawn from an examination of her character and career and the character and career of Ahlya Bae is this—that real greatness is independent of any form of religion. In the history of the world Ahlya Bae and Sikandar Begam stand forth as noble specimens of the human race, alike possessing lofty moral qualities, a strong sense of justice, great insight into character, a love of right for the sake of right, and a determination under all circumstances to do the right. Surely, the reader may exclaim, to produce such a result there must have been a firm groundwork of religion! In the case of Ahlya Bae it may have been so, but the religion was the religion of the Hindu! Sikandar Begam performed, too, all the offices of the religion of the Prophet, going so far even as to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, whilst disregarding some of its outward forms. But I am inclined to believe that in each case religion was subjective. Ahlya Bae and Sikandar Begam achieved greatness because they were naturally endowed with great gifts and great virtues and were born to a great position. Each accepted the faith in which she was born, but in neither case did faith control action. It had to be content with a secondary position in the great drama of the life of each.

G. B. MALLESON.



to illustrate
SCHEME FOR PACIFICATION
and
GOVERNMENT OF THE SUDAN



THE PACIFICATION OF THE SUDAN.

At a moment when there appears some hope of the disturbed state of the Sudan being quieted, it may be well to recall the principal incidents in the late insurrection, which have marked its extent, and given to it that importance which it has assumed both from a religious and a political point of view.

There are few, I think, who will call into question that the movement has had an importance from a religious point of view, since none who have been interested in its progress can have failed to observe the influence which the successes and failures of the Mahdists have exerted throughout the Mussulman world. The awakening and sustaining of such an influence has not been without its effects on the minds of the inhabitants of our Indian Empire at large, as well as on the many thousands of co-religionists who inhabit other of our minor, but still influential, possessions in the East. Besides the millions included under that category, there are vast numbers who, while not owning our sway, are still considerably influenced by a knowledge of the power which Great Britain exerts over people similar in nature, sympathy, religion, and customs, to themselves.

Having said this much on the religious aspect of the question, I have said almost all there is to say from the political point of view, so closely allied are the two. There does remain, however, at least one political aspect of the question which must not long be left out of consideration, as it is already assuming proportions to which hitherto it has had no pretensions. I refer to the feelings of certain European Powers on the subject of our occupation of Egypt, and the control of the Sudan which, but for the

present state of rebellion, we should acquire with it. There is no wonder, that while working for good among a people so different in nature to ourselves, we may have wrought much that to them appears evil. Neither is it to be expected that a nation, accustomed for centuries to a lax and corrupt form of government, will take kindly to the corrective measures which are absolutely necessary to remodel and reform its institutions and laws.

On the success of our rule in Egypt, and on the eventual recognition of that success by the Egyptians, will depend the influence which we shall be able to bring to bear on the solution of the problem before us. A reassuring proof that this problem is capable of solution lies in the fact that at one time, and under a single Englishman, the Sûdan was governed, and governed too in a manner which, having due regard to the then existent state of its civilization, must be considered as entirely satisfactory.

The history of the present insurrection is too well known to require referring to, and we need look no further for the cause of its having assumed such dimensions, than the weakness of the government of the disaffected province. Insurrections will occur in all communities; but a feeble authority is the unfailing cause of their spread. Except for the inadequate force employed in August, 1881, against the insignificant but fanatical carpenter, the rebellion in the Sûdan would never have outlived its infancy.

Measure after measure was taken to subdue the flame after it had burst forth, but though stronger than its predecessor, each succeeding measure was just below the strength necessary to cope with the rapidly increasing fire which was spreading in all directions through the length and breadth of a province which it has since completely devastated.

The result of this short-handed policy on the part of the then Egyptian Government was the development of a religious war, followed, though not immediately, by the entire destruction of all authority in the interior of the Sûdan, and

the reduction to a minimum of such as continued to exist at the coast ports of the Red Sea.

This was the state of affairs when towards the close of the year 1883, England decided to maintain Egyptian authority at those ports. When the decision was arrived at, the difference between maintaining Egyptian authority and substituting for it British authority was but little recognized, and the two courses, now seen to be so widely different, were then probably recognized as practically analogous. However that may have been, there was at that time no actual reason to despair of the possibility of re-instating Egyptian rule. Even after the almost total destruction of the army commanded by Hicks Pasha, matters might have been retrieved. But all chances of recovery were gone when Baker lost more than half his troops on the march for the relief of Tokar, shortly before Tewfik Bey's gallant defence of Sinkat ended in the fall of that little fortress.

From that moment, to uphold Egyptian authority was impossible. There was none, so far as the Sûdan was concerned, to uphold. Therefore the alternative substitution of British authority became imperative; but such substitution did not necessarily involve a policy identical with that which had so palpably failed in the hands of the Egyptians.

It was thoroughly recognized that the cause of Egypt was rotten, and had been upheld for years only by the exercise of tyranny, oppression, and extortion; and it must have been equally well known that the Mahdist movement, so far as ninety-nine hundredths of its followers were concerned, was nothing but an effort to cast off a yoke which had for long weighed them down, to the utter destruction of individual happiness and national prosperity.

In spite of this it was decided to pursue, in the name of Great Britain the course which had so long been attended with evil results under Egypt. A cry was raised for the relief of Sinkat, Tokar, and other garrisons in the Sûdan.

No time was given for those on the spot to point out the error of such a course, or even to represent the likelihood of the beleaguered garrison not desiring relief—at all events by the English. The government of the day, too unsteady on its throne to risk ignoring the popular outcry till the popular vision should become unclouded, put the engine of war in motion, and, with a promptitude worthy of a better cause, English troops were, within three weeks of the defeat of Baker Pasha, off Trinkitat, preparing for a march to Tokar.

In the meanwhile it became known that the garrison of Tokar was arranging an amicable amalgamation with their besiegers. Even then it was not too late to desist from the fatal policy to which we were about to commit ourselves.

Proclamations were sent out to Osman Digna, to the sheikhs, and to the people at large. Needless to say that few, if any, of these proclamations ever reached the people. For the most part they were carried to the sheikhs, and destroyed without a reading by any one besides those whose interest it was to prevent them reaching the mass on whom they would have had effect.

On February 29, 1884, the British force advanced towards Tokar, but was attacked at El Teb, near the scene of the disaster to Baker's troops. The battle resulted in an entire defeat of the Arabs, who fled, leaving some thousands of their number on the field.

From that moment the identification of our cause with that of Egypt was complete, and the blood feud which existed against the Egyptians was put in force against ourselves, intensified incalculably by the religious differences which existed between England as a Christian nation, and the Sûdanese Arabs as Mussulmans inflamed by a boundless fanaticism, and goaded by years of tyranny and oppression into a fury which defies description.

This rapidly drawn outline brings me to a period where it is necessary to refer to collateral events in the interior of the Sûdan, to bring into prominence the rela-

tions which existed between the two phases of the question, and to show the influence which one phase had on the other.

In January, 1884, General Gordon left England for Khartoum, with a view to reasserting his marvellous influence over the revolted Sûdanese. It will be remembered that Gordon wished to make the journey to Khartoum by way of Suâkin and Berber, but in this matter he was overruled. My own opinion, formed from experience on the spot, and at the time, is that had General Gordon pursued the plan he first conceived, there would have been no occasion for any of the operations of 1884, 1885, or 1886, whether in the Eastern Sûdan, or along the banks of the Nile.

Gordon's instructions limited him to a pacific policy; the resources at his command necessitated a pacific policy, and he went up prepared for a pacific policy and no other. He had gone beyond recall when a warlike policy was decided on for the Eastern Sûdan. Was that decision warranted by the circumstances which led up to it? I have already said that it was not, and adding to other adverse considerations, that of Gordon's position, I go further and say that it was the one thing above all others to be avoided by all possible means. The British public has only itself to blame for the errors forced on the Government by its demand for the relief of garrisons which were as well left unrelieved; though it is open to question whether the Government of the day would not have acted a more patriotic, if less political, part had they refused to comply with the cry of the people, and decided to stand or fall on the results of their refusal.

The idea of Gordon being able to pursue his pacific policy at Khartoum while British troops were fighting in the Eastern Sûdan was antithetical in the extreme, and since Gordon, from his isolated position, was helpless to carry out any scheme other than that on which he had started, every endeavour should have been made to prevent an opposite line of action in the Eastern Sûdan being

made to nullify his efforts and endanger his position at Khartoum.

A few more weeks of Admiral Hewett's much appreciated rule at Suakin, and the problem would have been in a fair way of solution, if not actually solved. During the brief reign of the Admiral a new feeling had sprung up within the town—a feeling of security and trust—which would soon have had its effect on the rebels outside, many of whom owned considerable property, from which by their hostile attitude they were excluded.

But the battle of El Teb sealed the fate of our chance of success as surely as it sealed the fate of the thousands who fell on its field. The blood feud was established, and we were farther off than ever from our object. A few advances, mere military parades, to the grim accompaniment of death, a few corresponding retirements, and we had instilled into the minds of our foes such an idea of weakness that they feared us no longer. The withdrawal of the bulk of our force early in April, only gave vivid colour to the statements which Osman Digna made to his followers, that he had prayed for our departure, and that in two days we should depart. We verified his prophecy, and strengthened the belief which the Arabs had in him, as he himself could not have strengthened it.

Then came the Nile Expedition, which precipitated the fall of Khartoum, because it forced the rebels to substitute energetic action for the desultory warring which they had hitherto been carrying on; though I feel confident that had the expedition reached the walls of Khartoum six months earlier, the result would have been no different. It was the same "Save me from my friends" policy which actuated the surrender of Tokar, and which afterwards actuated the Egyptian troops in the Harrar garrisons to refuse to withdraw when they were ordered. On the receipt of that refusal, instead of sending up a force to effect the relief of the recreant garrisons, a more tactical and diplomatic course was pursued by Major Hunter, the

Assistant Resident at Aden. His policy succeeded, in marked contrast to the abortive attempts of our troops to effect similar objects by force of arms. It would be difficult to produce stronger evidence than this against the hasty and ill-considered policy of putting ourselves into antagonism with the Sûdanese, on behalf of a people who were only too ready to frustrate our efforts in their own cause, or more properly in the cause of their government, which was by no means the same thing.

The fall of Khartoum rendered it necessary to undertake further operations in the Eastern Sûdan. A second Suâkin expedition was despatched, which was more barren of result than its predecessor. Its scope, instead of being confined to the defence of Suâkin, extended almost as far afield as that of the previous expedition, with the inevitable effect of embittering the already bitter feud which we had established, without in any way reducing the rebels to subjection, or to a sense of the folly of persisting in a struggle, which to them, very probably, seemed to promise good results.

Since then, we have been content to act on the defensive, at a smaller cost in life, military reputation, and money, and with at least equal, and I think probably better, results as regards the object which we have in view, and which there now seems to be a hope of our accomplishing.

For some time there have been signs of a gradual crumbling away from natural causes of the Mahdist movement in the Sûdan. Though it may be urged that this in a measure is due to the results of our battles, I think it will be more readily conceded by those who are conversant with the movement in all its details, that the same decay would have set in sooner had we not fanned the flame of fanaticism by opposition.

A brief reference to our present position, and the effect which it is likely to exercise, will bring my prefatory remarks to a conclusion, and leave me free to deduce from them a line of action, or policy, which should redeem all that is capable of redemption from the chaos.

Our action in the past has had the effect of prolonging and embittering the struggle of a suffering people, endeavouring under the guise of a religious crusade to throw off their yoke, by a movement which has throughout been instigated far more by political than religious motives.

A non-aggressive, but strongly resistant policy on our part, will suffice to hold our own without exciting to any degree the feelings of the Sûdanese, and under such circumstances the enthusiasm of rebellion would quickly die out, and the gradual crumbling would develop into rapid ruin, till no one stone of the fabric of insurrection lay on another. It will then remain to clear away the stones, one by one very possibly, till we have removed every burden under which the inhabitant of the Sûdan now groans, and established ourselves, in spite of our original errors, as the eventual saviour of the Sûdanese.

A people of keen, though extreme sympathies, quick to appreciate kindness and to resent wrong, the Sûdan Arabs would in time come to love and respect our rule, and such love and respect would be followed by a sure conviction of their error in supposing that we had contemplated from the outset a continuation of the rod-of-iron policy from which they had suffered under the Egyptians; though it will always remain open to them, and to ourselves, to consider whether such a supposition was not most thoroughly warranted by our opening action. Pacification both we and they desired; but we attempted subjugation, and they resented it.

In order to gain as clear an idea as possible of the steps which it will be necessary to take for the pacification of the Sûdan, it is desirable to first lay down a plan of the system of government which should eventually be established. Geographically speaking, the Sûdan, from Assouan southwards, should be divided into zones, as follows:

- 1st. Assouan to Wady Halfa, *i.e.*, 1st to 2nd Cataract.
- 2nd. Wady Halfa (2nd Cataract) to 3rd Cataract.

- 3rd. Third Cataract to El Damer at the Junction of Nile and Athara Rivers.
- 4th. El Damer to Khartoum.
- 5th. Khartoum to Abba Jd.

Each of these zones, comprising about 150 miles of latitude, would then represent a mudirieh, under an English mudir. These officials should be selected from the numerous English officers now serving with the Egyptian army, for their administrative capabilities, and for the experience they possess of the nature of the people whom they would be called upon to govern. There are a number of such officers, who combine tact and military qualifications with a sympathy for the Arabs which the former Egyptian officials did not possess, since the gratification of their own greed at the expense of those whom they were supposed to rule, was their first and principal, if not their only object.

The consummation most to be desired is the re-establishment at Khartoum of the chief government of the Sûdan, because until this is accomplished the ruling power will never hold, in the eyes of the Sûdanese, the position and prestige which is absolutely necessary to the successful government of any people, civilized or savage.

In the meantime, the British mudirs, while maintaining communication with their adjoining colleagues, should be responsible only to the Minister in Cairo, who should be an official high in the military service of the Khedive.

On the establishment of a settled government at Khartoum the Arab insurrectionists will realize how temporary has been their triumph so far as the overflow of lawful authority is concerned, though they will have succeeded, as they well deserved to succeed, in throwing off the yoke which had so long oppressed them.

At first sight the task of setting up a new government looks herculean, and possibly it may prove so. But when we come to think of the gradually crushing effect which the consequences of the late insurrection must have had on the spirits of the rebels, many of whom were no doubt unwilling participators in the strife, and to consider the signs which

have already manifested themselves of the people's desire to open up communications, I do not think that the difficulties in the way of an able, just, and conciliatory administration will be by any means insurmountable.

The mudirihs should be sub-divided, and the subdivisions placed under the charge of vakils, or Deputy-Governors, who should be trustworthy Egyptians, or Arab sheikhs of character and influence. In selecting personages to fill these positions, too much importance should not be laid on the bare fact of a sheikh having abstained from joining the Mahdists or the contrary. For many, the only alternative to joining the Mahdi's cause was death or persecution; too high a price to pay for holding aloof from a cause which, after all, must have had much right in its favour in the sight of even the most loyal of the Sûdanese. The best of motives may have actuated, and most probably did actuate, many a liberty-loving, free-hearted, but oppressed Arab. What wonder is there, then, that stirred into a fanatic fury by the scarcely needed incentive of religious fervour, this fine race, born to freedom, but bred to oppression, should seek by any means within its grasp to cast from its necks the most galling yoke that ever bowed the head of man.

For these, and a thousand other reasons which will present themselves when we come to make selections, the fact of a sheikh having fought against the Government should not necessarily disqualify him for a position of trust and responsibility. By extending confidence in ourselves we shall invite that of those whom we desire to rule. Tribal distinctions should receive due regard and considerations, so that by supporting the authority of the recognized head, we shall be upholding our own.

With these objects in view I would propose to divide the mudirihs, not so systematically as I have divided the Sûdan, but with regard to the density of the population and the prosperity of the country.

Further on, I will deal specially with the governments

to be established along the sea-coast. For the purposes of this paper, it is unnecessary to go into all the sub-divisions which may be advisable, and much should be left to be filled in in accordance with necessities existing on the spot. But the following table and the map will serve to indicate what is necessary to ensure an efficient government.

MUTUALITY OR GOVERNMENTS.	SUB-GOVERNMENTS.	DIRECTLY-SUB-GOVERNMENTS.	REMARKS.
No. 1. Assouan to Wady Halfa.	Kalababeh. Komoko. Ipsombol.	Nine Nussirs to be appointed by the Mudir.	
No. 2. Wady Halfa to Hannek (3rd Cataract).	Bahn-el-Hajr. DarSakkutt. Dar Mahass.	Ditto.	
No. 3. Hannek to El Damer.	New Dongola. Old Dongola. Merawi. Abu Hamed.	Two Nussirs to each sub-government along the Nile Valley.	
No. 3A. Coast line of this Mudirich to a meridian through Berber; under Governor of Red Sea ports.	Berber. Suakin.	The Sheikh of the Suakin-Berber Road, and such others as may be considered necessary along the route.	
No. 4. El Damer to Khartoum.	El Damer and the Albara. Shendy. Khartoum.	El Egdeh, one; 6th Cataract, two. Halfiyeh, three, and two on the Athara River.	And such Sheikh on the various caravan routes as may be available.
No. 5. Khartoum to Abbar Id.	El Duem. } On White Nile. Abbar Id. } Alu Haraz. } On Blue Nile. Sennar. }	One Nussir to each sub-government.	The government of the district along the East bank of the Albara will be provided for in connection with Abyssinia.

The foregoing table, in which the old system of dividing and sub-dividing has been adhered to, without retaining the

former sections themselves, is designed chiefly to meet the requirements of the Nile Valley, for, except in places where the population extends to a distance from the banks of that river, there is not much outlying district to be considered.

To turn now to the outlets on the coast and the trade routes leading to them, the only two worth immediate consideration are Suâkin and Massowah. At the former place, the nucleus of a well-ordered government is already established, and before long we may reasonably hope to see its influence extending into the interior. The road from Suâkin to Berber connects the former place with the third zone of my plan, and the extension of the influence of the Suâkin Government will, as it proceeds, very materially lighten the somewhat heavy burden of administration which is thrown on the department of the Mudir of Dongola by the length of river in his territory and its corresponding increase of population.

The method of proceeding at Suâkin, and its results on the Arabs, should be carefully studied, with a view to benefiting, from the experience there gained, our administration of affairs from Assouan.

In addition to the advantageous starting-point which we now possess in Suâkin, we may do much by turning to good account our influence in Abyssinia, and by formally defining the limits of that country, at present but vaguely fixed, and likely to lead to complications hereafter, either with the Italians at Massowah, or the Sûdanese.

The right of the King of Abyssinia should be recognized to a district enclosed by a line drawn north from Metemma (Gallabat), on the west frontier of Abyssinia, to Kassala, thence through Keren, the capital of the Bogos district, to Ailet at the foot of the mountains which form the eastern frontier of Abyssinia.

In favour of this delimitation is the treaty of 1884, which restored to King Johannis the Bogos country; and though it may not have then been intended to include Kassala, the holding of that place by the Abyssinians will

place the governing power of the Sûdan directly in contact with a people desirous of maintaining good relations with England and Egypt, and will ensure, hereafter, a trade route protected by, and passing through the country of, the Abyssinians to the sea-coast at Massowah.

The king has, moreover, made great efforts to reduce the country in the direction of Kassala; and since he has for years collected tribute from the tribes up to the very walls of that place, and was most successful in his relief of Gallabat, it will be no very great concession to consider those two towns as on his frontier. The continuation of the boundary through Keren will only formally enclose as Abyssinian territory what is now actually such in all but name.

This delimitation would undoubtedly be most gratifying to the King of Abyssinia, and might be the means of his entering into direct commercial relations with the Italians at Massowah; in which case the latter would draw to the coast much of the trade from the Sûdan as well as that from Abyssinia.

The Shangallas, who inhabit the territory which would be enclosed within the proposed limits, are more Abyssinian than Arab, and come and go freely into the country of the former. Many of the tribes formerly paid tribute to two powers, which need no longer be the case.

The Arabs never disputed the claims of the Abyssinians up to the boundary which I propose. It was the Egyptians who, during the aggressions of Ismail, son of Mahomet Ali, gradually pushed the Abyssinians back to the mountains as their boundary,* therefore no objection can be raised on that score.

If considered desirable, a further treaty could be concluded between Egypt and Abyssinia, defining the limits on the one hand, and binding King Johannis to keep order in his territory, and to abstain from harbouring rebels and criminals, on the other. At the same time, arrangements

* Report on Egyptian Provinces, &c. p. 18.

should be made regarding the trade from the Sūdān to the coast by the Abyssinian route. A mutually advantageous system of customs dues and carrying rates should be established, and minor officials, as trustworthy as can be obtained, should be posted on the route, and made responsible for the working of the system, and the order of the road.

The Beni Amer Arabs, who at present do all the carrying that remains to be done on this and adjacent routes, would gladly enter into any arrangement which would secure to them at once an open road and a tolerably certain payment for their work. For some months now, they have been obliged to divert their caravans from the usual route to Massowah over the plains, and to traverse instead the high tableland of Northern Abyssinia, at a very great sacrifice in camels, hundreds of which die by the road, so great are the extra hardships they are made to undergo. Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of a fair and definite settlement being arrived at in respect of this most important trade route, more especially until the Suākin route, for which it is a good substitute, shall again be opened up. We have so few keys which will re-open the Sūdān that we cannot afford to neglect this one.

There is another geographical boundary which I may refer to as alternative to the limits I have advocated, namely, the Atbara River, from where it leaves the Abyssinian territory to the point where an extension of the line from Keren to Kassala would touch it. But I think this slight extension might cause friction with the Arabs, and possibly endanger the status of the Abyssinians in their more restricted territory, *i.e.*, that comprised within the frontier suggested by me.

Before leaving the subject of this cession, I may add that it would relieve the Habab tribe of the difficulty of having to play a double game with the Abyssinians and the adjacent rebels in order to avoid becoming the prey of either, or both. Make their country Abyssinian, and the

Arabs of the Habab would gladly renew their allegiance to Abyssinia, because they could then consider themselves secure against the attacks of their dervish neighbours. At present they are estranged from Abyssinia without having actually thrown in their lot with that of the Mahdists. In this way we can win over to the cause of peace a second tribe, instead of leaving it to waver.

Having laid down what I consider are the objects to be aimed at, and the plan of a government for the Sûdan, I shall conclude by giving a general idea of the manner in which we should endeavour to accomplish those objects. I say a general idea, because it must be evident that much, if not all, of the detail will necessarily be filled in at the judgment of the individuals to whom the task of carrying out any project may be entrusted, governed by the existent circumstances surrounding them.

There are three points from which operations can be simultaneously commenced. Assouan on the north, Suâkin on the east, and Abyssinia, including the Bogos country and the district which I have suggested should be ceded, on the south-east.

Daily we receive news of a tendency on the part of the different tribesmen for peace. This tendency should be encouraged, and every care should be taken, by pursuing a generous and conciliatory policy, to prevent any active revival of a feud which must continue to smoulder for years before it will entirely die out.

Without doubt, everything is being done at Assouan and Suâkin which experience can suggest to bring about a good understanding with the Arabs. It will be necessary to hold out offers of pardon to all except principal participators in the late insurrection, and promises of restoration to forfeited properties, redress of grievances, &c.

Proclamations should be sent out to the tribes around Kassala, and in the further interior, inviting them to open up trade, and to bring goods into Massowah by the Kassala and Keren road, and the King of Abyssinia should be in-

duced to assist on that route, Egypt guaranteeing him a fixed percentage on the value of goods or the number of laden beasts which pass.

In promulgating the proclamations, and during the early dealings with the revolted tribesmen, much should be done through the medium of the friendly tribes who have assisted us around Suâkin. They should be induced to gradually cultivate better relations with the hostile tribes, and it should be pointed out to them that if they assist us in that way they will the more readily make friends of their late enemies; an end which their own interests will lead them to desire, when once they are made to perceive that it is decided to terminate, so far as we are concerned, a feud which they will be unable to sustain alone.

The questions of military force and expense need hardly be considered in this paper. The former should be brought into evidence as little as possible; and, provided an efficient European supervision is carried out, Egyptian troops in small bodies will suffice to establish each position as it is advanced.

If the Sûdan is to be governed, the best government will be the cheapest, and any scheme which aims at simultaneously pacifying and establishing a government will, even if its success be but slow, be infinitely less expensive than a fighting, or repressive, policy. We have demonstrated to our own satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, that we adopted mistaken measures at the outset; and we have paid the penalty of our error, so far as circumstances have as yet enforced that penalty. Let us now adopt other tactics before circumstances enforce it any further, and as the Sûdanese are sick of the cause which, under cloak of religion, they were induced to adopt, our task is made the easier.

H. F. HARRISON SMITH.

INDIA PACIFIED AND PURIFIED.

A FAINT idea of the oppressive and demoralizing character of Mussulman domination may be formed from the illustrations of the rapacity, vindictiveness, impatience of contradiction, and unmitigated selfishness set before our readers in the October Number of this Review. The Oriental proverb that beneath the lamp is darkness was strictly applicable to the social condition of India in the immediate neighbourhood of the Court, and in a scarcely less degree in every region of the Mohammedan Empire where a Viceroy was established. Systematized crimes were known to exist on an immense scale, without being interfered with beyond the appropriation of a considerable share of the ill-gotten gains. Thuggee may not have been so extensively developed under the Moghul dynasty as it came to be during the long period of transition between the devastating irruptions of the Mahrattas and the gradual pacification of the country, as it passed, step by step, beneath British rule. It was practised, however, in the seventeenth century to an extent that rendered travelling unsafe between Agra and Delhi. The robbers, we are informed by Thevenot, used "a certain slip with a running noose," which they cast with such nicety round a traveller's neck, whether on foot or on horseback, that they seldom failed to pull him to the ground and "strangle him in a trice." At other times a horseman's attention would be drawn to a beautiful woman with dishevelled hair seated by the roadside, who bemoaned her sad fate with tears and loud lamentations. Impelled by one motive or another, the compassionate traveller would take her up behind him, and a moment afterwards a noose would be dexterously

slipped over his head and round his neck, and drawn exceedingly tight. Presently, the woman's accomplices would hasten to the spot, and the business would be speedily completed. At that time Thuggee had not become a systematized religious institution—it was simply a fashion of garotting with intent to plunder. Nevertheless, these robber-murderers were divided into seven sects, from whom sprang the hideous fraternity that for two whole centuries throve and prospered in a manner which seemed to themselves to indicate the peculiar favour of heaven.

Their practices were known to a favourite slave of one of the Emperors of the Ghorian dynasty, whose silence had been purchased by large gifts. From being an insatiable accomplice he became a victim, and his murderers were branded and expelled from the town and district of Delhi. Five of the clans removed to Agra, their descendants being thence designated Agurea. A considerable body travelled to Arcot, where they founded a proud and punctilious branch, but which the genuine Hindustani Thugs affected to despise as spurious. For the different clans stood mightily upon their dignity. A low Hindu fraternity, settled in Malwa and Rajputana, were, for instance, barely recognized by the more exclusive sects, such as the Multani Thugs, who kept alive only a sufficient number of their female children to provide wives for their kindred associates. After a time the original Mussulman Thugs initiated Hindus, who introduced their own superstitions, and gave a religious sanction to their odious proceedings, by instituting as their patron the goddess Bhowani or Kali, whom their Mohammedan brethren identified with Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of Ali. It has been stated that in Oudh, nine-tenths of the Thugs were professors of Islam; in the Doab, one-fifth; south of the Nerbudda, three-fourths; in Rajputana, one-fourth; and in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Bundelkund, and Saugor, about one-half. So long, it was said, as the Thugs obeyed Kali's injunctions, they enjoyed her im-

mediate and constant protection, and were left unmolested to offer the sacrifices that were dear to her above all others. But when the fatal *roomal*, or handkerchief, began to be applied to women and Brahmins, and other exempted classes and individuals, and when the Divine rite was vulgarized into brutal murder by non-observance of the well-understood signs and omens, then the anger of the goddess was kindled and her presumptuous worshippers were abandoned to their own devices. Then they began to be detected and traced to their often distant homes, and at last a special department was appointed for the suppression of Thuggee throughout British India. The most startling discoveries were made in rapid succession.

The Thuggee community were found to be established in neat and flourishing villages. They had a well-to-do air about them, were orderly and industrious, and were generally respected by their neighbours, who were kept in wholesome ignorance of their pursuits. Even their wives were, for the most part, unacquainted with their husbands' dangerous calling. Nor is this surprising when the inferior position of Indian women is taken into account; and in like manner the reverence early inculcated into their offspring prevented the latter from prying into the doings of their parents. There were isolated instances, however, of wives accompanying and assisting their husbands, their presence being further useful in diverting suspicion from the minds of travellers whom they chanced to overtake in their wanderings, and who were at once marked down as victims, though days might elapse before a suitable opportunity presented itself for the consummation of the sacrifice. Prior to the construction of railways nothing was more common than for travellers to proceed in parties, continually augmented by other wanderers going in the same direction, and who were welcomed in the belief that numbers afforded security. In the appearance of the Thugs themselves there was nothing to justify the slightest apprehension. Their aspect and de-

portment were greatly in their favour, and as they were totally unarmed, with the exception of a few who openly carried daggers, it was natural that they should seek the protection of parties armed with swords, spears, and fire-arms. At the different halting-places, and especially during the long rest, during which the chief meal of the day was taken, they endeavoured to be helpful and sociable companions. Some of them were well stored with tales and anecdotes, others would sing and accompany themselves on some kind of musical instrument, while the less accomplished were oftentimes able to render little services to their chance acquaintances. It was only when certain omens, supposed to proceed direct from their goddess, warned them to be up and doing, that their natures seemed to change; though even at that dread moment they abstained from wanton cruelty, and bore themselves as the chosen agents of the Divine will. The process was exceedingly simple and was never known to fail, for they took care to outnumber their victims in the proportion of three or four to one, all trained to act in harmony, without fear, confusion, or hesitation. They usually left their villages in small parties; and when reinforcements were likely to be needed, they made certain signals at cross-roads as a guide to their scattered comrades, who speedily concentrated on a given point as though strangers to one another, and thus formed bands of considerable strength, which dispersed as rapidly as they had come together, as soon as their business was transacted. Each party was provided with three instruments, all consecrated by solemn rites. The *Kussee*, or sacred pickaxe, was held in the highest veneration of the three; and next to that the fatal *roomal*, or handkerchief, called *phansee* in Southern India—where the Thugs consequently spoke of themselves to one another as *phanseegars*—the third being a knife or dagger, though the spilling of blood was strictly prohibited to the River Thugs.

The *roomal* has been described as not so much a hand-

kerchief as "a turban unfolded, or the long narrow cloth, or sash, worn round the waist. It was doubled to the length of about thirty inches, with a knot formed at the doubled extremity, and about eighteen inches from that a slip-knot. The distance between these two knots was regulated by preparing the fatal instrument on the knee, which was made to do temporary duty for a neck. The use of the two knots was to give a firm hold. When the victim was fairly prostrated, the strangler adroitly loosened the slip-knot, and made another fold of the cloth round his throat. Then, placing his foot upon the back of his victim's neck, he drew the cloth tightly, as if—to use the informer's own words—he were 'packing a bundle of straw.'" The evening was preferred for the actual committal of the murders—sometimes upwards of thirty and forty human beings being simultaneously put to death. If possible, three Thugs were allotted to each traveller.

"So soon as the fatal signal was given, one seized hold of his hands, the second grasped his legs and held him down, while the strangler tightened the *roomal* round his neck, and only relaxed the strain when life was extinct. Then the bearers of the daggers slashed the dead bodies, the grave-diggers quickly excavated a deep trench, the corpses were stripped and thrown in, the earth was hastily shovelled in and trampled down, and in an incredibly short space of time all traces were completely effaced of the terrible tragedy." *

The immense catalogue of murders committed by these robbers under the cloak of religious impulse is perfectly appalling. For nearly two centuries the system had flourished within the cognizance and to a certain extent under the protection of native governments, whose silence had been secured by valuable considerations. No doubt cupidity may have been a less powerful motive for their connivance than a certain mysterious dread of offending the malignant deity of whom the Thugs pronounced themselves the favoured worshippers. With admirable prudence the Thugs avoided the perpetration of crime near their own

* "A Popular Account of the Thugs and Dacoits; the Hereditary Garotters and Gang-Robbers of India." Wm. H. Allen & Co.

houses, or where they were personally known, nor did they wittingly attack the subjects of the princes, or the tenants of the Zemindars, who tacitly acquiesced in their proceedings. As they seldom, if ever, raised their hand against a European their existence was not suspected until after the fall of Seringapatam, when a hundred Phanseegars were arrested at Bangalore. Even then it was not discovered that the prisoners followed an hereditary profession. This alarming peculiarity came to light only in 1807, after the capture of an entire gang between Chittore and Arcot. Until then the frequent failure of sepoy to return to their colours at the end of their leave of absence had been simply ascribed to desertion, and the names of the missing men were accordingly struck off the rolls. The difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence was for a long time insuperable. The Thugs took care, like Marshal Narvaez, to leave no enemies behind them. Dead men are no tale-bearers, neither were their relatives disposed to incur personal risk by appearing in court to state the little they actually knew. Now and again a gang would be arrested and brought to justice; but without any perceptible diminution of the evil.

Lord William Bentinck at last entered upon a struggle with the miscreants, which terminated in the suppression of Thuggee. A special Commission was appointed, with extraordinary powers, and in the brief space of ten years 3,689 committals were obtained; with the result that 466 men were hanged, 1,504 transported, 933 imprisoned for life, 81 confined for different periods, 86 compelled to give substantial bail for their good conduct in the future, 97 acquitted, and 56 admitted as informers; 12 had escaped and 208 had died while awaiting judgment. As soon as credible witnesses could be obtained from among the Thugs themselves, the thin edge had been introduced and it only remained to drive the wedge home. So effectually was that done that during the ensuing seven years 531 Thugs were captured, of whom 33 were hanged, 174 trans-

ported, 267 imprisoned for life and 27 for shorter periods, 5 released on bail, 125 acquitted, and 46 admitted as approvers, besides 11 who died and 2 who escaped. The last great haul took place in 1848, in which year 120 Thugs were committed for trial. With the exception of a slight sporadic recrudescence of the crime some five years later in the Punjab, Thuggee was practically extirpated at the previous date, and has long since been regarded as an obsolete barbarism. The gaols, however, until 1838, were over-crowded with prisoners who could not be treated as ordinary criminals. At the suggestion of Captain Charles Brown a School of Industry was founded at Jubbulpore for the purpose of teaching a handicraft of some kind or other to the sons of approvers. The idea, however, soon gained adherents among the convicts themselves, so that nine years later the school was attended by 850 pupils, all eager to employ their time usefully and profitably, for the workers were judiciously given an interest in the sale of their handiwork. Jubbulpore carpets, rugs, towels, tents, and many other manufactures are now in general demand, being of strong and durable texture.

It will never be known how many human lives were taken, or how much property was appropriated, by these miscreants during the two centuries they wandered at will through the most frequented parts of India. In the little volume already quoted it is stated that "in 1826-27, 205 men and 6 women were murdered by different gangs in Malwa and Rajputana; in 1827-28, 364 males and 21 females were strangled in Kandeish, Berar, and Guzerat; in 1828-29, 226 men and 6 women were thus disposed of in Malwa and Kandeish; in 1829-30, 94 men, 4 women, and a child perished in Baroda and Bundelkund," and so forth. A very large amount of property must likewise have changed hands in the course of so many generations. "In 1826 a party of 14 were murdered by a gang of 150 Thugs, and a booty secured worth £2,500. In 1827, 7 men were murdered by 350 Thugs, and robbed of £2,200. In 1828

the murder of 9 persons, by a gang of 125, yielded £4,000; and in 1829 that of 6 persons produced £8,200, to be divided between 150 Thugs." At times a quite unpromising victim turned out to be a mine of wealth. Thus a gang of Thugs were sorely disquieted by a Byragee, or religious mendicant, who persisted in attaching himself to them, though pelted with stones and threatened with ill treatment. In the end they gave one of their party ten shillings extra to put him out of their way, on his taking upon himself the responsibility of the sacrilege. Upon the mendicant's body, however, and secreted in his pony's accoutrements, they found several pounds' weight of coral, 350 strings of small pearls, 15 strings of large pearls, and a gilded necklace. Shortly afterwards they came upon two men apparently destitute, whom nevertheless they put to death, concealed in whose rags they discovered silver treasure to the amount of £400. And not only did the Thugs occasionally assemble in large numbers, but almost every individual among them who had given evidence of courage, self-possession, and adroitness was certain to be personally involved in a hideous roll of crime. Twenty approvers, for instance, confessed that they had been concerned, on an average, in 256 murders for each individual. The one who had enjoyed the largest experience had taken part in, or witnessed, 931 cases, while the youngest tyro could boast of having been present at 24 sacrifices to Bhowani. In the Mussulman kingdom of Oudh it was estimated that there were 1,406 miles of road infested by Thugs, and no fewer than 274 Beyls, or scenes of murder. Occasionally the same Beyl served, with intervals of a few years, as the site of fresh horrors. Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., relates how he encamped one night in a small mango grove, two stages from Saugor, on the road to Seronge. Terrible dreams assailed Mrs. Sleeman, and "murdered sleep," for her couch had been spread over a veritable "place of skulls." A noted leader, but at that time an approver, named Feringeea, pointed out three spots which he described as so many graves.

"A Pundit and six attendants, murdered in 1818, lay among the ropes of my sleeping tent; a Havildar and four Sipahs, murdered in 1824, lay under my horses; and four Brahman carriers of Ganges-water and a woman, murdered soon after the Pundit, lay within my sleeping tent. The sword had grown over the whole, and not the slightest sign of its ever having been broken was to be seen."

In order to test Feringeea's veracity, Captain Sleeman—for such was then his rank—set a party of villagers to work, who at a depth of about five feet came upon the skeletons of the Havildar and his comrades, and gradually laid the others open to view. Feringeea then proposed to open some other graves in the neighbouring groves, but the British officer was content with what he had seen. His mortification, however, may be imagined on being informed that a Thug village had existed barely four hundred yards from his court-house, during the three years he had exercised with zeal and intelligence the duties of magistrate of the Nursingpore district, in the Nerbudda valley; and, moreover, that at least one hundred dead bodies had been buried in the groves of Mundaisur, only a few miles distant.

There were water Thugs as well as land Thugs. The former called themselves Bungoos, or Pungoos, and conducted their business on the river Hooghly, between Calcutta and Benares, but chiefly in the Burdwan district. They plied for passengers, stopping at the different ghâts to which their accomplices might chance to inveigle unwary travellers. The leader of a gang comported himself as the captain, while some of his comrades acted as the crew, bending to the oars or towing the vessel from the bank. The actual stranglers and their assistants got themselves up as pilgrims, petty traders, and well-to-do ryots, and sat down upon the deck facing the passengers they might here and there pick up. On a suitable opportunity presenting itself, the look-out man struck the deck smartly three times with the palm of his hand, while at the same time the helmsman exclaimed, in the barbarous dialect peculiar to the Bungoos, "Give my sister's son some pân." Up

sprang his accomplices. Deftly throwing the *roomal* round the necks of their startled fellow-voyagers, they pressed it tightly in front, while thrusting the heads of their victims away from them—the assistants grasping their feet and hands. Sometimes a single Thug would dispose of a man physically stronger than himself, but taken off his guard and seized with an awful horror. The muscular spasms having ceased, they made assurance doubly sure by breaking the backbone, and kicking and pounding the unconscious forms. Not a drop of blood was shed, through fear of discolouring the water and exciting suspicion. The dead bodies were then thrust through a window on either side of the boat, just above water-mark. The presence of a woman was enough to secure the safety of the entire party, for, unlike their land brethren, they adhered to the last to the precepts of their ancestors. The river-police, though perfectly cognizant of their proceedings, made no sign, for to them silence was great gain. It was, therefore, only in 1836 that their existence came to the knowledge of the European magistrates; but before another year was completed, 161 of the Bungoos were in jail, while the names of 38 others had been ascertained. It was further discovered that 18 passenger boats were regularly employed on this business, each of them manned by 14 professional murderers. The busy months were November, December, January, and February, as few travellers were abroad in the hot and wet seasons. With the advent of steam and the construction of railways the occupation of the Bungoos must in any case have ceased to be profitable. Railway travelling especially has worked a great change in the habits of the natives, who no longer wander slowly from grove to grove in large or small parties, carrying on their persons irresistible temptations to robbery and murder. Government notes and even cheques have superseded the clumsy old methods of remitting money, so that a rich banyan is no more valuable as a victim than an impecunious European subaltern. Organized murder has

thus become nearly obsolete. Rarely, if ever, are the police now called upon to inquire into the disappearance of travellers, as was frequently the case when medicated drugs were freely administered in the name of hospitality. A party of wayfarers would find two or three respectable-looking men squatted beneath the shade of a tree or grove, who would courteously invite them to partake of the sweetmeats they were eating. The dainties set before the newcomers were poisoned by a decoction from the seed of the *datura*, a most powerful narcotic; and during the overpowering drowsiness thus induced, the unwary wanderers were murdered, plundered, and buried. Notorious among the administrators of drugs were a fraternity known as the Tusma-Baz Thugs, though in no way connected with that fanatical community. They were simply idle vagabonds, who added murder to their ordinary occupation as swindlers and thimble-riggers. Curiously enough, the founder of this community was an English soldier named Creagh who, in the beginning of the present century, taught three natives of Cawnpore the once familiar trick of "pricking the garter." The game was called Tusma-bazi, and consisted in a strap being doubled many times, the bystanders being requested to thrust a stick through the first fold, which could be done only through the connivance of the juggler. The three original disciples became the leaders of a like number of gangs, comprising in all about fifty members, when in 1848 they were arrested and suppressed. The police had long been familiar with their ways, but preferred a fourth of the profits to the loyal discharge of their own duties.

A marked peculiarity of the more heinous criminals in India is their tendency to organize themselves into regularly constituted communities, the members of which are thoroughly loyal to one another as though they were kinsmen as well as partners. To a great extent, indeed, they are actually connected by blood and marriage, through the native custom of sons adopting and continuing their father's

avocations, while the associated body gradually consolidates into an exclusive caste, closed against outsiders but internally united, one for all and all for one. Thus in 1851 the British Government became suddenly cognizant of the existence of a numerous fraternity of thieves who, for generations, had without molestation carried on their depredations in Calcutta and the surrounding districts. They were called Sunoreahs or Oothaeegerahs, and resided for the most part in the territory and under the avowed protection of the Rajahs of Banpoor and Tehree, and consequently carried on their business at a considerable distance from their homes. They occupied twelve villages, their numbers being estimated at nearly 5,000. They usually started after the Dusserah festival, at the time and in the direction indicated by the Brahmin priest of each village. They were rather petty pilferers than highway robbers, and were content to return to the tillage of their fields as soon as the distribution of the spoils gave to each man from 50 to 60 rupees. If they came across an object of artistic excellence, it was ceremoniously presented to the chief of the State to which that particular gang belonged. The Raja of Banpoor, for example, did not hesitate to accept a couple of valuable watches and a pair of handsome armlets, while the Tehree chieftain bestowed a grant of land, rent free, in perpetuity, in return for a present of two pearl nose-ornaments. For the rest the Sunoreahs had no difficulty in disposing of the property they had annexed, and had even established depôts at certain places. One of their favourite stations was close to the serai built for the accommodation of native travellers by the Raja of Burdwan, who not only connived at their presence, but maintained them at his own expense so long as they remained on his estates, thereby protecting himself and his tenants from their cupidity. Native rulers, indeed, appear to have had very elastic consciences, combined with an exceedingly dull sense of moral turpitude. The Raja of Banpoor, for instance, unblushingly confessed that he had been in direct relations

with the Sunoreahs, who had resided, he said, for generations in his own territory and in neighbouring States, "proceeding to distant districts to follow their occupation,* robbing by day for a livelihood for themselves and families, both cash and any other property they could lay hands on. In consequence of these people stealing by day only, and that they do not take life, or distress any person by personal ill-usage, and that they do not break into houses by digging wells or breaking door-locks, but simply by their smartness manage to abstract property; owing to such trifling thefts, I look on their proceeding as petty thefts, and have not interfered with them." For himself he readily admitted that he had accepted presents from them, "considering the article to be a curiosity from a distant province, . . . viewing the offence as trifling, that there was no owner to the property, I received it from them, and gave them a trifle in return."

Quite unnecessary importance has been attached to the Dacoities reported from Burma. The criminals were not genuine Dacoits after the manner of those who infested the native kingdom of Oudh. They were gangs of idle vagabonds, supplemented by disbanded soldiers, without cohesion, and devoid of regular leaders and an organization tested by experience. The Budhuk Dacoits who haunted the Oudh Terai, would have repudiated such purposeless ruffianism with contempt. The Oudh Dacoits were hereditary robbers, dwelling together in isolated colonies in the midst of jungles difficult of access, whence they sallied forth on a carefully preconcerted expedition, moving with great rapidity, striking their blow with terrible force and precision, and hesitating about no outrage that promised to facilitate success. They usually adopted a disguise that would in itself account for a numerous gathering of individuals hastening in the same direction. Sometimes they affected to be ascetics bound on a distant pilgrimage; sometimes carriers of holy water from the Ganges or the Jumna; at other times mourners conveying

to a sacred river the remains of a deceased friend or relative; and yet again Brinjaries or drivers of laden bullocks. Like the Thugs and Italian banditti, they were punctilious as to their religious exercises, never failing to offer preliminary sacrifices to Davi, their patroness—by other worshippers styled Kali or Bhowani—or to present at her shrine suitable thank-offerings on their triumphant return to their homes. They were not in the least ashamed of their pursuits, any more than a Macgregor would have felt it as an insult to be designated a cattle-reiver. Their leaders were for the most part men of good family and ancient descent, thus verifying the remark made by the King of Oudh's vakeel, that "men of that class who became ruffians, are always sure to be of the worst description." The Budhuks, being self-indulgent men, were largely polygamist, the most prosperous maintaining ten or a dozen wives; but when the British Government began to straiten their means, they were compelled to curtail their luxuries, and content themselves with three or four. Their women-kind were by no means an unmitigated burden. On the contrary, they made themselves useful in many ways, and never more so than in times of trouble and adversity. For choice, bloodshed was avoided, though in self-defence or to strike terror they never scrupled to take human life. Some of their exploits were of the most daring character, the danger being somewhat lessened by the suddenness of their assault, their admirable discipline, and their wonderful energy. They would escalate the walls of a serai or small fort, in which treasure was stored for the night, spike the cannon, and speedily master the escort and garrison, whether soldiers or police.

On such occasions they not unfrequently carried off large sums of gold and silver specie, varying from two to seven or eight thousand pounds. At other times they would undertake a distant enterprize, proceeding in scattered parties to the appointed rendezvous, usually within a very short distance of the town or hamlet in which resided the

opulent banker or merchant, whose house was their objective point. At a given signal torches were lighted, drums beaten, and much uproar made with musical instruments, so that the guards posted at police and military stations, were misled into the belief that marriage festivities were being celebrated. A few minutes sufficed for the business. While the door was guarded by a strong body of Dacoits, armed with swords, spears, and guns, the boldest and most experienced robbers forced their way into the back room, where the money was kept in bags placed for greater security in chests. Two or three powerful, well-directed blows broke open the fastenings, while a spear's thrust or a sword cut, paralyzed assistance, and, before the alarm was given, the robbers were making for the nearest jungles and paddy-fields, and were seldom overtaken or brought to bay. If fearing to be hard pressed in their flight, they would set fire to the house they had plundered, the conflagration rapidly spreading to the thatched huts crowded around. The Budhuks were estimated at from four to six thousand males, divided into comparatively small settlements grouped round a rude fort. For many years they flourished exceedingly, with occasional misadventures intervening, until they came into collision with British magistrates; for the Zemindars were not likely to interfere with an industry of which they reaped one-fourth of the profits without incurring any risk or responsibility. Between 1818 and 1834 the Budhuk Dacoits were shown to have committed 118 Dacoities, in which 172 men were killed, and 682 wounded, while property was carried off to the value of some £115,000. It was not easy, however, to bring their guilt home to individuals, so that only 186 were convicted out of 457 brought to trial. The number of gang-robberies actually perpetrated greatly exceeded the official computation, for it was no uncommon thing for a Dacoit to be concerned in upwards of a dozen expeditions. Lucka, one of their most distinguished leaders, certainly took part in 49 affairs

within twenty-five years, in some instances wandering four or five hundred miles from his home. "A Chumbul Dacoit confessed to 38 in twenty-seven years, and another to 23 in twenty-two years; and another Budhuk Dacoit to 39 in thirty-three years." As regards loyalty to one another, the Dacoits contrasted unfavourably with the Thugs, and not unfrequently attempted to rob one another. Few of their raids were more audacious or more successful than an attack they made in 1833 upon Bajee Rao's, the ex-Peishwa's palace at Bithoor, subsequently the residence of his adopted son, Nana Sahib. The palace was stormed, eighteen of the servants wounded, and specie carried off to the value of 50,000 rupees in silver, and 15,000 gold mohurs, each worth thirty shillings.

In Rajputana, Gwalior, and Malwa, a different clan of Dacoits had fixed their headquarters. They were known as Bagrees or Bagorras, and comprised about 1,200 families. They appear to have been extremely popular owing to their lavish liberality to the labouring classes, who in return gave them shelter and information. They were also bold, dashing soldiers, and were highly prized as auxiliaries in the incessant warfare waged by the petty independent princes against one another. An offshoot of the Bagree Dacoits were the Bownees, who prided themselves on being descended from one of the companions of Ram, the hero of the Ramayana. Their speciality was their adroitness in introducing themselves into the sleeping apartment of an employer's enemy, and in cutting off his head, which was produced in evidence of the fulfilment of their undertaking. "If," said an approver, "the prince wanted, not the head of his enemy, but the gold tassels of the bed on which he lay asleep, we brought them to him. In consequence of our skill in these matters we were held everywhere in high esteem; and we served princes and had never occasion to labour at tillage." Even in their decadence the Bownees declined to abase themselves to honest industry. They would rob a cart on

the highway if the opportunity were too attractive to be resisted, but as a rule they preferred to exercise their hereditary talents in clearing out the contents of a tent. The Sanseca and Bereea Dacoits were cognate clans, equally devout in their worship of Davi, and equally daring, though less given to assassinating in their sleep the enemies of princes.

The ordinary police having failed to make any visible impression upon this dangerous excrescence on the social system, Lord Auckland had recourse to the genius for organization displayed by Captain Sleeman, General Superintendent of the Thuggee department, and in the year 1838 appointed him likewise Special Commissioner for the suppression of Dacoitee. From that moment there was no peace for the hapless Dacoits. Followed up from one haunt to another, 1,500 of them escaped into Nepaul, in small detachments, but suffered so terribly from malaria and destitution, that large parties of them returned to the plains and gave themselves up as prisoners, or betook themselves to agriculture. A considerable proportion were enlisted into the police force, in which capacity they gave great satisfaction, by reason of their courage, intelligence, and faithfulness to their word. It was, however, no trifling mission that had been confided to Captain Sleeman, for in 1839 it was discovered that south of the Jumna there were 72 leaders with 1,625 followers; while on the north side of that river, 46 leaders had a following of 1,445 men. The Dacoits themselves spoke of their calling as a *Padshāhee Karu*, an Imperial Business, but within an extremely brief space of time their occupation was entirely gone in Upper India. In Bengal and in Lower Burma it has continued to linger down to the present times, but in a sporadic fashion, without any connection between the different gangs, and without any continuity of leadership. The river Dacoits, who were for a long time very troublesome, have practically ceased to exist in Bengal, though much remains to be done in the Tennasserim Provinces, and in Lower as well as in Upper Burma.

From Gang Robbery the reader is invited to pass at a bound to Human Sacrifices. Prior to the Aryan conquest there is much reason to believe that human beings were sacrificed to the earth-goddess throughout all India. The aboriginal population on being driven into the mountainous regions, carried with them their abominable rites and superstitions, which they must have practised with impunity for upwards of 3,000 years. Nothing certain is known on that point, but in all probability, wherever victims could be obtained from the plains, the hillmen adhered to the customs of their forefathers. Where the dwellers in the low country were a manly race, shrinking with natural aversion from treating their fellow-creatures as mere goods and chattels to be exchanged for so many rupees, or so many pounds of turmeric, homicidal worship must have died out from inanition, for the hillmen were not sufficiently populous to provide victims from amongst themselves. But where the lowlanders valued money or money's worth above the ordinary feelings of humanity, the difficulty ceased, and the earth-goddess continued to be propitiated by human blood. In some districts, however, the hillmen spontaneously renounced the taking of human life, and contented themselves with offering up sacrifices from their flocks and herds. Such, unfortunately, was not generally the case among the hill tribes of Orissa. It was not until 1836, and only then in consequence of military operations in Goomsur, that the British Government became aware of the atrocities perpetrated within its own territories, and which indeed dated from time immemorial. Human blood alone could insure good crops, seasonable rains, and freedom from blight, nor, according to the superstitious belief of certain districts, would Tado Pennor, the earth-goddess, accept as a substitute the lives of inferior animals. In the Goomsur hill tracts that truculent deity was symbolized by a peacock,[†] but in China Kemedi the bird was displaced by the rude figure of an elephant; while in Jeypore, human sacrifices were usually offered to Manuksoro, "the blood-

red god of battle," on the eve of an engagement, or preparatory to the erection of a fort or public building, or to avert imminent danger of any kind. Occasionally life was taken for some private purpose, though such cases were quite exceptional on account of the expense.

The victims were called Meriahs, and had to be purchased by money or barter. They might be of any age, sex, or caste, though adults were most esteemed by virtue of their commanding a higher price. They were either sold by their lowland parents, or decoyed, or carried off into the hills by a sordid set of miscreants belonging to the Panoo caste. Meriah girls were frequently suffered to live for some years, and even to contract a sort of marriage with hillmen, but were not allowed to bear more than one child, an hereditary victim, though never sacrificed in the village of its birth. They were always kindly treated, whether male or female, and were sacrificed in public with horrifying circumstances, which varied in different districts. In the hill tracts of Goomsur, for a whole month previous to the sacrifice, the Meriah, stupefied by drink and drugs, and crowned with garlands, was bound in a sitting posture to the post, surmounted by the bird effigy, while the worshippers danced around, singing and shouting. On the actual day, the semi-conscious victim, preceded by noisy, discordant music, was carried through the village and round its boundaries. Returning to the fatal post, which was erected close to the village idol, represented by three stones, the Zani, or priest, cut the throat of a hog, the blood of which was made to flow into a trench dug for the purpose, into which the senseless Meriah was flung face downwards and speedily suffocated in the gory mire. The priest then cut a piece of flesh out of the body, and buried it in the earth close to the three stones. The corpse was afterwards borne round to the neighbouring villages, at each of which a slice was cut out, a portion being buried near the idol, and a portion on a boundary line. The head, intact, was buried with the bare bones in the bloody trench. A buffalo calf

was finally led up to the sacrificial post, and its four feet cut off, and in that dreadful position was left until the morrow, when the women of the village, dressed and armed like men, danced round the post and feasted on the calf, at last put out of its misery. At the conclusion of these barbarous rites, the Zani was dismissed with a present of rice, and a hog or a calf. On the Bengal frontier, the sacrifice was performed in a different manner. There, also, the victims were purchased from lowlanders, who falsely pretended that the children were their own, and that they were too poor to rear them. The price ranged from 60 to 130 rupees, plumpness being preferred to leanness, and the prime of life to old age or childhood. When the fatal day arrived, the Meriah was bound between two planks, or stout bamboos, placed one across the shoulders and the other across the chest, and was squeezed to death between them, or rather, as life was ebbing away, the victim was thrown on the ground and severed in twain. After that the body was cut to pieces and the fragments distributed among those who were entitled to look for the prize.

The delicate task of suppressing these inhuman practices without having recourse to coercion, was entrusted to Captain, subsequently Major-General, Campbell, C.B., and the result fully justified the selection that had been made. Captain Campbell opened his peaceful campaign in December, 1837, by convening a public assembly of the hillmen. No fewer than 3,000 obeyed the summons, and, after a considerable amount of palaver, pledged themselves to renounce the usages of their forefathers, and to substitute beasts of the field for human beings. As a proof of their sincerity, they at once gave up 105 Meriahs, who would otherwise have been offered up to their blood-thirsty goddess. For a period of four years Captain Campbell laboured incessantly to raise the moral tone of those untutored savages, supporting the authority of their chiefs, dispensing justice through the agency of native councils, establishing fairs to remove all temptation for descending into the plains,

and making a serviceable road through the interior of the country. He lived and moved and had his being among the people, over whom his influence waxed so powerful that by January, 1842, he was able to report that human sacrifices had entirely ceased among the Khonds of Goomsur. Unfortunately, in that year he proceeded with his regiment to China, where he served with great distinction; but in his absence his best work was undone by an incompetent and unsympathetic successor. It was a happy day for the hillmen of Orissa when, in 1847, Major Campbell returned to his post as Commissioner. Order being speedily re-established in Goomsur, he turned his attention to the neighbouring district of Boad, and at first made slow progress, being confronted with evasion, falsehood, and deep-rooted prejudices. In the end the Boad chiefs listened to his words of wisdom, and surrendered 167 Meriahs, who seemed by no means pleased at the prospect of having to return to the plains and to hard work. In that district great licentiousness for three days preluded a sacrifice. The Meriah was led from hut to hut in a state of intoxication, sometimes a few hairs being plucked from his head or a drop of saliva taken from his lips, wherewith to anoint their heads. Previous to the sacrifice, the victim's head and neck were thrust into the rift of a stout bamboo, split down the middle, the ends being secured and tightly held by the sacrificers. The priest then approached, and with an axe broke the joints of arms and legs, upon which the impatient mob rushed in and quickly stripped the flesh from the bones, each burying a fragment in his own fields.

The people of China Kemedi worshipped three deities, all of whom had to be propitiated by human blood. As soon as it was known that Major Campbell was approaching with instructions to suppress human sacrifices, it was hastily resolved to make a holocaust of all Meriahs in their possession; but that horrible consummation was averted by the rapidity of his movements, and the intended victims were surrendered without reservation.

The divine effigy was an elephant made to revolve on the top of a substantial post. The Meriah being bound to the trunk, the figure was set in motion, and whirled round amid shouts and yells, till the Zani gave a certain signal, upon which the savages in wild excitement rushed at the still living victim, and hacked off the quivering flesh with their long knives. The bare skeleton was finally loosened from the elephant and reduced to ashes. In one sub-district alone, 100 purchased Meriahs were found, some of whom bore the marks of fetters on their wrists and ankles, though a large minority had been set apart by adoption, or as serfs, and were consequently in no danger of being immolated. Major Campbell's motives were for a time incomprehensible to the hillmen, among whom it was currently reported that he sacrificed the Meriahs to a water-deity on the plains, by whose aid he hoped to fill an immense tank which he had caused to be excavated. It was also said that his elephants periodically required to be kept in good temper by having human beings thrown to them. The villagers in China Kemedi for some time after the abolition of Meriah sacrifices contrived to obtain pieces of flesh from across their frontiers by means of relays of runners, the offering being deemed inefficacious were it not buried before the sun went down on the day of the sacrifice. Between 1837 and 1854, no fewer than 1,506 Meriah, were rescued, of whom 717 were males, and 789 females. There were besides, 1,154 serfs and adopted captives, whose names and addresses were carefully registered as a precaution against backsliding. Previous to 1837 there are grounds for believing that at least 150 victims were annually sacrificed in the hill districts of Goomsur, where the practice is now completely extirpated. Of the rescued Meriahs, a considerable proportion were restored to their families, while a large number were placed at the public expense under the tuition of the Berhampore and Cuttack missionaries. Married men were settled in village communities as cultivators; others were trained to various handicrafts; a few chose to go out as

domestic servants, and twenty-five were enrolled among the Sebundies, or armed police, in which capacity they rendered excellent service. Many of the adult females were married, with a small dowry, to Khonds of approved character, the others being placed in an asylum at Suradah, under steady and intelligent matrons. In 1850, Captain Macvicar, Major Campbell's able and zealous assistant, endeavoured to introduce education through the agency of Meriahs, trained as schoolmasters; but progress has hitherto been slow and disheartening, though the way was prepared by the extraordinary industry and remarkable linguistic talents of Captain Frye, whose unwearying labours cost him his life.

Another and yet more unnatural crime was eradicated chiefly through the moral influence of Major Campbell. The Suradah tribes were induced to sign an agreement, under heavy penalties, to abstain from the murder of their female infants. The only excuse they pleaded was poverty. Heads of families were prejudiced against bestowing their daughters upon members of their own community, because if a son-in-law chose to put away his wife, it was incumbent to return the money or goods they had received on making over their daughter; and sometimes a woman might be divorced by several husbands in succession, which caused much inconvenience. Mothers, it is said, seldom showed any disinclination to part with their little ones. In four remote districts of China Kemedi it was the custom to place the new-born child in an earthen vessel, closed with a lid—though in some places it was merely wrapped in a cloth—on which were placed wild flowers and a few grains of rice. The vessel was striped with red and black vertical bands, and was buried facing the quarter of the heavens whence the village astrologer looked for a visitation of murrain or drought. A fowl was usually sacrificed over the grave. The Khonds also indulged in two articles of faith, which they put forth as justifying their conduct. In the first place, women are the cause of all human woes, and

must consequently be kept down to the lowest practicable number; and, secondly, souls have a tendency to return to the families to which they previously belonged, resuming their former sex, unless death intervenes before the seventh day, on which a name and individuality are conferred. Major Campbell was so far successful that, on his retirement from the Service in 1854, he was able to report that 901 female children, under five years of age, were then alive in 2,149 families residing in villages in which, in 1848, it was quite exceptional to meet with a single female infant.*

The haughty, long-descended Rajputs, however, enjoyed a bad pre-eminence over all the peoples of India for the extent to which they carried this inhuman practice. According to local, though not quite trustworthy, tradition, the usage was gradually introduced to avoid the disgrace of Rajput maidens being seized by the Mohammedan conquerors and degraded to the condition of concubines. That motive may have helped to confirm a custom derived from the olden time, when Rajput warriors were wont to carry off by force or stratagem the marriageable women of cognate tribes. The inferiority of the female to the male sex has always been an Oriental truism, which the vainglorious Rajputs exaggerated to the point of deeming it a disgrace to be addressed as father-in-law or brother-in-law, because such relationship implied the dishonouring of a daughter or a sister—a man of nice ideas being a nasty man in the East as well as in the West. Whatever may have been the exact date at which a casual crime developed into a national custom, it was in 1789 that Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, informed the Government that the Rajkoomars were in the habit of putting their infant daughters to death. The Rajkoomars, he explained, were an ancient clan, computed at 40,000 and for the most part

* "A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice." By Major-General John Campbell, C.B.

residing within the independent vizierat of Oudh. They were of Rajput origin, and retained the lawless, warlike temperament of their ancestors, being always ready to appeal to arms on the slightest provocation. Mr. Duncan had no great difficulty in persuading the Rajkoomars situated on British territory to bind themselves to desist from the slaughter of their female infants, seeing that the Government had declared it to be a crime punishable by law. They frankly admitted that it was an evil deed, but sought to excuse themselves by the trouble given by daughters at a marriageable age. No Rajput will give his daughter to a man of inferior social standing, and a husband from a higher, or even equal sub-tribe, implies the payment of a large dowry, alike inconvenient and humiliating. They could point to one or two villages in which infanticide was not the rule, that swarmed with old maids, a disgrace as well as a burden to any Hindu family. On the other hand, they were reminded that it was contrary to the Puranas to take the life of a woman, and that they who were guilty of so doing would go down into the hell called Kal Soater, and there remain, gnawed by worms and without food, for as many years as there were hairs in the woman's head, and then return to earth as lepers in one of the lowest castes. After that they would be born as Sudras, subject to vomiting blood, and finally come to life as servants to Brahmins, and so work out their penance. Wilful abortion was judged as heinous as the murder of a Brahmin. There is, moreover, a *sloka* which says, "To kill one Brahmin is equal to one hundred cows; To kill one woman is equal to one hundred Brahmins; To kill one child is equal to one hundred women; To kill one hundred children is an offence too heinous for comparison." The Rajkoomars admitted all this, and promised to give up their evil ways, and for a time they probably did so to a small extent; but the Government was occupied with wars and territorial aggrandizement, and had no time to look after the babes. There was, unfortunately, a prejudice against Rajkoomar brides,

which necessitated the payment of an especially large dowry, and thus it came to pass that when, in 1819, Mr. Cracroft summoned to his presence eight Rajkoomar notables, he found that although they had seventeen sons, they could produce only one daughter.

A far worse state of things came to light in Kattiawar and Kutch in the year 1805. Fortunately the Governor of the Bombay Presidency at that time was the same Mr. Jonathan Duncan who had taken the Rajkoomars in hand. Prompt measures were instituted, and in the course of a comparatively few years the abomination of desolation was well-nigh stamped out, through the great intelligence and untiring zeal of Colonel Walker and his successor, Mr. J. P. Willoughby. There were several ways of shortening the existence of female babes. In Kutch the new-born infant was commonly drowned in a bowl of milk, or dropped into a hole dug in the floor of the hut, and smothered in milk. In some places the mother's nipple was anointed with opium, so that the sleep of death speedily ensued, or the midwife covered the babe's mouth with the umbilical cord, and caused suffocation. The mother seldom, if ever, begged for the life of her child. All depended upon the will of the father. If he remained silent, it was assumed that he did not mean the child to live, and it was accordingly disposed of, frequently by the Rajgouroo or village priest, whose fee consisted of a good meal and a coin equal in value to the 30th part of a rupee. The Jahrejahs acknowledged that the custom had prevailed in their tribe for at least 500 years, and there is too much reason to fear that the annual slaughter in Kattiawar and Kutch could not have fallen short of 3000. Owing to the remissness of the Bombay Government, Colonel Walker's labours at one time threatened to be fruitless, but when this fit of supineness had passed away, the fallen threads were picked up by Mr. Willoughby, and the good work was successfully pushed forward. Ultimately, when the tribal chiefs were convinced that the Government was really in earnest, and would punish the crime as culpa-

ble homicide, and even as murder, they entered into binding engagements to preserve the lives of their female children, though the Jahrejahs protested that in their clan no man was ever the father of more than one girl. By means of registration and the more energetic and searching action of the police, the disproportion between male and female children has become sensibly diminished, and it may be hoped that the influence of civilization will triumph absolutely over cruel selfishness, false pride, and degrading avarice.

Meanwhile, Mr. Unwin, collector of Mynpurie in the North-West Provinces, made in 1842 the startling discovery that in the great and powerful Chohan tribe not a single unmarried female was anywhere to be seen. He soon learned that for centuries not one female infant had been spared in the family of the chief. The birth of a son or grandson had always been celebrated by the usual demonstrations of public rejoicing, while the birth of a daughter was passed over in silence as a mistake and a calamity. Thanks, however, to his unremitting energy, Mr. Unwin was enabled in 1845 to announce that a female child had been born to the Raja, and preserved alive. The Government immediately despatched a letter of congratulation and a dress of honour to the chief, whose example was so largely followed, that in May, 1851, it was ascertained that 1,263 girls were alive, of the age of six years and under, while 228 had died from natural causes. The disproportion, however, between male and female children was still alarmingly great, nor was it until Mr. Unwin's successor, Mr. Cecil Raikes, persuaded the neighbouring Rajput chiefs to meet the Mynpurie Raja, that the work of suppression could be said to be fairly successful. It was then resolved that the marriage dower and bridal expenses should be arranged to meet the views and means of four social grades, from a Raja or Thakoor down to those who could afford no larger dowry than a single rupee. The co-operation rendered by the Raja of Mynpurie proved invaluable, for whereas his forefathers had expected from £10,000 to £15,000 sterling as the marriage portion

of their brides, he handsomely agreed for himself and successors that the sum to be paid on such occasions should not exceed £450. This concession on the part of the Chohan chieftain was accepted as the standard by which all other grades should regulate their dowries. The marketable price of women at once fell to a point that turned the balance in favour of prolonging their lives in preference to the risk of detection and punishment. Another great point was gained when the assembled chiefs undertook to do away with the costly nuisance of Brahmins, bards, genealogists, and religious mendicants, who flocked to a marriage ceremony as vultures to the carcase of a stricken deer. Those idle loafers would gather together from miles around, in the hope of sharing the compulsory distribution of money, food, and exchangeable commodities. The total amount not unfrequently rose to thousands of pounds, which could not be withheld without dishonour, insult, and even violence, to the bride's father and family. The Punjab Rajputs, however, and the inhabitants of certain districts in the North-West Provinces, still clung to traditional usages, and so recently as 1855, Mr. W. R. Moore, Commissioner for the Suppression of Female Infanticide, was forced to the painful conclusion that in many parts of Upper India the vile monster had not even been scotch'd, much less killed. In the Benares division, for instance, he was confronted with the disheartening fact that there were still 308 villages in which female infanticide continued unabated, and in 62 he could hear of no female child under six years of age. The Goruckpore district was also badly distinguished. In ten villages he met with only 26 girls to 117 boys; 25 villages could produce no more than 51 girls to 261 boys; while there were 30 villages in which the proportion was that of 54 female to 343 male children. Mr. Moore fell a victim to the Sepoy revolt, but the good work he had initiated was not suffered to languish, and it is now generally believed by those most competent to judge that this particular crime has been virtually trampled out.

With regard to the singular rite of Sati—or Suttee, as it

was long erroneously designated—the British Government can be neither complimented nor commended. Until Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General, the crime had been allowed to flourish with perfect impunity. There was no attempt at concealment. It had been for years upon years notorious that widows burned themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, but in official circles it was assumed that Sati was not only sanctioned, but positively enjoined by the Hindu religion, and the Court of Directors never wearied of inculcating abstention from all interference with the religious faith and observances of the people of the country. That it was a very ancient usage is undeniable, but it is nowhere mentioned in the Sacred Books that were to the Hindus what the Pentateuch was to the Hebrews. The Puranas of a later date speak favourably of a custom which proved profitable to the Brahmins in many ways, augmenting at the same time their worldly wealth and their social influence. For instance, a virtuous woman is described in terms somewhat different from those used by King Solomon. "She that takes her meals after her lord, partakes of his joys and sorrows, uses no embellishing dresses in his absence, retires to bed after him, rises before him, ascends the same burning pile with him, and thinks of no other man but him, may universally be reckoned a virtuous woman." It was also written that "in the same manner as a snake-catcher drags a snake from its hole, so does a woman who burns herself draw her husband out of hell; and she afterwards resides with him in heaven." This joint residence was to be of long duration. It was to last for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, and these were roughly estimated at three-and-a-half millions. These Puranas, however, are of comparatively recent date, and are less authoritative than the commentaries of Rabbinical or Moslem writers. Nor were they generally known to, or understood of the people. They were invented by the Brahmins for their own special advantage, and were cited only when widows shrank from the awful ordeal, or when their

relatives seemed disposed to give them wholesome advice. Had the practice been universally recognized as of divine origin, it would not have died out over such large tracts of territory, or have become so unfrequent in many districts in which it had at one time been of common occurrence.

According to Captain Hamilton, whose Indian experiences extended from 1688 to 1723, Sati took its rise in Canara, and was introduced to check the too prevalent poisoning of husbands by wives. On that point he was clearly mistaken, as the practice began in North-Western India, and thence spread over the peninsula, but his description of the process is apparently that of an eye-witness. In Canara it was usual to dig a deep trench, ten feet in length by six in breadth, which was partially filled in with logs of wood. A heavy beam was set up at one edge, so disposed that it would instantly fall at the pulling of a string. A quantity of oil or butter was poured upon the wood, and the husband's corpse placed about the middle of the pile. As soon as fire was applied the flames leaped forth furiously. Then the widow took leave of her relatives and friends, and while drums, trumpets, and hautboys made dismal discord, she walked round the blazing pyre three or four times with a cheerful aspect, and finally sprang into the surging fire and laid down beside the dead body. The priests thereupon quickly pulled the string, and the beam, weighing five hundred weight, or thereabout, fell across the two bodies, effectually preventing escape. Now and again a widow would shrink back at the last moment, but was thrust in by the priests with long bamboo poles, amid a hideous uproar of musical instruments. Others whose constancy was doubtful were drugged with narcotics, and so stumbled into the fire in a state of semi-consciousness. A grimly grotesque incident occurred on one occasion. A girl had been betrothed to a young man, but her parents broke off the engagement and compelled her to take another husband, who died shortly afterwards. The first lover, seemingly under the impression that it is

better for a widow to burn than to marry, took no steps to dissuade his whilom betrothed from self-cremation, and was even present to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the last of a friend. Perceiving him in the crowd, the widow beckoned to him to come to her as though she would take a tender leave of him. Suddenly throwing her arms round his waist, she carried him, in spite of his struggles, on to the pyre, and the three bodies were consumed together.

Strictly speaking, the Shasters prohibited the burning of pregnant women, of widows under sixteen years of age, and of mothers of children of tender years. Compulsion was likewise forbidden, nor was it lawful for a Brahmin's widow to burn herself except with the actual corpse of her husband. For it not unfrequently happened that where the husband had died and been burnt at a distance from home, the widow would immolate herself, holding in her hands a token of the deceased, such as his turban, his slippers, or some article associated with his memory. The lapse of days, weeks, and even months, between the two incidents counted for nothing. A case, however, occurred at Goruckpore which constituted the violation of more than one of the ancient precepts. A girl widow, aged only fourteen, whose Brahmin husband had died at some remote place, resolved a fortnight after his death, during her father's absence, to sacrifice her life in the hope of being thereby reunited to him in heaven. The pile was duly prepared by her family, and the torch was applied by her uncle. The poor child's courage, however, failed her when caught by the flames, and she leaped out on to the ground. She was instantly seized by the hands and feet and flung into the fire. A second time she sprang out and laid down in a water-course, crying bitterly. Her uncle vainly entreated her to seat herself upon a sheet, which he spread out by her side, but when he swore by the holy Ganges to carry her home if she would do so, she quietly acquiesced. But the sheet was hurriedly wrapped round her, and again she was thrown on to the pile, by that time raging furiously.

As she was about to make a third attempt to escape, a Mussulman bystander drew his sword and cleft her through the head.

It rarely happened that the more or less voluntary victim shrank from the terrible consequences of her vow. As a rule, they were probably suffocated by the heat and smoke before the flames reached them. It is at least certain that very few succeeded in effecting their escape, though one such instance is vividly described by Mrs. Fanny Parks, in her "*Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*." The widow of a corn-chandler having publicly announced her intention of burning herself with the dead body of her husband, the magistrate exhausted threats and promises in a vain attempt to dissuade her from suicide. Sati had not then been proclaimed a crime, so that he was powerless to take active measures to prevent its consummation. He deferred the event, indeed, for forty-eight hours, in the hope that hunger—for an intending Sati can partake of neither food nor water—might compel her to desist, but her will was immoveable, and all that could be done was to post constables in sufficient force to keep back the mob and secure for the widow fair play, should she finally prefer life to death. She herself showed no signs of weakness. Robed in red attire, she calmly walked round the pyre, and, after purifying herself in the Ganges, with her own hand applied a blazing brand. When the pile was well a-light, she laid herself down beside the corpse, and, reposing her husband's head upon her lap, repeated the usual formula, "Ram! Ram! Sati." Suddenly the wind blew the fierce flames upon her, and in an agony of pain and fright she started up and made as though she would leap down, but was menaced by a policeman with his drawn sword. The magistrate immediately ordered him into custody, whereupon she sprang to the ground and dashed into the river to extinguish her burning garment. Instigated by her brothers-in-law, who saw themselves on the point of losing her shop and little store

of 800 rupees, the mob shouted aloud, "Cut her down! Knock her on the head with a bamboo! Tie her hands and feet and throw her on again!" But the police, encouraged by a handful of European spectators, drove back the crowd and kept clear a space round the pyre. The victim, however, of her own accord, after swallowing a few mouthfuls of water, announced her readiness to reascend the pile, but was rendered impure by the magistrate gently laying his hand upon her shoulder, and reminding her that the Hindoo law forbade a second attempt. She was, however, promised the protection of the Government, and the mob, baulked of their fiendish spectacle, dispersed to their homes. Waning space prevents the insertion or condensation of the piteous narrative of the Sati on the banks of the Nerbudda witnessed by General Sleeman in 1829. Fortunately the "*Rambles of an Indian Official*" is a book easy of access, while its perusal will amply repay those who are not already familiar with those two delightful volumes.

It was not until December 4, 1829, that Sati was definitively abolished by Lord William Bentinck, with the unanimous approval of his Council, that is, of Lord Combermere, William Butterworth Bayley, and Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, names in many other ways honourably associated with the history of British India. At that time the hideous rite chiefly prevailed in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. We have the authority of Dr. Claudius Buchanan for the under-estimated statement that in the four months between April 15 and August 15, 1824, no fewer than 115 widows were burned in memory of their husbands within a circle round Calcutta drawn by a radius of thirty miles. Now and then it happened that more than one wife ascended the funeral pyre, while M. Rousselet assures us that "To this day the Rajpoot proudly calls the attention of the European visitor to the fact that five and twenty women were burnt on the funeral pile of the Rana Saugram Sing," the deceased chief of Udipur. The custom, however, contemplated the self-immolation of

only one widow, but even so a dreadful number of cases were actually reported, and very many occurred without coming to the cognizance of the British authorities. The practice, had, however, sensibly declined during several years previous to its final extinction. Thus in 1819 only 650 instances came to the knowledge of the Bengal Government—including 421 belonging to the districts round Calcutta—whereas in 1818 as many as 839 were duly reported. Occasionally there was a slight recrudescence, but the abolition of the fatal rite was accepted without a murmur. The female part of the population may be supposed to have rejoiced that their lives no longer depended upon their husband's existence, nor were doomed to terminate in agony; while men of ordinary sense and feeling could hardly fail to acknowledge that a grievous scandal had been removed from Hindostan.

In addition to these four great typical systems of crime, which have been largely diminished if not entirely suppressed under the British administration, there were many other barbarous and inhuman practices which have been put down by the strong arm of the law, supplemented by the gradual introduction of a higher order of civilization. Individuals, apparently at the point of death, would be carried to the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, and the last moments accelerated by filling the mouth of the moribund with wet earth; or the dying man or woman would be thrust into the river by impatient relatives. Incurable lepers, whose life had become a burden to them, would be placed in a boat, generally by the eldest son, and finally thrown overboard at their own urgent request. Year after year numbers of devotees would be crushed to death beneath the wheels of Jugganath's car; and at certain seasons adults would voluntarily drown themselves at Saugor, while little children would be thrown into the water to feed the alligators, until the Marquis Wellesley prohibited the custom. To extort money Brahmins would lacerate themselves with knives or razors, or would threaten to swallow poison, or

would construct circular-inclosures, called Koorh, in which they would place a pile of inflammable materials, together with an old woman, and avow their resolution to burn her to death if molested by process-servers, or other servants of the Government, and it is said that the women cheerfully acquiesced, in the belief that they would thereby honour themselves, and at the same time be avenged on their enemies by the acquired potentiality of tormenting them as spirits. A similar belief lay at the foundation of the great social nuisance known as *dharna*. Brahmins, and also members of inferior castes, would seat themselves at the door of a house, whether to extort alms or to compel a favourable answer to a petition, and would remain there without food or water until the inmate of the house, who likewise was constrained to self-starvation, levied the *dharna* by yielding at all points. An instance of *dharna* on a colossal scale is described in Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal*, when some 300,000 persons are believed to have left their homes in Benares in order to avoid an unpopular house-tax. As the Bishop relates, they "shut up their shops, suspended the labours of their farms, forbore to light fires, dress victuals, many of them even to eat, and sat down with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares." Superstition is ever hard to be eradicated, and many fanatical extravagances still disgrace the Indian peoples, though gradually disappearing before the more general diffusion of education and a better appreciation of social obligations. By the enforcement of the *Pax Britannica* petty wars between independent States have been as absolutely abolished as feuds and forays between neighbouring chiefs and landowners. Security for person and property has been obtained almost as completely as in England or Scotland. The development of roads, railways, canals of irrigation, telegraphic communication, sanitary improvements, and a liberal if injudicious system of education, have changed the internal condition of India as though by the waving of a magician's

wand. The contrast afforded to native rule, even in quite modern times, may be best understood by a perusal of General Sleeman's "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude," of Mr. Kingston's "Life of an Eastern King," and of M. Rousselet's more recent experiences at the Court of Baroda. Much, very much, still remains to be done, but the progress already achieved justifies the highest expectations for the future of India while placed under British guidance and control.

JAMES HUTTON.

EARLY HISTORY AND LEGEND OF GUJARÁT.

SOME knowledge of the local history of the province in which he serves is useful, if not essential, to the Anglo-Indian civil officer. Without it he cannot understand the religious or dynastic revolutions which have left their traces in the social condition of the people; the rise and fall of the chief native families of the neighbourhood; the origin and nature of the land tenures;—and without some comprehension of such matters as these, his knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people he has to rule, and his power to check evil and to promote good, are greatly curtailed.

Not much information can be got by questioning the people; their replies are generally like that of a Scottish peasant who, asked of the origin of some ruin, answers that it was built "by the monks lang syne." Even if your interlocutor knows something of the subject of your inquiries, his information is usually coloured by the prejudices of his race or religion. You ask a Moslem of the story of the downfall of some Hindu chief, and are told that he was a lawless heathen robber who rebelled against the Sultan, whose fort was stormed, and who, with his followers, was justly sent to hell. You gather nothing of the pathetic tale, which some old Hindu bard might recite, of the patriot's revolt, the bold resistance, and the heroic death of the Rájput. Or you ask a Hindu of the character of some great Moslem sovereign, and are told that he was a cruel oppressor, unjust, bigoted, and extortionate. You hear nothing of his glory as a warrior, of his administrative ability, of his sincere if fanatical piety, of his liberality and beneficence.

Many of the local annals, in which Indian literature is by no means poor, but which till recently existed only as crabbed Persian or Hindi MSS. in the libraries of learned societies or of native noblemen, have of late years been reduced to a form available to the English reader. It is hoped that the following sketch of the annals of one of the most interesting provinces of the Indian Empire, chiefly compiled from sources of this kind,* will show the young civilian that there is much to repay his attention in the history of almost any locality in which he may chance to find himself employed.

Gujarāt, a province of the Bombay Presidency, is in almost every respect a sort of microcosm of India. It has been successively ruled by foreign sovereigns, Hindu or alien; by indigenous chiefs; by viceroys from Delhi; by a local Mahomedan dynasty; again by lieutenants of the Moguls; by Marhatta soldiers of fortune or by the Peshwa; finally by the British. Its population comprises Brahmans of the highest caste, the most long descended Rājputs, Moslems of the purest blood, as well as aboriginal tribes dating from before the Āryan conquest. In one part of it petty Hindu chiefs, subject only to the sovereignty of the Queen-Empress, still exercise the same paternal rule on their estates as in the days before the Mahomedan conquest; in another, the ancient organization of the village community flourishes in full vigour; the Zemin-dāri, the Tālukdari, the Ryotwāri, and the communal systems are all in existence; and it affords specimens of almost all the infinite varieties of land tenure to be found in India. Its soil, enriched by the alluvial deposit of great rivers, not only supports a dense population, but exports largely, and yields abundantly, as well as the pulses and millets which are the ordinary food of the people, almost all

* "The Rās Malā," by the late Kinloch Forbes, Bombay Civil Service. "Architecture of Ahmedabad," by Sir T. C. Hope and the late Mr. J. Fergusson. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. iv. "Mirāt-i-Ahmadi and Mirāt-i-Sikandari," translated by the late Professor Dowson and Sir E. Clive Bayley.

the more valuable products of the East, wheat and cotton, sugar and tobacco, dyes and oil-seeds, opium and spices. Its cultivators are skilful and industrious, and it is still renowned for some of the finest handicrafts of India. Its breeds of cattle and of horses are famous; it abounds in game: herds of antelope, gazelle, and hog roam its plains; the hills and woods of its frontiers shelter deer, bears, panthers, and tigers, while the lion is still not quite extinct. Its villages are prosperous and comfortable; its cities and towns numerous, populous, and wealthy; while its architecture and its public and religious buildings, Hindu and Moslem, are rivalled only in the north-west of India. The history of such a country must surely excite curiosity, and deserves study.

Before the dawn of history, Gujarât appears to have been conquered by Aryan tribes, the ancestors of the modern Rájputs. These Aryans subdued and ruled over, and probably to some extent amalgamated with and civilized, the aboriginal inhabitants whose descendants still form a large proportion of the population. The country seems to have been divided among Rájput chiefs, each ruling his own domain, but dependent on a feudal superior, who himself usually owed allegiance to a greater monarch, whose seat of power was often at a distance. Rájput families still exist in the province who trace their genealogies to one of these chiefs, and who even claim to hold the same lands as their ancestors fifteen or twenty centuries ago. Some two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, as is proved by his celebrated rock-cut edict still existing near Gírnár, the famous Asoka, king of Magadha or Bihár, extended his rule, and the Buddhist religion of which he was the greatest champion, into Gujarât. The supremacy in that country of his successors seems to have been overthrown by barbarian or non-Hindu invaders, whom the Jain chronicle calls "Moguls," but who were perhaps Indo-Bactrians led by the Greek king Menander, shown by his coins to have

been once paramount in Gujarát. About the Christian era, a race called the Sás, said to have been of Parthian origin and to have worshipped the sun, established an extensive dominion, and reigned for some two and a half centuries at Schore, the "Lion City," in northern Káthiawár. They were then driven out by a native Rájput race, who ruled at Walabhi, a city also in north Káthiawár. The Walabhi kings seem to have been originally Bráhminist. But the most famous of them was Shiladitya, said to have been begotten by the sun, to have slain the Walabhi prince, and to have made himself master of his dominions about the middle of the fifth century. The legend runs that this monarch held a public disputation of the doctors of the rival creeds, Budhist, Jain, and Brahminical; that the former was adjudged victorious, and that Shiladitya then established the Budhist religion and persecuted the other two. After some time, however, his sister's son, Shri Mal, who had been educated as a Jain, challenged the Budhist doctors to a fresh discussion. They were vanquished, and fled before him, and the king banished the Budhists and established the Jain faith. He then restored (for it, like the other Jain shrine, Gírnár, had been founded long previously, and had been defiled by the Budhists) the famous place of pilgrimage on Mount Shutrungye, near Palitána, the fane of Rishab Dek or Adináth, first and greatest of the Jain Tirthankars or pontiffs.

Though the Jain religion soon ceased to be dominant in Gujarát, it has never been extirpated like the Budhist faith. Its votaries, to be found in every province and city of India, but especially in the west and south, are the wealthiest and most prosperous of Oriental traders. And from the time of Shiladitya, through countless revolutions, religious, political, and dynastic, the sacred mountain, destined to survive even the end of the world, has worn its glorious crown of marble fanes, beautified and enlarged in every generation, and not least in the present one.

Walabhi, however, was doomed soon to perish. It was

totally destroyed, probably about the end of the sixth century, and its site is marked only by the brick-built foundations of an extensive city. Of its fall several legends are told. The Hindu story is that a Brahmin ascetic, begging through the Jain city, received alms only from a single potter. Enraged at this, he warned the potter and his family at once to fly and not to look behind them; then, breaking an earthen jar, he commanded the city and all it contained to become dust. In an instant, Walabhi crumbled into ruins. The potter had reached Bhaunagar on the seashore, when his wife, looking round like the wife of Lot, was, like her, changed into a stone image still worshipped at Bhaunagar. The Jain tale is that Shiladitya opposed or quarrelled with a merchant who had grown rich through magical arts. He fled to a barbarian country and bribed the king to attack Walabhi. When the foreign army arrived before the city, the merchant defiled with cow's blood the fountain of the Sun; the divine horse, given by the Sun-god to his child, and on which the fortune of Shiladitya depended, instantly vanished into the sky; the king was defeated and slain, and his city was razed to the ground. The truth seems to be that Walabhi was destroyed by foreign invaders, Scythians, or perhaps Persians under Núshirván the Great.

Walabhi appears to have owed a nominal allegiance to the Rájput kings of Kanauj, a city upon the Ganges not far from Agra; and after its fall their supremacy was perhaps effective in Gujarát. According to the Mahomedan historian, a Gujaráti noble of the Cháwarah clan of Rájputs rebelled against the Kanauj monarch and was slain, and his fugitive widow bore a son, from whose birth in the woods he derived his name of "Wan Ráj," the "Forest King." He raised himself, from being an outlaw, to independent rule. The Hindu legend on this subject is one of the most romantic tales of early Gujarát story. The powerful king—so it runs—of Kalián in the

Dekkan, a Solankhi* Rájput, sat one day in his Darbár, when there entered a wandering bard, who sang the superior glory of his own monarch, a Cháwarah, whose ancestors, escaping from the sack of Walabhi, had founded in northern Gujarát a city called Panchásar. The Solankhi's pride was fired; he sent an army to subdue the Cháwarah, but it was ignominiously repulsed. Then he himself marched against Panchásar. After a fierce struggle the Cháwarah fell, with all his warriors, fighting desperately, but the resistance of the women of his tribe gained for them time to burn his corpse and to perform "Sati" themselves on his pyre. Of all the Cháwarahs two only survived. When he saw all was lost, the king committed his favourite wife, then about to become a mother, to the care of her brave and faithful brother, Sur Pál, telling her to escape lest his race should utterly perish. Sur Pál left her in the forest, and, going back to die with his king, learned that he had fallen. Returning to seek his sister, he could not find her, and fled to the mountain of Gírnár, whence he waged ceaseless war against the invader. The queen, however, had been hospitably entertained by a woman of the jungle tribe of Bhils. Her son was born among them, and was brought up in the forest till, in his sixth year, he was found by a wandering Jain monk, whose convent sheltered the young Wan Ráj and his mother. Finally, Wan Ráj rejoined Sur Pál, expelled the Solankhis, and founded the Cháwarah dynasty.

The Cháwarahs seem to have been Brahminists, but Wan Ráj, who is said to have made the monk who brought him up his minister, appears to have favoured or tolerated the Jain faith. About the middle of the eighth century, he founded the famous city of Anhilwára or Patan, in Northern Gujarát, selecting—so the legend says—a site where a hunted hare had been seen to turn on and discomfit the pursuing greyhound. In this city native Rájput monarchs reigned in prosperity for five hundred and fifty

* Properly "Chalukya."

years, after which period it was captured by the Moslems, according to the prophecy of a Jain monk at its foundation.

The descendants of Wan Ráj ruled at Anhilwára for nearly two centuries, and were succeeded by a kindred Rájput dynasty, the Solankhis. During the reign of the fourth prince of this race occurred the first Mahomedan invasion of India, by Mahmúd of Ghazni, Sultán of Khorasán. The first twelve inroads of this Moslem iconoclast, between A.D. 1001 and A.D. 1022, were directed against the Panjáb and Upper India, and in the ninth he subdued Kanaúj, the king of which exercised or claimed supremacy over the Rájput princes of India. His last and most famous expedition had for its object the great city and shrine of Shiva, at Somnáth, on the southern coast of Káthiawár. On his march southwards, the Ghaznivite captured Anhilwára, the Solankhi king having fled on his approach; but after effecting the conquest of Somnáth, he returned to Khorasán with his booty. The Hindu chief whom he appears to have set up as his tributary in Káthiawár was speedily overthrown, and their temporary reverse did not affect materially the power of the Solankhis, who appear to have extended their dominion in Káthiawár and Kach, and to have led successful expeditions into Sind, Marwár, and the Dekkan, and are said to have been acknowledged as lords paramount by twenty-eight princes. Warned, perhaps, by their experiences of Moslem power and valour, the Solankhi kings seem to have declined to join the league of Rájput chiefs which, headed by the king of Ajmir, was temporarily successful in driving, about A.D. 1043, the Mahomedans out of the Panjáb, previously subdued by Mahmúd of Ghazni; and this league in consequence attacked and worsted the Solankhis.

A story of one of these kings illustrates at once the kindly disposition of the people, and the revenue arrangements of Gujarát in early times. The Solankhi sovereigns received tribute from the minor chiefs who owed them allegiance, but the central districts of Gujarát were their

own domains or crown lands, the cultivators of which paid them direct a share of the produce. The country was, in fact, as it still is, partly Zemindāri and partly Ryotwāri. One year the rain failed in the Crown lands, and the cultivators flocked to Anhilwāra to ask for remissions, which were refused. They then applied to the prince, Mul Rāj, who seems to have been in failing health, and his intercession with his father obtained the desired boon. Mul Rāj died, to the great grief of monarch and people, before the next year, which was a season of abundance. The cultivators then offered to pay their arrears of the previous year: the king refused; the people insisted; and at last a "Panchayet" decided that the arrears should be devoted to build a temple in memory of Mul Rāj.

Karan, the fifth (or sixth) prince of the Solankhi dynasty, abstained from foreign war, and wisely devoted himself to reducing the wilder parts of his own dominions, chiefly occupied by Bhils and Kolis. These people, the descendants of the aboriginal tribes who were driven to the hills and forests by the Aryan invaders, were a wild but valiant race, who lived, like the Highlanders of old, by plundering the settled country, and who have always been a thorn in the side of the successive rulers of Gujarāt and Khándesh, Rājput, Moslem, Marhatta, and British. Black, agile, nearly naked, armed with bows and swords, their habit was to sweep with rapid raids the quiet Hindu villages, and with equal speed to retire, laden with booty, to fastnesses inaccessible to a pursuer. They still bear appellations which indicate their character. The Hindu villagers call them "Dhārola"—"men of the blade"; they style themselves "Shamshér Bahádur," or the "noble sword." Karan Rāja drove the Bhils from the neighbourhood of the site on which Ahmedabad was afterwards built, but it is only within the last generation that these tribes have been persuaded or compelled to peace and order.

Rāja Karan's chief work was a vast artificial lake, constructed by damming up the river Rupén, not far from

Anhilwára. This tank, the "Karan Ságar," or "sea of Karan," was destroyed, by a great flood in the river which burst the dam, only in A.D. 1814. Karan married a Rájputní princess from the Dekkan, named Moghal Devi, who had fallen in love with his portrait. It is said that he disliked her, but that, by a stratagem like that in "All's Well that ends Well," she bore him a son, Sidh Ráj, afterwards the greatest of the Solankhi princes. She was regent during her son's minority; is famous for her justice; and constructed the great tanks at Dholka and at Viramgaum, the latter of which, of vast size, built of cut stone, and surrounded with carved shrines said originally to have equalled in number the days of the year, still bears her name and testifies to her magnificence.

Sidh Ráj both extended his dominions and beautified them by many great works, cities, forts, tanks, and temples. He founded the holy city which bears his name, Sidhpur, and constructed there the long celebrated tank called the "Sahasra Linga," in connection with which is told a curious story of human sacrifice. The king, whose debauchery was a stain on a character otherwise noble, endeavoured to outrage the beautiful wife of one of the masons employed on the tank. To preserve her honour she stabbed herself, imprecating on Sidh Ráj and his tank that it might never hold water. It dried up immediately. On the advice of the astrologers, a "Dhér," or out-caste man, was sacrificed in its bed. It afterwards held water, and, at the dying request of the victim, dhérs have since been allowed to dwell within the walls of Gujarát cities.

Sidh Ráj was aided in his wars by a Parmár Rájput, Jag Dev, famous in legend for his valour, his chaste and obedient wife, and the fidelity which led him to offer to the Fates his own life and those of his wife and children to prolong the life of his master. Sidh Ráj subdued Málwa and captured Dhár, its capital. He is said to have led expeditions far into the Dekkan, and even to have washed his sword in the Ganges. But his most famous war was

with Khéngár Rao, the chief in whose dominions was situated the sacred mountain of Gírnár. There seems to have been a ceaseless hostility between this Káthiawár state and the Gujarāt monarchy, Rájput or Moslem. A former Solankhi had warred against the "Shepherd Kings" of Gírnár, and the struggle then begun ended only in the fifteenth century with the final victory of the great Sultán Mahmúd Begarha. Rao Khéngár is said to have raided as far as Anhilwára itself, and on his return to have carried off and wedded a Rájputni princess betrothed to Sidh Ráj. Such an insult could not be pardoned by the proud Solankhi. He led his army against the city of Khéngár, now called Junagarh, at the foot of Gírnár, captured it by treachery, and slew the husband and youthful sons of Ránik Dévi. Herself he carried off, but the faithful Rájputni refused to wed him and insisted on performing "Sati." The legend says that at last Sidh Ráj placed her on a pyre at Wadwán, telling her that if she was a true "Sati," the pyre would kindle without fire being applied. The hot wind ignited it (this seems less incredible to those who have felt the fierce hot wind of Northern Gujarāt); the penitent king erected a temple on the spot to commemorate the courage and virtue of Ránik Dévi, and her image is still venerated at Wadwán.

Sidh Ráj appears, though a Brahminist, to have tolerated or encouraged the Jain faith, and he permitted the erection on Gírnár of Jain as well as Brahminical temples, which still exist there. He is the Rájput Harun-al-Ráshid, and there are many tales of his nightly adventures in disguise. He died childless, and was succeeded by a distant kinsman, who was converted to the Jain faith by a monk who had predicted his accession to the throne. His nephew and successor, however, restored the Brahminical and persecuted the Jain religion.

In A.D. 1178 Shaháb-ud-din Ghozi, of Ghazni, invaded India, and after subduing the Panjáb marched on Gujarāt. Bhim-dev II., the tenth and last of the Solankhi dynasty,

met him on the edge of the desert and completely routed his army. In 1191, Shahāb-ud-din was again defeated by Prithirāj, the Chohān king of Ajmir and Delhi. These victories might have long delayed the Moslem conquest of India, had not the Rājput princes quarrelled among themselves. Prithirāj and Bhim-dev—who seems to have deserved his nickname of "mad-man"—fought for the hand of a Parmār princess, and their desperate strife weakened their power of resisting the invader. In A.D. 1193 Shahāb-ud-din defeated and slew Prithirāj, subdued Hindustan, and founded the Mahomedan empire in India. Next year he again attacked Bhim-dev, and sacked Anhilwāra. He did not, however, long hold it, and the Solankhis, whose line ended with Bhim-dev, were succeeded by a kindred dynasty, the Waghelas, who ruled, though with diminished splendour, for about a century, till in A.D. 1296 Anhilwāra was finally subdued, as predicted by the Jain five centuries and a half before.

Allā-ud-din Khilji, "the sanguinary," having treacherously murdered his uncle and predecessor, made himself master of the Mahomedan monarchy of Delhi in A.D. 1295, and proceeded to subdue the Rājput chiefs. Almost his first measure was to send an expedition against Anhilwāra, which was completely successful. The last Waghela king fled to the pathless wilds of Bāglān in Khandesh, leaving his city, his treasures, and his wives, in the hands of the Moslem. His beautiful queen, Kaula Devi, became the favourite wife of Allā-ud-din. Ten years later, Kaula Devi, hearing that an expedition was about to proceed to the Dekkan, entreated her husband to get possession of her daughter by the Waghela king, whom as an infant he had carried off in his flight. Orders were given accordingly, and the Moslem general attacked the Waghela, who had maintained himself among the Bāglān mountains. Karan Rāja resisted desperately, and, when his fastness was at last reduced, sent the beautiful Déval Dé to the Rājput prince of Devgarh, who aspired to her

hand. On her march she was captured by the Delhi general, was restored to her mother, and was finally married to Khizr Khán, the heir of Allá-ud-din. The blood-stained monarch, however, soon paid the penalty of his crimes. In A.D. 1317 he was poisoned by a slave, Malik Káfúr, who had been brought as a captive from Gujarát, and whom he had made his favourite minister. Káfúr also blinded and slew the hapless Khizr Khán.

Strife and dynastic revolutions succeeded at Delhi, and the Hindus of Gujarát rebelled, and were only partially subdued. For about half a century, the Anhilwára kingdom was ruled, so far as it was governed at all, by deputies from Delhi, some of whom "obtained the honour of martyrdom"—in other words, were killed by the Hindus; others themselves revolted against Delhi; and the unhappy province suffered terribly from their turbulence, extortions, and fanaticism, and from internal war and anarchy. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the then king of Delhi, Muhamad Tughlak, was called to Gujarát by a revolt of his nobles, which ended in the establishment of the Báhmání dynasty in the Dekkan. He remained three years in the province, which he reduced to something like order, and carried on a war, with considerable success, against the Rájput chief of Gírnár. In A.D. 1351 he died on an expedition against Tatóh, in Sind, and was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his cousin Firoj Sháh, who was driven with loss out of Sind, and left Gujarát, which was then again ruled by deputies.

Before his accession to the throne, Firoj Sháh, who was passionately fond of sport, lost himself on a hunting expedition near Delhi, and was hospitably entertained by two brothers, Rájput landholders. While washing his feet, one of them perceived by the lines on the sole that Firoj would become king. They had a very beautiful sister, of whom Firoj became enamoured; they at once gave her to him in "nika," or informal marriage, attached themselves to him and became favourites. They were eventually con-

verted to Islam, and seem to have followed Firoj Sháh to Gujarāt, where the son of one of them, Jáfar Khan, became a disciple of the Bokhára Sâid and celebrated saint, Makhdum-i-Jahanián, surnamed Kutb-ul-Katáb, "the pole-star of pole-stars."

The family of this Sâid, all hereditarily saints or dervishes, played so great a part in the subsequent history of the Ahmedabad Sultáns, that a brief account of them may be interesting. The founder of the family came from Bokhara to Uchch in the Panjáb; and his descendant, Makhdúm, migrated to Gujarāt in the time of Firoj Sháh. His son was Shékh Jiu. His son, Burhán-ud-din, also surnamed Kutb-ul-Katáb or Polestar, settled at Asárva, near Ahmedabad, in the time of Sultán Muzaffar I., and finally at Batwa, a village on the Khaira road, a few miles south of Ahmedabad, still belonging to his descendants, where he was buried in A.D. 1452, and where is his magnificent mosque and "roza," or mausoleum. He left several sons, the youngest of whom, Sháh Alum, though not the head of the family, is the most celebrated of the saints of this line. The son of the eldest son of Burhán-ud-din was Shékh Jiu, who died about A.D. 1526. He was succeeded at Batwa by his son Shékh Badah.

Sháh Alum died about A.D. 1475, and was buried at Rusulabád, between Ahmedabad and Batwa, where his tomb, built in the reign of Mahmúd Begarha by Táj Khán, a noble of that king's court, with its mosque and other buildings, forms one of the most beautiful monuments of Moslem architecture in India. Its slender and lofty minars, said to tremble under the step of whoever ascends them, have long been known in Europe under the name of the "shaking minarets of Ahmedabad."

When, in A.D. 1755, Ahmedabad was finally ceded by the Mahomedan viceroy to the Marhattas, the former stipulated that the endowments granted by the Sultáns to the tombs of Burhán-ud-din and of Sháh Alum should be maintained. These endowments chiefly consisted of

lands, especially the fine village of Batwa itself, the cultivators of which paid to the Sāids a rent in kind, called "wajéh," or "share" of the produce. The faithless Marhattas kept the engagement to the ear, but broke it to the sense. They nominally left the rental to the Sāids, but imposed on the cultivators direct cash "cesses," or taxes, so heavy as to render it impossible for them to pay the Sāids their "wajéh." Ahmedabad came under British rule in A.D. 1818, when the system found in existence in Batwa was continued. When making the Revenue settlement of the district, in A.D. 1861, I found the Sāid in the deepest poverty and distress. This venerable chief was even obliged to borrow the snowy raiment prescribed by etiquette for his ceremonial visit, and, of course, there were absolutely no funds for the maintenance of the buildings. With the permission of the Bombay Government, a settlement was effected fair and satisfactory to all parties. A consolidated cash assessment, fixed for thirty years and reasonable in amount, was imposed on the lands, in the occupation of which the cultivators were confirmed; and a proportion of the rental, such as would give him a sufficient income, was secured to the Sāid. The gratitude of the aged saint was touching, and will always live in the memory of the writer. Recently, an arrangement has been effected by which the considerable endowments of the tomb of Shāh Alum have been rescued from the creditors of his descendant and secured for the maintenance of the mosque and support of the family.

To return from this digression. One day Sāid Makhdam had no food for the poor who had assembled at his refectory. Jāfar Khān fed them liberally, and this so pleased the saint that he bestowed on him the country of Gujarāt. Jāfar Khān ventured to ask that his descendants might succeed to the gift; on which the saint, giving him a handful of the dates he was eating, told him that his seed, to the number of those dates, should rule Gujarāt. There were thirteen dates, and accordingly thirteen Sultans of the line

of Jāfar Khān ruled before Gujarāt was re-annexed to the empire by Akbar the Great. Firoj Shāh treated Jāfar Khān with great favour, and made him his chief butler. Now Jāfar Khān's family, before their conversion, were "Tānks," said to be a clan of Rājputs originally expelled or separated from that caste for using wine. This descent, and Jāfar Khān's office at the court of Firoj Shāh, seem to have given rise to the common native sneer at the family of the Gujarāt kings, that they were originally only "Kalāls," or distillers of spirits.

Firoj Shāh died in A.D. 1388, at a great age; and after a struggle among his descendants, his son Mahmūd Tughlak succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. In 1391 he sent Jāfar Khān, with the scarlet tent, the sign of vice-regal dignity, to Gujarāt in lieu of the ruling deputy, Rāsti Khān, whose oppression had caused a rebellion. Rāsti Khān refused to yield the government, and was defeated and slain near Anhilwāra. Jāfar Khān then devoted himself, with skill and success, to quieting and settling the country, to extending Islam, and to breaking the power of the Hindu chiefs in Kāthiawār and on the frontier. He was shortly joined from Delhi by his son Tātār Khān. Soon afterwards the emperor Mahmūd, who had fled before Timūr when the latter captured Delhi, arrived at Anhilwāra to seek the aid of Jāfar Khān against the formidable Tartar. It appears that Tātār Khān wished to comply with this request, but his wiser father declined. In A.D. 1403, however, Tātār Khān seized and confined his father (though, according to one story, Jāfar voluntarily resigned power), and declared himself to be Sultān of Gujarāt, sending, it is said, with an offering of treasure, to ask a blessing from the great saint of Sarkhej, Ahmed Khattu-Ganj-Baksh, who refused it with the message that he did not want money stolen from a father. Tātār Khan then started with an army for Delhi (whence Timūr, after the massacre which has made his name infamous, had retired), with, apparently, some idea of seizing

the throne. But on his march he was poisoned by some of his attendants, who adhered to Jāfar Khān, or perhaps feared the result of his rash enterprise. Jāfar Khān then returned to power, nominally as the Delhi viceroy. But a few years later, in A.D. 1407, the Mussulman nobles represented to him that the power of the Delhi emperors had been shattered, and that Gujarāt could not be effectively ruled except under the "royal umbrella," the sign of kingly authority. He then, not apparently without reluctance, declared himself Sultān of Gujarāt under the title of Muzaffar Shah I., and named as his successor Ahmad, son of Tātār Khān, whose death he seems to have sincerely lamented. His few remaining years he passed in the consolidation of his power, in extending his dominions on the side of Mālwa, and in promoting Islam; and the aid which he gave to the Delhi sovereign against other rebels perhaps reconciled that weak prince to the independence of Gujarāt. Muzaffar died, at an advanced age, in A.D. 1410. The common story is that he was poisoned by his grandson Ahmad, in avowed retaliation for the death of his own father Tātār; that the old king remonstrated with his assassin, in almost the words of Henry IV.—

"Thou hast stolen that which after some few hours
Were thine without offence;"

but failing to move the heart of his grandson, gave him some good advice as to his rule, and then drank the poison; and that, to his latest hour, Ahmad suffered remorse for this crime. But good authorities affirm that Muzaffar Shah died a natural death, and we may hope that their account is correct, and that there is not this deep blot on the fair fame of the noble Ahmad. Muzaffar Shah seems to have been a brave and loyal soldier, a sincere Moslem, and a wise administrator, worthy to have been the founder of a great and famous dynasty.

When Ahmad Shah came to the throne, the territory

over which he had an effective sway comprised chiefly the "crown" or "khálsa" domains of the Solankhi kings, and was a narrow, though rich and fertile, strip of country extending from near Anhilwára in the north to the neighbourhood of Surat in the south. This was constantly threatened, on the south-west, by the Rájput princes who had maintained their independence in Káthiawár; on the north and east, by the powerful and turbulent chiefs of Idar and of Champanir, and by the wild tribes, Bhils and Kolies, under their "Thákuras" or leaders of Rájput half-blood, who inhabited the rugged frontier or "Mewás" country. Many of the Mahomedan nobles of Gujarát itself were disloyal, and repeatedly united with disaffected Hindus in rebellion. And the hostility of foreign sovereigns professing Islam, especially of the Báhmani kings in the Dekkan and of the Sultán of Málwa, was constant and troublesome. Hence Ahmad Shah's long reign of thirty-two years was passed in almost continual war, foreign and domestic. But, though often hard pressed, he was almost uniformly victorious; and he succeeded in both consolidating and extending his power. He devoted himself especially to the reform of internal administration. His special objects appear to have been, first, to secure the fidelity of his troops by paying them regularly in cash; secondly, in order to replenish his treasury for this purpose, to commute for a revenue the liability to the military service which the subsidiary Rájput chiefs, or "Grásias," and Koli chiefs, or "Mewássis," had owed to the Solankhi kings. He appears to have effected the latter object in one of two ways. In the districts where his power was least firmly established, he imposed on each estate a tribute or "péshkash," the amount of which seems nominally to have been two-thirds of the rental; but which was practically determined by the relative power of the royal officers to levy, and of the chief to resist, the demand. This tribute was realized by an annual military expedition, a practice which lasted, under the name of "Mulk-giri," or "Circuit of the country,"

through the time of Marhatta rule, and has been abolished only by the British Government. The "tálukdárs" and "mewássis" of the modern Ahmedabad collectorate are the descendants of these tributaries. But where he felt himself strong enough to do so, Ahmad Shah confiscated, or "made khálsa," two-thirds of each estate, leaving the remainder, under the name of "wánta," or "divided," to its owner. Much of this "wánta" was subsequently confiscated by later Mahomedan or Marhatta rulers, but a great deal still retains its distinctive appellation.

It is said that Ahmad Shah administered strict and impartial justice, and that crime was rare in his reign. He was a zealous Moslem; he destroyed many idol temples, and substituted for them Mahomedan mosques; and though, the historian says, "the light of Islam did not fully shine" in his reign—in other words, the mass of the population remained, as they still are, Hindu—yet he is considered to have first reduced them to the status of "Zimmis," or subjects of the faith. Many Rájputs were, however, converted in his reign and those of his successors, and their descendants, who retain a number of Hindu usages, are still known as "Molislám," or those who "bowed to the Sultán." Like other Mahomedan rulers in India, he endeavoured to strengthen his line by marriages with Rájput princesses. For the Rájputs, though they hated such connections, which they deemed infamous, yet usually became, when once the alliance had been formed, faithful friends of their new kinsfolk. It is said that one Rájput stabbed himself on learning from his wife that she had procured his release from prison by the surrender of a daughter; and that another, having applied to strengthen the defences of his fort the money which Ahmad had given him for the expenses of the marriage feast, resisted desperately and with success. The most important of these alliances was, perhaps, one with the proud and powerful Ráthor, chief of Idar, whose daughter was married to Ahmad's son. A legend of this family perhaps deserves mention here.

About A.D. 1300, they captured Idar from its chief of the Sord clan of Kolis, whom the Ráthor cut down in the gate. Dying, he marked with his blood the royal "tilak" on the forehead of the victor, and begged that whenever a Ráthor prince should succeed to the Idar "gádi," or throne, a Koli should be employed to mark the "tilak" on his brow with blood drawn from his own hand, saying, "May the Sord's kingdom flourish." About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ráthors were driven from Idar; but they still rule in a small state in Málwa, and still maintain the ceremony which keeps alive their claim to Idar.

Two more incidents of Ahmad's reign may be noticed. About A.D. 1431 his fleet, sailing from Cambay, conquered from the Bāhmīni Sultān the island of Bombay, then first mentioned in history. And in A.D. 1438 a dreadful pestilence broke out in the Gujarāt army, which appears to have been epidemic cholera. If so, this is the earliest record of the disease.

Ahmad Shah was a friend and favourite of Ahmad Khattu-Ganj-Baksh. This celebrated saint, who was not connected with the Bokhāra family of Batwa, is said to have come to Gujarāt during a pilgrimage, and to have liked the country so much that he settled at Sarkhej, near Ahmedabad. He died there, at a great age, in A.D. 1445, and his magnificent mausoleum, built in A.D. 1451 by Kutb Shah, shelters also the tombs of Sultāns Mahmūd Begarah and Muzaffar Shah II. He advised Ahmad Shah to found the great and stately city on the banks of the Sāburmati which still bears the name of the two friends, and to transfer the seat of government to it from Anhilwāra. The building of Ahmedabad, on the site of an ancient Hindu city, traces of which still exist, was commenced in A.D. 1410, and its walls, nearly six miles in circumference, were completed in A.D. 1417. It grew into a city said at one time to have contained two millions of inhabitants, and is still one of the glories of India. The Mussulman historian cannot find words to describe its

beauty, its wealth, the splendour of its buildings, and the salubrity and pleasantness of its climate. It must, however, be confessed that all authorities do not agree with him on the last point. The Emperor Aurangzeb, who was his father's viceroy at Ahmedabad, has left on record his opinion that its name should be changed to either Abode of Dust, Land of the Hot Wind, City of Sickness, or Town of Hell. Anhilwára was speedily deserted when Ahmedabad became the capital of Gujarát, and a few marble ruins alone mark the site of the once magnificent Rájput city.

Ahmad Shah died in A.D. 1441, and his tomb, erected by himself, is near the Bhadar or citadel of the city he founded. He deserves the character which the Mussulman historians give him, of a great man, a just king, a brave soldier, a wise leader, and a pious Moslem. Yet it is not surprising that the Hindus, whose independence he destroyed, whose lands he confiscated, whose temples he shattered, whose family honour he defiled, should curse his memory as that of a bigoted oppressor. He was succeeded by his son Muhamad, a weak and dissolute prince. After a reign of less than ten years, he was poisoned by his nobles in consequence of his cowardice in proposing to fly before the threatened invasion of the king of Málwa, and was succeeded by his son, Kutb-ud-din.

Regarding these events the following story is told. There was in Ahmedabad a certain saint, or dervish, named Shékh Kamál. To him the Khilji Sultán of Málwa sent as an offering a large sum in gold, which the avaricious Shah Muhamad laid hands on. Shékh Kamál, enraged, invited the Khilji to invade Gujarát, as the Almighty had conferred it on him. When Ahmedabad was in terror of the impending invasion, and Kutb-ud-din had become Sultán, he was advised to consult the saint Burhán-ud-din of Batwa, whose grandfather had bestowed the kingdom on the ancestor of Kutb. The saint explained that the threatened calamity was due to the crime of Shah Muhamad, and to the just anger of Shékh Kamál, but pro-

mised to intercede with the latter. Accordingly, he sent his youngest son, Shah Alum, to Kamāl with a humble message to the effect that, "Your servant, the humble, helpless Burhān-ud-din, kisses your feet, and implores you to desist from your vengeance for the sake of the people of the Lord, remembering that the Prophet has said that forgiveness of injuries is sweet, and that it is not right to avenge on the son the sins of the father." The deluded Shékh Kamāl, not knowing the power of the saint who addressed him thus humbly, replied haughtily that his prayers had been answered; the word had gone forth, and the arrow which had left the bow could not return to it. Shah Alum retorted by a proverb—

"Saints can o'er sins the cloak of grace let fall,
And the sped arrow to the bow recall."

Angry at the readiness of the youthful Sāid, Kamāl produced a purple paper, and said, "Boy, you do not understand: this 'firmān,' transferring the kingdom of Gujarāt to the Khilji, has already been recorded in the indelible tablets of the Almighty." Shah Alum tore the paper in pieces, saying sternly, "This firmān has no authority within the jurisdiction of the Polestar," *i.e.*, of the Bokhāra saints. Shékh Kamāl exclaimed, "The Sāid is too strong for me," and immediately fell back and expired. Burhān-ud-din, when he heard this, blamed his son for impatience, and told him to go and humble himself before the grave of Shékh Kamāl. He went there and placed flowers on the pall which covered the tomb, with submissive words, but the flowers were immediately struck off, as if by a hand from the grave. This happened twice, when Shah Alum, again offering the flowers, said, "O foolish Shékh, if you again reject my flowers I will adjure you to come forth from the grave, and face me as we shall face each other at the day of judgment." The ground and the tomb trembled, but the flowers remained undisturbed.

Sultan Kutb-ud-din then advanced to meet the Mālwa

army. Shah Alum accompanied him for the first few marches, and on leaving him gave him a sword, with a warning never to draw it against the holy saints; he selected the smallest and weakest elephant in the army, and prayed over it that it might rip the belly of a famous e'lephant of the Khilji Sultán, which from its strength and ferocity was called the "Butcher"; finally, he shot a headless arrow into the air in the direction of the Málwa host. When the armies joined, a furious battle ensued, but the "Butcher," stumbling, was ripped up by the Gujarát elephant blessed by Shah Alum, and a headless arrow—the same, of course, as that shot by the saint—struck down the royal umbrella of Málwa, on which the Khilji's army was routed with great slaughter.

Sultan Kutb then returned to Ahmedabad, and constructed there the magnificent Kankria tank, of cut stone more than a mile in circumference. After his experience of the power of the Bokháriot saints, it might be supposed that he would have kept on good terms with them. But, having become addicted to debauchery, he quarrelled with Shah Alum, it is said, under the following circumstances. Shah Alum had married the widowed mother, a Sindi princess, of a half-brother of Kutb-ud-din, afterwards Mahmúd I., and at the entreaty of his wife took the child to his own house, brought him up and educated him. The Sultán, hearing that Shah Alum had predicted that Mahmúd would reign, endeavoured to get the boy into his own power, but was repeatedly foiled by the supernatural powers of the saint. On one occasion, rushing into the room where he knew that Mahmúd was alone with Shah Alum, he saw only an aged man reading aloud the Korán; on another, when he suddenly came on the boy and seized his hand to drag him away, he found in his grasp the terrible paw of a tiger. At last, enraged at being so often baffled, and in a fit of drunkenness, he led his men to break open the saint's house. Brandishing the sword which Shah Alum had given him, he drove the point into his

knee; the wound festered, and in a few days he died miserably, in A.D. 1458. He left no sons, and Mahmūd, though only thirteen years old, was placed on the throne. He immediately had to encounter a formidable sedition, which he quelled by his courage and conduct, or, as some say, only by his eagle glance, intolerable to the rebels rushing upon him. This success firmly established the rule of the noble boy, and his long reign is by far the most glorious in the annals of Ahmedabad. His most remarkable exploits, and those from which he derived his name of "Begarha" or "Two Castles," were the conquest of the Rājput States of Gīrnār and of Chāmpānir, which, as has been said, had always been formidable to Gujarāt.

Gīrnār had been made tributary by Sultān Ahmad, but the Rao had afterwards thrown off the yoke, and now destroyed the mosques erected by Ahmad at Jūnagarh, and held towards Mahmūd the language of an equal. This conduct the Sultān, as a Moslem as well as a sovereign, was bound to resent. He led expeditions against Gīrnār in A.D. 1467 and 1468, and in the latter year compelled the Rao to acknowledge his supremacy. In 1470 he informed the chief, who asked what offence had brought a fresh invasion on him, that there was no greater offence than infidelity, and that he must embrace Islam. After a bloody campaign, the Fort of Jūnagarh, and the still stronger mountain fastness of Gīrnār, were reduced, and the Rao was made prisoner. The Sultān gave him a title and an estate, and he became a sincere and rather eminent Moslem. The narrator of his conversion might be suspected of satire, if a Mussulman historian ever jested at the Faith and at the Holy Saints. When the Rājput was brought to Ahmedabad, and saw the magnificence of Shah Alum, which more than rivalled that of the king, he asked in whose service such wealth had been acquired. Being told that Shah Alum served the Almighty only, and had received all he had from heaven, he exclaimed that this was the religion for him, and heard the saint gladly. Mahmūd strengthened and beautified Jūnagarh, and made

it his chief residence for some years, during which he cleared the coasts of Káthiawár of the pirates who infested them.

In A.D. 1485, after a siege of two years, Mahmûd stormed the fort of Châmpanir, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the Rájputs, who finally slaughtered all their families, and rushing naked upon the Moslem host, fell sword in hand. This, called the "Johar," was the regular Rájput practice in extremity. The chief himself, however, and his minister, were taken alive, though covered with wounds. Mahmûd treated them with the greatest kindness, but, in accordance with Moslem law, offered them, when they recovered, the choice of Islam or the sword; they chose the latter, and the king then, though apparently with great reluctance, ordered their execution. The chief's infant son was also saved; was brought up in honour as a Mahomedan by Mahmûd's orders, and afterwards became a great noble.

The last great exploit of Mahmûd was the victory gained in A.D. 1507 by his fleet, with the aid of some Turkish or Egyptian ships from Suez, over the Portuguese at Chawul. Shortly after this, the independence of Gujarât was formally acknowledged by the Lodi emperor of Delhi. In the last year of Mahmûd's life, the Portuguese commander, Almeyda, avenged his previous defeat by a victory over the Mussulman fleet near Diu.

Mahmûd died A.D. 1511, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and fifty-fourth of his reign. Among the Hindus, he is looked on as a kind of incarnate demon, of supernatural power, wisdom, and malignity. One legend is that, from fear of assassination, he accustomed himself, like Mithridates, to poisons, till his breath became so deadly that he needed only to approach an enemy to kill him, while his wives lived but a single night, and consequently, to replenish his harem, beautiful girls were seized in every part of Gujarât, and sent to the garden palace at Mahmûdabad, whence they were conveyed to Ahmedabad through a subterranean passage twenty miles long, believed still to exist. Mahmûd's naval

victory over the Portuguese had made him well known in Europe, and it is he to whom Butler refers as the

"Prince of Cambay, whose daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad"—

an allusion which shows that the story of his use of poisons is a very old one.

Among the Mahomedans of Western India, whose favourite hero he is, his reputation is a very different one. The Moslem historians describe him as the best and greatest of his dynasty, wise, merciful, valiant, and God-fearing. If there is any truth in the innumerable anecdotes they tell of him, a few of which may be repeated here, this character is well deserved.

The quality which struck his contemporaries more even than his skill and valour in war, and which earned him the title of "the Gentle Lord," was his mercifulness. He is said to have pardoned the nobles who conspired against him, or to have punished them only by a jest or a nickname. When he returned from his successful campaign against Gîrnâr, he would not enter Ahmedabad in triumph till he had halted three days at Sarkhej to console and provide for the widows and children of his soldiers who had fallen, saying that a man could not be righteous or humane who, before beginning to enjoy himself, could not spend a day or two in weeping with those whom a campaign had left destitute, which had brought him glory. But his clemency did not, like that of his successor, partake of weakness, and his strict justice was equally remarkable. One of his few executions was that of his most favoured nobles, who, to screen an offender of high rank, had, by a false accusation, caused the death of two private soldiers. He rejected all intercession for these offenders, saying, "If I do not slay them, what answer can I give when I meet their victims at the great day?" A still more striking instance is the execution, as unfit to rule the people of the Lord, of his own son, a cowardly debauchee who had been detected in committing a shameful crime.

In the midst of his campaigns, Mahmûd, like Napoleon I., found time to attend to civil administration, and it is said that, notwithstanding one or two famines, which he made great efforts to cope with, Gujarât never enjoyed such plenty and cheapness as during his reign. He adopted stringent measures against usury, then, as now, the bane of the cultivators. He encouraged the planting of trees with so much success, that the beautiful park-like aspect of Northern Gujarât, which strikes every traveller, is attributed to him. He was a patron of gardeners, and established celebrated gardens at Châmpanir, and at his favourite country-seat of Mahmûdabad, twenty miles south of Ahmedabad, where he used to go to eat the delicious melons for which the banks of the river Wâtrak are still famous. To him, or to his example and encouragement, which seem to have set the fashion among his nobles of building mosques and tombs, Ahmedabad owes most of her finest edifices, chief among which are the tomb of Shah Alum, already mentioned; the superb group of buildings at Sarkhej, commenced by Mahmûd himself; the splendid tomb and mosque of Burhân-ud din at Batwa, built by several of his nobles; and the vast brick-built dome, the largest in Gujarât and one of the finest in the world, erected for his own tomb by Daria Khân, one of Mahmûd's chief nobles and friends. The gloomy grandeur of this structure, as well as the legend, apparently unfounded, of the exceptional wickedness of Daria Khân, has given rise to the belief, universal in Ahmedabad, that the tomb is haunted, and that once a year at midnight Satan in person flies, like a vampire bat, round the vast concavity of the dome. I have often taken refuge from the scorching noontide glare in the cool silent obscurity of this noble tomb, and, watching the ceaseless gentle swing of the ostrich egg hung by a silken thread from the lofty centre of the vault over the pall which veils the grave of the stern old Khân, have "revolved the sad vicissitudes of things" which have made the descendants of proud chiefs and mighty saints suppliants in the office of the despised Faringi—

"Sunt lacrimæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt."

Yet the change has been to the benefit of the people. No more intestine strife and havoc; no more wasted fields, desecrated homes, and ravaged villages; no more is the Rājput matron with her babes thrust hastily on the flaming pyre, while her lord, fresh bathed and naked, rushes to meet death among the scimitars of Islam; no more is the Moslem maiden, never before seen of man, torn shrieking from her father's blazing hall to dance for the pleasure of a heathen court; no more religious persecution; no more choice of the Korán or the sword. But instead, comfort and plenty, sweet tranquillity, universal toleration, and mild, just laws, before which Moslem and Jain and Hindu, high caste and low caste, noble and peasant, are equal. And our public works, though far less picturesque, are infinitely more useful to the people than those of the great Sultán. His lofty minarets in their grace and beauty now contrast with the chimney of the neighbouring factory; his deserted palace looks upon the crowded railway station; the marble tank he made for the delight of his concubines, now yields its water for beneficent irrigation.

As might have been expected from his early training, Mahmūd was always a pious Moslem, and that his court had a strong religious tone is shown by most of his principal nobles having ended their lives as professed devotees. In his latter days the king himself became extremely devout, earnestly desired to abdicate, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then to seek religious retirement, and was with difficulty dissuaded by the argument of his spiritual advisers that his first duty was to his kingdom. His conversion was brought about by a very holy dervish, the disciple of a disciple of Burhán-ud-din. There is a touching story of the secret visit of the great king to the saint, and of how he expressed himself as overwhelmed with the burden of his sins, and entreated to be taught the way of righteousness. He was buried under the shadow of the tomb of Shékh Ahmed Khattu, not, as might have been expected,

among the Bokhāriot Saids; and indeed he seems in his latter years not to have been on good terms with them. Perhaps he thought them too wealthy and luxurious, and a curious story seems to support this view. One day, the Kāzi of the city, a strict Mussulman Puritan, met an artificer carrying a jewelled guitar he had just finished for the king. The Kāzi broke it up, saying that jewels and musical instruments were equally forbidden to the faithful. When the man complained, the good-natured Sultān laughed, saying, "The Kāzi should convert Shah Alum before attacking me, for in his house are plenty of jewels and instruments of music." The end of the story is that the Kāzi, hearing of this, set out to confront the saint, having previously written out a number of texts in support of his views. When Shah Alum asked what the paper contained, he opened it to confute him, and lo, it was blank. Shah Alum then asked him to come to the mosque to hear him preach, and put on an old ragged coat, with a piece of string for a girdle and a bit of stick for a dagger. When the saint entered the mosque, the coat, in the sight of all men, became a silken robe, the string a jewelled girdle, and the stick a golden dagger, on which the Kāzi forsook his own tenets and became a disciple of the saint. The moral of the story, I suppose, is that to the truly devout the pomp of the world is indifferent.

Mahmūd I. was succeeded by his son Muzaffar II., called the Clement. The chief political events of his reign are connected with the affairs of Mālwa. The Hindu minister, Medini Rao, of that state had made himself master of the person of the Sultān, Mahmūd Khilji, and, keeping him in a sort of honourable confinement, ruled the country, oppressed Islam, and at first defeated the Gujarāti army. The Khilji Sultān at last escaped, and made his way to Muzaffar, who then led a great army to Mālwa, and in A.D. 1518, notwithstanding the aid given to Medini Rao by the Rānā of Udēpur, reduced the capital and restored Islam. Muzaffar's generosity in then unconditionally giving back

the country which was at his mercy to the Khilji is greatly praised by the Mahomedan historian. Afterwards the Rānā of Udépur defeated, took prisoner, and with great generosity released, the Khilji Sultān, and then invaded Gujarāt, sacked Ahmednagar, a city and fort built by Sultān Ahmad to control Idar, the governor of which had rashly defied him, and threatened Ahmedabad. These reverses, which seem to have been due to the weakness of Muzaffar, ended in a peace not much to the advantage of Gujarāt in 1521. Muzaffar was remarkable for all the accomplishments of his age, an excellent swordsman, archer, and musician, and famed for caligraphy. Though a feeble prince, he was a most virtuous and godly man, and a very strict Moslem, never known to touch either wine or opium. Of his compassionateness many tales are told, of which one must suffice. Gujarāt being threatened with a terrible famine, he prayed that his life might be taken and his people spared. His prayer was answered; abundant rain immediately fell, but his health failed from that day, and he died shortly, in A.D. 1526. His filial piety was equally remarkable. One "night of power," which good Moslems are supposed to spend in watching and in pious discourse, Mahmūd I. was told by a holy man that, in the day of judgment, the believer who can repeat the Korān by heart shall save from the flames of the "Sun of the resurrection" seven generations of his ancestors. The king sighed, and wished that he had a son who would thus save him. Muzaffar, then a very young man, heard, and immediately devoted himself to the task, which, at the expense of permanent weakness of sight, he accomplished in less than two years, to the grateful delight of his father. In the early days of his rule, he had his father's dislike to the Batwa Sāids, and refused to receive or to return the customary visit of the then head of the family, Shékh Jiu. Being ill, he was about to worship at the shrine of Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej, when the spirit of Kutb ul Katāb appeared to him in a dream, and told him to go to Batwa and he should

be cured. The same night the saint appeared also to Shékhh Jiu, and told him that he would next day receive a visit from the Sultán. Muzaffar went, was received with honour and hospitality, recovered his health, and was ever after a faithful friend of the Saïds.

Muzaffar had several sons, of whom the eldest, Sikandar, the third, Mahmúd, and the second, Bahádur, successively ruled after him. Sikandar was chosen by his father to inherit the throne, but Shékhh Jiu predicted that Bahádur, who lived near Batwa and was a favourite with the Saïds, would one day reign. But the fierce and arbitrary temper of this prince even then showed itself; one day he set his greyhounds on some pilgrims visiting the shrine, and Shékhh Jiu prophesied that he would himself be torn to pieces by the dogs of Faringis. Towards the end of Muzaffar's reign, Shékhh Jiu, then at the point of death, fearing the hostility of Sikandar, advised Bahádur to exile himself. He went first to the court of the Udépur Ráná, where he was received hospitably. But at an entertainment given in his honour, the Ráná's nephew, pointing out a very beautiful dancing-girl, asked him who he thought she was, and told him that she was the daughter of the Kázi, or Mussulman judge, of Ahmednagar, whom he had carried off from the sack of that town. Bahádur instantly cut down the Rájput, but the Ráná, a man of singular generosity, saved his life, declaring that the insult had been justly punished. Bahádur then went to Delhi, but his restless spirit again involved him in trouble, and he was obliged to fly. While wandering near Pánipat, the guardian of the tomb of a saint was warned by his patron in a dream to give him shelter, and he remained there till recalled to Gujarát.

On Muzaffar's death, Sikandar succeeded without opposition. He was of great personal beauty, but weak and vicious. Passing the mosque at Batwa, on his way to Champanir, he neither entered to pay his respects at the tomb of the saint, nor took any notice of Shah Badar,

who had just succeeded his father, Shékh Jiu, and who stood in the road to salute him; but said, scornfully, "The old Said said that Bahádur would reign: he lied; he is dead, and his disciple is a wandering beggar." Shah Badar exclaimed: "He is not dead" (meaning that his prophecy was living), "and the wanderer shall return; but your kingdom is a bubble." Sikandar, enraged, ordered the Batwa estates to be confiscated and made over to the representative of Shah Alum, who, however, refused them. Almost immediately afterwards Sikandar was cruelly murdered at Champanir, by a minister disappointed of promotion. The assassin then set up Mahmúd II. as a puppet king. Bahádur had many adherents, but they did not know where he was, or how to communicate with him. Advised to consult a certain dervish, they at his desire wrote a letter to Bahádur, ending with a request to throw the answer on the ground. The dervish then, placing the letter under the ear of a little girl, told her to look in a mirror. She said that the king of the fairies appeared in the magic mirror, and asked what was wanted. The enchanter told her to request the fairy to carry the letter to Bahádur, and bring back the answer. Instantly the letter disappeared from her ear. Bahádur was at the time asleep in the saint's garden at Pá nipat. Waking, he found the letter in his hand, and, replying to the effect that he would set out at once for Gujarát, and should be met at a certain place and time, threw his answer on the ground. His friends, who were waiting, suddenly saw the answer appear under the child's ear, and acted accordingly. This dervish, though a Moslem, was evidently an adept in esoteric Buddhism.

When Bahádur arrived in Gujarát he speedily overcame all opposition, and put the murderers of Sikandar to a cruel death. But he himself remorselessly destroyed all his surviving brothers and their children, except one infant nephew, afterwards Mahmúd III., who, accidentally grasping his beard, moved his compassion. His reign was one

succession of wars, carried on with extraordinary energy, and, almost to the end, with wonderful success. He first subdued revolts of Hindu chiefs and discontented Mussulman nobles in Gujarát and Káthiawár; he then overran the Dekkan, and reduced to subjection the Moslem dynasties, the Nizam Shahis of Nagar and the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, which had established themselves on the ruins of the Báhmání kingdom; he defeated the Portuguese at Diu; he conquered Málwa; and finally, though not till after the death of the chief who had saved his life, he, A.D. 1533, attacked the Rána of Udépúr, and captured his fortress of Chitór. But this was, as had been predicted by Shékh Jiu, the end of his triumphs. He had quarrelled with the Mogul Emperor Humaiún, on account of his having sheltered rebels or offenders against that monarch, and Humaiún now advanced upon him, entirely defeated him, reduced Málwa, and finally captured Champanir and Ahmedabad itself, A.D. 1535. Humaiún was then recalled to Agra by troubles there, and Bahádur rallied, defeated the Mogul army near Ahmedabad, and recovered his own dominions. Meanwhile the Portuguese had seized and fortified Diu; and Bahádur, endeavouring to recapture it by treachery, was by them treacherously slain, as prophesied by Shékh Jiu, A.D. 1537, after a reign of eleven years. The last of the great kings of Gujarát, he was of a character very different from that of his father and of his grandfather; he was ignorant, violent, treacherous, and cruel; and his only good qualities seem to have been liberality, and skill and valour in war. One story of his ferocity may suffice. He had a concubine famed throughout Gujarát for her extraordinary beauty. Boasting of her loveliness to a friend, Bahádur told him he should one day see her. Afterwards he quarrelled with the girl, and in a fit of fury cut her down. Remembering his promise to his friend, he sent for him, and lifting the sheet which covered the corpse, showed him the lovely creature lying in her blood, with the remark that from her beauty in

death he might form some idea of what she was in life.

Bahádur, who left no children, had nominated his sister's son, Muhamad Farúki, king of Burhanpúr, to succeed him, but he died almost immediately. Some of the nobles then placed on the throne the sole surviving descendant of Muzaffar II., Mahmúd III., then only eleven years of age. During his minority the kingdom was governed by a great noble, styled Daria Khán, who, though luxurious and a lover of pleasure, was a wise administrator, under whose rule the country enjoyed much prosperity. When he grew up, Mahmúd endeavoured to free himself from the honourable thralldom in which he was held by his ministers, and long and bloody struggles ensued, which ended, A.D. 1545, in the establishment of his power. It did not, however, last long. Mahmúd seems to have always been under the influence of low-born and unworthy favourites, one of whom had, in 1544, been killed by his nobles in his presence. In 1553 another person of the same class, against whom he had often been warned, poisoned him, and murdered several of the principal ministers, with the object of making himself Sultán, but was killed in the tumult which ensued.

Mahmúd III., though popular with the Mussulmans on account of the favour he showed to saints and dervishes, was a bad and oppressive prince. The most noticeable event in his reign was his persecution of the Hindus. His great ancestors, though they established Islam and encouraged conversions to it, seldom interfered with the practice of their religion by the Hindus, but treated them, so long as they were submissive, as "*Zimmis*," or subjects of the faith, and protected them in the enjoyment of their property, such as had been left them by the settlement of Sultán Ahmad. But Mahmúd III. confiscated wholesale the "*Wanta*" and "*Giras*" lands; the Rájputs and Kolis were ignominiously branded and numbered, death being the penalty of being found without the brand;

Hindus generally were forbidden to mount a horse, and were compelled to wear a distinctive and absurd dress; finally, the public worship of the Hindu deities, and all religious ceremonies and processions, were strictly prohibited. Those who know how the slightest interference with one of these ceremonies will even now cause a serious riot, can conceive the feelings of the Hindus: they flew to arms; their revolt was easily suppressed; but the deep discontent of the mass of the population with the rule of their native kings undoubtedly facilitated the conquest of Gujarāt by Akbār.

And here it may be remarked that in Gujarāt, as elsewhere in India, brave and devoted as were the Rājputs, and vastly as the Hindus outnumbered the Moslems, the earlier Mussulman dynasties were seldom overthrown by Hindu revolt—when they fell, they fell by Moslem conspiracy or invasion. It is difficult to account for this. It could not have been due to superiority of race, for the Gujarāt Sultāns, sons of Rājputni mothers, were of pure Hindu blood. The predominance of the Moslems was more probably caused by their greater manliness and discipline, arising from their profession of a purer and simpler faith; and when, in later days, Islam became corrupt and Hinduized, the Mussulman power fell before the attacks of the Marhattas.

Mahmūd III. was succeeded by a distant relative, Ahmad II., whose reign was a scene of constant strife. The last prince of the Tānk dynasty was Muzaffar III., in whose time the total anarchy of Gujarāt invited the interference of the Emperor Akbar. In 1572 he reduced it with hardly any resistance—indeed to the great joy of the mass of the population—and took Muzaffar prisoner. Nine years after, Muzaffar escaped, raised a rebellion, captured Ahmedabad, and maintained a desperate struggle till 1595, when, at last overpowered, he committed suicide, and the country was finally re-annexed to the Delhi Empire.

The subsequent government of Gujarāt by viceroys of the Mogul, its conquest by the Marhattas in A.D. 1755, and the final cession of the "Peshwa's share," including Ahmedabad, to the British in 1818, are events which belong to modern history.

W. G. PEDDER.

THE INDIAN BOURBONS.

It has probably occurred to others, as it has to the writer of these lines, that many interesting pages of Indian history might be written by competent persons who, with leisure and inclination, had permission to search and analyze the records and other memorials in the possession of the descendants of those adventurers who, forsaking their homes in England, France, and Italy, sailed to India and entered the service of the Moghul Emperor, Mahommedan Satraps, or Rajput, and Mahratta chieftains, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Some of these wanderers were men of noble birth, and many by their ability, indomitable energy, intrepidity, and military genius, carved out for themselves careers in the land of their adoption, and thus became, in a minor degree, makers of history and shapers of the destinies of its peoples. The history of their lives should therefore add many a moving tale of adventure to Indian story.

Among these gallant spirits not the least distinguished was the founder of the Indian branch of the Bourbon family, a section of which has been settled in the independent Native State of Bhopal since the end of the last century, giving to the service of its rulers a succession of shrewd councillors and valiant soldiers.

Upon the death of Madame Dulhin, the aged widow of Balthasar Bourbon, the son of the first settler in Bhopal, circumstances arose which made it desirable, and possible, to institute an inquiry into the ancient history of the family. As investigation proceeded the records were found to be few and the traditions obscure; furthermore, no trace could be found of that family history, said to have been compiled

in the eighteenth century, and carried by a priest to Goa for safety during the turbulent years towards the close of that century. It has been therefore out of very scanty materials that this meagre sketch and genealogical table of the family has been prepared which forms the basis of the following narrative. Imperfect as it is, it is not without public interest.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century (1560) John Philip Bourbon, of Navarre, who was a member of the younger branch of the family of Henry IV., sailed for India, having, tradition relates, been obliged to leave France because he killed a relative of high position in a duel. He landed at Madras, a priest and two friends accompanying him. The two latter died on the voyage; the priest remained in Madras, but John Philip Bourbon, sailing on to Bengal, went thence to Delhi and sought an interview with the Emperor Akbar. On hearing of the high rank of the exile, the emperor sent for him, and, being interested in his story, treated him with much favour and distinction, eventually appointing him to a post at his Court.

Not long afterwards, the emperor, being much pleased with his courtly bearing and conduct, and desiring to retain his services, offered him in marriage the Lady Juliana, sister of the emperor's Christian wife, who, on account of her skill and knowledge of the European system of medicine (Yunani), had charge of the health of the imperial ladies. This marriage was duly solemnized, whereupon the emperor conferred upon his brother-in-law the title of Nawab, and placed the imperial seraglio under his care, and the Lady Juliana was included in the select band of the "imperial sisters."

To understand more fully the importance and difficulties of the appointment conferred upon the young French nobleman, it is well to call attention to the statement in the "*Ain-i-Akbari*," that the imperial harem resided in a palace of immense size, and numbered five thousand women, to each of whom a separate suite of apartments was assigned.

This honourable office remained in the possession of the family until the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in the year 1737. The family, however, must have also resided for a time at Agra, because the building now occupied by the Catholic Mission press is said to have been the first Christian church and, according to family tradition, was founded by Lady Juliana.

John Philip's elder son Saveille is said to have married a lady named Allemaine in the year 1600, but this Saveille was probably the founder's grandson, whose eldest son, Alexander, married a Miss Robertson in 1640, and his elder son again, Anthony, married the daughter of Yakoob Khan, a relative of the ruling house in Afghanistan, and a convert to Christianity. Yakoob held a high post at Delhi, with the title of Nawab. This marriage took place in 1670; seven children were born, four sons and three daughters, named respectively, Francis, Anthony, Salvador, Saveille, Mary, Catherine, and Isabel. Francis, born in 1680, married an Armenian lady, a relative of his own, in the year 1710; he was the officer in charge of the imperial seraglio when Delhi was sacked, and with his family narrowly escaped the massacre in which it is reported that one hundred and twenty-five thousand of the citizens were slain. Francis took refuge in the Fort of Sirghur, situated within the Jaghir, possessed by the family since Akbar's time, and a dependency of the Native State of Nurwur, the rajah of which, it is said, had up to that period held the Bourbons in much esteem.

Francis Bourbon having lost his post on account of the dispersion of the seraglio and also valuable property plundered at Delhi, sought the rajah's special protection. He was permitted to collect in the town of Sirghur all the members of the Bourbon family, said to have at that time numbered three hundred souls. They resided there in safety for many years; his son Francis, who had married in 1732 a De Silva, also lived here after his father's death. To him was born Pedro, Saveille, and Salvador.

When he was sixty years of age, in 1778, a great calamity befell the family which nearly caused its extinction. The Rajah of Nurwur, determining to obtain the possessions of his powerful feudatory, caused the massacre of all the members of the family in Nurwur, and attacked the Fort of Sirghur with its dependent town where the head of the house was residing.

On the arrival of the rajah's force, Francis and his youngest son Salvador, hastily collected a small party of relatives and retainers, and sallied forth, but he and his son being killed, his adherents were defeated, and the town and fort fell into the hands of the enemy; but not before Salvador's son, of the same name, escaped with his mother and two or three of the younger children. He was only twenty years of age, but he managed to convey his charge to Gwalior, where they found safety with the Christian families at that place.

In the year 1780 Gwalior was taken by Colonel Popham; Salvador being in great straits, appeared before that officer and related the misfortunes that had overtaken his family, telling him that his mother, himself, and two or three little children were the only survivors. The general pitied his situation and promised him a grant of two villages from the Gwalior State, and a house in Gwalior. The family now being settled, Salvador's mother—whose maiden name was Bervette—advised her son to go to Bhopal, and seek service from the Begum Mamola, of whose ability and generosity she had heard. He took her advice, and was fortunate enough to find favour in the eyes of the Begum, and so long as she lived remained in her service. On her death, not long afterwards, he was obliged to fly to Gwalior. In the year 1796, Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, the minister who succeeded Chote Khan, who had assassinated his mistress at the instigation of her husband, recalled Salvador, and appointed him commander of the forces then actively employed in defending the territory against the inroads of the Mahrattas and Pindari

predatory horse. In this duty he was aided by his cousin Pedro, who, now grown-up, was the elder of the children saved from the Sirghur massacre.

Before detailing the events in the life of Salvador and his descendants, a sketch of Pedro's family history is not inappropriate here.

Pedro's son Anthony married Miss Francis, and was at an early age appointed to a command in the cavalry. He served on several occasions with distinction, especially during the mutinies. He died in 1876, leaving a widow known as Madame Bourbon and four unmarried daughters,* who are at present in straitened circumstances. Anthony's half brother John, married a lady of the house of the Begum Sumroo, of Sirdhana, whose service he entered. He had three sisters, Francesca, Louisa, and Juliana: the elder married a Mr. Francis, who was also of the house of Sirdhana; the two younger married and settled in Lucknow. Captain Anthony Bourbon's elder daughter Mary, also, married a Mr. Manuel, a Eurasian pleader of the same place.

Reverting now to Salvador, whose descendants, up to the death of Madame Dulhin, enjoyed a large estate in Bhopal; for some years he and the minister successfully resisted the ever-recurring attacks of the Mahrattas; but at last Scindia and the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpoor resolved to combine their forces for the purpose of crushing Bhopal in revenge for their defeats. Jugwa Babu and Sadik Ali Khan were appointed commanders respectively of the Gwalior and Nagpoor armies; and in the year 1812 the combined forces numbering 82,000 men (Scindia 52,000 and Nagpoor 30,000), invaded the State and demanded the surrender of the forts and city.

The town of Bhopal was defended on its southern face by a deep lake, on the west by the Fort of Fatahgarh, and on the north and east by a high wall, connecting it with the citadel. The bulk of the Bhopal army having been

* *Vide* Genealogical Table attached.

dispersed by the enemy, there remained for the defence of the city little over 3,000 men, but incited by the heroic bearing and bravery of the minister and Salvador, the greater number of the male population joined in the defence of their town; indeed, it is recorded that even the women and children performed deeds of heroism in defence of their homes.

The siege had been endured for a period of six months, and the garrison and citizens were reduced to great straits for want of provisions, when they were unexpectedly relieved by cholera attacking the enemy which caused the dispersion of the besiegers.

The Maharajah Scindia, enraged at the great losses suffered by his troops, owing to the stubborn resistance they met with, ordered a second invasion of Bhopal; this time under his famous general John Baptiste Fanthome, with instruction to level the city to the ground should resistance again be offered.

Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, foreseeing that a second siege could not be withstood, sent Salvador to meet the invading general on the frontier, for the purpose of gaining time sufficient to allow of the intercession of the British, whose aid had been invoked through Colonel Ochterlony, at that time Resident at Delhi. Salvador Bourbon and John Baptiste Fanthome met, and the latter consented to stay operations until further orders; it is related that during the interview the two commanders exchanged turbans, after the manner of the country, saying, "We are both sons of France, why should we fight?—let us be friends?" The British Government subsequently intervened and the city was saved.

In the meanwhile, hordes of Pindari horse having attacked the State on its southern border, the minister and his Christian commander had to provide against this fresh danger. They at once collected troops and marched against the enemy, who were besieging the forts of Sewas and Chepanir, relieved these places, and after clearing the

Genealogical Table of the BOURBON FAMILY in Bhupal.

Ann A.D. 1335. JOHN PHILIP BOURBON, *arrd. in India 1360.*
married JULIANE.

A. 1582. SAVEILLE BOURBON.
married ALLEMAISE. 1600.

A. 1605. ALEXANDER BOURBON.
married Miss ROBERTSON. 1640.

A. 1646. ANTHONY BOURBON.
married Granddaughter of YAKOOB KHAN, Nawab related to Afghan family.

A. 1680. FRANCIS BOURBON.
married ARMENTAS GIRL. 1710.

FRANCIS BOURBON.
married Miss DE SILVA. 1732.

ANTHONY BOURBON.

IGNATIUS BOURBON.

GASPER BOURBON.

A. 1734. PEDRO BOURBON.
married LOUISA BOURBON.

A. 1755. IGNATIUS BOURBON.

A. 1785. PEDRO BOURBON.
mar. daughter of SALVADOR.

SAVEILLE BOURBON.

SAVEILLE BOURBON.

Not Known.

A. 1736. SALVADOR BOURBON.
married Miss BEAUVETTE.

A. 1760. SALVADOR BOURBON *arrd. in Bhupal 1785. married Miss THOMP.*
 fled from Nurwar in 1779, took refuge in Gwalior. Father and Grandfather massacred.

IGNATIUS BOURBON.

MARY BOURBON.
married Mr. DAVID.

JAMES DAVID.

JOHN BOURBON.
mar. to Miss SHOREY, sister of Christian wife of King of Oude.
 2 Sons, 1 Daughter.

BALTHASAR.

NATHALIA BOURBON.
mar. to Mr. MOUNIER.

SINON.

OSBORNE BOURBON.

JOHN. LOUIS. PETER.

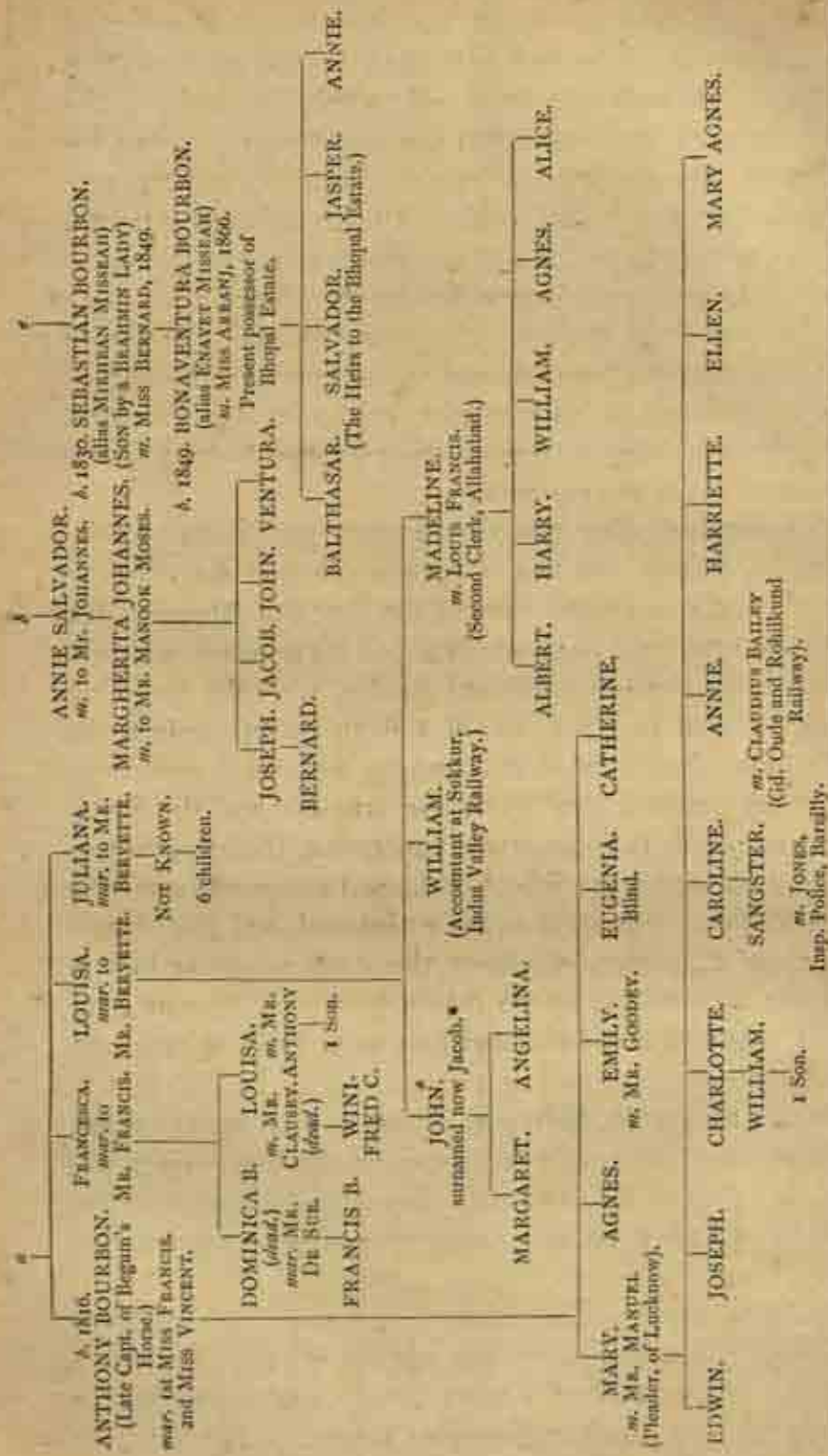
PASCOLA BOURBON.
m. Mr. SALVADOR.

BALTHASAR BOURBON.
(alias SHAHAD MISSBAU) m. Miss JOHNESTONE 1821

A. 1772.

PHILIP BOURBON.

ISABELLA BOURBON
m. to Mr. JOHNSON.



* Claimed name to allow of his entering the Martineau College with his brother, because two brothers are not accepted free.

frontier, the minister despatched Salvador to Nagpoor on a mission of peace and friendship to the rajah of that place. Through the good offices of Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, he was successful; but unfortunately during his absence, his patron, the minister, died of fever; not, however, before he had conferred upon Salvador a landed estate of the value of Rs. 12,000 a year in perpetuity, as an acknowledgment of his great services to Bhopal.

Salvador did not long enjoy his hard-earned reward; he died shortly afterwards and was succeeded in the estate by the younger of his two sons, Balthasar; the elder son Pascola receiving a separate maintenance in land of the value of Rs. 1,500 per annum.

Notwithstanding that Ghous Mahomed Khan was the rightful Nawab, the late minister's younger son, Wuzeer Mahomed, was elected ruler of the State of Bhopal. He at once appointed Balthasar Bourbon his minister, and sent him on a mission to General Adams, who was marching near Bhopal in command of a force acting against the Pindaris. Instructing him to use his best efforts to execute a treaty between the British Government and the State, and to obtain this important concession, Balthasar volunteered to bring a contingent of Bhopal troops to serve with the British. His services were accepted, and the Nawab Wuzeer Mahomed, to defray the cost, raised 31 lacs of rupees by mortgaging the family jewels. Balthasar, thus well equipped with horse and foot, served the British with distinction, accompanying the general as far as Kotah. By this timely aid, Balthasar Bourbon won for the State, not only the long-sought-for treaty, but also five Purgunnahs and the Fort of Islamnugger. To this document, executed in the year 1818, Balthasar's name appears as representing the State.

About a year subsequent to this event, the Nawab Wuzeer Mahomed Khan was accidentally shot. He left a young widow, the late Kudsia Begum, and a daughter, a baby in arms, the late Secunder Begum. The Kudsia's

youth (she had only been married two years), her good looks, and unprotected position, surrounded as she was by factions and pretenders to the throne, would doubtless have caused much embarrassment, ending possibly in civil war, had it not been for the tact and skill of the minister Balthasar Bourbon. He for eight years carried on the administration so wisely and so well, that in the year 1828 Mr. Maddock, then agent to the Governor-General, attested with his signature a sunnud, conferring a fresh Jaghir, or landed estate, upon Balthasar from the young Kudsia Begum, of the value of Rs. 34,000 per annum in perpetuity (a property which at Madame Dulhin's death had increased in value to 80,000 Rs.).

Not long afterwards, Balthasar's services were again required in the field, against a rebellious member of the ruling family, who aspired to the hand of the young Secunder Begum, and who tried to seize her person. He effectually defeated this attempt, and remained minister and the chosen councillor of the ruler, till his death at the comparatively early age of forty-three, leaving an only son named Sebastian; who, though not born in wedlock, was recognized by the family and the State as his father's successor.

Balthasar's wife was a daughter of a Captain Johnstone of the Bengal army, but there were no children by this marriage. There is an interesting story in connection with this lady. It appears that Captain Johnstone married a Pathan lady of Delhi; it is said, related to the Imperial House; who, when her son was sent to be educated in England, fearing she might also be robbed of her only remaining child, a daughter, fled for protection to relatives in Hyderabad, and was residing there with her daughter when a mission was sent from Bhopal by the Begum, to seek for a wife for Balthasar. The girl was at this time eleven years of age, and she being selected, mother and daughter proceeded to Bhopal, where the marriage took place in 1821. This lady, subsequently known by the

honorific name of Madame Dulhin (or the lady bride), has told the writer, how for some years her mother, Mrs. Johnstone, feared to make inquiries about her son, but that later, when her husband died, she and also Madame Dulhin made many ineffectual efforts to trace him.

After her husband's death, Madame Dulhin, with her adopted son, Sebastian, accompanied the Kudsia Begum and her daughter, Secunder, when they were obliged, by the threats of the latter's husband, the Nawab Jehangheer, to take refuge in the Fort of Islamnugger. She remained with these ladies during all the trying years that followed, until the death of Jehangheer released them in 1844. The present ruler of Bhopal, the Shah Jehan Begum, was born in Islamnugger shortly after the ladies fled to that place, and Madame Dulhin made the young Princess her special charge, remaining on terms of intimacy with her till her death.

As the young heir of the Bourbons grew to manhood, he was treated by the Secunder, who became Regent for her daughter, with great kindness; and his education was specially cared for. Her first act, on being appointed Regent, was to restore to the family the lands confiscated by the Nawab Jehangheer, in revenge for their attachment to the ladies. She retained Madame Dulhin and her son constantly about her Court.

Sebastian Bourbon, who is now fifty-seven years of age, married a Miss Bernard, daughter of Captain Bernard, of Sirdhana. She is a cousin, by her mother's side, of the Filose family, who are in the service of the Maharajah Scindia, and are collateral descendants of General John Baptiste Fanthome, already mentioned. After his marriage the Secunder Begum appointed him to the command of a force sent against rebellious members of her house, who had joined her Gond subjects in mutinous acts. Sebastian was severely wounded in this action.

The history of the family in Bhopal has now been carried up to the year 1857, and it was in this year that the Bhopal Bourbons rendered the Secunder Begum such valu-

able service, by their courage, fidelity, and steadfast bearing, that this lion-hearted woman was enabled to suppress all attempts at rebellion within her State; although the mutineers were countenanced by members of her own family. When affairs reached a crisis, and Secunder feared the green standard of the faith would be raised among her wavering troops, she, accompanied by Sebastian, rode to the military parade ground in the suburb of Jehangirabad, and, at once appealing to the cupidity and loyalty of her troops, issued to each soldier a golden mohur, and made them a spirited harangue, promising them honour in the field against the enemies of the British, and declared publicly that she would never survive their disloyalty. At the same time, she took the precaution of appointing Sebastian Bourbon captain of the city and its gates, replacing the guards at the palace by Christian soldiers, members of the family; and she placed herself in close and confidential communication with the Political Agent at Sehore, twenty miles off, where the Bhopal contingent of artillery, horse, and foot, though officered by British officers, was in a state of mutiny.

On the arrival of Colonel Durand with the fugitives from Indore, at Sehore, the Secunder was able to render him great assistance in conveying the women and children to a place of safety at Hoshangabad. The party were convoyed by her own troops, as the contingent could not be trusted; and they were advised to pass by Echarwar, the chief place on Madame Dulhin's estate, which was administered and held by a member of the family. This officer escorted them to Hoshangabad, and was able, with the assistance of the Begum's confidential officials whom she sent with Colonel Durand, to defeat a base plot for the massacre of the party, hatched by some members of the Mahomedan escort. Thus again, at a time of need, the Bourbons rendered valuable service to the State they served.

The history of the family up to the present time is now concluded. It will be seen how intimately of late years it

has been connected with the course of events in Bhopal; so much so, that one cannot be told without the other being noted. Their later story furnishes a sketch of Bhopal history for the last three-quarters of a century. The fidelity of the Bourbons is not more admirable than the generous acknowledgments and rewards bestowed upon them by the chiefs they served were honourably acquired.

There only remains to add a few lines with reference to their present position in the community, and the change that has been effected in their customs and habits owing to long settlement in India. Their circumstances, by the reduction of their landed property, since the death of Madame Dulhin, are not nearly so flourishing as they used to be; but there are hopes that their former position may be partly restored. Intermarriage with individuals of Oriental race appears by this history to have in no way detracted from either their mental or physical capacity, though it has darkened their complexions. Since their settlement in Bhopal, and probably, long before, they have found it necessary to assume the social customs and costume of their Moslem masters. They seclude their women from the public gaze, and all wear the Mahomedan dress. This may be necessary in a city like Bhopal, but it is not without its embarrassments; for instance, a short while ago, the present head of the family, failed in his efforts to marry his two sons to members of the Gardiner family of Lucknow, on account of the aversion of the young women to adopt European customs. The genealogical table shows another practice, viz., that the members of the family bear Moslem names in addition to their own. This extends even to the women, and is the result of the close intimacy between the family and the rulers. The kindly solicitude of the latter, and the friendly relations between Moslem and Christian, are honourable to both, probably in no other city in India, can be seen professors of these two faiths living in such amity, that, on occasion of their respective feasts and festivals, they eat and drink together.

For twelve years, a Catholic priest, the late Father Norbed, lived at Bhopal as resident chaplain to the Bourbons, and was supplied with funds sufficient to build a church by the late Madame Dulhin. It is situated without the walls of the city, in the suburb of Jehangirabad, and is capable of holding a congregation of 300 persons; near it is a pavilion for the members of the family when they come to service. On Sundays and fête days a part of the chancel is curtained for the women, few of whom sit in the nave. The Christians number about 150, and there are few more interesting sights to be seen than this isolated Catholic community, worshipping together in their own church, in the midst of an alien race and creed, not only unmolested, but with perfect freedom.

W. KINCAID.

THE WELLESLEYS IN INDIA.

LORD WELLESLEY landed at Calcutta in 1798. He found an empty exchequer, a disorganized army, and that general feeling of despondency amongst its inhabitants which is often both cause and effect of disaster. He left England stunned with the loss of her American colonies, fearing that the calamities of the Western hemisphere might meet with a counterpart in that of the East. He was confronted in India with danger, distrust, and disaffection, and dread of impending evil pervaded society; rumours which science in these days concentrates into a focus spread their baneful influence throughout the land, increasing the terrors of the alarmist, adding to the perplexities of the thoughtful. That Lord Wellesley did not underrate the difficulties of his position, we gather from his letter to the Directors.

"Under these circumstances, the situation of the British Empire is extremely critical, but by no means despairing, for in the very difficulties of our present condition are to be found the means not only of averting present danger, but of providing permanent security against the return of a similar crisis."

He overlooked one difficulty, the persistent opposition to his policy on the part of the Board of Directors, who gauged the success of his administration by the rise and fall of India Stock. He probably alone amongst those who surrounded him saw daylight in the distance: the object he aimed at was the annihilation of French power, and the restoration of our influence at the courts of the Indian states. Unlike a Minister in England who steps into an office with the red tape cut and dried for him, Lord Wellesley had no one to advise him, nobody on whose judgment he could rely.

The crisis was sufficiently appalling to test the talents even of a Wellesley. First in point of importance and national resources was Tippoo Saib, his capital Seringapatam the centre from which emanated plots and seditions. Hating England with a feeling as intense as was Hannibal's towards Rome, anxious to recover the territory wrested from his father Hyder Ali by Lord Cornwallis, cajoled by promises of support held out to him by Bonaparte, trusting, not without reason, on the assistance of French troops to give additional security to the defence of his capital, he still endeavoured to gain time by procrastination for the maturity of his plans, as well as for the advent of the rainy season, an auxiliary more useful to him than even an armed ally. But Lord Wellesley was not to be deceived by him.

An ill-timed proclamation from the Mauritius revealed to the world what the Governor-General knew well enough, that Tippoo's protestations of amity were false, and that he was only trusting to delay for the development of his policy. Papers of a most compromising character were discovered on the capture of his stronghold, even from some of our so-called allies, proving that the ramifications of the conspiracy had taken a wide range, and only awaited some signal victory over our forces to convert defeat into disaster.

On the coast of Malabar there were a number of petty Rajahs, as units contemptible, but in the aggregate mischievous, who required the presence of an armed force to overawe them and prevent their cohesion. There was our ancient ally the Nizam, unable to fulfil the stipulations of former treaties with us. Since his defeat at Kurdlah in 1794, he became practically subservient to the Mahrattas, whilst the French trained and officered force of 14,000 men occupying his capital held him as it were in a vice; he could neither appoint his own officers, nor exercise authority in his own dominions. Whatever may have been his secret wishes, he was powerless and could render us no assistance.

In the Carnatic, the Nabob was our pensioner, unable to take care of himself without the protection of England.

Carrying our eyes down the map of India towards the West, we come to Malabar, the kingdom of Poonah. The administration of the country was virtually centred in a hereditary Prime Minister, the Peishwah, who found great difficulty in resisting the rapacity of whatever Mahratta chief happened to be in the ascendant. It was now Scindiah's turn to be the dominant power; the Peishwah dreaded him, feared the insubordination of his own soldiers, and hated the English for interfering in the affairs of his kingdom. The whole of Oude was disaffected, demoralized by an expected invasion of its territories from Cabul and the Punjab under Zemaun Shah. Lord Teignmouth's policy had caused a revolution which did not improve the aspect of affairs, and necessitated the presence of an armed force under Sir John Craig. Then there was the great Mahratta confederacy, now united in the person of Scindiah, extending from the Ganges to the Tomboodra, from which we had formerly received aid in our war with Hyder Ali, now ranged amongst the number of our opponents. We had, then, no assistance to expect from the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nizam at Hyderabad, the rulers at Poonah, or the Mahratta confederacy.

Such was the continent of India; its atmosphere cloudy enough, the horizon was no brighter. The Shah of Persia was courting the favour of both France and Russia by threatening an invasion on the side of Afghanistan. Russia, with her hereditary policy, was watching her opportunity of pouncing upon the expected dismemberment of our Indian Empire. Towards the West, Egypt was bristling with French bayonets.

It is a curious fact, as illustrative of the genius of the very able men who at that time directed the councils of France, that they selected the Isthmus of Suez as the most vulnerable point of attack upon India; and there can be little doubt that they would have favoured the romantic

enterprise of Bonaparte in attacking our Eastern dominions, and thus removing to a convenient distance a colleague who soon after proved himself powerful enough to supplant them. Lord Wellesley checkmated their plans, by directing a flotilla, under Admiral Watson, to watch the coast of Egypt; and the triumph of our arms in that quarter, following upon Lord Nelson's victory at the Nile, compelled Bonaparte to defer his views upon India and divert his sanguinary policy from the deserts of Africa to the plains of Europe.

The situation, as Lord Wellesley expressed it, was critical; prostration and stagnation paralyzed the executive, timidity and irresolution marked our councils at home, disaffection was rampant abroad; Government paper hardly negotiable, an army that could not move, civil servants clamorous for their dues. The bold front with which he met the difficulties of the moment inspired confidence, and that which he felt or assumed he inspired to others. A loan was the consequence—the lever which raised the dead weight which lay so heavily upon the resources of India.

The army being invigorated, was enabled to assume the offensive, and a very important factor now appears on the scene in the person of his brother, Colonel Wellesley, who had preceded him in India by six months—months not wasted in idleness and inactivity. The experience he had gained in the disastrous expedition to Holland, he turned to good account. One of his first letters was on the subject of field artillery: the reforms he suggested were adopted. Another, on the inefficiency of the Commissariat department, the means of transport, the bullock service, the weight of the accoutrements of the soldier in marching order;—he was seen weighing a man in full regiments. He abolished, as far as he was able, all jobbing; the privilege of exemption from duty, which had become invidious to all but the favoured few. His own regiment was in such perfect order as to elicit the praise of General Harris. Among those marvels of lucidity and common

sense, his Indian despatches, we find a remarkable letter on the condition of Bengal—a somewhat curious one we should hardly expect from him, on the evil resulting from the monopoly of the East India Company. Another, of a different character, to the Governor of Bombay. "I am certain," he says, "that you will not succeed in any negotiation unless it is based upon respect for our Government, and do not employ language which is open and candid." He never entered into an engagement with any person to which he did not scrupulously adhere.

To his brother, on the conclusion of a treaty with the Mahrattas, he writes :

"I would willingly give up the Gwalior fort ten times over, and all other fortresses in India, rather than risk the loss of our reputation for scrupulous good faith and the honourable advantage which we acquired in the last war, and in the peace with which it was concluded. We ought not to sacrifice these advantages to arguments founded upon the law of nations, which the people of this country will not understand. What was it that kept me right through the embarrassments of this war, and of the negotiations which followed it? British good faith, and nothing else."

His penetration of character was very remarkable.

"It is a curious fact which I have observed, that the natives of India have no respect or fear for the military qualities of any nation but the English. I had under me a Swiss regiment which, for discipline, was as good as an English one, but the natives found out that they were foreigners, and had no confidence in them."

But however acute may have been his vision in the details of his profession, we doubt the Governor-General deriving advantage from his advice in the policy of his administration, for the horror of war which he always entertained must have biassed his judgment, which did not perceive that to stand still was to be crushed by the predatory tribes whom our delay would encourage to coalesce and rise up against us.

British wealth required our protection. The small trader, who had bartered his wares amongst the semi-civilized inhabitants of the country, had risen to be the opulent merchant; the mud forts had swelled to the dimensions of

the city; the moral and material responsibilities of our position demanded the strong hand of power to uphold our interests and suppress opposition.

We have somewhat forestalled the course of events in alluding to Colonel Wellesley, for his services were not required in the first object which Lord Wellesley had in view, viz., the relief of our former ally the Nizam from the incubus of French oppression, as well as to secure his army from co-operation with the forces of Tippoo Saib.

With silence and alacrity a British contingent was directed to Hyderabad under Colonel Fitzpatrick. A bloodless revolution was effected: the French trained troops, 14,000 strong, laid down their arms, their officers were allowed to return to their own country, and the disbanded soldiers were incorporated with those of the Nizam.

The treaty of Hyderabad restored the allegiance of the Nizam. The effect throughout India was electric. British power, which lay dormant under the torpid governments which had followed Clive and Hastings, was again in the ascendant. Success rallied to its standard the lukewarm and disaffected, who had exercised so numbing an influence on the policy of Lord Wellesley.

The ground being cleared, no obstacle presented itself to impede the march of our troops upon Seringapatam. Lord Wellesley offered every inducement to negotiate; but Tippoo, finding that his deception was ineffectual, and his protestations of amity estimated at their real worth, prepared for the unequal encounter. A slight skirmish at Malliawelli would have been unimportant had it not introduced us to the first military exploit of Colonel Wellesley, who received the brunt of the enemies' charge, and scattered them like sparrows under dust shot. There was nothing left for Tippoo, but to retreat to the protection of his fortress. The man was a fatalist, and employed himself in consulting astrologers, instead of attending to military advice. The result would probably have been the same; but the obvious means of defence were neglected, and

although his personal bravery was conspicuous and the resistance of his followers obstinate, nothing could withstand the assault under General Baird, who must have felt a peculiar satisfaction in being instrumental in the capture of a fortress in which he had been immured for three years.

Tippoo Saib was found among the slain, covered with wounds. He was a man of considerable talents, both civil and military, gifted with a higher standard of education than his compeers; but he was a bloodthirsty tyrant, with whom it was impossible for a civilized nation to treat. He died as he had lived, with the courage and ferocity of a tiger.

The spoil within the town was immense. Nothing is more remarkable than the accumulation of riches in these Indian fortresses, as if the wealth of the district had been swept off its plains to supply the greed of its rulers. Whilst the country was impoverished and its inhabitants destitute, its high officials were dazzling in the glare of ill-gotten plunder.

The territory formerly wrested from Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib by Lord Cornwallis, and now by Lord Wellesley, was little short of the area of Great Britain. The prize-money taken at Seringapatam amounted to 4,558,350 star pagodas. Lord Wellesley refused a grant of £100,000 voted to him by the Company, and even a star composed of Tippoo's jewels was declined by him.

Colonel Wellesley was nominated by General Harris Governor of the town. The appointment was the subject of much comment at the time, for it was expected, not without reason, that General Baird would have received it as the reward of his gallantry. There can, however, be little doubt that a wise discretion was exercised in passing him over in favour of Colonel Wellesley, he was deficient in those talents so remarkable in the latter—temper and discretion. The dashing soldier was ill-qualified for the mild duties of civil administration. His character is well described by his mother, who, on hearing of his being taken

prisoner, said, "I pity the poor chield who is fastened to my Davie." He was destined before long to important command, in which he displayed the highest qualifications of a general.

The administration of Colonel Wellesley was simply admirable. Within a week order was restored to the city, the bazaars were opened, and no vestige except the battered battlements remained to mark the horrors of the siege. He procured for the family of the captive princes a substantial provision. They exchanged a life dependent upon the caprice of an Oriental despot for one of ease and retirement.

One small element of discord arose to disturb the peace and prosperity of Mysore. During the convulsions of the siege, the prison doors were opened. Amongst the miscreants who effected their escape was one Doondiah Waugh, who had been incarcerated by Tippoo. Styling himself the King of the World, he drew to his standard the stragglers of the defeated army, and that numerous class of vagabonds who are attracted by the expectation of plunder. Colonel Wellesley determined to take the field against him, and check an evil which, allowed to expand in semi-barbarous states, too often forms the germ of a kingdom, founded on rapine and secured by military success. The celerity of his movements exceeded those of the robber himself, and coming upon him unexpectedly, he routed his army and Doondiah was found among the slain.

Seringapatam, being merged in the dominions of the Company, became a haven of tranquillity instead of a hot-bed of sedition.

The pacification of Mysore enabled Lord Wellesley to despatch seven thousand men under General Baird to Egypt; the second in command was Colonel Wellesley—and here we cannot help remarking upon the wonderful good fortune which attended him through life: the auspicious gale which drove him back to England and prevented his being lost sight of in a West Indian jungle;

his escape from shipwreck on the coast of India; the immunity with which he passed through the perils of his numerous battles; and now the fortunate sickness which he deplored as a bar to distinction, but which retained him in a country in which he was destined to commence that series of victories which for the next thirteen years made him the most conspicuous figure in the world. His enforced seclusion in the kingdom of Mysore enabled him to display those administrative powers which foreshadowed the Duke of Wellington. The cessation of hostilities allowed Lord Wellesley to turn his attention to the social condition of the country; and well would it have been for the interests of our Indian Empire if a prolonged peace had afforded him sufficient time for the development of the resources of the country.

In the brief period which war and its distractions had left him to cultivate the arts of peace, he seized the opportunity to promote scientific researches, especially into the natural history of the Peninsula, and the opening of Indian commerce as far as the short-sighted policy of the Company would permit. He was the first to point out the value of the cotton crop; and had his foresight been met with corresponding spirit on the part of the Directors, the golden stream which has rewarded the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West might have been directed to the poverty-stricken tracts of our Indian dominions.

Lord Wellesley also gave what assistance he could to Missions, with the most peremptory injunctions to respect the prejudices and feelings of the inhabitants who were under our sway. He suppressed human sacrifices, which encouraged Lord William Bentinck at a later date to put down that last remnant of superstition, the Suttee. Conscious of the incapacity which had well-nigh proved fatal to our Indian rule, he established a college for the special instruction of the Company's servants, disallowed by the parsimony of the Directors, but which was the origin of Haileybury, which has been so successful in the education of

Indian officials. Wherever talent could be discovered, he utilized it. He drew out of obscurity Malcolms, Munros, Metcalfes, men who have left their mark on the history of India; his name acted as a magnet to attract the ore from the dross which surrounds it. But however consonant to his inclination might have been the social and moral improvement of the masses under his care, he was compelled to sacrifice the arts of peace to the all-important question of the alliance of those states who were, or who were about to be, under the protection of England.

We had compelled Oude, which had been a tax upon our military establishment, to receive a resident minister, and to dismiss a turbulent army which might at any time rise up against us. The north-west portion of Bengal was thus made safe. The Nizam we had already accounted for; there were smaller states whose internal weakness was an element of danger to us, which it was absolutely necessary to include into our political system. These alliances originated with Lord Cornwallis, who drew into the vortex of British dominion those states who invoked its protection against the rapacity of their neighbours.

Lord Wellesley enlarged the subsidiary system of his predecessor, to enable those states which had entered into alliance with us to respect their engagements—engagements which, often from inability, possibly disinclination, they had been lax in fulfilling. The tribute which they were bound to pay to the Company was constantly in arrear; the score was running heavily against them; the charge for military force, which they were bound to support, fell heavily upon the impoverished exchequer of India. The protection we afforded them against the aggression of neighbours, or their own intestine discords, might be acknowledged, but was not paid for; the bill fell heavily upon the Company, with slight chance of being met.

Lord Wellesley introduced a very important change into the system. He converted a fixed payment of an annuity into a cession of territory; not only was the difficulty of

collection removed, but it checked an opposition which he had constantly to contend with at his own Board; for however stringent were the laws against usury, the trade was too lucrative to be put down. It created a class at variance with the interests of the Company, who would not forego individual profits for the sake of the public good; and when disputes arose between the Company and a defaulting state, an advocate, interested in the nefarious trade, rose up to uphold its claim. The borrowing of these impecunious states created fresh difficulties for the Government, with increased indebtedness and diminished means of repayment.

The subsidiary system, however well it may have worked, was nothing more than a delusion; it was for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the British public. It arose from the repeated orders of the home Government to abstain from aggression.

Lord Wellesley, like every other Governor-General, arrived in India with pacific intentions. He found conquest necessary for existence. His offers of negotiation were construed as signs of weakness. The coalition of these hostile countries was increasing with dangerous rapidity. There was nothing for it but the sword.

To restore conquered countries would be looked upon as the result of timidity—a suicidal policy. To comply with the wishes of Parliament was impossible, so a milder course was adopted. These countries were not ostensibly conquered; the sovereign was allowed to remain on his throne, with all the trappings of royalty, but substantial power was transferred from him to the person of a political agent. British conscience was therefore soothed by substituting for the name of conquest the milder term of annexation, and the Company was satisfied to pocket the gains which accrued to it without inquiring too carefully into the method of acquisition. The revenue had increased from 7,000,000 to 15,000,000, and the territory well-nigh trebled.

It may be hypocritical to cast doubts upon the sound-

ness of a policy which has converted anarchy into tranquillity, and banished intestine wars from the continent of India; but we cannot but recognize an element of weakness in alliance with tributary states. We have no hold on the affections of its inhabitants, no bond of union from community of religious feeling, no similarity of commercial or political opinions. Treaties with these decaying states were contracted in the last gasp of desperation, who threw themselves upon the clemency of England rather than expose themselves to extermination from the cupidity of their powerful neighbours.

As long as we are in the ascendant we are safe, but defeat might be followed by disaster. The various rulers of these tributary states would sink all minor differences, and run together like grains of quicksilver in the common object of regaining independence. They may respect us for our justice, honour us for our clemency, dread us for our power, but they hate us for our supremacy. The hollowness of the ground we stood on was demonstrated at the capture of Seringapatam, where proffers of assistance and secret correspondence from some of our most ardent friends were discovered expressive of hatred of England, and offering material support and co-operation in regaining national independence.

Lord Wellesley was too magnanimous to notice such hypocrisy, and too politic to punish the perfidy, but it must have enabled him to form a just estimate of the Oriental character, and to value at its true worth treaties with these double-dealing states.

It is evident that the overthrow of Tippoo constituted our safeguard; the success of his arms would have been the signal of our discomfiture. But it must be the fate of any great power, when brought into contact with its semi-barbarous neighbours, to be drawn into their internecine feuds, either in the character of mediator, or as protector of the weak against the strong.

Russia has incorporated into her system the wild tribes

of Asia by conquest, England by the more mercenary process of subsidy. The result is the same, the disappearance from the face of the globe of nations whose history reverts to the earliest stages of antiquity. It may be a question whether it would not be a sounder policy to allow these nations the unmolested privilege of exterminating themselves in intestine brawls, rather than to stand, as it were, umpire between rival parties, who neither of them intend to profit by our mediation, but who merely seek to recover strength for a renewal of their feuds.

As long as they are the disorganized element of mutual jealousy and suspicion as foes, they are beneath our notice ; but their real advantage to us is to act as a barrier to the advance of the rival powers in the East—a neutral ground through which neither should pass, a human buffer to parry or mitigate the attack of an invading power.

On looking at the physical geography of the Eastern hemisphere, one cannot help perceiving that great rivers and chains of mountains were intended by nature to prevent empires from exceeding their appointed limits, and although some potentate in the insolence of power may overstep nature's safeguards, retribution follows—the usurper is sooner or later forced to retreat in humiliation or defeat.

We have witnessed in our day the impolicy of rousing the angry passions of nations occupying the sterile steppes of these mountain ranges which guard the frontiers of our Indian Empire, who demand nothing more than the unmolested enjoyment of their inhospitable country, who can know nothing of scientific frontiers, and are thoroughly indifferent to imaginary lines of demarcation drawn through their possessions, as a bar to the military aggression of Russia on the one hand, or the political necessities of the British Empire in India on the other. But Lord Wellesley was too prudent to stir up hostilities on the extreme verge of our dominions. The danger he had to contend with lay within a more contracted circle. There was the great Mahratta Empire, a menace to our safety ; a

nation which looked upon the gains of industry as the reward of rapine, which existed on the plunder of its neighbours, whose armies were constantly replenished by the lawless and discontented, requiring fresh victims to satiate its rapacity. Like the beasts of the forest, ranging wider and wider for its food, its restless spirit would disturb the peace and prosperity which was settling down upon India.

Neither policy or prudence could allow the existence of such a firebrand in close proximity to our dominions. It was absolutely necessary to save our Indian Empire from the expansive grasp of Mahratta ambition. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Peishwah, the shuttlecock between the rival chieftains Holkar and Scindiah, invoked the aid of England to save him from extermination. The question which presented itself to him was, whether to be devoured by his neighbours, or absorbed in the protection of the Company—bloodshed and annihilation on the one side, a gilded retirement on the other. He chose the latter. He therefore became an ally, whom we were bound to support.

But before we enter upon the consideration of the Mahratta Campaign, we may well pause to consider the mental qualities of the two remarkable men who played so conspicuous a part in the history of our Indian Empire. No two men under Providence could have been better adapted, the one to plan, and the other to perform, than Lord Wellesley and his brother, and in studying their respective characters, we may perceive how conducive to the formation of the statesman is an English classical education. Both men of great ability, wonderful common sense, endued with rare sagacity in detecting the motives and intentions of others, both Englishmen in their abnegation of self, their moral courage and their patriotism. But there ends the parallel. The Duke of Wellington at no period of his life could look far ahead, or, as he expressed it, look over a hill. Early engaged in the active duties of his profession, an im-

perfect education had tended to narrow an intellect which was still more contracted by that close attention to detail, indispensable, it may be, to the success of a military career, but whilst it made the soldier, it marred the statesman. To the history of bygone ages he was a stranger, the causes which have influenced the rise and fall of dynasties he had not the time, even if he had the inclination, to study. The great names of antiquity were to him as vague as the myths of mythology.

Not so his illustrious brother—as familiar with ancient as contemporary history ; with a grasp of mind which could fathom the depths of human action ; history was to him, not a dry record of chronology, but life and its responsibilities. The example of great men of old was ever before him to clear his vision and control his judgment ; which he could at any time summon to his aid from the storehouse of a refined and retentive memory, and when the moment of trial came he was ready—the distinguished scholar developed into the consummate statesman.

The following letter from Colonel Wellesley to Sir Thomas Munro, simply admirable from his point of view, will illustrate the clearness, but narrowness of vision, with which he contemplated the politics of India.

“In my opinion, the extension of our territories and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, as we have added to the number and description of our enemies, we deprive of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies. These people become additional enemies, at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our Government and of defending ourselves are proportionately decreased. Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am, in general, inclined to doubt that we have enough—as much, at least, if not more, than we can defend.”

He did not reflect that a country won with the sword must be kept with the sword, that the great Mahratta confederacy was a standing menace to the safety of our Indian Empire.

Whatever may have been the views of Colonel Wellesley as to the policy of annexation, they did not interfere with his military duties. "The pleasantest man in the world to deal with," said Mr. Pitt; "he starts every objection before entering into a business, none after." True to his habit, he started one, that the rivers were not sufficiently full to prevent the attack of the enemy's cavalry. With this single objection, he threw himself heart and soul into the undertaking.

Lord Wellesley was not lulled into inactivity by the calm which succeeded the fall of Seringapatam; he perceived that war with the Mahrattas was imminent, and prepared for the encounter. He endeavoured by negotiation to avert hostilities, and called upon the rival chiefs, Holkar and Scindiah, to respect the claims of England's ally, the Peishwah, and to restrain the depredations of their followers. He might as well have expected the tiger to assuage his love of blood. Nor was he successful in playing off one chieftain against the other; they merged former differences in the common object of overthrowing our dominion; but the hand of friendship had been proffered to them.

To use the words of Colonel Wellesley on a future occasion, "You have chosen war; you shall undergo its calamities."

We here recognize the foresight of Lord Wellesley in detaching the Nizam from the confederacy; his influence might have been thrown into the scale of the approaching conflict; he was at least kept quiet by the sedative powers of the subsidy.

Even without the assistance of the Nizam, the confederacy was sufficiently powerful: Scindiah with an army of 60,000 horse, and Holkar with 80,000 horse; the Rajah of Berar with 20,000 horse, and 10,000 infantry.

Scindiah, having usurped the Mogul dominion, ruled over the whole range of the continent, a tract of land a thousand miles in breadth, comprising a population of forty

millions; he had overthrown his rival, Holkar, at the battle of Indore; the wheel of fortune had since thrown the latter uppermost. At the battle of Poonah he regained his authority, and whatever bad blood had flowed between them was checked by the prospect of approaching danger.

Lord Sidmouth had, at the Peace of Amiens, with the most culpable negligence, ceded Pondicherry to the French. Troops were landed to assist the confederate leaders; not a man reached his destination, they were all made prisoners.

Scindiah, distrusting his own talents as general, had placed the command in the hands of M. Perron, whose fame as a military leader had attracted to his standard the predatory spirits of the surrounding countries, their forces numbering 100,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry. To oppose this formidable array, and to check the intervention of doubtful states, four armies were let loose upon the continent of India.

To the north, General Lake, with 14,000 men, was invested with both military and political powers; the object being to gain possession of Delhi, and to secure the person of the captive monarch there, Alum. To the south, General Stewart was to hold in check the numerous tribes which might have caused diversion in that quarter. Generals Campbell and Harcourt were directed to seize the Province of Cuttack, and take possession of the Pagoda of Juggernaut, the object of Hindoo veneration. Colonels Stevenson and Wellesley, with whom our interest centres, took the field with 20,000 men, and soon after effected a junction with the army of the Nizam.

Hearing that Holkar meditated the destruction of the Capital of the Peishwah, Wellesley marched with such extraordinary celerity, and with only 400 cavalry, and one battalion of infantry, that Anerout Bao, who commanded, had barely time to make his escape. The Peishwah was quietly restored to his dominions, and the bulk of the fugitives who had fled during the occupation of Holkar, returned to their allegiance.

On the 4th of June General Wellesley was again in motion, the object being the capture of Ahmednuggur, one of the strongest fortresses of India. "A wonderful man your General," said a Mahratta; "he walks over the walls of the town, puts the garrison to the sword, and goes home to breakfast." This feeling was probably shared amongst the petty chiefs of the district, who looked upon the stronghold as impregnable, and it must have impressed them with the conviction that armies which could overthrow such obstacles must be irresistible. The treasure was, as usual, immense.

It having been reported to these generals that the army of Scindiah was at Bohurdun, they determined upon a division of their forces, in the hope of preventing the escape of the enemy by the pass, which would otherwise have been left unguarded. Colonel Stevenson passed on one side of the mountain, General Wellesley on the other, with the expectation of making their attack simultaneously, one on the right, the other on the left; but, as so often occurs in warfare, accidents least foreseen upset the best-laid calculations. Colonel Stevenson's march was through defiles so rugged as effectually to impede the advance of his troops; and General Wellesley unexpectedly found himself face to face with the enemy. Probably for the only time in his life he was misled by false information; scouts having reported that the two armies had separated, that the cavalry had left the camp, and the infantry were preparing to follow; but instead of the hostile army being at Bohurdun, they were drawn up in order of battle before the village of Assaye. Under his command were only 8,000 men, 1,600 cavalry, and 17 guns; facing him were 50,000 men and 240 guns. To retreat was impossible; hesitation would provoke attack; there was nothing for it but to take the initiative. At this moment his eagle eye perceived some cattle moving towards the river; he judged it what it proved to be, a ford, which enabled him to pass it without molestation. Fortunately for him the ground at

the junction of the rivers Kailna and Juha narrows, which protected his flanks from the overwhelming number of the enemy's cavalry. The destruction in the English ranks was fearful, and General Wellesley ordered a charge at the point of the bayonet, which decided the fortune of the day, which had been jeopardized by the indiscreet valour of an officer, who, disregarding his orders to make a circuit round the village of Assaye, charged the enemy over a glacis swept by their guns.

General Wellesley, with his usual kindness, condoned the error, and praised the gallantry of the act. The cavalry having been brought up, the scene changed into a rout; the enemy leaving behind them all their guns, camp-equipage, everything which could render them formidable as an army. They fled, a disorderly rabble. Colonel Stevenson coming up the next day completed their discomfiture.

The victory at Assaye was the turning point of the war; it was evident that if so small a number of our troops was able not only to withstand but to overthrow such masses of the enemy, fortified with all the appliances of warfare; that our power was irresistible, and although future victories exhibited the genius of our generals and the courage of our soldiers, it was against armies disheartened by defeat.

The subsequent manœuvres of General Wellesley were conducted with the most consummate skill; he circumvented the designs of the confederate chiefs by his marches and counter-marches; he protected the states of the Nizam, and the Peishwah, and, moving independently of Colonel Stevenson, by his masterly dispositions drove back the Mahratta army into their own territories, and effectually prevented their descent upon Poonah. Having cleared the Deccan of Scindiah's troops, he was enabled to deal with the Rajah of Berar. Very little trouble was experienced with him, for, thoroughly alarmed by the events of the war, he soon came to terms, with such precipitation that a treaty was concluded with him in the space of two days.

The confederate chiefs, disappointed of the plunder which usually attended their system of warfare, and unable to hold together the motley crew which composed their army, sued for peace, but one more battle was required to stamp conviction on their minds that opposition was futile.

We find the whole hostile force drawn up on the plains of Argaum; it was late in the day, but Wellesley determined upon the attack. The victory was a signal one, but at one time doubtful, for the very sepoys, who had behaved with such steadiness at Assaye, took fright, and had not General Wellesley been on the spot to rally them, success would have been jeopardized, proving how unreliable are native troops, however perfect their discipline or tested their courage. There is a want of stability in their character, affording a marked contrast to the resolution of the Englishman in the hour of danger, which elicited the remark of Bonaparte that English soldiers never knew when they were beaten.

The capture of Gavilcar followed the rout at Argaum. Whilst following the career of General Wellesley we have anticipated events which occurred in other parts of India. The Mahrattas were worsted in Guzerat and Ajmere on the western, and Cuttack on the eastern side of the peninsula. Jubbulpore had surrendered to Colonel Broughton, Jhansi to Colonel Blair, Broach in Guzerat to Colonel Waddington. Colonel Harcourt occupied Juggernaut, took possession of Cuttack; he carried, after a most gallant assault, the strong fort of Barabatta.

On the 7th of August the army of Bengal under General Lake left Cawnpore. His operations were a continual triumph. He worsted General Perron, took possession of Coel, then carried the fortress of Allygur, containing the warlike store accumulated by General Perron. Leaving a garrison in the fort, he advanced at once upon Delhi. On the road he met with a messenger from General Perron, announcing his defection from the Mahratta service, and praying for a safe pass for himself and followers, in-

veighing at the same time with much bitterness against his employers. The object being to detach foreigners from the service of the Mahratta, permission was readily granted. A few skirmishes brought the English in force before Delhi. The Mahrattas had been so worsted whenever they came in contact with our troops that they surrendered Delhi without a blow.

One object of the campaign was effected—the liberation of Shah Alum, who presented a miserable specimen of faded greatness. The treasure taken was great, the property of Scindiah's officers. The capture of Agra followed, the garrison marching out and laying down their arms. The crowning victory was at Laswarree over the flower of Scindiah's army. Nothing remained for him but to sue for peace. The brunt of the war had fallen upon him, he had met with nothing but defeat, his ally the Rajah had deserted him, his army was demoralized, his resources exhausted.

A campaign of five months had shattered the Mahratta power, added an enormous territory to the possession of the Company, and enabled the petty chiefs, formerly the victims of intestine discord and foreign aggression, to enter into the subsidiary system of the Indian Government.

Hindustan was transported with joy at what was considered the termination of the war, and a security against the return of that chronic agitation which had convulsed the Continent of India.

Swords of State were presented to the generals. A marble bust of Lord Wellesley was placed in the capital by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Addresses from all quarters poured in, expressive of admiration for the valour of our soldiers and the policy of our administration.

Lord Lake was raised to the peerage for his unbroken series of victories, an honour which his family was not destined to enjoy, for his son was killed in the very first skirmish in the Peninsula, and he himself lived long enough to witness a reversal of the policy to which he had

so brilliantly contributed, uncheered by the tardy gratification which greeted Lord Wellesley, whose services at a late date were as generally approved of as they had been formerly condemned.

That Lord Lake was a great leader of men admits of no doubt; he well knew how to mould to his will the discordant elements of an Indian army; by humouring the prejudices of the sepoys he ensured their affection, by respecting their superstition he commanded their gratitude, by his victories he gained their confidence, by his genius he created an army which, to use the words of the Duke of Wellington, "would go anywhere and do anything."

But whilst admitting the qualities of Lord Lake as a great commander, we recognize a defect in his character which we do not discover in that of Colonel Wellesley, who could handicap a man to a nicety, and never once during his military career was he in fault in the choice of his agents.

The advance of Colonel Monson, without adequate support, was a grave military error. Lord Lake made no allowance for the want of those talents in others in which he himself excelled. The disastrous defeat which befel our arms under the lead of an incompetent officer might have resulted in a victory under the inspiration of his own brilliant genius. He was, notwithstanding, a very great man, and the best tribute to his memory is the veneration in which his name is still held by the inhabitants of India.

It is curious to observe how little the lapse of ages affects national character. Alexander, in his wars against Porus, found it necessary to interpose in the ranks one Greek for three natives, to insure steadiness to his battalions. Lord Lake found the same number was required to fix the volatile courage of Oriental troops. Not all the progress in the science of warfare, not all the improvements in the implements of destruction, has been able to imprint upon the Asiatic the stubborn qualities of the British soldier.

In January, 1802, Lord Wellesley tendered the resignation of his office to the Board of Directors. He was induced to withdraw it at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Pitt. In terms of indignant remonstrance are recorded the work he had done in the first three years of his administration. The fall of Tippoo Sultan, the conquest and settlement of Mysore, the extinction of French influence in the Deccan, the establishment of British influence in that quarter, the transfer of Tanjore, of Surat, of the Carnatic, and of Oude, to the British Government, the substitution of British force in lieu of the licentious army of the Nabob vizier, the decay of the power of Zemaun Shah, the foundation of an alliance with Persia, the means of contributing to the maintenance of the army of Egypt, the tranquillity of the Mahrattas, and the occupation of the Portuguese possessions in India. We had defeated the enemy in four pitched battles. Assaye, Argaum, Laswarree, and Delhi, fortresses hitherto deemed impregnable seemed rather to crumble than to fall before the advance of our forces. Our influence was felt from the banks of the Ganges to the Indus and Himalayas; territories larger than the whole of France were added to our empire. He found India a province, he left it a kingdom.

The broad and comprehensive policy of Lord Wellesley has secured peace for India up to the present day. It checked the chronic agitation with which the petty dissensions of its rival chiefs disturbed the tranquillity of the country; but these advantages, great as they were, fell as a heavy tax upon our resources. The march of our armies, where every item was paid for, was felt to be a blessing instead of a curse to the countries they crossed, but it impoverished the exchequer, and there is but little doubt that Lord Wellesley, dispirited by remonstrances from home, did not display his wonted energy in the campaign against Holkar, for the hopes of a general peace which the defeats of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had favoured were premature.

Holkar was still at large, who boasted that the English army should never catch him, that he would pounce upon them when least expected; that countries many hundred miles in extent should be overrun and plundered. He was as good as his word. Lord Lake could not overtake him; he was a will-o'-the-wisp, which eluded the grasp that would clutch it.

General Wellesley was too much occupied by the affairs of his own Government at Mysore to take an active part in the war, but he wrote to Lord Lake—

"Always keep moving, with the corps sufficiently strong to cope with the enemy if he should turn against it. The object is to compel him to move constantly and fast, he therefore cannot stop to plunder the country, the subsistence of his army becomes precarious, his horsemen become dissatisfied, and desert. The freebooter remains with few adherents, the village people then attack them on their flank, and will not allow them to come near their dwellings, which are almost always fortified; consequently the means of subsistence vanish, and they have no resource left but to separate, and even this is dangerous."

Lord Lake was fully alive to the value of this advice, but unfortunately Lord Wellesley, with a ruinous parsimony, deprived him of the means of its accomplishment.

General Wellesley gave it as his opinion that the war might have been finished in four months. This calculation, based upon the result of his former campaign, would probably have been accurate, had the forces engaged been equal to the magnitude of the operations; but they were barely sufficient to meet the intermittent attacks of the Mahratta cavalry, much less to effect the subjugation of the fortress of Burtpore.

The immediate future of India, an ignoble one for England, belongs to the history of Lord Wellesley's successor. Rebel chiefs were treated as allies. Instead of the consolidation of the empire, a timorous policy was sowing the seeds of disaffection and future hostilities; and Lord Hastings, twelve years after, the most consistent opponent in Parliament of Lord Wellesley's views, was obliged to

resort to the same tactics. He, too, like others, discovered that conquest was necessary for existence.

There is nothing more dangerous in dealing with barbarous tribes than a backward policy ; it wears an aspect of timidity. To use the words of Lord Palmerston : " To gain momentary ease, you prepare a future with no ease at all."

We approach the termination of this wonderful administration of seven years, in which every object for which Lord Wellesley had contended was accomplished, and which banished from the Continent of India all external foes, and laid the foundation of our power on a basis so secure that it has not yet been shaken.

The departure of the Wellesleys was at hand ; even the iron constitution of General Wellesley could not stand the moral and physical strain which had taxed his frame. In his parting address to the officers of the army he said, " Be gentlemen." He here struck the keynote of the policy of Lord Wellesley. That refinement of manners which lends its charm to the amenities of private life in a more extended sphere marks the civilization of a superior race. It creates prestige, that invisible power which influences without effort, and controls without force, but vanishes under the suspicion of meanness or injustice.

The Wellesleys returned to England, the one to mount the highest round of the ladder of fame, the other to lend the weight of his talents to the varied duties of official life.

We may well feel proud of the power of England. Unlike the Romans, who never entered upon two wars at the same time, we were engaged in a life and death contest in Europe, and in a struggle for our very existence in India. We were carried through the perils of both by the genius of the Wellesleys.

We have no Wellesleys left now to conquer and consolidate empires, but we have a vast fund to draw upon in the intellectual resources of the country ; men unnoticed in the crowd of a dense population rising at the summons of

duty to the dignity of statesmen or the glories of successful command. We have lately witnessed a Roberts, unknown beyond his immediate circle, displaying the highest qualities of the soldier, uniting the dash of a Scipio with the caution of a Fabius, concealing under the glitter of victory the impolicy of the causes which produced it. We are now witnessing a Baring, without any previous training for the office, solving that most difficult problem, the incidence of taxation in a country where no middle class exists between the superabundance of riches, and the squalor of poverty, who, by a more equal distribution of its burdens, may clear the way for those social and economic reforms, which will develop the hidden wealth of the country, and raise in the scale of humanity that most abject being, the tiller of the soil.

But the first object that claims the attention of England is Indian famines; which decimate whole districts by starvation, whilst the water power of the country is lost in its seas. The melting of snow from the glaciers of the Himalaya feeds the rivers at the time they are required for the fertilization of the soil; their abundance might be utilized by gravitation for the benefit of the lower districts; large canals, drawing their supply from the mountains, irrigate the country on both sides of the Jumna, the land contiguous to it is a desert. In the northern portion of the Punjab, the water flows towards the sea, with no attempt to utilize its powers. In the southern peninsula the growth of crops is hazardous, irrigation would render it certain. The food supply of a large portion of the population of India is left to the haphazard of a timely shower.

Whether we can summon to our aid the native talent of the country is a moot point; I doubt it. There is an obliquity in the Oriental character at variance with the straightforward conduct of the Englishman; the one makes straight for his object; the other, if he reaches it at all, by the bye-paths of circumvention and cunning. As well compare the directness of the arrow with the curve of the

boomerang. The very faith of a large portion of the Indian race disqualifies the man from coping with the energies of the Anglo-Saxon. After passing through the various gradations of life, he ends his days a voluntary exile from society. At the very time when, in the evening of life, the physical powers relax and leave the mind, mellowed by experience, to throw off the essence of its powers for the benefit of others, is the moment chosen by the Indian to lose himself in what he looks forward to as the summit of felicity—the idleness of contemplation. Far different the Englishman : from the cradle to the grave his is a continual progress, animated by that patriotism which impels him to devote himself to the service of his country ; at one time braving the perils of warfare, at another the pestilence of climate, and, if spared the danger of the one or the poison of the other, to re-enter the unostentatious but useful sphere of English life, with no other guide for his conduct but the principles of duty.

How the discordant elements which constitute the characters of the two nations can be fused into one mass for the reorganization of society is a question not easy to answer, but difficult as may be the social improvement of the masses under our sway, the moral branch of the subject may well tax the genius of our statesmen. We have to deal with those intricacies of caste which separate into fragmentary units the composition of our Indian army. It is a community without communion, co-operation without concord. The inferior of a higher grade of faith regards with feelings of distrust his superior officer, the latter with alienation the caste above him. There can be no bond of sympathy between its various classes. A momentary feeling of union there may be amongst soldiers serving under one banner, but disunited in those principles of mutual regard and esteem which should bind men together in one compact mass. It creates an army imposing to the sight, but in a national crisis it would be unreliable, difficult to handle, dangerous to provoke.

Looking through the vista of time we are amazed at the talents of our soldier-statesmen, at the courage which subdued resistance, at the wisdom which consolidated our empire. The hordes of barbarians emerging from Central Asia, imbibing the habits and customs of their victims, sunk their virtues and their vigour in the abyss of effeminacy and sloth. The stream of English life has flown through the length and breadth of the land, uncontaminated by luxury, unsullied by vice. Our power rests on the broad basis of the justice and the integrity of our rule.

Since the days of the Wellesleys no foreign foe, within the natural limits of our empire, has arisen to dispute our claim or challenge our sway. Yet one more victory awaits us—the conquest of Infidelity; the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity through a population benighted by ignorance, and enthralled in the trammels of superstition. The example of the great men of a former generation is before us, we have only to follow it.

We stand, as it were, in a picture-gallery, each portrait recalling to the mind some deed of valour, some triumph of genius, until the eye, bewildered with these tokens of England's power, seeks in vain where to affix the meed of praise; but search where it will amongst the heroes and patriots whose fame has shed its lustre over the annals of India, it will find none to shine with a purer and brighter light than the Wellesleys.

DE MAULEY.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE present phase of the Eastern Question is full of interest and of peril ; of interest, because there is room for so much speculation as to its next development ; of peril, because England may have been the chief sufferer when the forces bearing upon that mighty problem come to be reckoned up afresh twelve months hence. Twelve months—no more. Within that brief period, whether the outbreak result in a general Armageddon, or in the duel of two single Powers—England and Russia, or France and Germany—the first blow will have been struck in a contest that one war may not alone decide, but that must carry with it the fate of Constantinople and the security of India. We have reached this momentous chapter in our history without the country seeming to be able to realize the danger at its very doors ; for if it is not a danger to this island itself, it is fraught with the greatest peril to English trade, English subjects, and, above all, English reputation in the East. No one has yet dared to picture what England would be were her possessions in Asia suddenly blotted out, with the annihilation of the hundred thousand chosen Englishmen who in peace and war have maintained her justice and her power. When that comes to pass, we shall have to say with better reason than Lord Marmion, that “ Victory and England’s lost.”

The Eastern Question is very simple and thoroughly human. Turkey is in possession of certain provinces in Europe and Western Asia which are extremely valuable in themselves, and in relation to two Powers—England and Austria—neither of whom covets their possession ; and if the Sultan were to wait till he was dispossessed by one or other of them, his authority in Europe might be

regarded as indefinitely prolonged. Unfortunately Russia is eager to possess, and quite prepared when the circumstances are favourable, to take over the whole, or the greater part, of the Mahomedan dominions in South-east Europe. This is because Russia has a *rôle*. England once had the opposite *rôle* of supporting Turkey against Russia; but of this we are now so civilized that we are ashamed, and Austria's *rôle* really came to an end when she performed that useful service—*pace* Mr. Gladstone—of saving Central Europe from the Turk at Belgrade, first in 1715, and again in 1737. We have therefore only one certain factor in the problem and two uncertain, and the known one is hostile to our interests. Russia has her objective. Not merely have we none, but we do not know whether it is worth our while to prevent Russia gaining hers. And Austria is in still worse plight. She, unlike ourselves, is exposed to the full brunt of Russian animosity and indignation. It only adds to the gravity of the consequences that she has no doubts as to what Russia wants, and as to the peril success must carry with it. For Austria, the Eastern Question is a peril at her doors; for us, it only means that a lost game will place Russia on an equality for the throw for victory. Austria feels inclined to act where we think there is only necessity for paying some attention and writing a few despatches. But despite Hungarian enthusiasm, Austria can and dare not cross Russia's path alone. If England prove a lame and halting friend, Austria must perforce fall in with the alternative scheme of Germany, which is to give Russia a free hand, and Austria territorial compensation up to the *Ægean*. The probability is that but for the unhoped-for result of the English elections, this latter plan would at this very moment be in course of practical execution.

Everything depends on the English Government, and also on ourselves. If England wavers either from fear of or over-faith in Russia, or from doubt as to her interests, Austria is lost for our purposes. She must act hand-in-hand with Russia under the influence of Prince Bismarck,

while the world witnesses a second contest between Germany and France which will settle Republican prospects for another generation. The present writer, although his principles are monarchical, would not regard the increased preponderance of Germany and the further humiliation of France as anything short of injurious to the permanent interests of this country, especially when they were accompanied by the destruction of all the elements favourable to our solution of the Eastern Question. We have reached this point in the historical development of the problem, that Germany, sceptical more of our resolution than of our strength, is willing to give us out of an amiable feeling, rather than any political conviction, one chance more to vindicate our right to be regarded as a Great Power, while Austria is again in the mood to accept England as her right-hand friend, and to take up in conjunction with us a position of implacable opposition to Russia's advance into South-east Europe. But it must be remembered that this is only a mood, and if we are not willing and able to act up to the occasion, it will be a passing mood. There is no reason why Germany should extend to our pusillanimity and sentimentalism an indefinite toleration; and if Austria finds England a broken reed to lean upon, she must perforce abandon that attitude of pronounced opposition to Russia which she unexpectedly assumed during the late autumn. If England does not come up to the expectations of Austria and Germany during the present winter and the approaching spring, then she must expect to be treated as a *quantité négligeable*, and when that conviction takes the place of the present benevolent sentiments of Prince Bismarck, and the anxious desires of the Austro-Hungarian Government for a close alliance with this country, it will be impossible for us to say either yea or nay to the measures decided upon by the three emperors for the breaking up and partition of the Turkish Empire. We shall have perforce to look on while a change is being effected in the equilibrium of power, from which we shall be the chief sufferers.

A moment's reflection will show that there is nothing extreme in this view. If we are so cautious and so diffident of our strength as to hesitate to oppose Russia's solution of the question when we have allies, how is it to be argued that we shall be able to have a voice in the matter when Germany, Russia, and Austria are agreed as to their course of action, and when our minor allies will have had "their noses brought to the mill-stone." At this very moment the security of our position in Egypt—that material guarantee, as it has been called, for the consequences of whatever may happen in Turkey—depends diplomatically on the goodwill of Germany. If Prince Bismarck gives the least encouragement to designs for curtailing our tenure of authority in Egypt, we cannot possibly resist the pressure, for at this moment France, Russia, and even Turkey are combined in the determination to limit our stay in the land of the Pharaohs. It would evince a supreme and foolish indifference to the *force majeure* of a European concert, as well as an altogether unjustifiable belief in the solitary strength of England, to suppose that we could maintain our position on the Nile when the rest of the world decided that we should not retain an exceptional hold on one of the principal routes of international trade. If we are not with Austria heart and soul in the coming crisis, we must inevitably be against her, and indirectly against Germany also, with the consequence that neither of those Powers will support our just pretensions in Egypt. The penalty of our weakness and shortcomings in Europe will be paid in that very country to which too many public writers would wish this country to confine its attention. If it were possible it would still be selfish and short-sighted, but in very truth it is impossible. If we fail on the Balkans and in the Black Sea, we shall not be allowed the chance of redeeming our interests and rehabilitating our character in Egypt.

Everything depends on the courage and resolution of the English Government. Will it play the foremost part which both its interests and its reputation exact, or will it be

content to allow others to bear the brunt of the work in the hope that it may gain the cream of the reward? Indications are not wanting that the easier and more inglorious method of proceeding is preferred by some who have influence in deciding the shape of our policy, while it seems impossible to rouse public opinion in a democracy such as ours has become to a true sense of a peril which is indirect, and which temporary expedients may suffice to avert for several years. If the Government of England allows itself, either from its other preoccupations or from a belief that it holds the equivalent for the loss of Constantinople in the possession of Egypt always in its hands, to reject the proposal of hearty and unqualified co-operation with Austria, now that that project is feasible, the isolation of England will have been made complete not only by confirming the Continental opinion of our weakness, but also, and perhaps irrevocably, by establishing the selfishness of our political conduct. Austria is a first-class military Power, but weak in all the essential conditions of a stable country. She is unfortunately exposed to perils of the gravest kind on her different frontiers, and the most serious of them all would arise if Austria were committed to a single-handed contest with Russia. So obvious and grave is this danger, that Austria will shrink from it unless the alliance of England has been absolutely assured and made unconditional. Unless we show that we are resolved to strike a blow against the Russian advance on Constantinople, Austria will have to acquiesce in that movement and accept the best compensation she can procure, for the opinion of the German Government is fixed beyond all chance of alteration that Constantinople does not represent a German interest, and that its work is confined to standing studiously on guard against France on the one side and Russia on the other.

The Eastern Question will not be elucidated or advanced towards solution by pages of rhetoric such as were expended on Bulgaria ten years ago. It is really a problem in which the factors can be measured beforehand with mathematical

certainty, and the plain statement of what those factors are will be more useful and opportune than an empty attempt at fine writing.

The principal factor in this problem, of greater importance now than Turkey, is Russia with her historic mission of championing the Christian subjects of the Sultan, her scarcely concealed designs on Constantinople, and her pronounced attitude of aggression in more than one quarter of Asia as well as on the Black Sea. In dealing with Russia it is impossible to err in assigning too wide a scope to her ambition or in magnifying her opportunities of attaining it from the Pacific to the Bosphorus. Russia, to use a familiar phrase, has many strings to her bow, but the chief of them all is, no doubt, the acquisition of the Dardanelles and the conversion of the Euxine into a Russian lake similar to the Caspian. For the realization of this scheme she has an enormous army, which even German military authorities regard with respect—I will not yet say apprehension—and a rapidly-growing fleet in the Black Sea. Her strength, great as it is, is enhanced and rendered more formidable because it is directed by a single will which cannot merely decide what is to be done, but which can insist on a policy once decided upon being consistently carried on even in the face of disasters. Russia's strength is also formidable by comparison with the weakness of her opponents, and, still worse, their want of union—a want of union which nothing can supply except the boldest initiative on the part of England, an initiative which no English statesman since Pitt has shown himself capable of carrying out. It will be, and it has been said, that the question of Constantinople is as much the care of Germany and Austria as of England. On one point there is not the smallest pretence for a difference of opinion, and that is that Germany not merely does not hold this view, but adheres firmly to the contrary opinion. It is the very A B C of the Eastern Question to realize that Germany will not risk a man or even pen a despatch to hinder Russia's progress in the direction of Constantinople.

Austria by herself is powerless to oppose Russia, and the prospect of the English alliance is too vague and uncertain to incline her to trust to its being eventually obtained, and to committing herself on so shadowy a chance in a life and death struggle with Russia. No ; Austria will never pluck the chestnuts out of the fire for us, nor will she assume an attitude of direct opposition to Russia until England has committed herself irrevocably to the same course.

Let us turn now to the second factor, and the factor which is generally considered the most important. I need scarcely say that I mean Turkey. The ordinary Englishman has really only one opinion on this part of the question, and that is, whatever blunders the diplomacy of his country may commit, and however short its action may come of the expectations of the Turks themselves, still Turkey as a fighting Power—as more than that, as an ally ready to sacrifice its men and to obey our instructions in a sense that no other people, Asiatic or European, would do—must always be at our beck and call when it pleases us to shake off the humanitarian view and look facts and dangers plainly in the face. Well, the chief peril of the last few months, and in a degree that never occurred before, has been that Turkey has been diplomatically lost to us, and that at this moment all Sir William White's personal influence has not availed to recover the lost ground. Cherished opinions die hard, but it is difficult to see how this particular belief can survive in face of current events.

There is a very simple explanation of this decline in British influence at the Porte which dates from the last struggle with Russia. England did not help her natural ally when she was reduced very low by the fortune of war after a very gallant and unequal struggle, but still worse she has constantly worried Turkey ever since about reforms which, in the exhausted condition to which English opinion had allowed her to be brought, were simply impracticable. They were doubly impracticable, because it was beyond our ingenuity to propound a scheme by which they might be

carried out. Our best efforts only worried, and in course of time irritated, the Turkish ruler, without improving the condition of his subjects or increasing his power relatively to the arch-enemy of his race and his religion. There are times when the best advice is inopportune and unwelcome. Turkey with despair at her heart, but with the courage still left for one more bold throw for victory in the field, sickened at our moral panacea for the ills of a stricken people and empire, and chafed at the suggestion that safety could be found in some new paper constitution from a perilous predicament, out of which the infallible human instinct told them the only sure but hazardous deliverance could be found by acts of manhood and a policy of blood and iron.

But even the irritation caused by untimely and unrespected suggestions which have made the Turkish ruling class dislike English advisers, might before the supreme sentiment of fear and hatred of Russia have vanished at a stroke when it became known that England and Russia had entered the lists of mortal combat. It was on this assumption that Englishmen used to argue that, however short-sighted their policy, however ungenerously they might act towards Turkey, however much their ambassadors might affront the Sultan with advice mixed of menace and uncalled-for remonstrance, the alliance of Turkey might always be secured at a moment's notice whenever we were condescending enough to offer her our support and countenance. The position of Turkey is such that she must forgive affronts and overlook slights; none the less it is neither wise nor generous to offer them to a brave and proud, if unfortunate, people. In one particular the situation is more uncertain than it was for the realization of this natural assumption. To the perils of the Turkish Empire has now to be added the personal danger of the Sultan.

The rulers who live in the security of Western capitals cannot perhaps believe in the reality of the Sultan's apprehension, that his personal liberty is, to a certain extent, at the mercy of his Russian neighbour.

The moralist may denounce, but practical men of the world will understand how it is that the Sultan should think more of his own personal safety than of what seem to us the higher interests of his State. An absolute sovereign with ample means to gratify his personal tastes and amusements, but with absolutely no opening to distinguish himself as ruler save by waiting for some fortunate but never-arriving turn of Providence, could hardly help but be such a man as Sultan Abdul Hamid is now, distrustful of all and in panic terror of one. If he were not a Mahomedan and a believer in Kismet he would long ere this have become a hopeless madman, or rushed blindly on his own and his nation's fate. It is the one fact that overrides every other—except the fixity of Prince Bismarck's resolve to take no active part in opposing Russia's march southwards—in the present phase of the Eastern Question that Sultan Abdul Hamid in his palace of Dolma Bagtche does not feel safe from the clutch of Russia.

I believe this feeling is of older date, but it has been greatly strengthened by the fate that befell Prince Alexander. In some respects a *Prinzenraub* would be easier of execution at Constantinople than Philippopolis. A traitor pasha, a bribed guard, and a swift-sailing cruiser from Odessa or Sebastopol, and the Caliph of the Faithful might be made the Czar's prisoner; and whether this would entail the neutrality of the Turkish people or not, it would certainly add enormously to the difficulties of the situation. The majority of the readers of these lines will treat the suggestion as quite fanciful, and the danger as purely imaginary. I will only say that they should recollect that, unlike the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus is really unfortified, that the Turkish fleet is not in a fit condition to take the sea at a few hours' notice, and that, except when our fleet is at Besika Bay, Russia's cruisers are two days nearer Constantinople than ours. There is also the passage of the Dardanelles, for the Turkish capital is strongly fortified towards England while it lies open to Russia. A further

consideration of all the circumstances may perhaps induce those to pause who deride the possibility of the Sultan becoming a helpless tool in the hands of his great neighbour; but whatever opinions they may have, let there be no doubt that this fear really exists in the Sultan's mind, and that it is one of the principal influences shaping Turkish policy at this moment.

In order to secure the co-operation of Turkey, it is necessary not only to define the bases of an alliance between the two countries, but also to convince the Sultan of his personal security. If any English minister can succeed in this double task it is Sir William White, not merely because he has a thorough grasp of the whole political situation in the East, but because he knows the idiosyncrasies of the Sultan with whom he is a *persona gratissima*. The co-operation of Turkey, apart from all false sentiment, ought now to be sought for and obtained as the first condition of English foreign policy. It should be sought for as the essential preliminary to a successful opposition to Russia, and still more as the surest guarantee of the preservation of peace. For the alliance of England and Turkey is precisely the event that will most certainly satisfy Austria that England has shaken off the mood of maudlin sentimentalism, and resolved to strike boldly for her rights; and all that is necessary to preserve peace is to show Russia that England, Austria, and Turkey, are in the same camp. Germany will take care of France. I am no believer in a hollow peace, which allows an enemy to steal material advantages and to gain positions from which it may be most difficult to expel him; but none the less, the wisest statecraft is that which gains a bloodless victory. An alliance with Turkey might be effected under the pressure of a mutual necessity after the guns have begun to play, but its practical advantages must then be infinitely less than they would be were it concluded in anticipation of war rather than as one of its early consequences. Were it only for the encouragement it would afford Austria, there would be the acme of political wisdom

and foresight in our promptly convincing the Sultan that we intended and were able to assure his personal safety and liberty, at the same time that we guaranteed the integrity of his remaining dominions, an undertaking free from any serious responsibility provided it has the assent of Austria.

And then we come to the third factor which is England, as Austria, disjoined from Germany, is really not a factor in the problem, but only an interested spectator. Unlike Austria, which has not the necessary strength, independent of a large army, to embark on so momentous a struggle, England can engage in war at any moment. Whether victory or defeat reward or punish her efforts, her safety as a nation would not be put at stake. She has a double responsibility in having been granted immunity from attack for the purpose of making wise and momentous decisions, and also of acting on great occasions with that frankness and resolution which cannot be expected from less happily situated countries with exposed frontiers. With regard to England's vital interest in the Eastern Question, I can add nothing tangible to what I said three months ago about the importance of Constantinople. The natural capital of the Eastern Empire is important to us, both for its relation to the true defences of India and to our new responsibilities on the Nile. The Dardanelles point the way to Russia's vulnerable points. India is to be preserved on the Euxine better than on the Oxus or the Murghab. The Turkish soldier is a superior auxiliary to the treacherous Afghan, and perhaps than the pampered sepoy, unaccustomed to regard the solid ranks of a European opponent and the heavy slaughter of a murderous battle under modern conditions. The gain of Constantinople by Russia must entail for us the permanent garrisoning of Egypt as well as India, and at some future epoch a struggle under every disadvantage with Russia at two points—on the Indian frontier with her and the Afghans as allies, in Syria and the Delta with the Czar's forces assisted by the followers, and perhaps the countenance, of the Caliph. Our apathy and folly in allow-

ing the unchecked expansion of the Czar's sway would have alienated our only and natural allies, and another period of our history would set in not less dark than that which followed the Seven Years' War, and intervened between the death of Chatham and the rise of Pitt, who was assisted by the genius as his policy was vindicated by the warlike successes of Nelson and Wellington. No commonwealth is safe which trusts to be extricated from its difficulties by the sudden appearance of some military genius, and if we now leave Austria without some proof of our fortitude and fixity of purpose, and Turkey without the definite assurance of our protection and support, we shall have thrown away the last chance we are ever likely to possess of coping with Russia on equal terms, and of proving that her schemes in the Black Sea and in Asia can be baffled by the wise and timely coalition of those who would suffer most from their realization.

ASIATICUS.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE year which has just closed cannot be called one of great importance in the history of Asiatic affairs. The annexation of Burmah alone suffices to raise it from absolute insignificance. The difficulties and critical condition of the Afghan frontier negotiation during 1885 had no real counterpart in 1886, as the consequences of the Kham-i-Ab disagreement will not be visible until 1887. The results of the new arrangements with China, not merely in Burmah, but also with regard to Port Hamilton and Corea, cannot be seen for several months hence. In fact, the more closely the occurrences of the past twelve months are scrutinized, the more evident will it appear that their chief importance is with reference to events that are still "buried in the womb of time."

If last year was thus unimportant, the year now opening promises to be an epoch of durable and dramatic importance in the life of Eastern as well as European countries and communities. Signs of a coming struggle are discernible on all sides. A tremour of warning has passed through the armed camp, of which the civilized States of Europe form the component parts, that the hour is near at hand when the efficiency of the arms carefully furbished during a peace of eight or sixteen years' duration, as we fix the arena of strife, and of the costly machines created by modern science must be tested, and that the supreme hour will have arrived for them to carry out their deadly work. If England were not directly concerned in the solution of the problems submitted to the rude test of arms, she could still not regard that struggle with indifference, but her stake in its result, at Constantinople, in Egypt, and on the Afghan frontier, really tran-

scends that of any other nation in the world. It is therefore impossible to suppose that England can be either indifferent or inactive, whether the battle-ground be the fields of Champagne or the passes of the Carpathians and the shores of the Euxine. Without the conclusion of a treaty between them, the success of France or of Russia must be fraught with the gravest peril to England, even though she abstained from being a belligerent. The diplomacy of both countries is already as unfriendly as it can be, short of open hostility, and France is not less to be dreaded on the Nile than Russia on the Oxus.

If such is the general atmosphere of the time, what shall we say of those specific subjects which come within the scope of our own mission in upholding English rights and interests throughout Asia? What shall we say of the security of the road to India, and by that we mean no fanciful alternative routes, but the international road of commerce through Egypt? or of the outcome of the now to be resumed negotiations with Russia on the subject of the still pending Afghan frontier? Well, we feel justified in saying, without hesitation, that, with Constantinople in Russian hands, with the Turks as much in the pay and service of Russia as the Turcomans are now, and with the central European States disgusted at our apathy and indifference, the security of that road would be gone, and the continued occupation of Egypt a practical impossibility. The change in the situation could not but be attended with the gravest consequences to our trade as well as our power. As all consequences are vague until they are realized, we must not be surprised if many counsel a policy of inaction and indifference in the face of Russia's aggression at the expense of Turkey and the Balkan States; but we are bound to hope that the good sense of the English people will be too strong for that hesitation and uncertainty to affect the policy and action of the British Government.

The outcome of the negotiations with Russia is not more pressing, but it is easier to grasp. We know exactly

the stage which we have reached, and it cannot be said that there is room for any reasonable doubt as to what the consequences will be of any of the solutions suggested of the still pending difficulties relating to Kham-i-Ab and the Upper Oxus. Of the two heads under which the difficulty is divided, that embracing the Kham-i-Ab, or Khojah Saleh, disagreement is the only one that need concern the British Government, provided it recollects that it has but to stand firm in resisting the extension of the negotiation to the region of the Upper Oxus. The recollection of the basis of the negotiation, the delimitation of the Afghan frontier from Sarakhs to Khojah Saleh, should serve to strengthen the conviction that whether the Upper Oxus is to be made the subject of negotiation or not, the settlement of the section specified is the essential preliminary to any further negotiations elsewhere. There ought, therefore, to be no difficulty in meeting any suggestions made by Russia to extend the sphere of the negotiation, and even if Sir Robert Morier has brought information that Russia attaches more importance to Roshan and Shignan than to Khojah Saleh, our simple reply that that question belongs to a different category is an unanswerable retort, and completely disposes of it diplomatically, because before the alteration can be rendered valid, both parties must give their consent to the extension or alteration of the basis of the negotiation. In order to prevent the Upper Oxus question being discussed in the same way as that relating to Penjdeh was, the English Government has only to stand firm, and refuse to discuss it at all until the matter in immediate question from the Heri Rud to the Oxus has been satisfactorily completed.

The wisdom of this course is established even by its penalties. Let it be granted that Russia is displeased at and resents our refusal to discuss the Upper Oxus question. How can she show it? Only in the same way that she will support her views if recourse is had to a Delimitation Commission, viz., by despatching a Scientific Expedition

to the Pamir, in order to show that neither Shignan nor Roshan is a peaceful possession of the Ameer, and also to furnish their inhabitants with the same opportunity of exhibiting their hostility to the Afghans as was afforded the Sariks two years ago. Whether we agree to extend the sphere of delimitation or not, Russia's scientific expedition is bound to make its appearance on the Pamir in the spring, with unpleasant consequences to the Ameer's authority south of the Murghabi. The only practical difference between the two solutions of the question is that if we acquiesce in extending the negotiation to the Upper Oxus, we shall have made ourselves a party to the further detachment of Afghan territory from the Ameer's kingdom; whereas, although the same act may be committed, our participation will not have been established so long as we insist that the present negotiation must end at Khojah Saleh. Our chief danger is from losing caste in Afghanistan through being defeated in a diplomatic contest with Russia, and we cannot possibly hope for better fortune in the little-known tributary districts of Badakshan than befell us on the Murghab.

With regard to the recent visit of Sir West Ridgeway to Cabul, it appears that the Ameer published a proclamation in the streets of Cabul to the following effect: "The English officers of the Boundary Commission are desirous of visiting Cabul. Are the people of Cabul willing that they should be allowed to come? It should be mentioned that the English enjoy the friendship of the Sultan of Turkey." The result shows that this permission was frankly given on the part of people and ruler, and it requires no special knowledge to say that the conversations between the Ameer and Sir West Ridgeway must exercise a practical influence on the last stage of the Frontier Question. A correspondent, writing from Lahore, sends us the following description of the Viceroy's inspection of the Afghan Commission at that place:—"Directly it was known that the Boundary Commission was marching to India

through Cabul, every one at once expressed a wish that the Mission's arrival in Lahore might be during the Viceregal visit. For not only would the presence of the officers and men of the Mission increase the importance of the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the College for Punjab Chiefs' Sons, but it was also felt that they should be shown every mark of respect and approbation for their arduous services. The Mission under Sir West Ridgeway, K.C.S.I., left Peshawur in two special trains on November 2nd, and passing through Rawul Pindi, reached Lahore about nine o'clock the following morning, where they were met on behalf of the Lieutenant-Governor by his Staff officers. As Sir West Ridgeway was only a Knight of the Star of India in name this was considered a fitting opportunity for the celebration of the Chapter, and it was arranged that the investiture should take place in the rooms of Government House, which are particularly well-suited for such a ceremony. In one room sat the Duchess of Connaught and a few ladies, while in front was the Viceroy, with the Duke of Connaught on his right. As soon as the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught had entered the room, Sir West Ridgeway was led forward between two Knights of the Order, Sir Dinkar Rao, who was minister at Scindia's court during the mutiny, and the Rajah of Nahun, and as soon as Sir West Ridgeway had been invested with the insignia of the Order and had had it pinned to his coat by the Junior Knight present, he was led back to his seat and the ceremony terminated. After the conclusion of this ceremony, the Viceroy proceeded to the lawn, where the members of the Mission, including Major Bax, 11th P.W.O. Lancers; Major Holdich, R.E.; Captain the Hon. M. Talbot, and the other officers of the Mission, awaited their arrival. The escort was drawn up in three sides of a square; the 20th Punjab Infantry in the centre, and the Lancers on the two sides, all facing inwards. Major Bax ordered the escort to give a royal salute. The Lancers were for the most part Sikhs;

the whole regiment had originally started with the Mission in September, 1884, a portion under Colonel Prinsep returned from Nushki towards the end of the same year, and again last year the regiment was further weakened in the same way; there was just a regiment on parade, and very smart they looked with their blue blouses and red facings. The 20th were composed of Afridi Pathans, who, after averaging twenty-seven miles a day from Cabul to Peshawur on scanty rations, looked rather fine drawn, but the feat was a marvellous one for endurance considering the quality of the Khyber roads. After passing round the ranks, the Viceroy addressed a few words to the officers and men, and this was translated again word for word into Hindustani. He referred to the troubles and trials which had been borne, the able manner in which the demarcation work had been carried out, and the great satisfaction felt by all for the hospitable welcome accorded them by the Ameer at Cabul. The Lancers then moved into fours and marched off quietly, every man's face beaming with delight, but as the 20th Punjab Infantry were leaving the ground to the martial airs of their "pipes," they could no longer restrain their feelings, but broke into the wild "Pathan screech," which, after our own British cheer, is second to no war cry. The men, who have been close to the Pathans under trying circumstances, as when they fought side by side with the 71st in the Crag picquet, know well the value of this cry, and even now, as it echoed through the peaceful gardens crowded with ladies, it made a warlike thrill pass through all. The men of the escort were delighted with the whole inspection, fully believing that a Royal Prince and Princess, Lord Dufferin and the best blood in India, had assembled at Lahore, solely for the purpose of welcoming their return, and of showing to what an extent their services had been appreciated. Nine months' furlough has been granted to the escort. Before proceeding on this, the Sikhs and the Lancers went in a body, under Colonel Prinsep their commanding officer, to Amritsar to give a most beautiful

Turcoman carpet as a thankoffering to their high priest; and Amritsar, which is the sacred capital of the Punjab, made high festival in their honour. The effect which the reports of this final parade will have on the army in general will be most beneficial in every way, as no men have keener appreciation of honour being shown to soldiers than our Indian Sepoy and Sowar."

There are several items of intelligence from the countries bordering on India with which we must deal collectively, and what seems to us of most importance is that the "efforts of the Afghans to place Herat in a proper state of defence are still being energetically prosecuted by levelling ground and removing buildings within range of the fortifications." By this means Herat will be made a place that, with a faithful garrison and a stout commander, should be capable of holding out for a considerable time against even a Russian attack. The relations of the Ameer with his cousin Ishak are still shrouded in uncertainty. All we know is that when the Ameer proposed to pay a visit to Badakshan the latter showed himself averse to the suggestion, and advised him to go to Herat instead. On the other hand, Abdurrahman preserves some hold on his kinsman at Balkh by retaining at Cabul his brothers Mahomed Aziz, Mohsin, and Hashim Khans. Another interesting fact in trans-frontier politics is that the successes of Umra Khan of Jandol continue, and that he already menaces Swat. His occupation of that place would be attended with great advantage to the British Government, as a friendly influence would thus be brought to bear on some of the most turbulent of the tribes bordering the Punjab frontier. Some uncertainty still shrouds the matter, as by our latest advices Mian Gul, son of the late Akhond of Swat, had gained the ear of the ruler of Chitral, who had hitherto supported the Khan of Jandol. The only other matter to which we need refer is to the murder of Rajah Ghazan Khan of Hunza, by his son, Safdar Ali, who has, however, sent in his submission to the Maharajah of Cashmere. A still less satisfactory event is

the encroachment of the Afghans on the Kharan district in Western Beloochistan.

With regard to the situation on the Upper Oxus we would draw special attention to a communicated article which appeared under that title in *The Times* of Christmas Day. Besides giving some information about the journey of Mr. Ney Elias, from Kashgar, through Shignan to Wakhan, it is interesting as throwing the first ray of light on the movements of the Lockhart Mission, north of the Hindoo Koosh. The revelations it makes are not pleasant, and point to the influence of Russia being much greater in this quarter than ours. Indeed the chief and only practical purpose attained by this exploring party was the further examination of the Dora, Kilik, and other passes, leading down to the Cashmere borders. It appears that our engineers and surveyors arrived at very different conclusions about the practicability of those passes from what the Russian officer, Gombtchevsky, thought of them, and particularly with regard to the Kilik. This is a case of where doctors differ who shall decide, but all the movements in this quarter strengthen the recommendation that no time should be lost in improving the military position of the exposed angle of India's defences in Cashmere.

The situation in Burmah is rapidly clearing. General Roberts's plan of campaign has produced prompt results, and every day now for the next two months we may expect to hear that the dacoits and other rebel bands are incurring serious reverses that must lead to their speedy and final disappearance. There will then begin the not less serious and difficult task of arranging the permanent civil administration of the country, and it is quite evident that for this to be successfully carried out the two Burmahs will have to be united into a single province, and a lieutenant-governor, of marked energy and force of character, appointed to blend them into one harmonious whole. There will afterwards remain the serious question of rearranging on the new basis our frontier relations with China—a question so serious, to our

mind, that we must still refrain from expressing an opinion about it until the active military operations have been concluded. At the same time we regard with the liveliest sense of apprehension and disapproval the intended surrender of Port Hamilton to China. This step has been taken partly because the Chinese Government has presented a formal demand, and partly because our authorities will not spend a sufficient sum on its fortification. While we lose our intended coaling station in the North Pacific, China gains nothing, except further evidence of the want of firmness of the English Government. We should be as slow to yield to China in tangible matters as to oppose her sentimental claims.

China gains nothing, because her harbour and naval station at Port Arthur already provides her with all the necessary requirements for maintaining the large fleet which she is rapidly collecting for the protection of her coasts and her commerce. But England, whose policy is more amicable to China than that of any other Power, is absolutely the loser by this arrangement, because she is deprived of that coaling station in the North Pacific and beyond the region of the typhoon which enabled her to exercise a powerful influence in a quarter where Russia has already become strong, and where she must every year become stronger. Our withdrawal leaves Russia mistress of the situation, for China is very far yet from having the power and resources to cope on equal terms with Russia at sea, or on the northern shores of Corea. Provided we expended some three hundred thousand pounds on its fortification, Port Hamilton might have become a second Aden or Malta. Even if the Chinese Government resolve to fortify it as we should have done, it can never exercise any deterrent influence on Russia's policy in the North Pacific, and it is highly improbable that the Pekin authorities will do more than purchase our stores, and hoist the Dragon Flag on these islets, for fear of giving umbrage to the neighbouring and very sensitive Government of Japan. But it will be said that

China has promised to prevent any other nation from taking possession of Port Hamilton. This condition has no practical value, not merely because it entirely depends on China's ability to fulfil it, but chiefly because no other country covets this particular spot. The places which Russia and Japan also desire to possess are on the Korean mainland, and while Port Hamilton in England's hands inspired both those states with caution in putting their projects into execution, its possession by China clears the way of one difficulty to their realization. China herself will be in the long run not the least loser by the transfer, and it is almost ridiculous to talk of Korea being the safer by an exclusively Chinese guarantee than under the international agreement provided by the Treaties with that State. The re-establishment of Chinese ascendancy in an open form, which it was Li Hung Chang's policy to keep in the background, will entail as its immediate consequence the dissatisfaction and counter-intriguing of the Japanese. The rivalry of the two great nations of the Far East will be revived to the advantage of Russia, and the disadvantage of those countries themselves, and of England also, as having encouraged China to pursue a course that must disturb the internal tranquility of Korea, and weaken its external security.

The frontier between France and China is still undecided, and the work done by the Delimitation Commission in its last stages has been extremely scanty. Much of this tardiness is due to the excessive illness prevalent among the members of the French Commission. Messrs. Haitçe, Bohin, Delenda, and Commander Daru, have all been invalided, and most of them have been sent home. Colonel Teisseyre is said to have aged ten years in five months. The more serious obstacles to work are thus described by a correspondent writing from Laokai:—"Among the other drawbacks of this very disagreeable country, besides the diplomatic ruses of the Chinese, who become more dilatory every day (of the three Celestial Commissioners the most accommodating is dead), I must notice the fact that our

party cannot go out for a few hundred yards without an escort unless they wish to be killed. Trading junks are pillaged, the telegraph is cut every few days, and almost every night there is the alarm of a night attack. The enemy either throw bombs into the huts, or, crawling through the grass, kill the advanced sentinels. In the last month they have killed fifteen men, with a loss to themselves of twenty; but our little garrison is disheartened and worn out by these constant alarms, fever and dysentery. It was quite impossible for it to think of a serious sortie. Sending the sick and wounded to Hanoi was even a matter of difficulty. Two officers named Geil and Henry were killed, and their heads are now carried about in the enemy's camp on the end of bamboo poles." This graphic little picture of the condition of affairs at Laokai two months ago will show the reader what the present state of French power in Tonquin is, and it cannot be termed full of promise for the future of the Republican possessions on the Songcoi. Although China has now placed a Commissioner at Lung Chau for the amicable settlement of frontier and commercial disputes, the military rearrangement of the Kwangsi frontier which accompanies it may foreshadow acts of a less pleasant nature. At any rate, the Red River trade route remains as much a myth and as intangible as ever; or, in other words, France is still unrewarded for her efforts in Tonquin.

The recent visit of the Russian Minister of Marine, Admiral Schestakoff, to Maritime Manchuria, may have some important consequences. The Russian paper, *Novosti*, states that he has returned to St. Petersburg convinced of the urgent necessity of connecting Vladivostock with the Oussouri by a railway. "This railway would add immensely to the importance of the principal station in the North Pacific, and would also infallibly become the outlet of the whole of Siberia;" and Admiral Schestakoff assured a deputation of the inhabitants of Vladivostock that he would do everything to

promote their interests in this matter. Another railway between Baikal and the Amour was also the subject of a large meeting at Khabarovka. This line is specially intended to facilitate the carriage of tea, which now reaches Russia partly by sea, and partly, in the form of brick tea, by Irkutsk. The navigation of the Amour is slow, but the chief obstacle to using it is the want of means of communication in the Trans-Baikal province. If a railway were constructed here, it is believed that the Amour would be generally adopted as the best route for the tea trade. The projected railway would commence at Stretensk, and passing through Nerchinsk, Tchita, and Verkhneoudinsk, end at Klutchevka. The whole distance is 620 miles, and the estimated cost of construction is 18,000,000 roubles. As this is only at the rate of 19,000 roubles a verst, or little more than £3,000 a mile, even the *Novosti* finds difficulty in accepting the estimate as serious. It computes, however, the receipts of the line at 1,700,000 roubles, and its expenses at 1,600,000; but it admits that this railway, instead of benefiting Vladivostock, would most favour Nicolaievsk. Other practical objections are the difficulty of navigation at the entrance to the Amour, and the dangerous channel of Nicolaievsk. For these reasons the *Novosti* prefers the Oussouri railway, and hopes that Vladivostock will not remain long without a railway into the interior of Manchuria, on which the very prosperity of that province is stated to depend. Russia has begun already to feel Chinese competition in this quarter of her dominions.

With regard to the Trans-Baikal province itself, the *Official Messenger* says that considerable progress may be looked for in its manufactures. Already it possesses 194 factories and foundries, which give employment to 12,407 workmen. The greater number by far of these are employed in the mines. In the course of last year the gold mines alone produced as much as five and a half million roubles. But the production of manufactured articles, such

as linen and woollen goods, falls very far short of the requirements of the province, despite the existence of a Government establishment at Petrovsky. The shortcomings are supplied from Irkutsk and Europe, but the hope is indulged that the Trans-Baikal district should in a very short space of time both pay its own way and provide its own necessities. These suggestions are chiefly interesting as showing that the wants of Siberia are at last beginning to force themselves on Russia's attention, and the extraordinary success met with in constructing the Trans-Caspian line encourages Russia to believe that it is only necessary to undertake a railway seriously for it to be executed. Here again Chinese competition will urge Russia more and more on the road of progress and of developing her actual possessions.

While talking of railways, we may note that the King of Siam recently made a speech strongly in their favour. On the 5th October he received his court and chief officials at a general assembly, and discussed several schemes which were to be put in execution during the present year. Several concessions, he said, had been granted for the construction of railways and tramways, and for working the mines. There seems no reason to doubt the truth of the belief that Siam is about to throw herself as heartily into the march of progress as Japan did ten years ago.

REVIEWS.

The East India Company's First Court Book.

THIS volume is chiefly remarkable as a specimen of enterprise in an individual which would have been more natural if the initiative had lain with the India Office. The late Mr. Henry Stevens has done what was really the duty of the Secretary of State, and this is the more remarkable as the intrinsic value of the first Court Book of the East India Company is much less than that of many of the other manuscripts under that authority's control, and, indeed, except that it is the first account of that great Corporation's proceedings, its value and interest cannot be called excessive. The very scantiness of its contents so far as their permanent value is concerned, enhances rather than diminishes the service rendered by Mr. Stevens, and should give increased significance to the good example he has set to those who control the invaluable literary and historical treasures still preserved in the manuscript form of oblivion at the India Office. The volume [*"The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies, as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1599-1603,"* printed from the original manuscript by HENRY STEVENS, of Vermont. (Henry Stevens and Son, St. Martin's Lane, London)] has the really inestimable advantage of an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, in which that distinguished authority, who invests with interest and poetry every theme he touches, not merely brings out all the material merits of the volume, but also throws a flood of light on the geographical and commercial hopes and ambitions of the dawning of that seventeenth century which saw England first take her place

among the great trading nations of the earth. The present book shows from what a very small beginning sprang that Eastern Empire of ours, which is the brightest jewel in our crown, and also the greatest human achievement associated with our name; but if the means were small, they were dispensed in a broad spirit, and with a courage and determination which the degenerate descendants of those early adventurers must envy if they cannot imitate. But on that point we must be allowed one word of difference with Sir George Birdwood. We do not share what seems to be his opinion, that the traditions of the pluck and endurance of the Elizabethan seamen are more cherished and better emulated at the Antipodes and in America than among ourselves. We believe that it is the very deficiency of our colonists in those points that renders Imperial Federation a dream impossible of realization, and that it is only the superfluity of energy in the old country that keeps alive the true spirit of Empire on which our greatness and security are based. Notwithstanding the complimentary turn of his language to Americans and Colonials, we are half disposed to think that Sir George Birdwood is of the same opinion himself. The book itself has a historical value, and its production by an American bibliophile must reflect on those English officials who would never have thought it necessary or justifiable to place it in this handsomely printed form before the great reading public of the English-speaking races. Valuable for what it contains, the production of this volume is still more serviceable as an example of what ought to be done with the many priceless manuscript records in the India Office.

Colonial France.

CAPTAIN NORMAN gives in this volume ["Colonial France." (London: W. H. Allen, and Co.)] a fairly complete and accurate account of France's numerous attempts to found a

Colonial Empire in both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, since the time of Henri Quatre. Her renewed activity in Tonquin, Madagascar, North Africa, and elsewhere, has revived, not merely interest in her proceedings, but also apprehensions as to their consequences, which many thought were laid by for ever. The work would be worth perusal if only because it must freshen the reader's mind about the long and costly struggle for supremacy which took place between the two nations of England and France in India as well as America. With regard to the French in India, no one is likely to supersede Colonel Malle-son's excellent works on the subject, and Captain Norman deals with this portion of his subject with commendable brevity. He describes at far greater length and in considerable detail, French conquests and commercial enterprise in Africa, the Indian Ocean, the islands of the Pacific, the West Indies, Madagascar, and Tunis. Captain Norman calls attention to the chief objects before the French in their revived schemes of colonial dominion. He writes that these distant possessions are not colonies in our sense of the word. They "are purely military settlements, destined, in the event of war, to be strategic points whence England's trade can be crippled, and England's colonies ruined." Captain Norman's book is one written for a definite and laudable purpose, viz., that of forewarning his countrymen in England and the colonies of the dangers to which the new naval and colonial policy of France will expose them in the event of war, and as he has done this very efficiently, it may be considered sufficient atonement for any literary shortcomings in his book.

Syrian Stone Lore.

IN this work [*"Syrian Stone Lore; or, the Monumental History of Palestine."* By C. R. CONDER, R.E. (London: R. Bentley and Son.)] Captain Conder has added another to

the many pleasant and instructive volumes on Syrian antiquities and archæology, for which we were already his debtor. In several respects, "*Syrian Stone Lore*" approaches more nearly to a history than any of its predecessors, and as it gives a chronological account of the condition of the country from the time of the Canaanites to that of the Crusaders, its narrative of nearly 3000 years is certainly continuous and almost complete. It is complete so far as existing monuments furnish any key to the social and religious condition of the people at any portion of that long period. The principal sections into which the subject naturally divides itself are when the region in question was held or governed by the following peoples in their order of historical appearance, viz., the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, and, finally, the Crusaders. Captain Conder states that by far the greater number of existing ruins date only from the fourth and fifth centuries, while there can be no doubt that one of the most interesting epochs covered by this volume is the very last of all, viz., that embraced by the Crusades. In each and all of these separate periods, Captain Conder gathers what he can concerning the race, origin, languages, religions, social customs, government, art, literature and trade of the inhabitants, and the evidence which he accepts as the truest and most informing is contained in the monuments and other buildings that have resisted the ravages of time. And under his treatment they are made to impart many useful secrets, and to constitute the necessary material for photographing, as it were, the social position, when the children of Israel descended on the Promised Land, when Tyre was famous as queen of trade and of the sea, as well as in more recent times, when the Byzantine Greeks founded a kingdom in the teeth of the advancing hosts of Islam. Captain Conder, besides treating of an attractive subject—for is it not intimately connected with three of the greatest and most human religions of the world?—is successful to a very high degree from a literary point of view. He not merely knows

what to say, but how to say it, and his present volume cannot fail to add to his already great reputation, both as a writer and also as a comparative archaeologist.

The Defender of Trichinopoly.

THIS memoir is an exceedingly pleasant tribute to the memory of one of the first officers of the East India Company, a man who served with and then under Clive, and who is known in history as the Defender of Trichinopoly ["Memoir of Captain Dalton, H.E.I.C.S., Defender of Trichinopoly, 1752-3." By CHARLES DALTON. (W. H. Allen and Co.)]. We confess we took it up with some misgivings when we read in the preface that Orme had already made use of Captain Dalton's journal, for Orme is with rare exceptions as dull and prolix a writer as has ever done his best to place Indian subjects beyond the pale of general interest. But these misgivings were soon dispelled, and we found Mr. Dalton's memoir a very interesting account indeed of the fortunes of one of the very first men to make the East India Company a military power in Southern India. Unlike his friend Clive, Dalton was bred to the profession of arms, and it was only on the reduction of the Marine battalions that he joined the Company's service at Fort St. David. It is clear from this narrative that before his great opportunity came in holding Trichinopoly against an overwhelming French and native force he showed conspicuous gallantry and capacity in moving troops on several occasions, particularly at Volcondah, where we were nearly meeting with a disaster, and at Wootatoor. The defence of Trichinopoly is of course the chief event of his career, and the De Cattans incident is particularly graphic, and brings clearly before us the young and inexperienced officer whom the French spy thought he had imposed upon but who had really read his own character and mission. Captain Dalton's career in India

closed very soon afterwards, as he returned home in 1754 with his savings, which amounted to £10,000. In a letter to his mother he said he had enough for his greatest ambition, "to keep you a chariot and equipage in proportion." Taking the book as a whole we can say that we know none more pleasant than this volume relating to one of the minor figures in Anglo-Indian history, and we could understand the wish that the lives of many of the greater personages had been told half as agreeably and well.

Notes on the Indian Empire.

It is particularly refreshing to us to come across a native Indian writer who does honestly his best to appreciate the benefits of English rule and to discuss its inevitable shortcomings in a fair and intelligent spirit. Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir [in his "Selections from my Recent Notes on the Indian Empire" (*The Times of India* Press, Bombay)], comes up to this standard and expectation in a particularly high and gratifying degree and without detracting in the least from his own independence. He treats the many subjects embraced within his notes, from native armies and States to the Russian menace and the questions of income tax and famine, from the native standpoint, and in most of them he comes to almost the same conclusions as ourselves. He at least has the courage to say that Russia's capture of Merv is an usurpation injurious to the safety of India, and that the seizure of Penjdeh and the imminent claims on the Upper Oxus and on Meruchak, as a *quid pro quo* for Kham-i-Ab, are only further indications of the Czar's insatiable ambition and fixed resolve to carry his arms into the region of British dominion. Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir has much to say about the native chiefs of India and their rule. We agree with him in many particulars and where we disagree we are not disposed to dispute that his arguments have much force. Without being exactly

a stylist Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir may be called a fluent writer, and the notes which he has collected on different matters connected with India are well worth preservation in the permanent form in which they have now been produced.

The Defence of Kahun.

THE main object of this little volume ["The Defence of Kahun," by C. R. WILLIAMS. (W. H. Allen and Co.)] is to describe a heroical incident in the first Afghan war, and to supply the more extended notice that Sir John Kaye said he could not give in his "History of the War in Afghanistan." The incident in question is the defence by Captain Lewis Brown of the Fort of Kahun, in North-east Beloochistan, and in the very heart of the district inhabited by the Murree tribe. Kahun was occupied by order of Sir John Keane as a strategical position, but the breakdown of the transport service across the desert, which fortunately for all future commanders in this region is now spanned by a railway, led to its garrison being neglected and left to its own resources, and when Major Cleghorn's attempt to reinforce and reprovision the place failed disastrously, Captain Brown was ordered "to act in any way either by a rapid night march, or, if so fortunate, by making any terms you can possibly conclude with the enemy." Captain Brown's only chance lay in the latter direction, and this he managed so cleverly as to persuade the Murree chief he could hold out for two months, when provisions were only available for ten days, and thus to secure an honourable retreat with all the consideration paid to a gallant if unsuccessful foe. Captain Brown showed as much tact in arranging this convention as he had courage in defending the place. In fact his defence of Kahun was quite worthy of being placed on a par with Craigie Halkett's holding out at Khelat-i-Ghilzai at the same time.

They were the minor but not inglorious companion pictures to the defence of Candahar and Jellalabad in the dark and gloomy winter of 1841-2, and Mr. C. R. Williams does a useful task in rescuing all the precise particulars from an undeserved oblivion.

India under Queen Victoria.

CAPTAIN TROTTER'S "History of India under Queen Victoria" (W. H. Allen and Co.), has some merits. It is in the first place a readable account of events in India from 1836 to 1880, and in the second, so far as we have yet been able to test them, the facts are given with accuracy. But as the writer claims to be a historian he should at least have made some attempt to attain even the appearance of impartiality. That he has made the attempt we can scarcely believe, as he allows himself to say of Lord Auckland's share in the first Afghan war that he was pushed by John Colvin and Henry Torrens "along the slope which led down to a black abyss of crime, disaster, and disgrace," which is simply out-Kaye-ing Kaye, and with regard to the second Afghan war his opinions seem best expressed in the sentence, "Lord Salisbury, however, with his eyes still bent on Russia and his ears open only to the counsels of such men as Rawlinson and Bartle Frere, gave no heed to the remonstrances of a Viceroy who preferred the path of duty and the teachings of experience to the dreams and schemes of fussy enthusiasts, fierce Russophobes, and strenuous believers in the divinity of might." All we will say is, that if Captain Trotter thinks this is the manner in which history should be written we shall be surprised if he finds many to agree with him, and we only regret that in a work which might have served some useful purposes he has shown himself so blind to the requirements of truth and justice.

Bengali Literature.

A CATALOGUE of the Bengali printed books in the British Museum Library, prepared by Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, and printed by order of the Trustees, is remarkable as showing how extensive Bengali literature has become. The catalogue has been drawn up as far as possible in accordance with the rules in force for the General Library, and it comprises all purely Bengali, translations of such works, and polyglot works of which one is Bengali. To facilitate the finding of any particular book an Index is appended. Mr. Blumhardt gives many practical reasons for a systematic and uniform mode of transliteration.

The Afghan Boundary Commission.

ON the eve of going to press we have received this very interesting volume of letters written by the author when acting as a correspondent with the Afghan Boundary Commission. [*"England and Russia Face to Face in Asia. Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission."* By Lieut. A. C. YATE. With Maps and Illustrations. (W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.)] The letters were written to *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Allahabad Pioneer*, and they give a vivid account of events from the departure from Nushki to the affair of Pul-i-Khisti, and for the few weeks immediately following that catastrophe. The subsequent events are summarized in the last chapters, and the Appendix contains an interesting and informing chapter on the Russo-Persian frontier. The chief value of Mr. Yate's volume consists, however, in the graphic description it provides of the western dominions of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and particularly of the famous town and fortress of Herat, although the orders of the Ameer prevented our officers visiting the town and closely inspecting its military defences and strength. Mr. Yate gives many

important details also about the frontier positions of Lash Jowain on the Seistan frontier, and Kalah-i-Maur, now in the hands of Russia; and we also notice that he has a higher opinion of the warlike resources of Persia than it has become the fashion to express. The volume necessarily contains much of ephemeral interest as well as many opinions that have to be modified by a careful consideration of subsequent events, but, notwithstanding these drawbacks, it is still an extremely valuable addition to our sources of information concerning events in Afghanistan in 1884-5. The concluding lines of the preface may be quoted as a convenient way of directing attention to a question that will soon become of practical importance: "A solitary journey from Herat to the Black Sea after leaving the Commission enabled me to obtain some information on more than one point of interest to England—such as concerning the demarcation of the Russo-Persian frontier which I have given as an Appendix. To suppose that the Russo-Persian boundary, as recently settled, will long remain a fixture would be mere self-delusion. I cannot find any distinct definition of the frontier drawn from Kelat-i-Nadiri to Sarakhs, and it is just in that quarter that rumours credit Russia with further aggressive designs. One of the most significant signs of the times is the proposed construction of a *chaussée* from Askabad to Meshed. That is the highroad of Russian access to Herat, and it is therefore not surprising that Russia should early develop an interest in it."

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1887.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE RULED AND THE RULERS IN INDIA.

THERE was a time when European nations wooed India. A smile from her was most valued and appreciated. The rivalry was finally between the French and the British. The Indian people were shrewd and they cast in their lot with the British. They found the British officers then in India to be brave and grateful; while the British officers found the Hindus docile, kind, and loyal. A contract was entered into between them that the British should preserve peace and enjoy the highest positions, and that the Indians should enjoy peace and be content with minor positions. This demarcation was very clear, and the aspirations of each were therefore clear also. The ever-grateful Hindu was ready to give his rice to the European and be content and pleased with the husk. The Briton was the Governor of a Presidency or a District, while his right-hand man was a trusted Hindu. The Hindu managed the household of the commonwealth, and the European the battle-field and the jail. The Hindu had no vague aspirations to places higher than the Head Sheristadaree,* while the Briton did not covet

* Native head clerk.

the Head Sheristadaree. He was known to the people as the Prime Minister of the king or ruling man, the Collector. Of course there was here and there corruption; what country had it not at any time? Yet this was the golden age of the British Government in India. To prevent degeneracy and preserve prestige among a class of men who were looked upon as entitled to the highest offices, ordinary men or lower orders of their countrymen were not then allowed to be imported into India.

I have been often asked which law was good. I have thought over the matter for a long time. The conclusion I have arrived at was that that law was good which was so simple that all the governed, of whatever calibre of mind they may be, might know it, and that correctly: that law was good which the people knew would not be changed suddenly and frequently for the benefit of any particular favourite class: that law was good which defines and limits the aspirations and liabilities of several classes governed by it so clearly that no section of the people could think of the possibility of exceeding them without injuring themselves: and that law was good which gives to each class the maximum amount of good to which it has been declared to be entitled by common consent. Contentment is the source of happiness, and unrest that of misery. A good law should secure the first and give no room to the second. Such was the principle of the British law at the period I have referred to. No Hindu aspired to the Collectorship, and no British officer wished to be a Head Sheristadar. The highest aspiration of a Hindu was to become a Head Sheristadar, while that of a Collector was to rise gradually from the position of an Assistant-Collector to that of a Governor. Each worked in his own sphere with emulation, and yet with contentment.

To the Briton, India was then a place of exile. He came to India as an adventurer. He was to collect the means of happiness here and go back to his country to enjoy it. In India he could scarcely see a European lady.

He had not in India many male companions. He therefore lived in India either as a hermit, or mixed socially with the people. In either case he was an object of admiration to the people. A strong man, possessing all the means of gratifying his senses, living like a Rishi,* was to the Hindu a saint-ruler. He therefore loved and respected him the more.

On the other hand, if he was social, affectionate, sympathizing, and doing good to one who had not expected it from him, the Hindu considered him to be an Avatar, or an incarnation of God, particularly when he compared him with his own brethren with smaller power and position. Such a British officer came to be considered a protecting angel of the people. I know that the names of many old officers are to-day remembered in several Hindu families with respect and affection.

The British officers had then to double the stormy Cape of Good Hope before they could come to India or return from it to their sweet home. In those days it was no easy work to do either. It was only fortunate people that could hope to reach their sweet home after a dangerous voyage of not less than six months' duration. They were generally unmarried. They as men required society and cultivated sociality with the Hindus. The Sahib inquired how the Hindu's family fared. The Hindu became so proud at this little condescension that he took his little child to show to the master. The master patted it and prophesied that the child, in course of time, would hold the place that the father held, or would become a rich merchant as the father, or a land-holder. This was considered by the Hindu to be very propitious, for he believed that the ruling power was not vested in man without some divinity being infused into him. The ruler often visited the marriages of the ruled; often attended his places of worship and expressed himself pleased with what he saw. This mightily pleased the Hindu and strongly cemented the bond between the two.

* Rishi, a Hindu saint.

If the officer wanted to see the interior part of the place of worship of the ruled, the Hindu told him that his religion would not permit even a Sahib to get there. The ruler laughed and promised to respect the religious feelings of the ruled. When people saw that this prohibition was not resented but was received with apparent magnanimity, the British officer stood in their view as an incarnation of goodness when compared with the barbarous iconoclasts who had already defiled their places of worship.

While matters stood thus, the Hindu fought, counselled, and obtained country after country for the British, looking upon the British as the God-sent angels of protection from "dacoits," like those of Burma now. It is a fallacy to suppose that India is a conquered country. It is a country acquired by the British with the aid, the good feeling, and with the blood of the native.

Such a state of things continued, I may say, to the days of the Mutiny or a few years before it.

The advent of steamers, the construction of the Suez Canal, the opening of the country to all sorts of Europeans, the rivalry of trading Europeans, &c., loosened the ties I have already described. The rulers were enabled to find companions among their own race, they had no time to caress a Hindu child, as they had their own children to attend to. The Hindu on the other hand was educated to believe that the British officer was no master, but a brother, and that he had equal rights with his western brother. The British officer became so bold or indiscreet as to tell the Hindu that his places of worship were abominations. His religion was attacked, and he was asked to come over to the religion of the rulers. Without reference to the understanding or intention of the contracting parties, at the time of contract, which had then been evidenced in writing, the Hindu was told that the grammatical meaning of writings should govern the engagements which had been entered into. Law Courts came into existence in the place of the Equity Courts of the Panchayets. The simple Hindu saw most

unjust decisions given out from the highest Courts, as founded on law, while he felt them to be unjust whatever be their legality. He knew the Judge to be a good man; and therefore became convinced that the law which he was bound to administer was bad. He concluded that its maker must also be a bad man. A breach of good feeling between the ruled and the rulers was the necessary consequence.

The educated Hindu saw that in the eye of the law he was equal with his masters. They themselves acknowledged and preached it. He was a gentleman like his master, although the Madras Railway Company would not acknowledge this as truth even now. He came to know that he and his master had a common master, who had proclaimed most solemnly that the Hindu and the British are thoroughly equal and are possessed of equal rights. The Hindu said, "If so, what a fool my father is to look upon a British brother as his master! I shall however deal with him as a brother." If he thought he knew more Shakespeare than the officer, he said, "I shall give him the treatment to which he is entitled." When the British man saw this, he said to himself, "Let the Frenchmen beat the English twenty times, yet the English are, and will be for ever superior to the French. If so, what does this nigger mean in behaving in the manner he does? but I cannot gainsay what he asserts, but I shall make him know that he is mistaken." Thus bad blood was created. It naturally interfered with the good feeling that once existed, and there is no wonder that social intercourse between the British and the Native is on the wane. The Hindu says to the European, "I am your equal, sir." The European replies, "Is it so? Then come and dine with me; partake of some venison and wash it down with champagne." The Native replies, "No, I shall not do it (publicly): if I did so, I would lose my caste." The European says, "Oh! you have got a caste, how can you be my equal? So long as you are superstitious, you cannot be my equal." The

Native replies, "Not so. The Queen has declared me your equal, notwithstanding." The European rejoins, "Very well, be my equal where you can and not in my house. Be gone." I can multiply cases, but it is unnecessary.

Some think that political intercourse and social intercourse and religious intercourse are different things; and one can succeed without the others. This is not my opinion. All these should go together; one cannot thrive without the others.

Without religious intercourse, nothing will succeed. It is this that will make the naturally selfish man to know that the self is not all and the highest; that he belongs to a family presided over by a wise, strong, and benevolent Father, and has a very large body of brethren, who are his equals. The religious intercourse removes his ignorance, viz., that he and his must be the highest, and infuses in him the idea of equality of man. Social intercourse then steps in. It teaches that as all should live happily, individual rights should be somewhat sacrificed for the good of the family. When it is done with sympathy to each other, social intercourse attains its best position. In this state, men not only do not misunderstand each other, but also sympathize with each other. This stage helps political intercourse, the ruled and the rulers become known to each other, they help each other, and all live happily as members of a commonwealth ought to do. We must try to secure this end. How to effect it? We must first secure religious brotherhood, then social and then political brotherhood. The question for solution is how to effect this. Religious intercourse should be cultivated. We should be tolerant of each other's religion, as both teach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of His creatures. We should love each other as affectionate brethren. Similarly we should encourage political intercourse. A clear demarcation of aspirations should then be made, acknowledged, and proclaimed as clearly as possible, which

- should be reverently respected and honestly carried out. This will remove a disturbing cause. Then the Hindus should join the Europeans in such gatherings as they can do with pleasure to themselves and without annoyance to the European. While claiming equality, the Hindu should be respectful to the European. The European, being the stronger, should encourage self-respect and freedom in the Hindu. Hindu females should meet European females, and *vice versa*, and maintain friendship, making full allowances for the prejudices of each.

As an instance, I will venture to mention a very small thing which is very important in promoting social intercourse. To put one's fingers into one's mouth and then touch any part of the body with those fingers, before they are washed with water, is pollution according to the idea of the Hindu lady. Many a European lady does not know this. If she happens to touch the Hindu lady in such a state, she is compelled to bathe after her return home. At times it is very injurious to her health to do so. What is the consequence? The Hindu lady studiously avoids meeting a European lady. Again, the servants of the European lady are, as a rule, Pariahs, while the Hindu lady does not allow any Pariah to enter her house, as their touch is pollution. How are these ladies to meet? The Hindu lady should be satisfied if these servants are kept away from the room where she meets the native lady, and the European lady should condescend to arrange accordingly. It is considered not necessary that a European should return the visit of a native unless he be a very very great man, one in a million. This is not as it ought to be. A relaxation on this point is necessary on the side of the European. The Hindu should give up the habits of seeing a European at his house on public business. When visiting on business, the Hindu should begin his work at once and finish it in a business-like manner. This pleases a European. The Hindu should give up a little of his orientalism and base his requests on justice, fairness,

kindness, generosity, or mercy, and should not abjectly crave for anything; for the European idea of a man so behaving is that he is very low. The native should not hide his true feelings with a view to create a false impression in the mind of the European, while the European should not get annoyed with a Hindu who is not every inch a gentleman according to his idea, but pity the man if he be ignorant, and advise him, as a friend and not as a superior, to conduct himself better. In short, the native should behave honestly and bravely to the European, and the European should treat him with friendliness and sympathy. Then a real friendship will grow up between them.

If a native find that a straightforward conduct does not please his immediate superior, he should nevertheless practise it. For his real master is not in India but in Great Britain. This real master likes everything that is straightforward and dislikes anything to the contrary. The people of Great Britain are our rulers and friends, and will see that no injustice is done to India. Our object should be to secure the approval of the people of Great Britain. I see what now passes in your mind. Never mind what has happened or what may happen. We are sure to have justice from the British.

The native should educate his sisters, treat them more liberally; and this the European will consider as giving the Hindu a right to claim better attention from him. Small timely rebukes from a Hindu sister will have greater effects in securing kindness and even justice than many battles that a male Hindu can fight. As it is now, to visit a European is not very easy. A second class Deputy Collector often meets with difficulty in finding access to a Councillor. The tyranny of the uneducated dregs of the Hindu society, as Europeans' servants, is very degenerating. Means must be concerted to remove this evil, a portion of the European's house, of course, a decent portion, should be hospitably kept open for the reception of native

gentlemen. The latter, on the other hand, should settle what shall be the outer signs of a gentleman—I mean his dress and his habits. In this matter the Hindu stands much in need of improvement. Among the Europeans dress and manners generally point one out as a gentleman. These have become stereotyped among them. It was so among the Hindus in olden times. Now it is very difficult for natives themselves to distinguish a native gentleman from a native loafer. Our national turbans are gone. European caps have supplanted them. To be plain, we have been aping the Europeans. We are neither fowl nor fish. I think history tells me that no nation has become great by aping another nation. I beg that my Hindu brethren will take this matter into their consideration. To do this they should acknowledge something as authority and somebody as its expounder. This necessitates their recognizing somebody as their leader. The Hindu ought to have and show that special respect which is due to age and position. In short, he should behave to the European as his forefathers used to do to natives in the position now occupied by Europeans. Civility is a mark of civilization. It is not servility—one should not be mistaken for the other, and it would be wrong to give up civility for fear of being guilty of servility, and to adopt impertinence, mistaking it for independence.

When such mistakes are made, the stronger, instead of resenting it, should gently correct them. Sympathies should be demonstrated by sharing in the griefs and joys of each other. Such conduct will surely secure to all the fellow-subjects of one Sovereign, and the children of One Father, common happiness, without which no country, however governed, can be a strength to the governors and to the governed.

R. RAGOONATH ROW.

IN THE PROPERTY OF THE
HOME DEPT.
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF INDIA.

THERE is no subject which at the present time attracts more attention in India, and which is, in its essence, of greater importance to the future of the empire, than the system adopted for the recruitment of the Public Service. On its wise decision depends whether that country shall advance by slow, sure, and well-considered steps to ultimate civilization and prosperity, or whether it shall lose the place it has gained in the race, while its rulers drop from their feeble hands the reins that they have no longer the strength or spirit to hold.

A Commission has, for some months past, been taking evidence on the subject of the recruitment of the Public Service. This body was appointed by the Government not in consequence of any admitted shortcomings in the existing Civil Service, which performs its laborious duties with integrity and success, but owing to the outcry of that small part of the Indian community which has received an English education for a larger share in the Government of what they are pleased to call their nation, though an Englishman has by birthright, descent, and language (putting aside all question of conquest) fully as much right to govern North India as a native of Madras or Bengal, who would be more alien and far more obnoxious to the resident population. The cry raised by the Indian gentlemen who are desirous of obtaining a more substantial slice of the administrative loaf became at last so loud, that the Government of India determined to recognize the agitation, and appoint a commission of inquiry which should investigate, not only the question of the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service and to offices hitherto reserved

- exclusively for that service, but their employment in all branches of the service connected with the civil administration of the country. A resolution was issued, detailing the scope and objects of the inquiry, a quotation from which will explain the position :

"The inquiry is to embrace the employment of natives of India not only in appointments ordinarily reserved by law for members of the Covenanted Civil Service, but also in the uncovenanted service generally, including in this term the lower administrative appointments, executive and judicial, and all special departments connected with the civil administration of the country. The inquiry thus contemplated, is not only one of great magnitude and importance, but such as requires a careful preliminary collection of facts. Such an investigation has already been made in regard to the class of appointments hitherto ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service and in regard to uncovenanted, executive, and judicial posts; but no such investigation has been prosecuted in the case of other branches of the public service. For these reasons, and also because the constitution of a commission, settled rather with reference to the considerations likely to arise in connection with the posts above referred to, might not be altogether suitable for an inquiry into special branches of the public service, it seems desirable that the two matters should be separately dealt with. For the present, accordingly, the Government of India thinks it well that the Commission should direct its attention mainly to the question of the conditions under which natives of India should be employed in the posts which are ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Service, and to questions relating to the admission of natives of India and Europeans respectively to those branches of the Uncovenanted Service which are directly engaged in the executive and judicial administration of the country. The inquiry in regard to other branches of the public service will thus be postponed until the more important question has been dealt with. It may afterwards be convenient to reconstitute the Commission with a view to enable it to deal with the remaining questions, which are more or less technical in their character, and for a proper settlement of which it is essential that recourse should be had to the professional opinion of experts."

Although the Commission were not precluded from pronouncing their opinion upon the subject of the proper strength of the Covenanted Service or recommending further restriction of the offices reserved by law for them, it was pointed out that this was a supplementary point, and that "their most important duty was to consider the means best adapted to secure the admission of competent natives of each province of India to such full proportion of the Covenanted Service employed in that province as

may not, under the orders of Her Majesty's Government, be reserved for Europeans."

Special attention was further directed to the Statute of 1870, which was one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and empowered the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which natives of India might be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service. The Commission was further to consider how far the privileges of pay, promotion, and retiring annuity, which Indian public servants enjoy through belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service, and the conditions generally under which they hold their offices, are suitable to natives of India obtaining office under the Statute of 1870; what were the methods of appointment most approved by the various communities; whether competition of some sort is the only mode of selection which commends itself to them; whether selection was regarded with more favour or a combination of methods. The Commission were further enjoined to examine and report on the advantages and disadvantages of competition, of selection in India, and on the conditions of such competition; on the view which is likely to be taken by the native community at large, and on the desirability or otherwise of requiring candidates selected in India to proceed to England with a view to passing there a period of probationary training. If the Commissioners were favourable to the maintenance substantially of the present system, which permits natives to compete in England, it would be necessary to inquire what are the limits of age for native candidates, and what the changes (if any) in the character of their examination which the Commissioners would recommend.

Many other points were referred to the consideration of the Commission. The field of their inquiry, though nominally restricted in some directions, was nearly co-extensive with the whole public service of India. Fifteen gentlemen were nominated to seats on the Commission; the Local

- Governments each sending an English and native representative. The non-official European and the Eurasian community were admitted by selection of the Governor-General in Council, by whom also was appointed a special delegate, and a trained English lawyer of judicial experience.

The Commission, thus formed, has visited in turn, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Jabalpur, and has, with infinite patience, recorded such evidence as has been offered by all persons who have imagined themselves possessed of original views and valuable suggestions with regard to the administration of India by Her Majesty's Government. I have followed the progress of the Commission with as much interest as it was capable of inspiring, and have read the evidence which, day by day, was recorded in the newspapers; in many cases briefly, but given *verbatim* in the case of important or distinguished witnesses, who have been few and far between.

The impression which an altogether unprejudiced critic would take of the social and intellectual status of the majority of the witnesses, and the character of their evidence, would probably be highly unfavourable. The persons who have pressed forward to give evidence among the native community are not those from whom a sensible Governor, Commissioner, or Magistrate, takes counsel in times of anxiety or trouble. These, unless specially summoned, have been conspicuous by their absence. The country gentleman of position and distinguished loyalty, the members of ancient, though decayed, families, the older and more approved officers of Government, and those shrewd, well-informed, and farsighted men, who are well known to the authorities in every part of the country, and whose advice is always asked, and often taken, on every question affecting popular sentiments—all these have avoided the vain and empty discussions of the Commission. Those who have hastened to offer themselves for examination are, for the most part, the men who know least of the country and people, and whose opinions no administrator

of sense would regard—pleaders, clerks, Babus, and young editors, whose newspapers have been conspicuous for sedition and malignant abuse of Government officials, and whose evidence the Commission might, with perfect propriety, have declined.

It may generally be asserted that for an inquiry such as the one now under discussion, a Commission is the worst form of inquiry that could be suggested. The Civil Service of India, a body of English officers, for an estimate of whose administrative merits we may fairly appeal to history and the verdict of foreign critics, naturally looked askance at a tribunal which seemed to place them on their defence and to question their right to the position they hold under express covenant with the Government. On the other hand, the mass of the people were not only indifferent to the Commission, but had never heard of its existence, and knew nothing of the subjects which it discussed. The graver and more conservative of the educated classes had no sympathy with the inquiry, for they regard with ill-concealed suspicion the ambition of the eager reformers of Young India, who desire to level all the mountains, and to fill up all the valleys to the dead level of democracy.

The resolution expresses a hope, which does not seem to me to be founded in a deep knowledge of the people of India, that by collecting evidence from a wide area and from numerous classes of people, it would be both varied in kind and valuable in quality. But the truth is that the questions under discussion are the most intricate that can engage the attention of statesmen, and the ordinary public have no ideas regarding them worthy of record. These are the problems which have been painfully worked out by generations of distinguished men who have conducted, step by step, the empire to its present greatness. To throw these political and economical problems to a crowd of schoolboys for academical discussion, in the presence of all India, with other nations regarding the process with mingled amusement and contempt, is not a dignified spec-

tacle. To add to the confusion, previous to the *viva voce* examination of witnesses, the Commission addressed to associations, editors of native newspapers, and members of the general public—those, in short, least competent to advise—a series of 184 questions, which, as a masterpiece of unpractical inquiry, has probably no rival in the public records. No person could adequately answer the questions suggested in this document under a quarto volume. All schemes, wise or unwise, practical or impossible, which had ever been devised for the confusion of the government of India were here thrown together, mixed up and shaken out and distributed as bewildering conundrums to those persons whose self-confidence permitted them to compete in these intellectual gymnastics. The questions were, as may be imagined, ignored by the great majority of witnesses, and were chiefly useful to political societies, rarely friendly to the Government, who drew up on this basis various catechisms embodying their pet dogmas, which may have been convenient to those witnesses who had submitted themselves to examination without any clear idea of the subjects under discussion.

When the Commission sift and analyze the evidence that has been collected they will, if they survive the process, discover very few grains of wheat amidst the mountains of chaff which have been supplied with profusion by the gentlemen who have appeared before them. More valuable evidence, and with much less expenditure of time, fiction, and trouble, would have been procured had a committee of three eminent persons been appointed by the Government of India to address written questions to all those gentlemen, English and Indian, whose opinions were known to be of weight and value, not forgetting the more important of the political associations, and on these replies, aided by their own knowledge and experience, they might have submitted a valuable report on the public service. A responsible witness of real authority would prefer to give his views in writing, and, indeed, the more valuable of the

recorded evidence, chiefly given by English officials, seems rather to take the form of carefully prepared essays read to the Commission. The members of this body, representing different interests, the official, the Eurasian, the non-official and the native, must have been anxious to obtain from the witnesses evidence in support of their peculiar theories, or which might subserve the interests of the class they represented. The unfortunate witness was cast into the inquisitorial whirlpool like a piece of bread among a shoal of minnows, and it may be concluded that the record of his cross-examination did not represent his best-matured opinion.

The issue of the Commission testified to the possession by the Government of much generosity and impartiality, and the only criticism which could fairly be directed against it was that it was unpractical and useless, and being useless, was presumably mischievous. The Government fancied that when the honesty of their motives and the generosity of their intentions were once demonstrated by the Resolution, and by the appointment of a Commission representing all important interests, at which the most insignificant witness might inflict on highly paid officials his wilderness of unconsidered nonsense, silence would fall upon their hostile critics, and that the abuse freely showered upon them for tyranny and imbecility would at once change into pæans of delight and gratitude. This was, however, quickly found to be so great a delusion that the Viceroy was compelled, at Poona, to rebuke in strong language the suspicious portion of the Indian Press, who pretended to believe that the Commission only concealed a trap for the further curtailment of the privileges of the educated classes. The truth is that there is a numerically small, but noisy, class in India whom it is impossible to conciliate. This is largely represented in the native Press of Bengal and the North-West whose seditious utterances should long ago have been the subject of police supervision. It matters little how honourable the intentions or how pure the policy of the Government may

be for this infamous portion of the vernacular Press to denounce it as brutal, selfish, and wicked. No distinction in the public service, no magnanimity of character or nobility of life can secure a public servant against the scurrilous attacks of these journalists of the gutter.

Sir Rivers Thompson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, will have vacated his post and returned to England before this article appears in India. I may therefore, without impropriety, refer to him as one of the most upright, equitable, modest, and kindly officials who have ever directed the fortunes of Bengal. Yet Sir Rivers chanced to take the opposite from the popular view with regard to the ill-conceived and misshapen bantling that is passing down to posterity under the name of the Ilbert Bill. The consequence has been that he has been persistently attacked in the most savage and mendacious manner. Not only his policy, but his character and private life have been the subject of the most envenomed abuse. This is the fate of every Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I have seen a long series extending from Sir John Peter Grant, and I do not know one who has not been the subject of the most persistent and libellous attack. Any attempt to curb the license of these newspapers would be resented by the Babu community as a gross interference with the liberty of the Press. The liberty of the Press is not, however, in question. I am one of those who think that it should not have been unconditionally given to a country autocratically and despotically governed as India is and must remain: but it is too late to withdraw a favour because it was too rashly granted. I would, therefore, not interfere with any criticism of the Government or its policy, which could with any reasonable presumption be held to be honest, and I would freely permit comment which would subject the editor, in Germany or Russia, to instant imprisonment, or banishment for life to the quicksilver mines of Siberia. What the Government should do, and what, being a strong Government, it is its duty to do, is to protect its officers against false and libel-

lous attack, and to prosecute and punish with the utmost severity the editors who, for personal or venal motives, insert malicious libels on officials in their columns. This is the more necessary in the case of native officials; and no reform of the rules for the recruitment of the public service will be sufficient to secure an honest and independent body of men unless the Government protects them from the continual oppression and extortion which they suffer at the hands of the disreputable portion of the native Press, English or vernacular, of which they live in perpetual fear.

These views are fully shared by the respectable portion of the native Press, and as an example I insert a paragraph from a recent issue of the *Indian Spectator*, one of the most enlightened exponents of native opinion in Bombay.

"The *Dnyan Suddu* is an interesting new weekly, started at Ahmedabad. It is written in English and Gujarati, and confines itself to non-political questions. We are very glad of this, for the plague of vernacular prints, poisoning the atmosphere of public affairs in the mofussil, is becoming intolerable. They say all such mushroom growths will die a natural death. There is something in that, but how about the mischief done before the epidemic is over? Public opinion ought to set its face against such intruders, feeding upon the garbage of indecent advertisements, and reeking with the blood of personal rancour. It is a relief to turn from these debasing examples of self-advancement to an honest effort at self-improvement like *Dnyan Suddu*."

A certain proportion of the Indian Press is conducted with decency and propriety, and its criticisms are justly regarded by the Government with respect. The great majority, however, are as bad as the worst specimens of Irish and American journalism; and their unchecked growth is a reproach to the Government which, in India, is never strong enough to allow the open preaching of sedition, while the self-respect of its officials is lowered, and their position in the eyes of the people is degraded by their being made the constant objects of libels which the Government itself should punish.

I have no intention of discussing in any detail the subjects which have come before the Commission. For this there is no space in the pages of a review, nor would it be

acceptable to the English public, which is not sufficiently informed on Indian affairs to find such detail other than fatiguing. I would merely attempt to clear away some of the many cobwebs which have been industriously spun over the intricate question of the Administration of India, and explain to English, rather than to Indian readers, what are the necessary conditions of the public service in this country; how far we can meet the wishes of the educated classes, and where we must peremptorily say that the door is closed, at any rate, for the present. And on the threshold of the inquiry I would join issue with Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, a Parsee reformer, for whom I have the strongest sentiments of respect and esteem, who, in a letter that he has contributed on the subject to the Bombay Press, expresses a hope "that the labours of the Public Service Commission will lead to reasonable finality in the settlement of the question, and that it will not do to merely scratch the surface of the question and put off the evil day."

Now this scratching of the surface of the question is all that it is possible to do at any time in India, with reference to arrangements for the public service. We find a sufficiently close analogy in the land revenue settlement. If a district be so completely and scientifically cultivated as to render it improbable that there can be any future appreciable increase in its returns, the Government is not only justified, but is acting with discretion in granting it a permanent settlement. If, on the other hand, half its lands are still jungle, and the remainder unscientifically and uneconomically cultivated, then the Government which should grant to such a tract a permanent settlement, would be acting with criminal extravagance. In the same way with the public service of India, education, civilization, and culture, in the best and highest sense of the word, have so far affected an infinitesimal proportion of the general population. The educated classes, however creditable their acquirements may be, do not reach a very high standard of learning from a critical view-point. The Government of

India is certainly not prepared to grant at the present time to Indians that large share in the administration which I believe, and hope they may, at some future time, be competent to receive. Those who urge and incite half-educated men and ambitious schoolboys to clutch at everything, do infinite injury to the social and political progress of the country, and they render it difficult for the Government to make any concessions, where so much is demanded. The rule should not be finality, as Mr. Malabari suggests, but reconstruction and change, after reasonable intervals of twenty, thirty, or fifty years, as the progress of the educated classes in culture, and what is now more required in India than culture, moderation and self-restraint (what the Greeks termed *εὐπράτεια*), shall be swift or slow.

In determining any change in the public service and its recruitment, the Government of India and the people of England (for any radical change must receive the sanction of Parliament) must clearly realize what they require, and must then determine the best means of obtaining it. India is not a country which can be regarded as a microcosm, unaffected by the world lying beyond its borders. It is the object of the envy and cupidity of at least one European Power, and any false step of the British Government in the weakening of its authority there would lead to an immediate struggle for the valuable prize. Brute force is more than ever the dominating factor in European politics, and we may at any moment have to defend our scattered empire against formidable rivals and enemies. If we are to hold India securely against assault from without, the qualities of its administrators cannot be determined by exclusively regarding those respectable qualifications and aptitudes which allow a man to become a good municipal commissioner or an estimable judge. "It is not by speechifying or the votes of majorities," said Prince Bismarck, "that the great questions of the day are to be settled, but by blood and iron." For this reason England should insist that the direct administration of affairs shall remain

in the hands of Englishmen, who still know how to hold the empire that they have won. Putting aside the educated classes who are now clamouring for place, I affirm that, of the population of India, ninety-nine in one hundred, princes and people, would approve of this determination on the part of England, and would view with sorrow and disgust the surrender of her authority into the hands of any of their fellow-countrymen, however well instructed. On the other hand, it is not only just but politic to consider with the utmost liberality the demands of the educated classes of India, and to admit them freely and without any foolish prejudice of race, to such offices as they can adequately fill—on the express condition that the public service be benefited thereby. The fallacy that England is bound to provide administrative employment for educated natives should be ruthlessly swept away. The Government is not bound to do anything of the sort, nor is there any country in the world in which such a claim would be for a moment admitted. The duty of the Government is to find the best instruments for its special work, and where the conditions are equal and the appointment can as well be filled by a native as by a European, I would, for political reasons, give the appointment to the native of the country.

It may be hoped that the Commission will demolish another fallacy which has been continually brandished before it as an axiomatic truth, that the same work should carry the same pay, and that the native civilian should consequently receive a salary equal to that of his English associate. No more grotesque pretension could be conceived. The one vital plea on which the re-organization of the higher Public Service of India can be justified is that of economy. The country is poor, and although it is daily increasing in wealth and prosperity, yet it will always remain comparatively poor from the operation of well-known causes, which it is not necessary here to enumerate. The demands of the administration for public servants advance more rapidly than the growth of India's wealth, and in order to prevent

the Civil Government of the country becoming too heavy a burden on the Treasury, it has become necessary to look around and inquire whether, instead of increasing the number of highly paid English Civil Servants, native officials may not be preferentially supplied, who may perform the same work, more or less efficiently, for a much smaller remuneration. This is the real essence and soul of the problem, and it must consequently be examined in a little more detail.

The rate of pay which should be given to English and Native Civil Servants is a mere question of the market price of labour. The modern competitive system, which is foolishly supposed to produce an aristocratic bureaucracy, is a purely democratic institution. It is open to all the Queen's subjects, without distinction of birth, creed, or colour; and the high pay of Indian appointments is the declared attraction to draw competent men to its examinations. If the pay be extravagantly high for this object, it should be reduced. My own opinion, obviously unbiassed by personal considerations, is that the pay of the rank and file of the Civil Service is much too low, and that owing to various reasons, such as retarded promotion and the depreciation of silver, the salary of a civilian of ten years' standing is probably from 30 to 40 per cent. lower than when the Service was thrown open to competition in 1856. The effect of this lowering of the standard of attraction is visible in the labour market of England, and will injuriously affect the future supply. At no time was the remuneration extravagant. A man who can pass the competitive examination for the Civil Service is presumably of such temper, ability, and education, as to have a reasonable assurance of success in any of the learned professions in England; and he can gain little and may lose much by coming to India. If he be successful in the Service, he would probably be receiving a considerably higher income than he would have done had he remained in England; but the drawbacks of perpetual exile and a compulsory

withdrawal from the Service at an age when he would be only coming into notice at the Bar or in Parliament, are objections so grave as to necessitate a special compensating scale of salary. The expense of Indian life to an Englishman is very great. The climate and caste customs render a large number of servants necessary; the personal habits of himself and his family compel the importation from Europe of almost all articles of domestic consumption and adornment; while there is a constant obligation to maintain the dignity of an official position. These are all causes of great compulsory expenditure, and, under existing circumstances, it has become impossible for the father of a large family to save money at all. It is well if he can maintain his position worthily, and educate his children without falling into debt. Instead of any reduction in pay, it will be necessary for the Government either to raise the salary of English civilians in India, or to allow them to remit a certain proportion of their salaries to England at par, saving them from the crushing loss by exchange. Unless this be done, the Government must not expect to find the *élite* of English youth pressing to its examinations.

If the finances of India will not bear a large increase in the number of the highly paid English civilians, it is obvious that we must look around for a cheaper substitute. We have him available by the thousand in India, and the supply is increasing much more quickly than the demand, and the Government will commit a grave financial error and burthen Indian taxpayers most unjustly if they engage him at any other than the market rate of labour. It is difficult to pronounce what this rate may precisely be, but the question has been solved with sufficient practical accuracy by the experience of many years. Take, for example, the Punjab Commission, by which name is known the body of English and native officials who form its higher executive and judicial service. The English members known as Assistant-Commissioners, Deputy-Commissioners, and Commissioners, draw rates of pay rising, in

regular gradation, from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500 per mensem. The native members of the same Commission, known as Extra-Assistant-Commissioners, receive from Rs. 200 to Rs. 800 per mensem. On a rough average, the native officer receives one-third of the pay of the English official. I do not suppose that any well-informed person would doubt that, at these rates of pay, we obtain the best of the intellect of the province. A few years ago, I was intimately acquainted with almost every native officer in the Punjab, and they were, with some exceptions, highly intelligent, honourable, and capable public servants. A proportion of them were distinctly superior, as judicial officers, to the average of English judges. I have no reason to believe that these gentlemen were dissatisfied with their salaries. They were sensible enough to recognize the immense difference between their position and that of English officers, and realized that their service under the British Government with assured pensions and unimpaired dignity was infinitely preferable to holding office in a native State. None of them would leave a British province for service in such a State without a very large increase of emoluments.

If we examine the rate of salary in the more important native States, we can easily ascertain the market rate of administrative labour, both there and in the British Provinces. I have lately been engaged in the re-organization of the two important States of Gwalior and Bhopal, one Mahratta and the other Mahomedan, and have had carefully to examine the rates of pay of every important native official in them, in order to determine whether enhancement was necessary or advisable. In Gwalior, the Prime Minister drew Rs. 2,000 per mensem, though for many years his salary had only been half that sum. No one else in the State drew more than Rs. 1,000, and only three or four received this amount. The Governor of Malwa, who has many districts under him, received Rs. 1,000 a month, with allowances. The Subahs, who fill

the equivalent office to Deputy-Commissioners or Magistrates of the district in British territory, received from Rs. 400 to Rs. 600. The Subah's Assistants, who rank as Assistant-Commissioners or Assistant-Magistrates in British territory, drew only Rs. 100 a month.

In the Bhopal State there was no official whose pay was, previous to my re-organization, above Rs. 500, while the Magistrate of the district only received Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 a month. In the great Mahratta State of Indore, the pay of similar grades and duties was lower than Gwalior. There are in Indore fourteen men holding appointments which would be held by Englishmen in British India. Two Judges of the Saddar or High Court, one on 933 and the second on 701 rupees per mensem. Three Civil and Sessions Judges on Rs. 265, 225, and 125 respectively. Two Subordinate and Decree Judges on 190 and 125 rupees per mensem. One Sir Subah, or Commissioner, on Rs. 275. Three Subahs or District Magistrates, one on 500, and two on 250 rupees per mensem. Besides these there are over a hundred subordinate officials, all exercising judicial powers, whose monthly pay varies from 150 to 15 rupees.

It must be remembered that in native States no pension is granted to officials, so their emoluments compare most unfavourably with the salaries and pensions given to its servants by the British Government. To sum up, experience in British provinces proves that the best class of native official can be obtained at one-third the rate of salary given to English officers. That in native States the rate of remuneration is far lower, and the best men can be obtained for one-fifth to one-tenth the rates given to English Civil Servants. There are many reasons for thinking that the generosity of the British Government in somewhat extravagantly remunerating its native *employés* is not unprofitable, and that it is justified by increased efficiency and honesty. The higher native officials in British territory have, as a rule, clean hands, and their integrity adds

largely to the strength of the Government. In native States the officials are too often corrupt, though I know many honourable exceptions, and their dishonesty is, as often as not, approved by the chief, who finds it cheaper to employ birds of prey who can forage for themselves.

The suggestion has been made that the native civilian should be paid half the salary given to his English brother; but this, I think, a fair examination of the question and the market rates of labour will show to be extravagant. The Indian civilian has few of the expenses that fall upon the Englishman. He is serving in his own country, among his relations and friends. The climate and mode of life are congenial to him, and he has no occasion to live in a style beyond that which is usual among his simple and frugal fellow-countrymen. He has no children to educate in England on a depreciated rupee, nor journeys to make there for business, pleasure, or health. Social custom, it is true, requires him to spend largely on occasions of marriages and deaths, and, under certain circumstances, to maintain a number of distant relatives and connections; but comparing the salaries of native States with those given by the British Government, it would seem that sufficient provision has been already made by the latter for these extraordinary causes of expenditure. At any rate, no complaint has been heard. The English civilian's education has probably cost him at the lowest estimate from £1,000 to £1,500. The Indian's education has been mostly at the expense of Government, and, at the outside, has cost him Rs. 15 a month for college fees. If the native student were to be paid at the same rate as the English civilian, or at any sum approximating thereto, it would be far better and cheaper to increase the English staff; for, putting aside certain branches of the service such as the judicial, there can be no doubt that the Englishman is infinitely more efficient than the Indian. In the first place, there is no comparison in the quality of their education and the solidity of their training. No school or college in India

to-day is competent to impart a first-class education, in the European sense of the word. They have not the professorial staff nor the material. The highest education that Indian colleges can give is probably not superior to that of a first-class Board School in England. The profound and extensive learning of the men who take first rank in the scientific and literary world of England, is as far as the star Sirius above the culture of the University student of India. His training is superficial to an extraordinary degree, and although many naturally clever men have passed through the Indian educational mill, I do not remember, in the last quarter of a century, a single original work written by a native of India on any subject of general, literary, political, or scientific interest, which could fairly take rank with productions of the second or even the third class in England. In poetry, natural science, political economy, logic, philosophy, history, fiction, medicine, the intellectual field is barren. Potential depths of originality may be concealed in the Indian people, but so far they have had no external expression. Under the existing system of education in India, which is most jejune, lifeless, and inefficient, there is little hope that the Indian intellect will produce a rich harvest. We are, it is true, applying to the exhausted soil European manures, and blades of wheat are beginning to appear above the ground. But these must not boast themselves as though they were already the ripe corn in the ear. The future, which hides so much, leaves in doubt the capacity of the modern Indian for original intellectual work, though he is an apt and facile imitator. Those who point to past splendours of Hindu literature and art, and from them argue present original capacity, are forgetful of the lessons of history which teach us that nations grow old and decay, and lose their creative power. It is hard to find any trace of the genius of ancient Greece and Rome in the modern representatives of Pericles and Augustus whom we meet in Athens and the *cafés* of the Corso.

The educated classes are naturally indisposed to allow that they are inferior in education or capacity to any other class whatever, and they gallantly declare that they neither ask nor wish for favourable or exceptional treatment. All that they demand is justice, and that their practical exclusion from the Covenanted Civil Service of the Crown may cease. With this object, they request, with almost unanimity, that the maximum age for candidates at the competitive examination in London may be raised to twenty-three. The argument, from their point of view, is not without weight. It is that the Act of Parliament of 1833 and Her Majesty's proclamation of 1858 granted to all natives of India equality with Englishmen, and that when the age for competition is fixed, as at present, at nineteen, the Indian youth proceeding to England is so seriously handicapped as to be unable to compete with any reasonable chance of success. That English being the framework of the examination, and this language being acquired by the Indian youth far later than by his English rival, while his opportunities of becoming familiar with it are limited, he is unable to compete at eighteen on equal terms, and that he is thus practically debarred from entering the Covenanted Civil Service at all, and is obliged to fall back on the Uncovenanted Civil Service, or to enter through the back door of favouritism, ordinarily known as the Statutory Civil Service, which is held open, more or less grudgingly, by Local Governments, and admits youths, presumably of good family and political interest, to higher places and larger pay than they are by any means entitled to by their value in the market.

With this increase in the age of competitors, simultaneous examination is demanded in England and in India, and that the successful candidates in both shall take equal rank. Let us now briefly examine these proposals. To the demand for equitable and equal treatment, with strict regard to personal merit, no exception is likely to be taken by liberal and public-spirited Englishmen. It was not to be expected that the Indian Civil Service as at present consti-

tuted could escape all those defects which are inherent in a bureaucracy, however formed; yet it is probable, from the conditions of its existence, that there is no other bureaucracy so liberal in sentiment and practice. Absolutely democratic in its origin, without any hereditary taint of exclusiveness or prejudice, and ever reabsorbed in the ranks of the people, the sympathies of the Civil Service are generally in favour of popular rights as opposed to prescription. There is no desire, on the part of the Government of India or the officers who serve under it, to withdraw in any degree from the gracious terms of Her Majesty's proclamation, or to deny to any of her subjects reasonable facilities for entering her service. It is freely admitted that the time has passed when we can hold India most securely by keeping her in darkness and subjection. We have voluntarily opened the doors of the prison house, and the captive, who has long been pining in the darkness of ignorance, has come into the free air and light, and is possessed of an eager desire to make use of his newly acquired freedom. However extravagant the pretensions which are now urged upon the Government, and however unwise would be their unrestricted concession, yet the principle has been accepted since India was taken over by the Queen-Empress that we must invite the natives of India to share with us the responsibilities of administration, and, by admitting them to high office and emolument, unite their interests with our own for the security of the empire.

Those who desire to read the most conclusive argument in favour of the liberal treatment of the natives of India, couched in language the most noble and eloquent, will find it in the concluding pages of Lord Macaulay's admirable speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July, 1833, on the occasion of the introduction of the Bill for the better government of India, re-published in Lady Trevelyan's edition of her brother's works. With every word of that impassioned defence of the inherent rights of the natives of India, I cordially agree; as, I doubt not,

would every English official of standing in India. But the rights which have been conceded to the people of India with that generosity and eager hatred of injustice which is the best characteristic of Englishmen, must be interpreted with reasonableness and moderation, and the Government must determine, by considerations of its own interest and safety, those conditions under which it will admit the claims of the candidates to high office. The conditions of success are, in every country, strictly limited, even though no political disabilities are in question. Nor can any man complain if those limitations which specially affect him, are such as to prevent him obtaining the object of his ambition. *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*. A or B, though not prevented by any political disabilities from attaining Cabinet rank, cannot reasonably consider it a grievance that they are not made Secretaries of State. Till the other day, in England, a country which had long boasted its political freedom, the Ministry was exclusively composed of members of a few great families, Whig or Tory, and notwithstanding the common acceptance of platitudes regarding liberty and equal rights, no member of even the higher middle classes could obtain an entry within the sacred circle.

In the same way the Bengali Babu, who has lately, in Calcutta, in a so-called "National Congress," been pouring, with fatal fluency, torrents of bad sense and worse logic on every contemporary topic of foreign or domestic administration, must not consider that he is placed under a political disability if the Government declines to give him and his *confrères* a majority of seats in the Legislative Councils of India, from which he calmly proposes to exclude the Viceroy and Governors of provinces, leaving the administration entirely in native hands, the hard work of executive drudgery being alone assigned to the English interloper. The Government of India is, presumably, not prepared to make over to natives offices for which they are manifestly unfit. On the other hand, there are many offices which may be filled with advantage by natives, if the financial

condition be strictly respected of paying them at the market rate of intellectual labour. To do this will of course require some courage on the part of the Government, as an amusing incident* which occurred a few days ago at Calcutta will illustrate. A Bengali gentleman, named Dinendro Nath Pal, who described himself as neither a graduate nor an undergraduate, volunteered to give evidence before the Public Service Commission at Calcutta, and expounded doctrines much at variance with Babu pretensions. Among other things he declared that Rs. 200 a month was a very respectable salary for a native civilian to commence upon, and that he knew graduates of the Calcutta University who would be glad to serve for Rs. 50. He added that natives, as a rule, took undue advantage of their position whenever they got the chance, and that, in case of riot, he would prefer to be tried by an Englishman, because a native magistrate was not unusually influenced by caste prejudices. The publication of these heterodox sentiments was visited with immediate punishment by the outraged Babu community—as appears from an announcement in a native paper to the effect that "Mr. Dinendro Nath Pal was yesterday burnt at Bhowanipur in effigy."

To discuss what share of public appointments, in what departments, should be made over to native claimants, would take up too much space and trench on ground which will doubtless be fully occupied by the report of the Commission. I would only say that, in my opinion, almost the entire judicial service might be made over to native judges, reserving criminal powers to the magistrate of the district, and a certain proportion of English judges being retained on the benches of the High Courts to preserve continuity in the treatment of cases and a high standard of judicial work. The higher branches of the Executive Service must, to-day and for all time, be retained in English hands. The supreme authority in a district and in a division must be an Englishman, and I

trust that the sentiment of England will never permit this visible and essential sign of English supremacy to be effaced or obscured by any agitation, however persistent or violent. Unless the administration be conducted on English principles, by English officials, we have no *raison d'être* in the country. There are a vast number of appointments in what are called the Uncovenanted branches of the Public Service, Public Works, the Post Office, Telegraphs, Railways, Gaols, Forests, Irrigation, Police, now filled by Europeans, which may, with advantage to the public treasury, be made over to natives—subject again to the financial condition before laid down; otherwise it will be economical to continue to employ European agency, seeing that, in offices requiring originality or mental and bodily energy, the European can perform three times the amount of work of a native. This is certainly my experience of the Department of Public Works, and I doubt if there is a superintending engineer in India who does not share my opinion. The administration of India has, in the hands of Englishmen, grown into a very complex machine requiring skill, courage, and long experience to work it with safety or to develop its full powers. This is the reason that it is not expedient to entrust high executive functions to native hands; while they may with advantage be trusted with the greater portion of the judicial work of the country, in which England must be said to have conspicuously failed, both in judicial legislation and in the work of the Courts. The truth is, that neither English judges nor jurists so closely and clearly understand the inner life of the people of India, their sentiments, or their customs, as to enable them to draft a thoroughly practical and welcome Act or to deliver a satisfactory decision on numerous points of Indian law and custom. Now and then a lawyer of sympathetic genius, like Sir Henry Maine or Sir James Stephen, is vouchsafed to India, but the legal member of Council cannot be always expected to possess genius; and he often

leaves India absolutely ignorant of the working of its secret life, and knowing no more of the general aspect of the country or the people than can be seen from the windows of a railway carriage between Simla and Calcutta. In this ignorance is found sufficient justification for Provincial Legislative Councils, for which the time has come in the Punjab as in the North-Western Provinces.

Unnecessary and therefore mischievous legislation has been the curse of India; while no less harmful has been the action of the law Courts, which have corrupted native India more than anything else since the British advent to power. The gross and universal perjury of the Courts, the like of which is not to be found in native States, where *prima facie* the oppression of the ruler should have encouraged falsehood as the natural defence against tyranny, directly springs from the ignorance of British judges, who do not know whether a native witness is telling the truth or a lie. The subtle and, to a native judge, the unmistakable signs of truth or untruth in the demeanour and voice of the witness and in the manner and matter of his evidence are unnoticed by the European, whose mastery of the vernacular is incomplete, and who, in many cases, knows little or nothing of the social life and customs of the several Indian castes and tribes. This knowledge, which is worth far more than many of the subjects in the competitive examination, is becoming more rare every day. The further the suit is removed from the native magistrate, the more complete is the fiasco; till, on the bench of the High Court, are found English barristers knowing as little of India as of the moon, and absolutely incompetent to say whether a native witness is speaking the truth or not. It is consequently in the High Courts, the very most sacred shrine of the temple of justice, that perjury flourishes most rankly. I believe it will be for the advantage of the country if the whole judicial system be transferred, with exceptions before noticed, to native hands, and we may reasonably hope that the odium which the Courts now

excite may be transferred with the judicial emoluments to the native judiciary.

With the executive administration of the country the case is different. We have set up a high standard of efficiency which must be maintained, and it is obvious that, in the hands of native officials, it would at once be lowered. Their training is not such, nor is their culture so high that they sympathize with the progress by which they benefit, and they regard our eager love of reform with dislike and suspicion. They care little for the very rudiments and elements of civilization. Roads, bridges, education, sanitation they regard with lack-lustre and uninterested eyes. Before attempting wild and rash experiments in British India, it might be wise for us to await the result of the great Mysore experiment, which, in common with many others, I am watching with the greatest interest. Here is a State which had fallen by circumstances into British hands and was consequently administered on English principles for nearly two generations. An unprecedented, and I believe righteous, though somewhat quixotic, generosity, has restored this State to a descendant of its ancient rulers, and the Government, anxious for the future, and the fate of its numberless reforms, has required that the administration shall be continued on the lines by them laid down, with the English system of laws and courts and all the complicated paraphernalia of English civilization. The young chief is an amiable youth, highly trained according to the approved modern method. The State is administered by a Dewan, who, at each Daschra festival, delivers himself to a crowd of peasants, called a representative assembly, of a speech which is afterwards printed and does duty as an administration report. I do not believe in the genuineness of the display, nor that the complicated system involved in the wholesale extension, in 1881, of our acts to Mysore, can work, as it is supposed to work, without European supervision. The consequence will be, either a general slackening all round, or a wholesale impos-

ture and make believe. Let the Government await the result of this experiment before trying it in British provinces.

Let us now examine the demand for changes in the competitive system of examination. I would first observe that for India, as for every Oriental country, competition for the public service is an anomaly and a mistake. There is no more certain method of obtaining the wrong men, and of excluding those most desirable. The whole tradition and sentiment of India is outraged by compelling its candidates for Government employ to masquerade in a strange competitive garb. China has hitherto been the only Oriental country in which competition has been the rule; and it might have been hoped that it would have continued to be singular in the possession of this most pernicious institution. But it has taken root, like a bad weed, in India, and the only thing to be now done is to minimize its evil effects. In England, the evils of competition are not so evident. The character of the people, the wide area of education, the high standard of learning, the impossibility of fraud, give a general assurance to the world of good results from the competitive system, which, though not fulfilling the fair promise of its origin, is still in accordance with modern democratic sentiment, and is too fast established in popular estimation to be shaken.

As to the demand for increasing the age of candidates from nineteen to twenty-three, I consider that it should be strenuously resisted. When the question was under discussion some years ago I wrote an article in *The Fortnightly Review* on the Civil Service examination in which I strongly urged the reduction of the age of candidates to its present limit, chiefly on the ground that it was advisable to secure them as young as possible. That service in India was eminently distasteful to young men of university education and culture, and especially the earlier and solitary years of Indian life, and that to insure efficiency, energy, and content, it was well to take the candidate before his tastes and habits were irrevocably formed. To this opinion

I still adhere, and nothing in the arguments that have been lately advanced in favour of the increase of age have altered it. They, indeed, raise an altogether different issue. The real point is that the competition rules in England were exclusively framed with reference to the supply of Englishmen to the Covenanted Civil Service of India, and had no thought of native candidates at all. They were not excluded from the competition, and it would have been most unjust, then or now, to exclude them; but what England required was to obtain the best of her own youth for the government of her most important dependency. The competition of native candidates in no way affected this object, or the paramount necessity of obtaining the best Englishmen possible for Indian service. The necessity is more pressing than ever, and if the Secretary of State and the Government of India and Parliament are satisfied that the reduction of age was advantageous with reference to the English supply, they will be very ill-advised if they modify the rule in compliance with a demand of the natives of India.

I doubt much whether it is advisable to encourage natives to enter for the English examination. In the first place, the subjects are such, in ancient and modern languages, as to be worse than useless to the native civilian in his future life; and if Arabic and Sanscrit are to be substituted for Latin and Greek, and the vernacular languages of India for the modern languages of Europe, there is no comparative method by which the respective value of candidates' marks under the two systems can be determined. Nor do I think that residence in England and education there are any advantage to the great majority of Indian students. I have seen much of them in London, as have my friends, Dr. G. W. Leitner and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald of the India Office, who take special interest in the conduct and guardianship of Indian youths in the metropolis, and I believe that their opinion will coincide with mine, that the temptations of London, especially those which take a feminine garb, are a great

deal too strong for the majority of these young men to resist. Freed from all the restraints of family, caste, and association, their lives are, in many cases, a scandal; and what they acquire intellectually does not compensate for the deterioration in their morals and manners. There are doubtless exceptions, who live honourable, decent lives amidst the temptations of London; but such are rare, and it is well that Indian fathers should know it. Nor do I think that the English training, as typified by the successful passing of the London competitive examination, is necessary for the discharge of high, or even the highest, judicial functions. Experience, integrity, and an intimate knowledge of the people and their customs are worth far more than German, chemistry, and geology; and these special aptitudes for judicial work are more likely to be blunted than polished by a prolonged residence in a foreign country. I may incidentally observe that, even were the age of competition raised to twenty-three, it would not affect Indian students so much as they seem to imagine. I well remember visiting the Mission College in Calcutta on my first arrival in India with the justly celebrated Dr. Duff, and, new to the country, I was astonished beyond measure at the almost incredible mental activity and intelligence of his young pupils. Their progress in English, mathematics, and general knowledge seemed to me far in advance of that of English students of the same age. Dr. Duff observed to me: "This intelligence, however precocious, is genuine; but alas, it is very short-lived. These boys at fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen will all marry, and in a few years they will have lost all their intellectual brightness and a great portion of their mental power."

I have found the truth of Dr. Duff's remark everywhere in India, and, paradoxical as it may seem, Indian students would, if the age of competition were lowered to seventeen, have a far better chance of success than at present. Early marriage, which is the shame and infamy of India, so far as females are concerned, inflicts a terrible revenge on the opposite sex of their oppressors.

Lastly, on this point of the reduction of age it is well to dispose of the complaint raised by Indian critics, that the maximum age of candidates was lowered in order to exclude native candidates, and that it has had this effect. The charge cannot stand a moment's examination. The change was made from consideration of English candidates alone, for under the old regulations there was no inconvenient rush of native candidates. Under that system the rate of admission was the same as under the new, namely, one successful candidate in two years; nor is there any reason to believe that if the standard were again raised, more native candidates would be successful in London. Neither under the old rules nor the new could a native candidate succeed unless possessed of the highest ability and energy, and I would by no means close the entry to these exceptional men who would be a valuable acquisition to any administration, and in their case alone I would allow the same rates of pay as is given to English civilians. They would have proved their right to equal treatment by their courage and talents, and by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money on a foreign and expensive education.

We will now consider the demand for simultaneous examinations in England and in India. This is understood to apply to examinations identical in subjects, for if the subjects differ there is no standard of comparison, and simultaneity becomes a matter of no concern. But the contention assumes that the same papers will be set in England and India. In my opinion there are insuperable objections to this concession. The first is one which goes to the root of the matter. The quality of an examination depends, not upon the papers set, but upon the candidates who offer themselves. To pretend that the competition would be equal between English University and Public School candidates, examined in London by the most highly trained experts of the day, and Bengali candidates in Calcutta, examined by the Staff of the Department of Public Instruction, is hardly worthy of serious discussion. No

comparison between the results achieved would be possible, nor would the Government and public be able to have any confidence in the honesty of the returns. Frauds of a most scandalous description are so conspicuous a feature of Indian examinations, and the reputation of great institutions like the Bombay and Punjab Universities has been so grievously impaired by the repeated theft and divulgence of examination papers, that it will be long before public confidence in the honesty of even University students is restored. It should further be borne in mind that *vivâ voce* examination forms a very important part of the English competitive system, and, in some subjects, is the only protection against mechanical cramming. Even if the written portion of the examination could be made of equal difficulty (which it cannot), the objection with regard to the oral test would remain as strong as ever, seeing that there are not in India the professors, scientists, and scholars competent to hold a searching *vivâ voce* examination of the high standard required for the Indian Civil Service competition. Inquiry would show that the Educational Department, which contains the only available examining staff, is largely fed by rejected candidates of this very competition. To elevate them into its judges and examiners would be too grotesque.

What, then, is the ideal system for recruiting the Public Service of India, and for obtaining the best of the native youth for the important work of administration? I would reply, that the Government and Parliament should have the courage to depose from its high place this unlovely fetish of unrestricted and open competition, which in no way satisfies the requirements of India and is essentially obnoxious to the sentiment of the best and most influential of its people. Let the Government again take into its hands the powers that it is unwisely resigning, and establish a Native Civil Service for India with competition (if competition in some form we must have) between carefully nominated and selected candidates. No Oriental Government will endure that voluntarily surrenders what, through-

out the East, is one of the normal and necessary attributes of power, the absolute right of appointing by favour or merit to high office, at the will of the ruler. Revolutionary dreamers may call this favouritism, nepotism, or jobbery; but the fact remains that Orientals must be ruled by Oriental methods, and that the practice of pouring new wine into old bottles has been condemned on very high and adequate authority. It is all very well for the self-sufficient students who give evidence before the Public Service Commission to assure that body that the noble families are extinct, and that the landed gentry have no influence. It is political madness to ignore the natural and hereditary leaders of the people. The power of misquoting Shakespeare or misunderstanding Darwin will not save the empire. It is true that the Capitol was once saved by the cackling of geese, but it would not be wise to count on a repetition of the miracle; and not a single Bengali Babu from Assam to the Sunderbands would fire a shot for the English if they were engaged in a war *à l'outrance* with Russia. We should then have to trust to the brave, fighting races of the Punjab, recruited and led by Mahomedan Maliks and Sikh Sirdars; the loyal and noble class who are being elbowed out of the public service by plausible, half-educated scribes.

The second point we note is, that the Indian examinations should be provincial. This is, in any case, a *sine quâ non*. Whatever nonsense orators of the *soi-disant* National Congress may talk, India is not one country and one nation, but a group of loosely connected nationalities; and the fact of Bengali Babus orating simultaneously in half-a-dozen cities of India and despatching inflated telegrams describing the imaginary enthusiasm of non-existent mass meetings, does not affect the question. No amount of wire-pulling will transform the sheep into the lion, or the hawk into the dove. The great territorial administrations of to-day—Madras, Burma, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal—represent, with sufficient

accuracy, the local limits within which restricted competition for the public service might be appropriately confined. Unless this be assured, that province which at the present time professes the best and most numerous educational facilities, would fill the public service with the men of a race far inferior to Englishmen in popularity and general esteem. The English language being the basis of modern competition, and Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta being the headquarters of English education and the oldest settlements of the British Government, the students of these three provincial capitals would overwhelm the less advanced candidates of the northern and more warlike provinces, with results which would, to say the least, be both startling and inconvenient. The character of the examination should be quite different from that of London. The classical and Oriental languages of India would be compulsory; English should be optional; and those subjects of natural science which cannot be taught in India for want of material and professors, such as geology, botany, and chemistry, should be altogether abandoned. And in order to secure manliness and courage in our Native Public Service, qualities far more useful than mere book-learning, I would insist on a compulsory athletic test in horsemanship and the use of arms. The magistrate who cannot ride twenty miles across country to inquire into a murder, or who would be afraid to shoot dead with his revolver the leader of a riot, may well be left to the counting-house or the shop.

It would further be necessary to require a property test in the candidates. I have already shown that success in the London competition presumes an expenditure by the father of the candidate of from £1,000 to £1,500 on his son's education, and a native successful in the same examination would certainly have spent as much. This gives assurance that the candidates are drawn from the higher or wealthier classes of society, and the chief objection to the reduction in age was, that two or three years of University training were thereby lost, which would have necessitated a

further expenditure of several hundred pounds, and a proportionate rise in the social position of the successful candidates. If the Indian competition be open, and without any condition as to the status of the parent of the candidate, whose education has been mostly at the charge of Government, the situation will be the same as if a Radical Ministry should decree that the present constitution of the London examination was too aristocratic, and that, for the future, no candidate would be admitted who had not been solely educated, at Government expense, in the Board Schools. But there is surely no reason that the English in India, which is a country eminently conservative, should be more radical than Englishmen in England, and it would be a fatal mistake to allow the sons of the lowest classes to attain high position in the service of the Empress. No youth should be permitted to compete whose father was not a landed proprietor, or who could not produce proof of the possession of real or funded property to such an amount as to give him and his offspring a substantial stake in the country, and to afford the Government some guarantee of the loyalty and respectability of the candidate. There is so large an educated class in India, and it is so rapidly growing, that the Government will do well to distribute its loaves and fishes to those upon whose loyalty and influence it may certainly rely. If they mistake clamour for argument, and imagine that the shrill demands of a small class represent the voice and will of the people, they will have, ere long, a rude awakening. *La carrière ouverte aux talents* has a pleasant sound, but its illustration, in contemporary France, shows obscure clerks—whose names were unknown three months ago—at the head of the Ministry and the Foreign Office, and this at a grave and fateful crisis.

There are some English theorists who might have been professors at the College of Lagado, who delight to weave cloth from cobwebs, and who approve the method of the Chinaman who burnt down his house every time that he wished to dine on roast pig. They look upon India as

created for interesting experiments in sociology and politics, and do not understand that its economical and intellectual development is that of England three hundred years ago, and that it is as reasonable to talk of competition and representative institutions to Hindus as it would have been for Lord Burleigh to have attempted to govern England by means of the Caucus. These theorists are fortunately rare among English officials who have an intimate knowledge of the country, and are only found among those who have been nourished on the skim milk of Theosophy and Positivism. The real friends of India are not those who persuade the natives that they are already the equals of their teachers, and that after a few years of imperfect training they are ripe for institutions which, in England, are the outcome of the constitutional struggles of centuries, and have been bought by blood and tears, by much suffering and by long endurance. Let the young Hindu students, who so loudly talk of their grievances, remember that more personal and political freedom is enjoyed by natives of India than is the lot of any modern people in Europe, and that the English nation has no wish to arbitrarily withhold from them any of the rights and privileges of a common citizenship. Let them prove their civilization by emancipating their women from the curse of infant marriage and virgin widowhood, and admit them to an honoured place, side by side with men: let them demonstrate their intellectual power by original research, and their fitness for political enfranchisement by moderation, dignity, and self-restraint; while they refrain from childish abuse of those who tell them that they must learn to walk before they can run. When they have accomplished this, Englishmen will listen with patience to their demand for representative institutions, if by that time they have not become too wise to hanker after so doubtful a blessing.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

INDORE, *February*, 1887.

THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND.

THOUGH the main object of the fund for supplying female medical aid to the women of India is generally known to your readers, by the article Lady Dufferin contributed to the April number of this Review, and by her letters to *The Times*, yet I am not aware either that a really comprehensive statement has appeared of the extremely difficult and delicate problem which the Association is trying to solve, or that an appeal has been made for funds with such warmth as to give to it the character of a national movement in this year of jubilee. Peculiar circumstances have caused me to devote some attention to the subject, and I will now endeavour to place before your readers what I believe to be a true record of a noble work.

The cause I plead is to provide female medical aid for the women of India. The Association, which has undertaken the duty of organizing this great scheme, has for President the Countess of Dufferin, and for patron Her Most Gracious Majesty. It is beyond my imagination to conceive any more fitting mode of doing honour to the Queen in this year of jubilee, than by providing for so many million subjects (shall we say 150 millions?) of her own sex the blessing and consolation of skilled medical aid, not only in small ailments and the attacks of epidemic diseases, but also in all the trying and painful crises through which most of them must pass.

It is proposed to attain this end by :—

1. Medical tuition. This includes the teaching and training in India alone of women, chiefly native women, as doctors, hospital assistants, midwives, and nurses.
2. Medical relief. This includes the establishment for

females of hospitals or wards attached to existing hospitals, and of dispensaries, as well as the provision of female medical officers, midwives, attendants, and nurses, not only in hospitals and dispensaries, but also in private houses.

If we analyze the conditions of human life and catalogue the material sources of its sorrows, where shall we find a more fruitful cause of anguish than in bodily pain and sickness and the multiform miseries of ill-health? Not only do they paralyze the physical energies and activities, and render us incapable of those pursuits and industries upon which the well-being of those nearest and dearest to us is so dependent, but they prostrate our mental faculties, and, what is worse, they too frequently enfeeble and undermine the healthy tone and temper of our moral dispositions. To a man sickness may mean loss of employment and many distressing consequences, but to a woman ill-health causes perpetual domestic wretchedness, as well as a deterioration in the strength and virility of subsequent generations. But there may be some few persons in the world who consider that native women do not want doctors at all, and that any scheme for giving them medical relief is unnecessary and quixotic. If such exist, I could not ask for space to combat what appears to me such unnatural prejudice. Surely most people believe that disease with its accompaniments pain and suffering is just as common among the women of India as among those of our own country; and, though not seen or heard, that it has been waiting for centuries silently and patiently for relief. Neither is it necessary to prove that "a little learning is a dangerous thing," and that no mere smattering of medical science would suffice. Thus I shall assume that medical relief by highly skilled female medical practitioners is necessary, while I undertake to show that little or none is now available. In doing so I shall state published facts so far as I know them. They will be chiefly taken from the Reports of the Association, and, in order not to weary your readers, will be dovetailed together without acknowledg-

ment of authorship. I merely undertake to provide the setting for the pearls scattered throughout the reports. The thoughts expressed will be those of the Earl and Countess of Dufferin, and of the leading persons of India.

First of all I will say what arrangements have already been made to supply medical aid to the people of India. Scattered over the length and breadth of the land there are numerous hospitals and dispensaries, perhaps the most notable being the medical college at Calcutta, which annually succour millions of persons, and which are viewed by the natives as one of the noblest and most blessed monuments of British rule. Of all these, however, it may be said that, though originally intended for women as well, their vast benefits have as yet been mainly confined to men, the only women who avail themselves of them being outcasts and abandoned women who lead a dissolute life.

Madras, however, offers a solitary exception. Thirty years ago a medical college was established there for training midwives and nurses, and ten years ago the scheme was so much enlarged that the whole curriculum of medical instruction was opened to women. Thus in the city of Madras nothing further is required, as the medical aid of which caste and gosha women can avail themselves without touching their prejudices is as follows: 3 lady doctors, 115 certificated midwives, 5 ordinary sick nurses, 2 caste wards, and the Victoria Caste Hospital entirely officered by women. But in the Presidency of Madras, containing a population nearly 100 times as great as the city, there are actually fewer midwives and nurses than in the city itself, and no lady doctors.

There are also scattered over various parts of the country missionary ladies, with dispensaries and small hospitals, doing medical work excellent in quality, though limited in quantity. But the National Association, being strictly unsectarian, cannot avail itself of that organization. Still each in its own sphere may pursue its independent course uninfluenced by any feeling of rivalry or antagonism.

The native untrained midwives and nurses remain to be described. The universal testimony is that they are utterly incapable of fulfilling the heavy responsibilities imposed upon them, and that their modes of dealing with their patients at certain critical conjunctures are of a deplorably clumsy and inefficient character. The evidence on this subject is too heartrending to bear repetition here in any detail.

Why then, it may be asked, do not their husbands take care to provide for their wives the most efficient medical aid available? It is not for me to explain the nature of the repugnance felt by all classes of society in India against the employment of male doctors by female patients. It exists, and perhaps centuries will elapse before the rule is broken. Surely in life some prejudices and propensities must be accepted as absolute facts. The traditions, I will not say of immemorial ages, as the expression would not be historically correct, but it may be of many centuries, cannot be easily set aside. He would be a stern political economist who should say, "Let the women suffer till the prejudice becomes extinct."

Though the National Association, in carrying out the scheme, will have to rely largely on the support and goodwill of Government and its medical officers, yet it is not intended that the Association shall at any time become a Government institution, or that the Government shall be invited to interfere in the administration of its affairs. The management of the Association devolves on a central committee by whom its funds are administered; but there are also branches which to as great an extent as possible will be independent of the central committee, for they manage their own affairs, including the whole of the operations of the branch within its local area, so far as they are carried on by funds belonging to the branch. Each branch is expected to pay to the central committee a small annual contribution, to keep the central committee fully informed of its proceedings, and to administer grants made by the

central committee in accordance with the terms of the grant.

It is not intended to devote funds to the education in Europe of candidates for medical work in India. But it is earnestly hoped that means may be found to endow the Association sufficiently to allow many highly-accomplished medical ladies to be engaged to take the superintendence of the numerous hospitals, &c., which, if all goes well, will be founded in various parts of India. These ladies will each cost the Association £500 or £600 a year. Thus a capital sum of £250,000 could not be expected to provide for more than twenty such ladies. Though the Association in their second report ask for no more than £30,000 in addition to the capital sum of £20,000 already invested, making £50,000 in all, yet Lord Dufferin, in his latest speech on the subject, said that "the only criticism which he would address to the managers of the fund was, that they were too modest in their demands. Considering the task before them, they should talk, not of five lakhs, but of fifty, or £500,000."

It cannot be disguised that an endowment fund to be employed in human help, for which alone I plead, represents figures of prodigious magnitude. When stated thus in their naked simplicity they astonish, and for the moment seem impossible of attainment. Yet we are surrounded by evidences innumerable of endowments in this country by the side of which these figures are almost insignificant. There are perhaps few who could not name, each in his own neighbourhood, at least as many as twenty clergymen who receive £500 a year, or its equivalent. Then again there are the hospitals, and other charitable institutions, of which the total endowments must reach a fabulous sum. Our ancestors provided these endowments which we enjoy. Their deeds testify to their benevolence, and bid us follow their example. Even our gratitude may be appealed to, for is it not true that at the early dawn of history we received from the physicians of the East our first lessons

in medical science? and, though we are already paying back these benefits with the matured triumphs of the discoveries of modern times, yet the debt will be but half cleared off unless the women share with the men the fruits sprung from seed gathered in the land of their birth.

Every good work must have a beginning, and it is not always easy to say why the beginning should have been so long delayed. Without attempting to offer a complete explanation in this case, I will point out that it is only thirty years since Miss Nightingale startled and somewhat shocked the world with her new idea, and she now lives to see the well-trained nurse considered a necessity and a blessing, while the ladies who adopt the profession are no longer deemed eccentric or unfeminine. But it is much later since ladies began to enter the medical profession. We need not now consider whether Lady Doctors ought to be trained for practice in England. Suffice it to say that, if they can find a career open for them, and a fair prospect of remuneration, there are many who will embrace it, and there can be no question that in India they will receive a hearty welcome. The pioneers of this movement must be ladies who belong to Western civilization, with qualifications of good abilities, good health, a thorough liberal and medical education, an unusual amount of zeal and enterprize, of courage and self-denial.

Notwithstanding seclusion, the ladies of India have at all times exercised great influence in their families, and in some native States, on account of their want of education, that influence has often been of a most baneful kind. Many instances are, however, on record of great courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice being shown by native ladies, and there is no reason to doubt that if, by coming in contact with highly educated English ladies, they could become enlightened, they would do great things for the cause of humanity in India.

Many princes and natives of influence have taken the greatest interest in this movement, who, while speaking

with shame of the present lamentable condition of the women of India, anticipate for this Association a career of unexampled success. Your space would not permit me to refer to these in detail, but it is impossible to express, except in her own language, the sentiments of Maharani Surnomoye. She says :

"I had long felt the necessity for female medical tuition, female medical relief, and the supply of competent female nurses and midwives in India. Having regard to the magnitude of the work, I thought myself quite unable to organize any scheme to secure the desired objects, and waited in the hopes that Government or some benevolent association would take the matter in hand. But with the advance of my age I became less sanguine, and determined to do what I could with my own limited resources. Accordingly on February 25, 1885, I placed a certain sum of money (the amount was £15,000) in the hands of the Bengal Government for the erection of a hostel attached to the Calcutta Medical College in furtherance of female medical education in Bengal. It is indeed very gratifying to me that through the most laudable and generous efforts of the Countess of Dufferin, whom it is impossible to praise too much, there is now an organization of a National Association, with its branches at Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Bengal, having vast and extensive objects within its scope, leading to the medical treatment, comfort, health, and longevity of the women of India generally; and I have the greatest pleasure in contributing 8,000 rupees as my humble quota to the Bengal branch of the Association."

Unfortunately, few native ladies are as enlightened, or as beneficent, as the Maharani. While many native ladies will welcome gladly the offered boon, to many it will come as an innovation of which they do not see the necessity. Did not their mothers and grandmothers live and die without such relief? why then should they rebel against their lot in life? Even their virtues are a bar, for they are patient, gentle, uncomplaining, long-suffering, and unselfish to a degree.

This is a picture of the sufferer; but it will take longer to accustom the native woman to the idea of medicine as a profession. So far none but women of the lowest caste will undertake the office of midwife. But a change is now approaching, for the High Priest of the Temple of Badyanath, Bengal, when writing in September, 1885, described the undertaking as one "which deserves the earnest sup-

port of every Hindu who has an attachment for his national customs and manners ;" and adds, " Allow me to exercise the privilege which the Hindu community has accorded me of passing my benediction on the work and Her Excellency the Countess." The High Priest has since given substantial aid by offering two scholarships in order " to encourage women of his own religion, and of high caste, to undertake the study of medicine and of nursing." Let us hope, then, that the day will come in India, as it has come in England, when the task of bringing health to the sick, ease to those in pain, alleviations to the incurable, will be considered so honourable as to give to the women who undertake it a special place in the regard and esteem of the people.

As I began, so I close this appeal. The cause I plead is to provide medical aid for the women of India. Do you wonder why I go so far before I can find a suitable field in which to do honour to the Queen? There need be no wonder, for this country has enjoyed peace within its borders for centuries, and being the cradle of liberty, has known how to provide for itself institutions so numerous that no opening appears to offer for new ones. Let us, then, have the courage to support a movement of unsurpassable philanthropy, and let us not be diverted from our course by any consideration whatever, for no equally noble scheme can be proposed.

If, in the history of this country, I may say of the world, there is one great and long-continued action which will be recorded in after ages as the most honourable, it is our government of India. The time has not hitherto been ripe for us to hold out this helping hand to our female fellow-subjects there. The season, however, has now come, and every feeling of humanity prompts us to seize the opportunity, and thus to take away what is perhaps the only reproach attaching to our rule in India.

DANIEL WATNEY.

OF THE PROPERTIES OF THE
HOME DEPT
OF THE INDIA OFFICE OF INDIA

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN CHUSAN.

WHEN I went through a large part of the India Office records in 1885-6 nothing struck me more than the abundance of new material which existed in reference to the East India Company's numerous attempts to establish a trade with China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a time I entertained the idea of utilizing these documents for the purpose of a history of the beginnings of our commercial intercourse with the Celestial Empire, but I soon had to come to the conclusion that such a voluminous work would require more pronounced support from the India Office than the benevolent wishes alone accorded by that department to my intention. I have consequently abandoned the hope of being able to treat this branch of a great subject in the thorough and exhaustive manner that I had wished, and for which the materials lay ready to my hand. But I could not resign myself to abandoning the task altogether, and therefore I have decided to publish here the description of a single incident in those protracted and often desperate efforts to plant English factories on the coast of China, and to promote a traffic between its inhabitants and those of this country.

The incident to which I refer is the founding of a settlement on the island of Chusan, sanctioned in the last year of the seventeenth century, and actually accomplished in the first year of the next century. The enterprize was the special venture of the New, or English, East India Company, started in 1698, and amalgamated with the earlier Company, founded in 1599, in July, 1702; but the expeditions to Chusan were renewed by the United Company

at several subsequent periods, as will be seen from the concluding half of the following narrative, down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The importance of the description lies in the fact that, so far as I have been able to find, no reference has ever been made to our early connection with this island, which was occupied by our forces from 1841 to 1846, and again at the time of the second Chinese war, and which, by a special convention, China cannot cede to any foreign Power. When our troops were withdrawn, the general feeling was one of regret that we resigned our hold upon a valuable possession, which most competent persons at the time thought infinitely preferable as a permanent station to Hongkong.

As the advantages of the position of Chusan are so obvious and tempting—it was coveted by the French during the late war, and a recent rumour attributes to Germany the desire to acquire possession of it—it may be as well to quote the stipulation I have referred to. It is contained in the third clause of the Convention of Bocca Tigris, signed on April 4, 1846, by Sir John Davis. "It is stipulated on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of China that on the evacuation of Chusan by Her Britannic Majesty's forces, the said island *shall never be ceded to any other foreign Power.*" This engagement was justified by the good work we accomplished in the interests of the people themselves during a five years' occupation, and only the apathy of the Foreign Office can ever allow it to become a dead letter. The antiquity of our association with this island, established for the first time on historical evidence in the following narrative, provides an additional argument for our requiring the Chinese Government to preserve its sovereign rights over Chusan, or, if it resolves to waive them, to acknowledge the prior claim of this country with regard to that island. The Chinese Government has much loss of territory to fear from the detachment of islands like Chusan and Hainan from its control by aggressive foreigners. The surrender of Port Hamilton,

her statesmen must not think is a faithful representation of the views of foreign Powers towards China. Germany covets, and may endeavour to possess itself of, Chusan; a similar desire has seized the French with regard to Hainan (now in a state of open rebellion); Russia, Japan, and even the United States cherish other ambitious longings. China will be the first to suffer from their gratification; but indirectly, England must suffer too. Our claims on Chusan have a historical as well as a diplomatic basis. Long may it remain Chinese; but if China is weak enough to yield it, then do not let us be so weak as to follow her example, and resign our claims to its reversion.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

The Commission and Instructions to Allen Catchpoole, Esquire, President, and Messrs. Solomon Loyd, Henry Rouse, John Ridges, and Robert Master, Council for the affairs of the said Company in China, dated London, November 23, 1699, announce that the New or English Company, having chosen Mr. Allen Catchpoole to be their President in China, had obtained a Commission from the King, constituting him, or any President succeeding him by their appointment, to be the King's Minister or Consul* for the English nation. He was to proceed to the northern parts† of China, and there negotiate a settlement for the New Company, giving the preference to Limpo (the same with Ningpo), or, if unsuccessful there, to Nankin. If the first overtures fail, the instructions give him great latitude as to the seat of the intended factory, and define the limits of his Presidency to be the whole Empire of China and the adjacent islands. They

* This is a curious fact, because the appointment of Consuls after the expiry of the Company's monopoly in 1832 was one of the first measures to alarm the Chinese Government by showing it that diplomatic relations were expected among Western nations to follow in the train of commercial intercourse. During the monopoly the Company's agents and factors possessed no consular powers or authority.

† The old Company had settlements at Canton and Amoy.

authorize him to use two seals—one as President, the other as Consul.

The first notification of the result of this voyage is given in a letter from President Catchpoole and Council to the English Company, dated Chusan, December 21, 1700.

"On the 11th October, 1700, the President of the intended factory in China arrived at Chusan, an island near Limpo, in the *Eaton* frigate. They found in that port the *Trumbull* galley and the *Maddesfield* galley, both belonging to the English Company—with the Bombay merchant, a country trader from Bombay. The two last were loaded and ready to sail; and the *Maddesfield* was a full and very rich ship. Consul and President Catchpoole was received in a friendly manner by the Governor; notwithstanding which he was unable until the 9th of December to obtain permission to land goods, or to trade. At last the Governor's *Chop* was granted; for which the President agreed to pay 2 per cent. in full of all duties on goods bought or sold; and compounded the measurage of the two ships at 400 taels for the *Eaton*, and 300 for the *Trumbull*; and was to pay a rent of 75 taels per month for the factory and warehouses."

In consequence of the mission of Mr. Gough from Amoy,* alluded to in the *Chumpein's* letter later on, that officer, who was Lieut.-General or Military Governor of Chusan, under the *Chuntuck* of Limpo, had commenced building a factory for the English Company before Consul and President Catchpoole's arrival. The latter, nevertheless, found cause to be dissatisfied with the *Chumpein's* subsequent proceedings. The same letter from Mr. Catchpoole speaks to this effect:—

"When we first came the *Chumpein* expressed himself with great friendship and promises of mighty things for our speedy settlement at this place; but we have found him and all the rest we have had anything to do with very dilatory in all proceedings, and full of empty promises, attended with slight and shuffling performances; the trade being wholly engrossed by the *Chumpein's* agents underhand, and none but they dare to deal with us for fear of punishment. It will be impossible to despatch the *Eaton* this year without dealing with them on their own terms; nor can we contract for any investments without advancing both money and goods beforehand. Nor can any business be carried on, or friendship obtained, without presents to the great ones; in which we have not been backward on necessary occasions: but sometimes when we have been disposed to refuse a gift, it has been extorted from us by the importunity of their creatures. What we have given, however, may have eased Supercargo Douglas† of the like

* Amoy.

† Of the *Maddesfield*.

charge, and forwarded his despatch. Thus much for the general character of the Chinese functionaries here.

"As to our proceedings in order to a settlement; we first procured the Articles lately granted to Mr. Gough; which, the Chinese authorities say, were sent to him at Emoy, but he being gone from thence before they arrived, the same were brought back. These Articles being fifteen in number, the President and Mr. Loyd caused to be translated by Signor Bunqua, the *Chumpein's* linguist; to which we added twelve more, making in all twenty-seven. The entire number having been put into Chinese by Bunqua, we expected to have them granted by a *Chop*, signed by the *Chumpein* and the *Hoppe*, the latter being the Master of the Customs. This they professed to do. But after we had had the Articles, as delivered to us, re-translated by our own linguist and by others in the town (who differed in their interpretations thereof), we found two of the twenty-seven omitted, and others not expressed according to our directions. Signor Bunqua, being told of his deception, insisted that the Articles were all faithfully done, except two; then, and not before, acknowledging that these were omitted: one being that of *granting liberty of going to Limpo, and other places within the limits of this province, to trade*; which he said could not be granted by any but the *Chuntuck*:* and the other being that of *not having the guns, powder, sails, &c., carried on shore*; which he excused, saying it could not be granted without the Emperor's particular order; but Bunqua added that the *Chumpein* promises never to require the ammunition, sails, and rudder to be landed, more than having something done in show thereof, by lodging a heavy barrel, or some such things on shore, which no person shall examine.

"While the affair of the Articles was thus transacting, the Chinese authorities neglected to perform several of their promises in respect to the time of granting *Chops* for ordinary business, pretending that such and such persons were expected from Limpo concerning our settlement; who not coming, Signor Bunqua went thither to solicit the *Chuntuck's* government about the same. The *Hoppe* was absent when we came, having gone to Limpo on 1st October; this was another cause of delay. Meanwhile we ordered Bunqua to acquaint the *Chumpein* with our resolution not to unload the ship until a *Chop* should be granted for the doing thereof.

"At length, on 9th December, 1700, the *Chumpein* came to Bunqua's house, and brought us the Articles, which he there signed in the presence of President Catchpoole, Mr. Loyd, second of Council, and Supercargo Douglas of the *Maclefeld*; with another paper signed by two of the old, and two of the new *Hoppe's* officers, giving permission to land all our goods and prosecute trade upon these terms,—namely, that the Emperor's duties be paid by the buyers; and that what goods cannot be sold be re-shipped without paying any duties. In return, we have signed a writing under the Company's seal, to pay 2 per cent. on all goods bought and shipped off, in full of brokerage and all other duties whatsoever in respect of purchases by us, sales, or shipments. The measurage of ships the *Eaton* and *Trumbull* we have compounded for; paying 400 imperial taels for the

* *Chuntuck*, the Viceroy of two provinces (Morrison's Dictionary).

Eaton, and 300 for the *Trumball* without having either of the ships measured, which would have come to as much more."

The letter then describes the factory house, consisting of fifteen handsome rooms all on a row, with a verandah about 200 feet long. "It has warehouses underneath, and a range of outhouses in front, of the same length. The yard between is 27 feet wide. A creek at the back of the warehouses, communicating with the sea, is convenient for landing goods. There is also a large piece of ground before the outhouses, of about an acre and a half, with a landing-place from the waterside. For the rent of this we have agreed to pay 75 taels per month, commencing from 1st November, payable half-yearly, free from repairs and loss by fire."

The situation of Chusan town is low, a half-circle environed with hills; the harbour forms another half-circle, studded with high islands, making several inlets into the harbour. It stands commodiously for trade, less than a day's sail from Limpo. It was reckoned two days' sail to Sochow, four to Hanchow, six to Nankin, and three to Japan. In several passages of the same letter, the President and Council advert to their unsettled relations with the local and imperial Government, and the precarious tenure of the factory.

"Lest there should at any time happen a difference between us and the Government, or that they should give us any interruption, or use any violence; or that there should be any other reason for us to withdraw from this place; we think it advisable for every ship coming hither, to stop and anchor off Hitto Point, lying three leagues from Chusan town, at the mouth of the entrance to the harbour, and send a boat to advise us of her arrival, so that we may give her orders to come into the harbour or not, to prevent her from being surprised. But we hope, and shall endeavour to give no cause of offence to the Chinese, that there may always be a friendly correspondence between us.

"The *Chumpein* has lately told us that the President's continuance here is represented to the Emperor* to be only upon a trading voyage, and to inquire if an Ambassador from the English Company may be admitted to the Emperor's Court, to treat for a settlement;† and he, at length, avows

* The Emperor was the illustrious Kanghi of the present dynasty.

† This addition is invented by the *Chumpein*, and forms no part of the President's instructions.

that a settlement will not be allowed, without an Embassy, or great presents at least to the value of £10,000 sterling. So that all that has hitherto been engaged or granted either to Mr. Gough, or ourselves, by the *Chops* already obtained, we now find to be 'only superficial for a present trade, and not warrantable for a continued settlement, as factories are in other parts.' Our residence here is therefore not upon any solid basis, but only commenced and maintained by the presumptive power and authority of the *Chumpein* and other local functionaries, for their own advantages in their respective stations; without which we could not be protected from the insolences and abuses of the people, nor have any security in trading with them.

"The *Chumpein* has undertaken to be answerable for the performance of all contracts made with any persons, provided our Broker (who is always to be approved by the *Chumpein*) shall be present, and acquainted with the sum advanced by us upon any contract; which in effect is only trading with the *Chumpein* or his creatures. But this course offering the greatest security in trading at this place that we can expect, until a settlement can be obtained under the protection of the laws of the empire; we have submitted to it, until we can hear further from your Honours, hoping thereby to procure a cargo for the *Eaton* this year.

"From all the information we have received, we conclude that there can be no effectual or guaranteed settlement had in China without the Emperor's own grant, procurable only by large presents, or by an embassy, as before mentioned. The pretext which the *Chumpein* makes for our staying here, is to know if the English Company's Ambassador can be received at Court; we therefore request your Honours' decision as to sending an embassy by a quick-sailing vessel."

At the conclusion of the letter, the President and Council, contemplating the probability that the English Company may decline to encounter the serious expense of an embassy for an uncertain result, proceed to recommend, in that case, a settlement at Pulo Condore, an island belonging to Cochin China. They even suggest reasons for preferring the latter alternative.

The following is the translation of a letter from the *Chumpein*, or Lieut.-General, of Chusan to the Court of the new Company. [Dec. 21, 1700.] *

"I, Naw, Lieut.-General of the Emperor's forces by sea and land in his Province, residing at Chusan, send greeting to the Honourable the new East India Company of the English nation. Having for several years last past been informed of the English nation to be a people of great knowledge and experience in merchandize, famous and eminent therein throughout

* The translation wants the Chinese date; in the List of Packet, it follows the general letter last cited.

the world; and being now a witness thereof in some measure, by the intercourse of business with the factory of the said Company, now lately arrived and settled at this place:—occasions me to be sorry that I had not the happiness of a more early acquaintance with so worthy a people. And I am not a little rejoiced at the good success your Honours have met with in the happy arrival of your ships destined for these parts, especially of that ship which brought your worthy President hither; which, I understand, met with very great difficulties in making her voyage against the northerly monsoon.

“The last year one Mr. Gough sent to me from Emoy several Articles in English writing, by one Mr. Hill and a Chinese interpreter;—which were readily granted him, in order to a settlement of a factory from the said Company at this place. And now your President desiring several other Articles to be added to the said Mr. Gough’s, I have, from the great respect I bear to your Honours’ interest, upon your President’s pleasing carriage and deportment which invites me frequently to visit him at the factory, granted the same to your President—except in *two matters which cannot be granted but only by the Emperor himself*:—Whereby I have given him liberty of trading till your Honours can send an Ambassador to the Emperor’s Court for an established settlement; which I know will be granted upon such a treaty: and therefore I recommend it to your Honours to be expeditious therein:—All which I have told your President by word of mouth, and desired him to write to you accordingly, assuring him of my assistance to your Ambassador therein. Whatever presents you think fit to send let them be such as may be of mity both in nature and art; and take notice that what shall be presented to the Emperor will be returned by him in value thereof.

“As to the trade of this place, it is not as yet extraordinary: but I will make it much better next year, by inviting merchants and traders from other places to this, with plenty of goods.

“And that there may be no interruption of the amity between your President and me, from the ill effects of your people’s misbehaviour, *I desire all commanders of ships and other persons in your service, may be under an obligation of being respectful and subject to the orders and authority of your President in all things*; and that he and I may keep a cheerful countenance, and have no occasion of becoming estranged to each other.”

The *Chumpein’s* letter then recommends that the English Company’s ships shall come earlier in future; and he then promises to despatch them in time, and requests the English Company’s acceptance of a small present.*

The history of the settlement in Chusan is also given in

* One chair made out of the root of a tree; four pieces of gold hannoes, for a quilt; twelve pieces of the same, for curtains; twenty-four dishes painted, 24 plates, 24 cups; twenty-four pots of Bohea tea, and eight pots of excellent Kaifeau Singlo tea.

certain notices in the diary kept by Henry Rouse, third of President Catchpoole's Council:—

October 11, 1700.—Arrived here in *Eaton*. Found in the port the *Macclesfield*, and the *Trumball*, both belonging to the English Company, with the Bombay merchant from Bombay; who all saluted us,* as also the place. Returned them all thanks.

October 12.—The President and Council, with Super-cargo Douglas, of the *Macclesfield*, went ashore by appointment to have an audience of the *Chumpein*; being saluted by all the ships. We were received very civilly, and *permitted to sit in chairs*, which is an article insisted on. In the evening we returned aboard.

October 16.—Notice of correspondence with the super-cargoes of some English Company's ships at Emoy. They had received our packet, and would forward it to England. Having arranged a visit from the *Chumpein*, about noon he came in our pinnace in great state, accompanied by the Mandarin of Justice. In other boats came his officers and guards, a magnificent train, with his own music. He was carried on the half-deck, in a chair of state; and there dined with the President and Council. He was saluted, going and coming.

October 21.—The *Chumpein's* secretary came aboard, to conduct us to dine with his master. In our way, we visited the *Hoppo*; and afterwards proceeded to the *Chumpein's*. This dinner was very splendid, and with the interludes lasted four hours.

October 23.—The *Hoppo* returned the visit, and brought a line and rule to measure the ship; but perceiving that we would rather compound, he postponed it, and so took leave, being saluted by all the ships. Same day the *Tytuck's*† secretary came from Limpo, and aboard to see our ship.

* These circumstances, which may seem trivial, are very important; because the *Chumpein*, after the Consul had been there about five weeks, interdicted the firing of guns.

† *Tytuck*, General in the Superior Province.

October 29.—The *Chumpein's* workmen having finished the factory house, the President, with some of the Council, slept on shore there for the first time.

November 1.—The new *Hoppo* went for Limpo, having previously fixed a *Chop* on the factory gate relating to the Emperor's customs.

November 3 (Sunday).—The *Chumpein* ordered some guards to watch our house, that we might not be affronted or disturbed during our devotion. In the evening he sent us a live deer, and a large fish, to celebrate our King's birthday on the morrow.

November 4.—At sunrise the king's colours were hoisted upon Trumball Hill, on the island so called. At noon we all went aboard the *Trumball* to dinner, accompanied by the secretaries of the *Chumpein* and of the new *Hoppo*. The king's health was drunk, the ships saluting.

November 7.—Received a visit from the *Chumpein*. At night his secretary came with a complaint of some disorderly sailors; desiring our care to prevent such affronts in future, by correcting the offenders.

November 8.—All our doors and windows were *chopped*, or sealed; except the main door, where the *Hoppo's* servant always stands guard, to prevent the running of goods in or out of the factory.

November 10.—The *Chumpein's* daughter was married; and with this, the expectation of a present was announced. The President and Mr. Loyd went to the house of Bunqua, the *Chumpein's* linguist, where they found the *Chumpein*. He told us, "he would grant us all the privileges we desire, except that of *going to Limpo to trade*; for which he would endeavour to procure us leave from the *Chuntuck*, and meanwhile use his interest with the *Tytuck*, who is expected here from Limpo, to join with him to prevail with the *Chuntuck* to give us that grant." But (observes the writer of the diary) I now begin to believe 'tis all a trick; for I have been informed by a good hand, they never intend, nor will

permit that privilege, unless it comes positively from the Emperor; and indeed it is their interest to oppose it:

November 11.—A consultation on a present for the bride, the *Chumpein's* daughter, married yesterday.

November 18.—The *Tytuck*, as they announce to us, is expected here to-day from Limpo. A new flag was hoisted on Trumball Island; but soon after the *Chumpein* sent to desire us to take it down (which was accordingly done), and not to make a great show; and particularly not to salute the *Tytuck* for that he was to make him believe our powder and guns were on shore on Trumball Island. Accordingly he sent soldiers to act as a guard, and a junk to lie as a guard-vessel, *pro forma*.

November 20.—In the evening Consul and President Catchpoole, with Messrs. Loyd and Ridges, went on board the *Eaton*, on a visit to the captain. They were saluted with eleven guns; and having stayed supper, again on departing, with seven. The *Chumpein* immediately sent two of his officers to know the reason. They sent for Mr. Loyd to Bunqua, the interpreter's house; who seeing the solemnity of the Emperor's arrow being brought, which is not usual on slight occasions, took it as an affront. Mr. Loyd had to sustain an encounter with the *Chumpein's* secretary; who bestowed on him opprobrious epithets; Loyd, being at length dismissed, reported this treatment to the President. Soon afterwards the secretary and Bunqua came to the President's chamber; but after a conference the decision of the affair was adjourned until next day.

November 21.—The *Chumpein* sent for Mr. Loyd, who refused to go unless provided with a horse, that officer's seat being out of town. Our linguist carried this excuse to the *Chumpein*, who in the afternoon sent his captain of the Guards to desire Mr. Loyd to come to him; who accordingly went, and Mr. Masters with him. After a gentle reprimand for not obeying the first summons, the *Chumpein* telling Loyd he would have waited on him had

he required it, followed by abundance of compliments, the misunderstanding was adjusted, our people saying they never heard of any order to forbid the firing of guns. The *Chumpein* repeated, that we might fire when we pleased, if we gave notice. He ended with a complimentary message to the President, assuring him he was his friend; trusting that he would not resent this, because he the *Chumpein* had not done it as an affront, but he was under an obligation to keep a decorum in the port, seeing he was our security, jointly with the *Chuntuck* and the *Tytuck*, for our behaviour to the Emperor, without which the port had never been opened.

November 22.—The secretary and Bunqua came and read through the *Chop* that again desired us not to salute the *Tytuck*. At a consultation, it was therefore agreed not to salute him.

November 23.—We hear the *Tytuck* has put off his journey; and in his room the *Chuntuck* has sent the *Tyhoë* from Limpo hither, being the second of four mandarin justices. This delegate arrived this morning, and was received with great ceremony by the local authorities.

November 25.—On advice that the *Tyhoë* was to return for Limpo to-morrow, the President paid him a visit at the house of the *Chumpein*. The interview was all ceremony and compliment, the *Tyhoë* telling the President, "that he was glad to hear so good a character of us; that we should not be discouraged, for in a little time this place would flourish, and most of their chief merchants would come and reside here."

December 16.—In compliance with a message from the *Chumpein*, agreed in Council to advance to Bunqua and the *Chumpein's* secretary 10,000 taels on account of the silk and other goods which they have contracted to provide in six weeks to complete *Trumball's* cargo, and commence a lading for the *Eaton*; they to take in further payment one-third of the whole contract in Europe goods, and the rest money.

Here Mr. Rouse's diary ends, but some retrospective notices respecting the ship *Macclesfield* are procurable from the English Company's Letter Book, and from the Diary of her supercargoes.* The *Macclesfield* was the first ship which the English Company sent to China, having been originally consigned to Canton, as early as January 21, 1698-9.

August 27, 1699, to July 18, 1700.—The *Macclesfield* having stayed nearly eleven months (about three at Macao and eight at Canton) trying to obtain permission for a substantial and efficient trade, was forced to come away without having the contract, which they had made for a cargo, realized. After much delay they received some investments paid for in money; but as to the rest were eventually obliged to take back their own Europe goods to balance the account.

On July 18, 1700, the *Macclesfield* sailed from Canton, Supercargo Douglas directing her to Chusan on the strength of Mr. Gough's Articles. On August 6th she reached Chusan, and had completed her lading when Consul and President Catchpoole arrived there in the following October. She, however, remained there more than two months afterwards. On December 24, 1700, the *Macclesfield* galley sailed from Chusan for England with despatches from the new factory up to that time.

The narrative is continued in the consultations held at Chusan:

"*December 28, 1700.*—To complete the cargo of the *Trumbull* and provide investments for the *Eaton*, a contract was closed with the merchants, brought by Signor Bunqua to the factory, for China goods, to be paid for—two-thirds in money and one-third in Europe goods. They advanced to the prices specified for broadcloth, cloth-rashes, perpetuanoes, and lead, refusing to bid for any other sorts of the

* Here is evidence that the supercargoes of the *Macclesfield* did very well before the Consul came.

imports offered. The account* gives the prime cost in England of different broadcloths, and what the Chinese bid in taels.

"January 3, 1700-1.—Mr. Loyd reported to the Council that he had contracted with a Chinese tradesman to buy 2,000 fans and 36 pecul of Bing tea; but afterwards the tradesman informed Loyd that the *Chumpein* positively forbade his completing the agreement, threatening to bamboos him to death if he persisted in the intended sale. It thus became compulsory to treat only with the *Chumpein's* secretary. The Council then agreed to make a final bidding for the investments required for the two ships, with a notification that if the prices offered be rejected the English Company's factors expect that the advances already made be immediately returned, either in goods or money, to the end that the Council may withdraw from Chusan and seek a settlement elsewhere."

Writing home, Consul and President Catchpoole and Factors to the English Company said, in a letter dated Chusan, January 31, 1701:

"Since the *Maclesfield's* departure we had entertained hopes to get a lading for the *Eaton* in time for the present monsoon; but we have since met with nothing but false pretences and base usage in treating for goods by having one price given us to-day, and another to-morrow 50 per cent. dearer. Sometime after a positive contract, on pressing for the delivery of goods at the time fixed, 20 per cent. higher will be demanded. By similar tricks we have been delayed so long, that it will be impossible to procure a lading this season for either the *Trunball*, which was first here, or the

* Two biddings having been rejected, on the third the Chinese merchants offered the prices specified in taels, which were accepted.

	Prime cost		They bid.		Prime cost		They bid.
	£	d.	£		£	d.	£
Broadcloths—				Black	7	8	1 6
Scarlet	14	8	2 7	"	5	2	1 3
Wine colour	14	8	1 9	"	4	6	1 2
"	14	6	1 9	"	4	3	1 3
White	12	4	1 8	Green	11	1	1 8
"	9	6	1 5	Mazarine	10	1	2 3
Violet	11	4	2 0	Sky-blue	8	5	1 7
"	7	6	1 4	"	4	7	1 1
Crimson	11	2	1 5	Cloth-rashes, per piece			18 0
"	8	5	1 4	Perpetuanoes, 25 yards			12 0
Black	11	2	2 1	Lead, per pecul			3 0
"	10	5	2 0				

Eaton. On January 20, 1700-1 the *Chumpein's* secretary brought us a *Chop*, purporting to allow the merchants of the place to deal with us freely. On the 22nd, the same officer, accompanied by several merchants, came and told us that all the salesmen and weavers (who had been at Chusan for two months past) were obliged to be returning home to Limpo and other places; but, being desirous of dealing before they went, they would abate something of their last prices. Availing themselves of this offer, the President's Council, with the two ships' supercargoes, after much treaty, a formal contract, some disputes about its meaning, and a revision of it in writing, on January 27th agreed for 200 pecul of raw silk at 28 taels per pecul, and for 5,855 pieces of wrought silks, to be made to pattern—all to be delivered within 180 days, they to pay us demurrage at 50 taels per day for every day after, until they shall have delivered within 1,000 taels of the whole contract.

"Having now some dependence on getting a full and rich cargo for the *Eaton*, to go away by next monsoon, in August or September,* we have resolved to employ the *Trumball*, in the interval, on a voyage to Borneo for Pepper, touching at Emoy and Pulo Condore for the chance of buying some China commodities. On January 31, 1700-1 (the date of this letter), the *Trumball* is accordingly despatched, with part of the *Eaton's* European cargo, 500 pecul of copper bought at Chusan, about 175 pecul of tutenague, and gold to the value of 12,000 dollars (bought at Chusan with pillar dollars), and with a remnant of her original stock in the same specie. Her invoice amounts to tael 14,115 cand. 8¼ on the English Company's account, and she has some other goods on private account. She is to purchase at Batavia Mexico dollars, the only money current in Borneo; and pepper, at Banjarnassin.† And if not fully laden at Borneo is to return to Chusan. Reviewing their transactions with the local government, the President and Council say: 'When the *Chumpein's* secretary brought us the *Chop* for permitting all merchants to deal with us freely, we expressed a wish that it had been granted sooner.' In reply, that officer observed that if we supposed that his master had withheld it in order to engross the trade of the place to himself, by privately forbidding others to trade with us, he could do the same still notwithstanding the *Chop*, which indeed we believe he can and will do. And thus we shall be subject to many impositions and hardships in dealing with the Chinese, by being kept short of goods until we comply with their exorbitant demands."

The letter reports another objection to the mode of dealing at Chusan, namely, the factors had been under the necessity of advancing to the native merchants money and goods six months beforehand, to enable them to provide the investment contracted for. And they anticipate that they will have to trust them yearly to the value of

* The *Eaton* was not despatched till February 2nd in the following year, so that she stayed at Chusan near sixteen months (Subsequent Paper).

† Also called Banjar, a factory on the south coast of Borneo.

the supply wanted for all the ships of one season. To commit so much property to a few Chinese merchants and weavers, having no other security than their honesty and the *Chumpein's* honour, is an extensive and serious risk. For these reasons Consul and President Catchpoole recommended to the Court of Directors of the New Company to form a settlement at Pulo Condore, as preferable to any establishment which could be effected in the Empire of China. He proposed to secure that island for the English Company, by immediately occupying it by twenty sailors, accompanied with proper officers and mechanics. For this object the Council had ordered the *Trumbull*, after touching at Emoy for the remnant of the crew of the *Harwich* (a king's ship which had been wrecked on the coast of China) to sail to Pulo Condore, take possession of it in the king's name, and land not exceeding twenty sailors volunteering to be left there. The men were to erect a temporary fortification, and hold the place until further orders from the Court, or from the factory of Chusan. Besides the benefits to be expected from erecting a commercial establishment at Condore, Mr. Catchpoole explained to the Court that he had another object, namely, that of forming this station into a check on the Chinese Government, should they seize the English Company's property, detain their servants, or deny them redress for wrongs committed by Chinese subjects. And in order that the intended Presidency of Pulo Condore may be armed with sufficient authority, he recommends to the Court to apply to the Government at home for conditional letters of reprisal.

To strengthen these representations, President Catchpoole wrote a private letter referring to papers by the *Macclesfield*, which departed for England on 24th December. He says—

"Since which we are confirmed by the actions of almost every day, that we are imposed upon, and there is no faith in these Chinamen; we have *Chops*, Grants, and Articles, but they keep none of them but what they please. The General (usually called, by his title in Chinese,

Chumpein) is very civil, receives us very kindly, and often comes and sits an hour or two in my chamber, and talks friendly; but at the same time forbids anybody coming near us, or trading with us. Mr. Loyd venturing to tell him this in my chamber, he flew into a rage, calling him ugly names, and threatening to bamboo our linguist for interpreting lies of him; he could not be pacified, and went away foaming. But we concluded it best to keep fair with him, so by his secretary I disavowed the complaint, and now we stand very clear in words. While the contract for the *Eaton* was negotiating, the Chinese merchants told us several stories to try our firmness and courage. One was, that the *Tytuck*, or head General at Limpo, had sent to the General here to tell him, that our being here so long and not landing our goods, looked as if we came not to trade, but had some other end; and therefore the safest way was, either to make us trade, or be gone. To which we answered, that we would not trade but on such terms as our honourable masters, the English Company, had directed us; and if they (the Chinese) would pay what they owed us, we would be gone as soon as they pleased. Another time the local functionaries pretended that the superior *Hoppo* at Limpo would have his customs; and if we would not land goods, he would send an inspector on board, and take his customs there. We answered that the captains of our ships would suffer no one to go on board without the President's letter. All this while the bargaining went on, and the Chinese interlarded these threatening announcements only when we would not come up to their prices, insomuch that some of the Council have once or twice proposed to leave the place."

Adverting to Chusan as a mart, Consul and President Catchpoole believes, that the place will not yield goods enough to meet the new Company's intended annual investments in China. As for woollen goods the market seems glutted with those already imported. The *Chumpein* told him that he should not dispose of the cloth and perpetrates these three years, and desired him to write to the English Company not to send any more, but to substitute furs and fine skins for woollens. The President replied, that "if they were to buy China commodities all with ready money, we need not travel so far as Chusan; and that our honourable masters sent us not so much to see what we could buy, as what we could sell. The *Chumpein* rejoined that this were hard upon him, for the merchants of Limpo hearing of it would not come. But in reality he will not let them; and if any do venture here that are not his agents, he either represses such by ill report or imprisons them. The *Chumpein* having

agreed to take one-third of our investment in goods, now offers to let us have them again at a loss of 20 per cent." *

* The following draft of the Articles which the Supercargoes were to endeavour to negotiate with the Government at Chusan, in order to settle the trade there, is extremely interesting :

"1. That we have freedom to buy and sell of whom we please ; and that no mandarin pretend to confine us to deal with him.

"2. That we are willing ourselves to pay the Emperor's customs on all sales and purchases, that so we may be exempted from having the Hoppo's officers in our house. And consent that his officers may remain on board our ships until we have landed our goods, and return aboard when we begin to load.

"3. As to the mesurage of ships . . . we desire to have the sum for it fixed, that in future it may not be altered, be the ship big or little, her stock great or small. Wish to avoid giving presents to mandarins, or receiving presents from them.

"4. The negotiation to include a license to buy or build a house : and that the port of Chusan be the place for our ships to remain at ; but that our English merchants and factors have liberty to repair to Lingpo, Souchew, Hansbew, and Nanquin, the better to cultivate and extend their business.

"5. That if our seamen or people commit any misdemeanours, they may be punished by their superiors the English, and not by the mandarins or their inferior officers. And that none of our seamen may be trusted for the drink called *hackshew*, or anything else ; and if any trust them, he lose the money.

"6. That we have liberty to wash and careen our ships ; and to buy stores and provisions.

"7. That we may engage what linguist or China servants we please.

"8. As to such goods as we land and cannot sell, that we may re-ship them without paying custom.

"9. That it be not required of us to bring any of our sails, powder, arms, &c., ashore. That we may build a tent for each ship for putting her lumber in. And that the nation have an allotment of ground for burials.

"10. That we be received by all mandarins when we visit them (as the *Fuyen* of Canton did) with respect, seating us in chairs, and not in that mean way, upon spreadings.

"If the *Chumpein*, who resides at Chusan, will agree to the proposed conditions, and will undertake that the *Hoppo* and other mandarins likewise perform them, the English Company are willing to pay him a yearly percentage ($1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per cent.) on all goods which they buy and ship off (gold excepted).

"If Mr. Catchpoole, or others who may have been up at Chusan, should have introduced that bad custom of trusting the merchants with their money, then supercargoes, Harry Gough and colleagues, are to use their utmost endeavours to dissolve it, so that little or no stock be advanced but upon sufficient pledges in gold or goods."

The next letter from President Catchpoole and Council is dated Chusan, November 18, 1701 :

"On July 6, 1701, the *Sarah* galley, from England, arrived in the outward road with a packet from the new Company. On August 16th, the *Trumbull* galley, which had been despatched to Banjarmass on the last January, returned to Chusan with about 120 tons of pepper and other things, to the value of 6,527 dollars. On August 26th both the ships came into the inner harbour. The Council agreed for the measurage of the *Sarah* at 382 taels 1m. 4c., and for the *Trumbull* at 200 taels. The factors had hoped to recover their old debt in time to despatch both ships (meaning the *Trumbull* and the *Eaton*, which last had been here thirteen months) for England this season; but not having received sufficient of the investments contracted for, they have transferred part of the *Eaton's* cargo to the *Trumbull*, taking out all her goods except the pepper, and all her kintlage save some tutenague. The *Trumbull* has now her full tonnage; her invoice home amounts to 72,246 taels 6m. 2c. [corrected in a subsequent letter to 72,871 taels 9m. 6½c.]. The remainder of the old debt standing out is 60,000 taels; this they hope will speedily be delivered. The removal of the old *Chumpein* was the occasion of the Chinese merchants not delivering the goods. On account of the *Hoppo's* usage they (the English Company's factory) began to act on a resolution in Council, to relate the goods landed from the *Sarah*, but were obliged to desist; they had at the time of writing resolved to repair on board, and declare they would remove the factory unless the Chinese authorities would comply with their demands."

More serious events followed, and ended in the expulsion of the English factors. About January 10, 1702, Mr. Allen Catchpoole, King's Consul and President of the English Company's intended factories in China, with his Council, Messrs. Loyd, Rouse, Ridges, and Master, received the first notice from the Government of an order for their departure from Chusan. This was taken off by agreement with the *Chumpein*, in consideration of their purchasing his

* This abstract was made merely to serve as heads or outlines for answering letters, which accounts for its deficiencies in not distinctly stating what the oppressive acts of the *Hoppo* were, which caused the rupture alluded to. In another abstract it is stated that the *Chumpein* had sent for the Council to assure them that the prices which they insisted on for the Chinese goods, as well as for their own, were settled; but he expected *three-quarters money and one-quarter goods*; with which they would not comply, and intended to give no more than their last proposal of *two-thirds money and one-third goods*, which they believe will be accepted, rather than give occasion to remove the *Sarah* galley to any other place for trade.

Japan-ware for ready money; for which he promised to secure their footing there until the arrival of their next ships, and to befriend them in recovering their old debt, being 51,300 taels and upwards, deducting the last China-ware received of the *Chumpein's* secretary. Notwithstanding this engagement, about the 27th of the same month, they had a second unexpected notification from the Government for their going away in the *Eaton*. They afterwards, between that and the 1st of February, found to their great astonishment,* that Supercargo Harry Gough, and Captain John Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley, had been for some time privately contriving or assisting in such their designed removal. Several Chinamen had testified of Supercargo Gough having visited both the *Chumpein* and the Mandarin of Justice;† he had likewise several meetings with the late *Chumpein's* secretary, a great debtor to the factory and their mortal enemy, at Bunqua, the linguist's house. In this, Captain Roberts was so far implicated as to join Supercargo Gough in refusing to observe any orders from Consul and President Catchpoole and Council, unless the same were signed by Gough, as his proper authorized supercargo; whose order alone Captain Roberts has declared in Council to be a sufficient warrant for him to act by.

Some correspondence had taken place between Mr. Catchpoole and Council and the supercargoes of the *Sarah*, on the subject of the latter also coming away. The Council of the intended factory, on receiving a notification that they must depart in the *Eaton*, had given Captain Roberts a written order *to rig his ship also*, in preparation to accompany them; whereby they hoped to have brought the Governor to reasonable terms for their continuance until the next shipping should arrive: but upon Supercargo

* In reply to this allegation, the English Company said, "They will inquire into the matter." In fact, there is no proof of it in any of the papers.

† His instructions included the draft of Articles previously quoted, which he was to negotiate with the *Chumpein*, in case the position of the factory was not already firm and secure.

Gough delivering him a counter order, he refused compliance. They further allege, that Supercargo Gough, to undermine their footing, had told the *Chumpein*, "That if he would turn us away, he would do anything he would have him, which he could not do till then: that his, Mr. Gough's, brother was to have come hither, but hearing we were here, he went to Emoy; and that three other ships went this year to Emoy for the same reason." That the "President was here over the English as a *Mandarin*, and had an awe upon all ships that should come hither; and that if we should remain, he, the said Mr. Gough, would never come hither again." *

On February 1, 1701-2, at nine o'clock at night, after five days' close treaty, the Council *agreed with the Chumpein for their stay until the arrival of the next ships*. During the negotiation, Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues, by advice of the *Chumpein*, had repaired on board the *Eaton* to avoid receiving several parcels of goods which the Mandarin of Justice was endeavouring to force them to take, and which he had already sent into the factory. This apparent kindness of the Lieut.-General eventually saddled them with more of his own goods, not of their selection. The terms to which this system of progressive extortion compelled them to submit were: To pay to the General 4,000 taels, and 300 more as a present to his mother; and to take from his broker about 14,000 taels' worth of Japan-ware, tea, and other goods.

On the 2nd of February, the day after this agreement with the *Chumpein*, under which the Council had expected that the whole factory should continue there at least until the arrival of the next shipping, the adverse interposition of another of the Chinese authorities undeceived them.

* Having finished this digression, in which it is remarkable the office of King's Consul, or its attempted exercise, is not glanced at (unless the affirmation that the President was acting over the English as a *Mandarin* may allude to the superior authority conferred by the royal commission), the members of the new, and now late factory, resume the narrative of transactions between themselves and the local government.

After Messrs. Loyd, Ridgès, and Master (three members of Mr. Catchpoole's Council, ranking as merchants) had been to wait upon the *Chumpein*, the Mandarin of Justice caused Mr. Loyd to be secured in the factory; whilst the said justice and another mandarin, carrying Mr. Master with them, went aboard the *Eaton*, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to see how full she was, in order to have sent on board several goods which the said Justice, in combination with his own merchants, had sent into the factory; designing to force them upon the English Company's servants towards the old debt, though not the sorts of goods contracted for. But the two mandarins, finding the ship full and encumbered, went into the round-house. By this time, Mr. Rouse, another member of Consul Catchpoole's Council, came on board the *Eaton*, accompanied by Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley. At this crisis the Mandarin of Justice commenced an harangue of his own greatness and power, complaining of Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues as not having regarded him suitably thereto. The Council, taken by surprise, at first imagined that his object was to bring them to some separate agreement with himself for their stay, at a fresh cost beyond what the *Chumpein* had extorted; but deeming that the cash account of the factory would not bear giving more, they made no show of complying. He then abruptly told the Consul-President and those two of his Council who were present, namely, Messrs. Catchpoole, Rouse, and Master, that *they must go away in the Eaton*, which was then weighing her anchor; and accordingly, *in the Emperor's name, he commanded them to depart the country*, charging Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts not to keep any of them behind in their ship, meaning the *Sarah* galley. Nevertheless he added that the Council might leave one or two persons behind to receive the old debt.

The stern minister of this unwelcome mandate then departed; and soon afterwards Mr. Loyd, who had been

confined to the factory, came on board. His colleagues now informing Loyd what had happened, a consultation was held, and this conclusion recorded :

"*Since we were commanded, in the Emperor's name, to quit the country, [Resolved] not to make any farther proposition of terms, nor to leave any of the Council behind; being assured that not only the Mandarin of Justice would force them to take the old debt in whatever goods offered, though not agreeable to contract, but also that the Chumpein would force the payment of the 4,300 taels.*"

The last-mentioned sum was to have been paid in the name of a present, as the consideration for staying until the next ships should have arrived. The consultation proceeds to record, that Consul Catchpoole and Council therefore thought it best to leave a power of attorney with Mr. Harry Gough and Captain John Roberts for recovering the said debt; and resolved to go to Batavia, and solicit the Dutch Governor's permission to stay there on shore until they could receive the English Company's instructions by the next shipping.

On this resolution every person of the new, and late, factory had orders to repair on board, except Mr. James Cunningham, who desired to stay behind, having leave from the Government so to do. The Council and other servants made all the haste possible to get their own goods and necessaries from off the shore; but the shortness of time and want of sufficient assistance, by men and boats, to pack up and convey the same—the *Eaton* being gone into the outward harbour waiting for the morning tide—threw all the party removing into hurry and confusion, and forced them to leave many things behind; every one minding his own affairs, or regarding only immediate necessities, as in the extremity of a public calamity. Amid this distraction several doors of the factory were broken open, and some goods stolen, the whole house being thronged with a mob of Chinese; while the Mandarin of Justice's Second, and others by his order, were taking possession of the Council's rooms for lodging, and putting

new locks upon some warehouses wherein were several
• of the Company's goods.

In the letter from Chusan Harbour, Consul and President Catchpoole, with the other members of the expelled factory, address these remarks to the English Company :

"The monopoly and tyranny of the mandarins of this place is so great, that we cannot believe it your Honours' interest to continue at it: nor do we intend the next shipping shall have product here, unless your Honours have made provision, by an ambassador or otherwise, for better terms, or that the mandarins unexpectedly alter their tempers."

Another passage estimates the debt owing by the Chusan merchants to this voyage at about £10,000 sterling, besides a claim of fifty taels per day for demurrage since the time for delivering the investments expired. As to the latter, the factors forced away add: "Although the demurrage be firm in the contract, yet when we demand it even the mandarins laugh at it, and we expect not to get a farthing of it."

Besides the advances on credit, Consul Catchpoole and Council had expended, in presents and payments in endeavouring to get a footing at Chusan, a sum approaching the amount of outstanding debt, namely, another £10,000. They explain what strong inducements they had to do this :

"It has been a great motive to us to be at this great trouble and excessive charge, because your Honours were pleased to mention, in a letter by the *Sarah* galley, that you intended us three or four ships the next season; and also because of the promises given us and also to your Honours by the late *Chumpein*, that we should be permitted to stay here till your Honours can send an Ambassador to the Emperor's Court for an established settlement, which, the *Chumpein* said, would be granted."

The letter from Batavia deliberately reviews the same occurrences which the letter from Chusan had hastily sketched. After adverting to the forcible occupation of the factory by the second Mandarin of Justice before the English Company's property could be removed, and the partial pillage of the warehouses by a Chinese mob, the letter from Batavia makes this singular avowal and complaint:

"What the event has been in respect of our own or the Honourable Company's goods being embezzled and lost, we are not able to judge, but do wish that our successors [meaning Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley] had made better provision * for the security thereof, which, we believe, their friendship and interest with the Government might easily have procured."

The letter goes on to say :

"On their leaving Chusan, Captain Phillips, of the *Eaton*, at the solicitation of Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues, consented to carry them to Batavia. On March 9th the *Eaton* anchored in Batavia Roads; and on the 13th the Council, late of Chusan, obtained permission of the Dutch governor to stay on shore at Batavia until the arrival of the next ships from England or Bengal on the English Company's account. Having seen this arrangement effected, Captain Phillips pursued his voyage for England.

"The members of the Chinese factory, without a seat, lastly lament the troubles and disappointments which they had encountered since their first coming in sight of China, 'having been scarce a day free from insults, impositions, or hardships, from the mandarins or merchants in respect to trade or government.' Not subdued by this maltreatment, they contemplate returning to Chusan to make another experiment as soon as the arrival of ships from England shall place at their disposal a fresh consignment of capital."

The instructions from the Court contain several passages worthy of preservation. They directed the President and Council to make a suitable return in cloth for the present sent to the Company by the Governor of Chusan, but in future to discourage the sending of presents to the Company, lest too great a return be expected. The Court were satisfied with the Articles obtained, and trusted that if they remained at Chusan they would procure permission to visit Limpo and other parts of the province. They went on to say : "From all the accounts we have had, we are discouraged from sending an ambassador or any extraordinary present to the Emperor, not being satisfied that we shall reap an answerable advantage by it, and, therefore, you must for

* Nothing can more strongly mark the futility of the Consul's office in China. Instead of protecting the supercargoes and captains in the port or on shore at the factory, with the large property embarked in the incipient attempt to settle there, Mr. Catchpoole, uniting in himself the office of King's Consul and Company's President, having a Council of four to assist him, regrets that a supercargo, over whom he had absolute control, did not by anticipation provide security for the house and effects which the powerless Consul was forced to abandon.

the present do the best you can with the mandarins." Another paragraph directs the Council to cultivate a friendship with the French Jesuits in China, to assist them in arranging remittances from France, to give any of the fathers a passage out or home on the English Company's ships, and to maintain a correspondence with the French missionaries at Peking.

The Court concur with Consul and President Catchpoole's proposal to make a settlement at Pulo Condore. After noticing the fair promises made and extortions practised by the *Chumpein* at Chusan, the oppressive humour of the mandarins having collateral shares in the local government, and the difficulty of obtaining a firm settlement with reasonable latitude to trade within the territory of China, the letter announces that the English Company intend to send out a party of soldiers and artizans, with provisions and stores, to support President Catchpoole in occupying and fortifying the island of Pulo Condore as the seat of an intermediate trade with China, by encouraging junks from all the ports of that empire to resort thither.

The following documents, beginning June 16th, 1702, describe Consul and President Catchpoole's *Second Visit to Chusan*.

"The three ships from England, bound for Chusan, with one more bought at Batavia, are now under sail, and doubt not to arrive at Chusan in time. He hopes this good appearance will recover their last year's debt,* and procure them a friendly reception; but if they find the mandarins begin to shuffle, trusts he shall prevail with the Council and Supercargoes to take the measures mentioned in the general letter.

"President Catchpoole and Council have great hopes that their noble appearance at Chusan, three ships in company—namely, the *Union*, the *Mucedfield* galley, and the *Robert and Nathaniel*—being all under his direction, will cause the government there to give them a more candid and free usage; but the Council despair of a generous settlement worth the English Company's having. If they find reason to doubt of an early despatch at Chusan, they believe they shall agree to send the *Mucedfield* galley to

* The debt due from Euloyah, the late *Chumpein's* Secretary of Chusan and others, is taels 33,307 9m. 7c. The net remains on balance of debts, goods, and merchandizes left in Chusan factory, and on board the *Sarah* galley, amounts to taels 165,755 8m. 8½c.

Emoy, and the other ships under the President and Council to Canton; where they shall endeavour to give them an early despatch; and remain there a factory, if possible, and leave Pulo Condore under the hands by which it is now directed.

"On August 6th, 1702, Mr. Allen Catchpoole, Consul and President, with two of his former Council, Messrs. Loyd and Ridge (Rouse and Master having been detached to Borneo), arrived at Chusan, with the ships *Maudesfield* galley, the *Robert and Nathaniel*, and the *Union*. On the 7th they received of Supercargo Gough, of the *Sarah* galley, which had remained at Chusan, copies of the inventories taken of the English Company's factories and warehouses at Chusan after the Consul's expulsion. Meanwhile, that is, during the six months of his absence, the contract for the cargo of the *Sarah* galley had been some time completed; and at his return all was on board and ready to sail. On the 8th the Council demand the keys of the factory warehouses from Messrs. Gough and Roberts, to be delivered to Mr. Henry Smith, the Consul's Secretary. On August 10th, in reply to the demand of the keys of the factory, Messrs. Gough and Roberts state that they delivered them back to the owners of the building on June 9th last; and acquaint the Council that the *Chumpein* demands payment of the factory rent from February 2nd to June 9th. And in reply to private orders from the Consul and President Catchpoole, diverting the *Sarah* galley on homeward-bound voyage to Pulo Condore, Capt. Roberts made a difficulty of obeying them, appealing to his charter-party. Messrs. Gough and Roberts also intimated that the *Sarah* galley would sail for England in twenty-four hours, ascribing this sudden departure to a notification from the *Chumpein* that they must remain no longer. In reply, President Catchpoole and Council urge them to defer sailing for two or three days. Further, they desire them to deliver over the Council's former contract, also the contract for the *Sarah* galley, together with the touches and touchstone; the cash-chest, lock and key; the scales and weights, particularly the brass taels, mas, and candareens, procured from Limpo, and nicely adjusted by the President.

"August 12.—The Supercargo and the Captain of the *Sarah* refuse to give the Consul and President copies of her journal and letter, and to hand over her contract. But they delivered over an account of what they had received from Euloyah, Secretary to the late *Chumpein*, of the debt due to Mr. Catchpoole, as Supercargo of the *Eaton*, and President of the factory; and were willing to give up the keys of the warehouse in which the goods remaining on shore were deposited. The Council meanwhile, with the consent of the Captain of the *Sarah* galley, entertained Mr. Salladine, as a Factor to remain in China.

"August 20.—The Supercargo and Captain of the *Sarah* galley intimate that they had taken leave of the *Chumpein* and *Hoppo*, and were ready to sail.—Yet it appears from another paper that the *Sarah* did not sail until September 4th."

Speaking of Chusan, on August 28th, 1702, the President says:—

"This port is now content to trade without being trusted, and he expects

that this year's shipping will have a quick despatch ; yet he believes that it will be for the Company's interest to empower their Chief and Council at Pulo Condore, to which island he contemplates removing, to send the greater number of ships to such port in China as shall furnish cargoes with the least delay. Since all the English Company's ships are to touch at Pulo Condore homeward bound, the Council there will always know how each port performed the preceding year. Canton, for example, having but one ship this season, namely, the *Halifax*, will doubtless give her kind usage and an early despatch. On the other hand, should several private ships, from Surat, Coromandel, and Bengal, be attracted to Chusan by the news of trade there without trust, President Catchpoole believes it will be for the Company's interest to reduce the consignment of ships thither by one or two.

"On August 26th, the General of Chusan (otherwise called the *Chumpein*) arrived in the town. On the 27th, President Catchpoole and Council visited him and the Mandarin of Justice, both of whom received them kindly, and promised that the old debt should be paid to the Company this season, and in the goods contracted for. They desired them to ask Mr. Gough, Supercargo of the *Sarah* galley, if that part of the debt already paid to him were not delivered in such goods as he liked : Mr. Gough answered that he fully approved of the goods received by himself. The *Chumpein* then assured Messrs. Catchpoole, Loyd, and Ridges that they should have no goods forced on them ; adding, that having given his *Chop* to them, he would stand by it, and therefore he expected them to proceed without fear, and urged them immediately to land their goods, because it would bring the merchants down. On the 28th, the three newly-arrived ships began to unlade."

At a consultation, dated Chusan, August 31, 1702—present, Allen Catchpoole, President ; with Messrs. Loyd and Ridges, two of his proper Council ; and six Supercargoes attached to four ships, including the *Liampo* from Bengal—there was brought forward a dispute respecting precedency, which had occurred between the captains of the *Union*, the *Macclesfield*, the *Robert* and *Nathaniel*, and the *Liampo*. The question chiefly lay between Captain Smith and Captain Monck ; the others expressing their willingness to resign their pretensions in favour of the latter. The Council, after hearing their claims, adjudged the broad pendant to Captain Monck. Another subject agitated at this Council was the efficiency of the *Consulate*. After reciting that Captain Smith had mentioned in some company his doubts or disbelief of the President's being *King's Consul*, the consultation records that his Majesty's Commission for

that office was shown to him ; but Captain Smith still said he did not apprehend he, the President, could be a *Consul*, since he could not protect anybody from the natives.

A public order by President Catchpoole and Council, and all the Supercargoes, dated Chusan, September 2, 1702, notified to all the English, that it is enjoined by the *Hoppo*, and ordered by the Council, that no one sell goods privately to the people of the town, whereby the Emperor may be defrauded of the customs due from his own subjects. The *Hoppo* announced, that if any English were caught so doing, they should suffer the punishments of the country ; which were to be bamboosed, and to forfeit their goods. He added that our factory was the place where all goods ought to be delivered in, and whence they ought to be shipped ; and whatever was sold and delivered privately should be deemed to have run the Custom ; and that since we paid no custom ourselves, our crime would be the worse if we aided the Chinamen to cheat the Emperor. The order, echoing that of the *Hoppo*, therefore directs that all persons selling goods do bring them into the factory, and there deliver them to the buyer ; and that all goods bought be received in the factory, and thence shipped off.

President Catchpoole, writing on September 3, 1702, said :

"The *Hoppo* asked, if we could not give more than two-thirds money and one-third goods. We told him that we could not, and resolve to continue in this resolution."

And on the 4th of the same month :

"All the persons attached to the factory are on shore ; and we have unloaded your three ships from England, all except the lead and bullion. We are sorting the goods for the merchants' view, but a hindrance has fallen in our way, which may probably benefit the port in the end. The Emperor's second son hath sent his merchant from Pekin hither, and given him his grant to trade with the English, and requires all governors to assist him. Soon after his arrival, came another merchant with the same authority from the Emperor's fourth son.* These merchants, though representing separate interests, so combine, that our former merchants are over-awed, and durst not appear to trade. The Pekiners have brought little or no stock ; so

* Afterwards Kanghi's successor, the Emperor Yung Ching.

that they desire the Chusan merchants to come and trade with us, and allow them a proportion of the gains. Our proper merchants, belonging to the town or province, as yet stand aloof from us, making overtures to the Pekiners, with a desire to keep separate allotments of the trade. How this will terminate cannot be conjectured.

"The merchants, who supplied a cargo for the *Mucedesfield* last season, have provided assortments enough; but they say we shall have a great brangle (squabble) before we shall be permitted to arrange our contract with them; for the Pekiners will be like the dog in the manger. As a remedy, if we find the latter unreasonable and without stock, we shall be forced to make an appearance of preparing to leave the port, which will afford a justification for the local government and merchants, if they accommodate matters against the arbitrary pretensions of the Pekiners. Goods will flow in upon us as soon as they have settled these things among themselves."

The difficulties of the situation were aggravated by the dissensions between the President and the naval captains. On this subject the former wrote, September 7, 1702:

"Your Honours will see by the enclosed papers how unhappily the seed sown by Captain John Roberts takes effect; for Captain Smith and Captain Palmer set up for themselves, and obey no orders but what they please. We have now two broad pendants flying in this road, which the natives take notice of. I have protested against Captain Smith for it. Should your Honours think I act too little, I must plead for myself that we are in China, where the Governors are so villainous that they embrace any opportunity to confound all; and these captains, to gratify their little pride, fear nothing. Our goods are all sorted and ready, and the merchants promised to be with us to-day, but now send us word it's not a lucky time, but they will be with us to-morrow. We fear some difficulty ere we shall be able to close our contract. China is all trouble."*

The general letter, February 10, 1703, proceeds to renew a serious allegation against the supercargo of the *Sarah*,† namely—"That we were turned away from hence by the underhand dealings of Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts is very demonstrable by the Mandarin of Justice this year proffering us to let a factory remain here, even if we would send away all our ships, and named the *Robert*

* The answer of Captain John Smith to the protest of the Worshipful Allen Catchpoole, Esq., dated Chusan, September 7, 1702, was as follows: "Captain Smith desires that all the future orders of the Consul and President may be in writing, for he will not accept of a verbal order; that the English Company, the masters of both, may see that the captain has attended to their commands, whatever the Consul may allege against him."

† Although this charge is repeated on several occasions, there is no evidence of its truth.

and *Nathaniel* to go to Borneo to fetch pepper. But his (the Mandarin of Justice) offer was something too late; and we could not believe it safe to leave so great a quantity of the Company's treasure on shore, without a ship in the road to defend it; especially since it is reported that the Emperor will be in these parts in two or three months, who is always attended by a refractory army and a parcel of mercenary mandarins. But from the above overture, we suppose it will appear to the Court, that the turning us away last year was not, as pretended, conformable to the laws of the land; but resulted from the representation Supercargo Gough, we have been told, made: how much it would be to their interest to turn away the *Mandarin*, Mr. Consul and President, out of their country.

"Soon after the despatch of the *Sarah* galley, we entered on business with the merchants; and found such intolerable delays and such extravagant prices, that we unanimously resolved to leave the port. But then the mandarins, by means of the *Hoppo*, trumped up a card, namely, that we must pay the measurage for our ships, and custom for our goods which we some time before were obliged to land, else the merchants would come to no prices upon them; which custom, they told the President, would come to about 10,000 taels, which we agreed to pay; and accordingly the *Hoppo* measured our ships, and gave us permission to reload our goods, which we did with great vigour, having in two hours re-embarked two hundred pieces of broad-cloth. As soon as the Chinese general, elsewhere termed the *Chumpein*, had information of this, he filled our factory with soldiers and mandarins; ordering us to stop, and pretended that we had violated the constitution of the country, and set strong guards round the factory; and for fourteen days permitted nobody of the factory, but our dispenser (steward), to come in and out.

"At last, after much trouble and vain resistance, we were obliged by many impositions to strike up a contract with the merchants at very unreasonable rates; and to take so

much of each sort of goods as they pleased, and particularly the wrought silks and piece goods, and the vast quantities of chinaware, enumerated in invoices home. They also beat down the prices of our Europe goods, and wholly refused to take several sorts of them. The prices and quantities are mentioned in our consultation book, to which we refer [not extant]. We were not set at liberty when we concluded the contract; the General pretending that the *Hoppo* desired our confinement, and that although he himself had given us his *Chop* concerning our measurage, yet he could not stand to it. But this was only his villainy, which he could not be persuaded out of, till we agreed to lend him 6,000 taels, which was to be repaid us out of the first goods that came in by the hands of his merchant, Inqua. But this did not so much prevail upon him as the consideration of his *chumpeinage*, which will this year amount to great part of the sum. When this was over, the under- mandarins demanded our guns, sails, and rudders ashore, which requisition the General could have prevented, but unworthily held his tongue till they had squeezed some small presents out of us. Having satisfied them, we thought ourselves pretty well at ease; and for a short interval goods flowed in fast upon us; and though not so good as we could wish, yet pretty well, and as near muster as Chinese commonly bring. We had great hopes then of making an early monsoon. But the cause of that run of goods was (the *Hoppo's* time being near expired) he abated great part of his customs. Whatever we have received since hath been with great dunning, trouble, and continual complaints against them. Their emperor's merchants, or 'strollers' as Esquire Dolben* calls them, have been very prejudicial to the trade of this port; for they have brought little or no stock with them, and are too great for the mandarins to dare to meddle with. They have several times had goods brought into their houses, and kept them, as it were, to

* First Supercargo of the *Aurungzebe*, a ship belonging to the London Company, then at Emoy.

tease us: but towards the end of this monsoon, seeing the President and Council prepare for going to Pulo Condore, they have become more courteous, assuring us that these delays arose from the misinformation which they had at Pekin, namely, that they need not bring any of their stock with them, but that we were ready to trust them with our own money and goods; which (say they) since we now see you will not, we will procure stocks against your next year's shipping, and you shall have very early despatches. But what credit ought to be given to this? They will deliver no goods but what they please; no force can be used against them; and for the arguments of justice and reason, they laugh at us.

"Although we have contracted for 800 pecul of raw silk, and 2,500 pecul of copper, we have not been able to obtain near half of either. But if we would load our ships with tea, chinaware, fans, pictures, or piece-goods, we might have it ready at small warning. The large quantity we have taken of these goods has been by force and not by choice. And we have thought it more for your Honour's interest to despatch the *Union* to Bengal with what lading she has already, than to let her remain here all the season. We have sent five chests of silver thither, there not being one pan of gold to be had even at five above touch.

"The reason we have sent no more money in the *Union* to Bengal is, because our investment contract for the three ships now at Chusan amounts to 230,000 taels; and although the goods are not delivered in due time, yet when they hereafter come, the Chinese will inevitably oblige us to take and pay for them. So that we are necessitated to keep a disproportionate stock by us. This very day one of the merchants, who owes us copper on the contract, has 100 pecul come to town; but will not let us have it under 11 taels and a half per pecul ready money, departing from the contract.

"We have made the *Sarah* galley a full ship, and given her the finest goods we could procure. Great part of the

china and all the lacquered ware, together with the fans and pictures, is received of Euloyah, the old *Chumpein's* secretary, for our debt. We were compelled to take that or nothing; and none of the mandarins here durst stir in it, it being daily expected that his master will be made *Tytuck* of Amoy. The secretary assures us that if he be, he shall compensate us for our taking the goods, and for the kindness of our long forbearance."

Consul and President Catchpoole and Mr. Ridges, the remnant of his original Council, thus speak of their relations with the supercargoes* and captains:

"The pull-back of the differences among ourselves was of great prejudice last year; the Chinese much doubting where the rules and power of governing lay. The supercargo's friendly concurrence with the factory and merchants this year, has put us in much more reputation than we were; and had they done otherwise, and sided with the captains, we should have been looked upon as an ungovernable mob. For, after all the troubles and disappointments we received without doors from the Chinese, it has been no less within doors from our captains, particularly Captain John Smith and Captain John Palmer, who have continually slighted our orders, and almost daily affronted the President, or some of us, and have, in public council, disowned any power of the Consul, alleging Captain Roberts's old notion, that he is no Consul who cannot protect them." The letter proceeds to detail some indecorous squabbles springing from this impolitic institution and fertile source of miscarriage. It then adds: "Captain Monck is respectful to the President; but the Council cannot prevail on him to sign the papers and accounts of his transactions at Canton, and voyage thence to Bengal, before he came to Chusan."

* Strictly speaking, there were no resident merchants at Chusan. Besides the six Supercargoes, this letter is signed only by President Catchpoole and Mr. Ridges. Messrs. H. Smith, secretary and steward, and Messrs. Cunningham and Salladine, factors, with Mr. Pound the chaplain, were attached to what was called President Catchpoole's Factory; but on each visit he came and went away with the ship or fleet which he brought

Reverting to their relations with the Chinese authorities, the Council say :

"That the government of the new *Hoppe* sits extremely well upon the factory. This they attribute to the friendly offices of some French Jesuits in China, of great influence and celebrity. They (the Council) have employed, as mediators and agents with the supreme and local government, Father Gerbillon, resident at Peking, and Father Fontaney at Chusan : to their recommendations they attribute the courtesies of the new *Hoppe*, who always receives the President as a great mandarin, and promises to use his influence with the Emperor towards procuring a direct intercourse for the Company's shipping with Liampo, to which city Chusan is the port. For these preliminary services and expected benefits, the Council have given Father Fontaney a gratuitous passage to Europe on the *Maddesfield* galley, in addition to several small presents distributed to him and others of the Society.

"Broadcloth, rashes, perrets, &c., prove a great drug here ; but even these are easier to get off than amber, coral, looking-glasses, flintware, sword-blades, &c. ; none of the latter are disposable except for presents. The chief commodities that will sell in China, are lead, tin, pepper, red-woods, and rattans. All other commodities only go off when associated with two-thirds money ; and the estimate that we make is, that they then have our goods for nothing. The crystal ware they would not admit into the contract.

"As for broadcloths, perpetuanoes, callimancoes, and similar stuffs, the colours and sorts we bring they never like, and those we bring not they always want. Those fine grave-coloured cloths they themselves desired, they will not now meddle with ; nor could we induce them to enter the napt cloth into the contract. But, upon the whole, we think that a smooth raggy cloth is the most pleasing to them. Besides a good vivid amora, and blacks and blues, only a few bright colours will take.

"Enclosed is copy of some correspondence with the Supercargoes at Amoy : The court will see that Anqua, a Chinese merchant there, sent the President a letter, desiring him to write to the Company, not to send any more broadcloth for a year or two. The President replied, that Anqua must bring cloth more into wear ; and when it would not vend, tea, china-ware, and piece-goods would be laid aside.

"For presents, you will do well to send annually two repeating clocks, four striking watches, and twelve common brass clocks of fifty shillings each. Guns and pistols they are pretty well cloyed with ; but glass lanterns we have been much baited for. The annual assortment may also include two dozen prospectives in painted sticks, and two dozen 8 inches long without joints. Some silver-hilted rapiers are, indeed, indispensable, being accepted with avidity ; of these one dozen, the blades to be gilt half-way down. Also small pictures, in gilt frames, glazed, of beautiful women. We are extremely plagued for animal curiosities, birds, dogs, &c. Mr. Dolben, we heard, paid the measure of his ship at Amoy with one great Irish dog.

"President Catchpoole, Mr. Pound, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Salladine, with their servants, are now (February 10, 1702-3)

on board the *Liampo*, bound for Pulo Condore. She is deeply laden with provisions, stores, and necessities. She has an unemployed stock in her, out of which, after defraying all charges at Pulo Condore, we expect there will be a surplus of £5,000; with which she will be sent to buy pepper at Banjarmassin.*

The narrative is supplemented by secondary information preserved in a letter from Supercargoes Conley and Bignall, of ship *Canterbury*, to the Presidency for the English Company at Surat, dated Amoy, December 8, 1702.

"By an express received from President Catchpoole on the 4th instant, at Chusan, he advises the following particulars, namely: that he and his Council had received abundance of trouble and abuses, both from the merchants and government there; that they were still confined in their factory; that their contract was concluded on the 17th October, and then the Chusan authorities forced it on them at their own prices.

"Some days past one of the king's son's merchants arrived at Emoy to trade. 'Tis feared his coming here may prove as bad as the others at Chusan, the mandarins and town merchants being obliged to allow him $\frac{1}{10}$ (or shares) of their contract."

This letter, dated Chusan,* November 22, 1703, describes Mr. Catchpoole's third and last visit to Chusan:

"The Presidency for China, expecting more ships from England would follow the *Samuel and Anna*, stayed at Condore twelve days after her arrival; none, however, came in. Meanwhile, namely on 23rd July, the *Liampo*, which had been on a country voyage to Batavia, returned to Condore. Learning by his arrival that neither had any ships from England touched there waiting his disposal, President Catchpoole, and such members of the Council and Factory for China as were then at Condore, hastened away with these two, namely, the *Samuel and Anna* and the *Liampo*, for Chusan, sailing from Condore on July 25th, 1703. On 6th August, they encountered a storm off the coast of China, which next day drove the *Samuel and Anna* on shore in Pinghai Bay, within Pedro Bianca, where she was near being lost; the *Liampo*, left afloat about five leagues below, saved herself by anchoring under a small island. Both ships were afterwards enabled to resume the voyage in company, and on August 19th arrived safe at Hitto Point.

"Several of the Council † came off to us, and advised us that they re-

* He left Chusan for Pulo Condore in March, 1703, and stayed there four months.

† The Council spoken of as coming off to the President, must be the supercargoes of the ship *Robert and Nathaniel*, which had been left at Chusan; with Mr. Ridges, the second member of Mr. Catchpoole's superior Council, who was permitted to remain on shore when the Consul and President was compelled to terminate his second visit.

ceived very good usage from the Government, but that very little goods had come in excepting china-ware. The Supercargoes report that they had been well treated in his absence. Speaking of the third attempt to maintain this precarious factory, the conductors of it say: 'The *Hoppe* came down to Chusan as soon as he heard of us, and gave us large invitations to come in before he had settled the measurage of the two ships; which we unanimously resolved not to do. At last he did agree at the usual rates; but yet even then we would not trust to his fidelity, till we had paid him the money and had his receipts and *Chops* for the same. Whereupon we thought ourselves very secure, and conceive it all the security that can be had in China. Notwithstanding all which, as soon as we had brought in our ships, and were settled on shore, the *Hoppe* and merchants made several unreasonable demands, too long to be inserted here. See our Diary and Consultations [not extant]. At last it centred in the extortion, that we must deliver up our old contract, and make a new one. We had then, upon our last year's contract, due about 75,000 taels [$\text{£}25,000$ sterling]. They demanded that we should take raw silk at 155 taels per pecul; copper at $11\frac{1}{2}$, tutenague at $4\frac{1}{2}$, and quicksilver at 55 taels per pecul. As to these terms, we thought it a great piece of injustice that we should pay an advanced price for goods due on the preceding year's contract. So we absolutely refused. Whereupon we were confined to our factory by strong guards, not permitting any of us to go on board our ships, or the ship's people to come into the factory. We endured this restraint, with their menaces, about seventeen days, and at last were compelled to sign contract as above. We had then, in their warehouses, of last year's Europe goods about 9,000 taels' worth. On which they also made us submit to an abatement of 10 per cent.

"This usage gave us uneasiness; but now, as the close of their official year approaches, goods flow in according to contract before the time appointed. Considering, also, that we have held up the good custom of trading without trusting, and that we have not this year taken any piece-goods, tea, or china-ware, which they much insisted on, we hope our acquiescence in their other proposals will meet your Honours' approbation. Had we not been able to give nine-tenths money, and reduced our sales to one-tenth goods, we should have been forced to take piece-goods and china-ware, all bad and dear of their sorts. We have laden on the *Robert and Nathaniel*, Captain Smith, now consigned to your Honours, for account of the English Company, as per invoice, a cargo value 118,258 taels 6m. $1\frac{1}{2}$ c. She sails with this. There is at present laden on the *Samuel and Anna*—copper, 537 pecul, 39 catty; tutenague, 2,206 pecul, 32 catty, with which she appears very deep; but we still hope she can take in some tubs of china-ware. We trust, too, the *Liampe* will soon follow, join the *Robert and Nathaniel* at Condore, and arrive in England under the same convoy.

"We expect to sail hence in twelve days. After the two remaining ships with the factors shall have left Chusan, there will be due from this port to the English Company about 10,000 taels, none of which the floating Council think dangerous. Had it all been procured this year, our ships could not have taken it in, and we must have accepted trash. *If we return

next year, doubt not to recover it in goods at cheaper rates. If not, and if the English Company order the President and Council to stay at Condore, which is heartily to be desired, we can then make reprisals upon the China junks that will come to us there; most of what is due to the English Company being owing from mandarins that are, or have been, in the Government."

On December 8, 1703, the Council left Chusan, with ships the *Liampo* and the *Samuel and Anna*; on the 12th they were off Amoy, but had such a gale of wind that they could not put in. So they were forced to bear away for Condore; where they arrived on December 22nd, and found all things in peace and plenty, and a Separate Stock ship in the harbour called the *Constant Friend*. On the 23rd, the *Robert and Nathaniel*, which left Chusan before them, having touched at Amoy, also arrived at Pulo Condore. She brought twelve Chinese artificers for the new settlement.*

As the latest information from Pulo Condore leaves it doubtful, whether the harbour there is safe in both monsoons; whether the local supply of water and provisions be sufficient to subsist the settlement and supply ships touching for refreshment; and whether the station be secure against surprise by the Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, or other neighbouring states; added to the difficulty of conveying troops and stores there from England in time of war: for these considerations, the Court of Managers give President Catchpoole and Council conditional orders to withdraw from Pulo Condore, taking the Company's people and effects to Banjarmassin in Borneo. This was in January, 1704. Capt. Clarke, who took them out, was to touch at Batavia for intelligence. If he learnt that their factory still remained at Pulo Condore, the Court

* "Worse usage in other parts of China than at Chusan. The Mandarins threaten, if return to Chusan with small stocks. Hope to prevent their designs, if can have permission [from the King of Cochin China] to stay here. Conclude our debt at Chusan, very good. They leave above 140 tubs and chests, china-ware, &c., as per list in a warehouse sealed up; and the General (elsewhere called the *Chumpain*) hath ordered a guard; for which must allow about 20 taels per month, which think the cheapest way."

gave him positive orders to sail thither, without losing a minute's time, and transport the Factory with all stores from Condore to Banjarmassin. Adverting to the defects of Pulo Condore as a mart, a harbour, and a safe seat for a settlement, the Court of the English Company corroborate the United Company's positive order to remove the Condore Factory, with all its stores, trading capital, and establishment of servants, to enlarge that at Banjarmassin.*

In opposition to these repeated orders to withdraw from the Island of Condore, Consul and President Catchpole was by some fatality riveted to the spot. The last letter from the Court, written on December 12, 1705, indeed, never reached him, for he perished about nine months previous to its date, namely, on March 3, 1705; when the Settlement there was suddenly destroyed by an insurrection of the Macassar soldiers, who formed the garrison. There was reason to suppose that the Cochin-Chinese Government instigated them to this perfidious act. The factory was burnt; and the Consul, with fifteen other Englishmen slain, including two of the Council, several factors, a captain, an ensign, and a sergeant. The few English soldiers † were surprised; as the Macassar traitors and incendiaries rose upon their masters at one in the morning.

* The local defects and inconveniences of the Island of Condore as the seat of a factory were stated as follows: From the report of all the captains that have been there, it has no safe harbour; nor sufficient water at all seasons; and from Mr. Smith's acknowledgment, late Secretary to the Condore Factory, *the goods brought thither by the Chinese junks, as the instruments of an immediate trade with China, are unprofitably dear*

† The only survivor seems to have been one Moses Wilkins.

(To be continued.)

OFFICE OF THE
HOME DEPT.
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE

INDIAN RAILWAYS.

FACTS and figures about Indian Railways must be mainly sought in Blue-books or railway reports, which few have the leisure and inclination to read, or at any rate to properly digest. To the administrator or man of business nothing can be more suitable, nor can anything be more worthy of being adopted as a type by other governments, than the annual report by the Director-General of Indian Railways. But this publication is not likely to come before the ordinary shareholder or the general reader, and, if it did, would probably not be regarded as having much immediate bearing on his interests. In some degree this is due to the fact that the investor in the older guaranteed lines received, and still receives, his goodly 5 per cent. in sterling, whatever his railway may have cost, and irrespective of traffic, flood, and famine, or of the capabilities of the working staff. Indeed, until a few years ago, the prospect of getting anything more than this seemed so remote or so improbable that the statistics of Indian railways, as affecting their incomes, could scarcely expect much attention from the shareholders. But we have changed all this within the last decade, and we now find the East Indian Railway paying nearly 9 per cent., the Bombay and Baroda 8½ per cent., the Great Indian Peninsula nearly 7 per cent., and even the ill-fated Madras Railway at last returns nearly 3 per cent. There is, consequently, good reason for increased attention to the details of Indian railway administration, to the nature of the Government supervision, and more especially to the effect of new lines in introducing competing routes. The new policy

of a smaller guarantee, with a share of net profits, and defined control, is in every way more sound and more reasonable for all concerned; but if it had no such advantage it would at any rate have that of enlisting the interests of investors in the general welfare of our great dependency, and in removing in some degree the too notorious ignorance on Indian subjects. The insatiable globe-trotter who, visiting the country for a few months in the cold season, surfeits himself in about equal proportions with facts and fallacies, to be disgorged on his return in magazine articles, is not quite the best authority on Indian subjects. Fortunately he has been content as a rule with generalizations and animadversions on the poverty of the people and the alleged shortcomings of our administration, and has refrained, perhaps for good reason, from noticing or criticising the no less interesting phenomena of our Indian railway system. Some good may be done, therefore, in putting forward a few facts and opinions on this subject in a readable shape, and in making the dry bones of statistics more generally acceptable.

In putting a subject of this nature before home readers it is necessary to get them to realize, not merely the vast extent of the country, but its diverse physical characteristics. The common phrase, "the plains of India," is a fair example of the looseness or ignorance which characterizes a good deal of what is said and written about the huge peninsula we call India. The fact that our early struggles took place in the valley of the Ganges led people to suppose, perhaps, in those days that those vast and fertile plains indicated the general features of the land, and even since then, as our railways have generally and naturally followed as much as possible the trade and population of the other valleys, the ordinary traveller, lying at length on his seat, unconscious of curves and gradients, and struggling with the digestion of his meals or his books, is not more likely to desire to modify the prevailing phrase than those who followed Clive and Hastings. But that the mistake is an egre-

gious one, anybody may see at a glance on consulting a good map of the country. It will be seen that, excluding the Bikaner desert, more than three-fourths of the peninsula is either a decidedly hilly or undulating country, and that great table-lands like those of Mysore, Chota Nagpore, and Central India render the construction, or at any rate the economical alignment, of railways a matter of more difficulty than is usually the case in Europe. Then it has to be remembered that Bengal alone is only a little smaller than the whole of the German Empire, and has half again as much more population, while the small Madras Presidency is only about a quarter less in area than France, and contains a larger number of people.

Enough has been said to suggest that the cost of construction and conditions of traffic must differ very widely on Indian railways according to their position, and that the English investor in such projects might do worse than study the bearings and salient features of locality in which his money is to be spent, or, better still, get hold of a work like Hunter's "*Indian Empire*," and make himself acquainted with the country as a whole.

The close of the year 1885-86 showed a total extent of railways of all gauges in India of some 12,376 miles open for traffic, and some 4,000 more sanctioned or under construction. Taking the population of the whole country at 250 millions, this, when completed, gives less than seven miles of line to every 100,000 inhabitants; a figure which, considering that America has now nearly 200 miles for the same number of people, is fair evidence that we have not yet shown too much haste in furnishing India with railway communication. But notwithstanding this, the most noticeable feature in connection with Indian railways at present is the steady growth of competing lines, or of projects which will have this effect in due course; while instead of having Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras as practically the only outlets for our exports, we have Kurrachee, north of Bombay, taking away the

bulk of the produce of the Punjab, and Marmagao on the south is about to become a formidable rival to Bombay on the same side of the country. A few years hence a railway, which is now under survey, will probably connect Chittagong on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal with Cachar and the Assam Valley, and the produce which now finds its way to Calcutta by the Eastern Bengal, and Bengal Central railways, will then go away direct from a cheap and very convenient port. The heavy charges in and to the Hooghly, which are not likely to be reduced on the completion of the new wet docks, will give Chittagong, as they now give Bombay, an advantage of not less than ten shillings per ton for large sea-going vessels, and so large a saving should, in the interests of the jute and rice trade, and of the tea industry, expedite the development of this port.

As regards the lower section of this line, viz., from Chittagong to Cachar, there is no more promising project in India. The country is rich and densely populated, produces an immense amount of jute, rice, and betel-nuts, and the traffic already tends to Chittagong; but the small craft, which do most of the carrying, make the port with difficulty during the monsoon, and consequently much of the produce finds its way by the rivers either to the Eastern Bengal line or by the tortuous channels of the delta into the Hooghly. Attempts have been made, but without much earnestness, to find a channel up the Megna for sea-going steamers to Narainganj, the present centre of the jute trade in Eastern Bengal, and it seems difficult to believe that this should be impossible in a river carrying probably as great a volume of water as the Mississippi in a distance of not more than one hundred miles. If this channel could be established as a safe route for vessels of large size, it is doubtful whether there would be any immediate need for a railway to, or outlet at, Chittagong. The water communication in the Megna Valley ramifies in hundreds of minor channels over a very wide area right up to

Cachar, and on the main stream large river steamers work up to this point all the year round. What with this contingency on the east, and the strong competition of Bombay on the west, the trade of Calcutta is unlikely to progress at the same pace in future as it has done in former years. The traffic into Calcutta from the west is still served by but one line, the East Indian, and although this has been doubled up to Mogul Terai, close to Benares, where it joins the Oude and Rohilkund Railway, it is at times hard pressed even with the help of its old loop line along the river. The completion of the bridge over the Ganges at Benares some time next year, together with the steady and rapid growth of traffic on the Bengal and North-Western, and the Tirhoot railways, will certainly strain the carrying power of the East Indian to its utmost, but it is hardly yet time for the countenance of a scheme which has been lately put forward for a direct or "grand chord" line from Benares to Calcutta. The tardiness with which rates have been reduced on the East Indian line may have led in some degree to the support which has been given to this project; but it has to be remembered that the State owns the East Indian line, and although it has but little control over its rates, it takes the lion's share of its profits, and may consequently not be too ready to receive proposals for the construction of a work which would almost certainly absorb the whole of the through traffic from the North-West, and seriously lessen the receipts on the original line. There is, however, another view of the matter in that the Oude and Rohilkund Railway will this year become the property of Government, and if its traffic is to be developed, as it can and should be, it will not do to allow it to be throttled at Benares by prohibitive rates over the East Indian. This possibility, and the fact that a direct line would open out a wide extent of country now cut off from the railway, may lead before long to its being seriously considered, more especially as it would save about sixty miles in

distance between Benares and Calcutta, and would tap the trade of the rich Chota Nagpore plateau. A scheme which is now under preparation by Government for a line from Benares to Cuttack will serve the pilgrim traffic to Juggernath, and be eminently valuable as a protective line against famine in Orissa; but this would run right across the Ranchi table-land, intersecting the projected Nagpore-Bengal Railway about one hundred miles from its junction with the East Indian. It would thus be too circuitous, and its curves and gradients too severe, to make it worth considering as a possible competing route with the present East Indian chord line on any but very onerous conditions, and the traffic which might adopt this route to Calcutta would still have to travel for some distance over the old line.

Further inland the scheme of the Indian Midland Railway will when completed absorb a large share of traffic which now follows the East Indian either to Calcutta or to Jubulpore, radiating from Jhansi as a centre, to Agra, Cawnpore, Manickpore (on the East Indian), and Bhopal on the Great Indian Peninsula, together with another branch to the Umaria coal-field; it will not only fill up a huge void in the railway map of India, but establishes a formidable competing route for the grain traffic of the North-West with both the Rajputana and the East Indian railways. The flat grades and cheap fuel of the latter line will, however, enable it to make a good fight against its new rival, and it is already putting engines on the road which will take trains of six hundred or even eight hundred tons. The cheapness of Bombay as a port as compared with Calcutta, which has been already referred to, not to mention the shorter run home by about eight or ten days, places the route *viâ* the Ganges Valley at a serious disadvantage, and it must be expected that on the completion of the Midland Railway Cawnpore will commence the severance of its business with the less profitable customer on the Eastern side. In his address

to the shareholders in January last, Mr. Crawford, the Chairman of the East Indian Railway, spoke confidently of the prospect of maintaining the position of Calcutta, and said that "the Board are prepared to enter into a free and open competition . . . for the traffic of the North-West, confident of being able to hold their own if they are only allowed fair play." In matters of business, and especially where such large interests are involved, it is not more easy to determine, or at any rate to adhere to any very strict definition of "fair play," than it is in the proverbial "love and war," and it may happen that the East Indian shareholders will be disappointed if they rely too confidently on the figures offered by Mr. Crawford as the bases on which the battle may be fought. The cost of carrying a ton a mile is a variable quantity depending on many factors, as Mr. Crawford is doubtless aware, or may ascertain after comparing the figures for 1884 with those of 1885; and matters will be materially altered in one respect in favour of the Bombay route by the opening out of the new coal-field at Umaria. At the same time it must be admitted that what with the shorter distance of some 140 miles, the good gradients, and the better chance of return loads, the route *viâ* the Ganges Valley should be an incomparably cheaper route, as far as the mere railway carriage is concerned, than that *viâ* Bombay.

In Western India the scheme of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company (on the metre gauge), which is being rapidly extended, and now includes the Mysore Railway, will, when completed and connected with the new port of Marmagao, become a formidable competitor with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway for the traffic of the Western Deccan. The future may see it connected with the South Indian line, which is on the same gauge, and thus form an extensive network of narrow gauge lines, which will take a large share of the trade that now finds its way over the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways. Other competing routes of less importance, either at work or under

construction, could be indicated, but enough has perhaps been said to show that Indian railways are entering on a new phase, and that their management will in future be under different conditions to those of, say, ten years ago. The marked development of traffic on Indian railways of late years is due in a great measure to the reduction of rates, and the absolute and unmistakable benefit that has ensued to every line shows that competition, to which these reductions are mainly traceable, will do little injury in the long run. The goods rates on Indian railways are nevertheless on most lines still too high, but it has been difficult for the agents and traffic officials of the old lines, who have hitherto been working on monopoly rates, to understand that instead of carrying 100,000 tons at an x rate, they must now find their account in carrying 200,000, or perhaps 300,000, tons at $\frac{x}{3}$. Nevertheless Indian rates compare favourably with those on English and foreign lines, as is shown in the last report of the Director-General. For instance, the rate for grain between Liverpool and Birmingham is there given at 1'54d. per ton mile, and for the same distance the rate on German railways would be 1'13d., on Belgian '79d., and on Indian .85d. But for longer distances the Indian lines have rates as low as '27d. per ton mile, and have been doing well with this, in spite of the want of sufficient return loads. This is, in fact, the great difficulty in working Indian railways, viz., that the bulk of the traffic is all one way, and there is consequently too much empty running. But this must be expected in any exporting country, and particularly in India. The ryot who sends away ten tons of wheat does not want ten tons of anything in exchange. He may take a little salt, some spices, a little cloth, and other things, but the return he mainly looks for is rupees. The American railways are in much the same case, and yet, as shown by the able author of the pamphlet on "*Indian Wheat and American Protection*," their rates for grain are considerably lower than the lowest rate on Indian railways. There is no evidence, however, that these very



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low American rates were remunerative, and it must be remembered that railway construction in America both is and probably can be of a much cheaper and more temporary character than in India. The average cost of the new American railways is probably not much over £5,000 a mile. They have plenty of cheap timber, no white ants to eat it, no tropical rainfall to rot it, and cheap fuel, and their lines are, moreover, mostly unballasted, unfenced, and generally of a very different type to what exists and is absolutely necessary in India.

The reduction of goods rates is not the only direction in which an improvement is to be expected. The development of the passenger traffic of the fourth or lowest class is a mine of wealth awaiting those who will work it boldly and patiently. Many railways now charge $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per mile per head as the lowest passenger fare, which at present exchange is about equal to half a farthing; but low as this may seem to people at home, it is beyond the means of all but a fraction of the population. A poor native will walk his journeys at the rate of about twenty miles a day, and will spend, say, two annas, or 24 pies, on food. Time is of no consequence to him; he has not yet realized that "time is money," and to travel this distance by rail he must spend double the amount for his ticket that he would spend on food in walking, while he must lay out something for this in any case, whether walking or sitting in a railway carriage. On the Tirhoot Railway, which runs through densely populated districts of poor people, the fares were lately reduced from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ pies per head per mile. The result was an almost immediate increase in numbers of over 75 per cent., and in receipts of nearly 50 per cent., while at the same time the goods traffic significantly improved. The connection between passenger and goods traffic has perhaps as yet been insufficiently realized—at any rate in India, where the small, and indeed the large trader, likes to arrange his bargains personally, to see what he is going to buy, and to estimate on the spot the capabilities of the market, and

the honesty of his agents. There are no trade newspapers, and if there were it is doubtful if the astute native would believe in them; while the information afforded in notices on railway platforms is too generally in English, or in a vernacular which is not understood in the district. If it is possible to carry goods at 85d. per ton, and over long distances for 27d. per ton per mile, it would appear that we could go a great deal further towards reducing the lowest class of passenger fares.

These low goods rates, it need scarcely be said, are based on the assumption of full loads over considerable distances, and it must be admitted that on but few lines could this condition be completely fulfilled with passenger traffic; but regarded as a question of moving the gross weight of a vehicle and its load at moderate speed, there is a wide difference between, say, 85d. per ton mile in a goods waggon, and two and a half pie per head in a passenger carriage. Taking passengers as mere load, and a load that, unlike merchandize, moves itself into and out of its vehicle, and does not involve "claims" for loss, and rarely for damage, we may assume that sixteen passengers would go to a ton, which would be a full allowance for the poorer class of natives. A rate of two and a half pie per head per mile would thus yield about twopence per ton mile, or nearly two and a half times the rate for goods. There is thus a good margin for the absence of "full loads," interest on additional stock, and the charges that might be expected to arise in connection with a heavy increase in such traffic. A reduction of fare to what has proved so eminently successful on the Tirhoot Railway would certainly induce a large increase in numbers on nearly every line in India, and would consequently involve, in some cases, a small increase in rolling stock, while on some lines which have stock lying idle, or running half full, no increase might be needed at once. But in any case this would be no valid argument against reduction, always assuming that a rate or fare covers all charges for interest,

wear and tear, because railway managers cannot be expected to look much beyond the hard fiscal results of any change of policy, and would doubtless be disposed to "let well alone," more especially on lines where no competition is to be feared; but the Government must have wider views and interests, and the lead in this direction should be taken by State railways. There can be no difference of opinion as to the varied benefits to be derived from travelling—singularly prominent and immediate as they are—in India, especially among the poorer classes of natives, and if any doubt existed as to the direct profits to be derived from a considerable reduction in the fares for the lowest class, there can be none as to the indirect advantages to the State from the increase of intercommunication of the people. The statistics of Indian railways show clearly enough that although there is a steady increase in the total numbers of passengers travelling, the figures per open mile show slow progress; for the numbers per open mile in 1883 were 6,254; in 1884, 6,641; and in 1885, 6,687. It is worthy of notice that in a work, "*The Railways of India*," by Captain Davidson, R.E., written in 1868, it was then considered that passenger traffic would be the main source of the receipts. He says:

"It is curious now, in looking over actual results, to notice the erroneous views held by the wisest men, and the diffidence with which the whole subject was approached as well as the nature of the difficulties which were apprehended. It was supposed in 1845 that the profits of railways in India would mainly be derived from the carriage of goods and merchandize, and that the passenger traffic would be small. But experience has shown that the largest return has been derived in reality from the conveyance of passengers, and that the carriage of raw products has not proved so remunerating to Indian railways as was anticipated."

This was written in 1868. In 1885 the position is reversed. The receipts in this year from goods traffic were 119 millions of rupees, and from passenger traffic about 55½ millions, or about one-half of that from goods traffic, showing that in 1868 the exporting power of the country was not realized, or, at any rate, was impeded by the want of railway communication over an immense proportion of the pro-

ducing areas, and by absurdly high monopoly rates on the then existing railways. But if passenger rates were reduced to what they can and should be, the expectations made in 1868 would doubtless be amply realized, and would be an incalculable boon to the people.

Unfortunately, however, for any proposal of this nature, as respects State railways, the financial exigencies of the Government of India entail a very urgent need for direct profits, and, at the same time, cripple its power, in spite of the best intentions, of finding the capital which would be necessary, and on rather a large scale to provide for any considerable increase in passenger traffic. At the present time the demands for money from open lines undergo the most rigorous scrutiny, and have to be arbitrarily curtailed. Yet it would not, perhaps, be far wrong to state that the whole yearly amount now allowed for capital outlay on Indian railways could, for several years to come, be absorbed advantageously by lines already open for traffic, in increasing their accommodation, in constructing new branches, or in adding to their rolling stock.

The question of the gauge for the railway extensions, commenced in 1869-70, was keenly debated even long after the Government had decided on the French metre, and in 1873 the subject was fought out afresh in the Institution of Civil Engineers. But the Government neither in India nor at home were able to accept the general opinion offered on that occasion against the narrow gauge, or break of gauge, for many hundreds of miles of metre gauge lines have since been made, and more have yet to come. Looking back now more calmly over the almost angry discussions which this question gave rise to, it may be conceded that the opposition to the break of gauge in India was based too much on experience derived from English and European railways generally, and that the Government acted wisely in declining to give too much weight to considerations and arguments which formed only one of the factors in the problem they had to solve.

That mistakes were made would doubtless now be readily admitted, even by so able and consistent an advocate of the narrow gauge as General Strachey. The construction of the line from Lahore to the North-West frontier on this gauge, and of the lines through Rajputana, may be cited as instances, but it is easy to be wise after the event, and in the case of the latter, which was originally projected solely as a strategical and political line of communication, it would have been a very bold thing to have prophesied that the immense traffic which now finds its way over it would have followed so rapidly upon its completion as a through line to the Bombay side. Much of the earlier arguments on the gauge question turned upon the cost of construction of the broad and narrow gauge, and a great deal of technical knowledge was displayed in the endeavour to prove what can only be properly determined by the preparation of estimates for both gauges over precisely the same line of country, or, which is, however, a very unlikely mode of proof, by actual construction. The last report on Indian railways gives the average cost per mile of the broad gauge at Rs. 167,526, and that of the narrow gauge at Rs. 66,123. The latter figure may be accepted as a fair one; but the cost of the broad gauge is misleading, in so far that much of it is double, and that it includes the cost of work in early days, when money was almost flung away under a 5 per cent. guarantee, and when little was known, and little trouble taken to ascertain, how work could be done, at the same time cheaply and properly.

The average cost of the broad gauge lines constructed within the last ten years would be probably about Rs. 110,000 per mile of single line, while the relative cost of broad and narrow gauge may be put down at about a ratio of 11 to 7. Estimates have been made for lines of both gauges over the same ground, which have yielded almost similar proportions, and which, curiously enough, accord fairly well with the difference between the gauges, viz., of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet and one metre. Endeavours have been made, both in India and elsewhere,

to compare the possible duty and working cost of broad and narrow gauge railways; but any such comparison must obviously be unsatisfactory, if not fallacious, unless, which is extremely unlikely, the two lines were made over precisely the same ground, or were alike as regards gradients, conditions of traffic, supply of fuel, and generally closely identical in character. To put the case as simply as possible, it will be readily seen that the operation of moving goods with a hand-barrow will differ very widely from that of moving them with a horse and cart. A traffic which is light and infrequent may be as economically met with the former machine as a heavy and steady traffic would be with the latter, not forgetting the capital outlay and working expenses of each. Thus, if the work to be done, and the conditions of doing it, are duly weighed, it must be clear that the narrow gauge may be in every sense a cheaper and no less effective line than a broad gauge, and any consideration of the relative merits of the two gauges must rest on this common-sense basis, without any need for complicating the question with elaborate technical arguments or imaginary difficulties.

The extravagant claims made by some American railway men on behalf of the narrow gauge, and the success, for very special reasons, of the well-advertised Festiniog line, gave an entirely false and injurious prominence to the matter, ending, as is too often the case, in an unreasoning condemnation of any proposals of the sort, and in the minds of its opponents the association of narrow gauge and narrow-mindedness is practically synonymous. That the Government of India acted wisely in adopting the metre gauge for the bulk of their railway extensions after 1870, is amply proved by the fact that, excluding the lines through Rajputana, which for exceptional reasons are now paying over 6 per cent., the five principal State lines on this gauge, now that they feel the incidence of renewals, do not pay more than 3 per cent. on the average; while, if they had been made on the so-called standard gauge, their cost would have

been increased by about one-third, and, placed as they are, they would not have afforded a more effective or more generally useful means of transit. Seeing that the capital was borrowed at from 4 to 4½ per cent., the loss to the State would, moreover, have been largely increased. The most persistent opponents of the action of Government were the trading community and military men, the former being naturally ready to support the policy which would deliver their consignments with as little delay and damage as possible, regardless of the fiscal result to the State, and the latter having unfortunately little concern with the cost of their operations. That it would be an advantage to be able to despatch troops without a break to our frontier, or to any disaffected district, no one can deny; but it is as reasonably argued that the urgent necessity of doing this would be exceptionally rare, and that the needs of both man and beast demanded occasional halts, which could have been arranged at the points of junction between two lines of different gauge. It might also have been urged that the railway is not likely to be able to place men exactly in the field of battle, and that, in consequence, there must be many loadings and unloadings to be expected, and many sources of delay must be contemplated, after troops leave a railway station.

The country has, moreover, been won with the camel and bullock cart, and it does not seem unreasonable to expect that we should be able to hold it, in spite of our altered position on the northern frontier, with a railway system on which there would be an occasional break of gauge. The saving of a few hours in military operations may obviously secure very important results, but in view of the poverty of the country, and the certain annual loss which the construction of broad gauge lines in every direction would have involved, the Government had excellent grounds for accepting what must be admitted to be remote and doubtful risks. The cost and delay of the transhipment of goods has been another source of dispute

with the advocates of a uniform gauge, but bearing in mind the number of such movements which Indian produce must undergo in its journey from the village it originates in to the ship which carries it away, or to the warehouse in Europe, it would seem hard that the State should bear the certainty of loss over many years in making broad gauge branches or extensions in order to save, say, one more transshipment. The cost of this in India, from the waggons of one gauge to that of another, if properly arranged, is not more than one penny, or a penny halfpenny, per ton, equivalent at Indian goods rates to about four to six miles of additional distance; yet, to save this, the Government was, and is still, urged to spend from £4,000 to £5,000 per mile over and above what may be sufficient to provide for the requirements of the districts served, in the construction of broad gauge lines. The benefit to be derived from interchange of vehicles is, at any rate, no advantage to any railway administration; indeed, where long lines are concerned, the system is one which involves considerable extra expense and trouble in the working arrangements; and, apart from the bearing of it on the public convenience, railway managers of long lines would much prefer to be able to have only their own stock to deal with.

The passenger traffic in India, of which 99 per cent. may be considered to be of the poorer class of natives, cannot be said to be seriously affected by a break of gauge; and as regards the first and second-class passengers, the traffic is so minute and so very unlucrative that it cannot be taken into account in such a matter. The present position of the gauge question in India is *solvitur ambulando*, and the solution seems to be in danger of being influenced too much, and too frequently, by the desire to get railways made of any gauge, so long as companies or native States can be induced to find the money. The Government can scarcely be blamed for this. Its financial position in the present state of exchange entails the necessity of living as it were from hand to mouth, and renders it unable to take

much heed for the future if only the urgent needs of the country can be met in some way or other.

The cost of fuel, or, as it is termed in railway parlance, "the coal bill," is still one of the serious items in the cost of railway working in India, and it will therefore interest the holders of Indian railway shares to learn that two, if not three, new coal-fields of excellent promise are being opened out. The Umaria coal-field in the native State of Rewah, about one hundred miles south of Kutni, on the East Indian Railway, is one of first-class importance. The coal is as good, if not better, than that of the Ranigunge field, which has hitherto been the main source of the supply of Indian coal, and its position will enable it to command the supply of a very large mileage of line now supplied either by inferior coal from Warora or Mopani, or with English or Bengal coal at a necessarily high price. Out of a total of about 700,000 tons of coal now annually used by Indian railways, there is still about one-third of this derived from England at an average cost at port of, say, fourteen to fifteen rupees per ton, and as Indian coal can be dug and brought to pit's mouth at about an average of two rupees per ton, there is a large margin to meet cost of haulage, and it seems probable that within the next few years India will practically cease to be a customer of English coal. The new Singareni coal-field in the south of India, about 120 miles north-west of the mouth of Godavery River, will have the same value for the southern lines as Umaria has for the northern and central railways. The coal from Singareni has so far not been used in any quantity; but the analysis of almost surface specimens shows it to be a coal of excellent quality; and when this field is opened out, which is now being done, it should be able to supply the needs of most of the Madras lines, of all the eastern branch of the Great Indian Peninsula, besides all the Nizam's Railway, while some may go as far as the lines of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company. Seeing that all these are, with the exception of the Nizam's line, using English coal, or "patent

fuel," at a high price, the saving to be expected by the opening out of this new colliery will be very considerable. The value of the third new coal-field, in the Punjab Salt Range, is still somewhat uncertain. The seams are thin, and the coal of rather poor quality, but it must be bad indeed to be worthless to the Punjab Railway, the average cost of coal and fuel to which is now nearly twenty-four rupees per ton. The borings for petroleum at Kātun in Beloochistan, which have been earnestly and patiently promoted by Sir T. C. Hope, the Public Works Member of Council, have at last yielded a supply which promises at least to afford liquid fuel to a considerable section of the North-Western Railway, and experiments which have been made with it on locomotives yielded results described as being "most satisfactory." Another important coal-field, that of Koorbah or Wingir, lies on the line of the projected and long-deferred Bengal and Nagpore Railway ; * but the coal has not yet been well proved, and in any case it would only serve this railway. Thus, on the whole, there is good prospect of an early and considerable reduction of the "coal bill" on Indian railways, and this alone will largely help the lowering of rates, and afford another and considerable stimulus to the export trade.

The working expenses of the whole of the Indian lines in 1885 showed a percentage on gross receipts of 49·27, as against 50·47 in 1884, and 48·39 in 1883, the lowest figure being on the East Indian Railway, with its cheap coal supply, viz., 35·26 per cent. These figures compare favourably with those on English lines, but they are obtained in a great measure by the good results on the large systems, viz., the East Indian, the Bombay and Baroda, the North-Western and Great Indian Peninsula. The smaller lines show figures averaging about 65 per cent. This is to be accounted for in some degree by the heavy cost of fixed establishments, as compared with the other

* Since Mr. Bell wrote, this line has raised the capital for its construction.

items in the working expenses, and is being met by degrees by the doubling up of smaller lines into large groups under one management, and from this advantage will be derived in many ways. The administration of the North-Western Railway now covers about 1,800 miles of what were the Sind Punjab and Delhi, the Punjab Northern, and the Indus Valley Railways. The Bombay and Baroda administration, also of about 1,800 miles, now covers the original line, the Rajputana Malwa, the Kenari-Ferozepore, and the Holkar Railways, while the East Indian Railway Company, in addition to its own huge system, works the Gwalior line, the Cawnpore-Calpee, the Patna-Gya, and the Tarkessur Railways. A scheme is also now being matured for working the Eastern Bengal, the Bengal Central, the Northern Bengal, and the Dacca Railways as one system, including their flotillas of steamers and cargo "flats." Amalgamations of this nature should result in a material reduction of working expenses, and, what is of equal, if not greater importance, in rendering it possible to enforce the harmony too often wanting in the relations between adjacent lines. The advantages, both to the administration and to the public, of this centralization are in some respects immediate and considerable; but, on the other hand, it has its drawbacks, and it is a question with experts in India whether the limit has not already been reached, or even exceeded, within which the most favourable results can on the whole be expected from such a policy. On no railway, and particularly in India, can the controlling influence of a manager, or of the heads of departments under him, be delegated to, or diluted by, subordinate action beyond certain limits. If this were not true, this policy could hardly stop short until the whole railway system of a country became the charge of one manager—a conclusion which would offer no advantage over that of centralized State control, and in which local knowledge and responsibility would be reduced to its lowest value. The benefits assumed to be derived from

the appointment of high officials on a railway, or in any trading concern, are based on the reasonable conception that they will be able to obtain and keep touch with all the bearings of the undertaking, and that to some definite extent their personal influence and interest will be felt throughout its operations. It may consequently be found that the prominent and considerable economies to be obtained from an extensive amalgamation may be counterbalanced by the loss of economy in less obvious directions, or in matters too remote for effective control by the heads of a very large administration; or it may take the form, already apparent, of neglect of local traffic or interests, in the struggle for through traffic of doubtful value. In any attempt to determine the limit up to which such amalgamations will be advantageous, it is desirable not to overlook the effect of an Indian climate in reducing both the energy and the powers generally of the incumbent of an exceptionally responsible post, and that his working strength can be much more readily overtaxed under such influences than in Europe. Thus in the event of the loss, either for long or comparatively short periods, of the head of an important system of railways, it is, and in India always will be, a matter of greater difficulty to provide a suitable substitute than for charges less onerous or important.

The native *employés* on Indian railways form nearly 96 per cent. of the whole number. The figures for the year 1885 showed a total of 206,893 natives, 4,598 of mixed parentage, and 4,375 Europeans. Notwithstanding, however, that railways have been working in the country for now over thirty years, the number of natives who have risen into positions of importance could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The reasons for this lie as clearly on the surface in railway employ as in that of the civil or judicial or any other branch of employment, whether under Government, companies, or private individuals, and the principal one, anomalous as it may seem, is, that where a really reliable and at the same time qualified and energetic

servant is needed, the European may be had at a cheaper rate than a native. For a salary of, say, Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 per mensem we may obtain the services of a European who may either have the birth and character of what we understand and expect in a gentleman, or may, at any rate, if of lower social standing, have been tried and found as trustworthy.

But for this salary it would be difficult to find and dangerous to try a native, *i.e.*, in a position where the first essentials would be not only ordinary zeal and honesty, but general square dealing with the men above and below him. The *genus* native gentleman is, in fact, as yet a very scarce product in the ordinary walks of life, and the general standard of morality does not keep pace with that of education. The native in a superior position does not show a stronger sense of duty towards his employer, as understood by Europeans, than one in a lower rank, and there is a lamentable absence of desire to acquire information and accept responsibility. A native station-master or traffic-inspector may, for instance, be trusted to perform his daily duties according to rule with accuracy and fair diligence; but beyond this there is little to be expected, and, with but rare exceptions, there is a lack of co-operation with his employer, no attempt to effect or propose economies, or to obtain or afford information which may lead to the increase of business. The day's work is done perfunctorily and aimlessly, and apparently with no other object than to do as much and no more as will evade punishment or reproof. This want of ambition, zeal, or energy—whatever it may be called—has followed, it must be admitted, in some measure, on the want of prospect consequent on our not unnatural fear of promoting them to responsible positions. We might by giving more opportunities than we now do be able to stimulate the frail germs of those qualities in which we think, or it may be said we know, they are deficient; but we may reasonably hesitate in attempting the advancement of men whose apathy and

the chance of more dangerous characteristics seems to unfit them for it.

Judging merely from the evidence afforded in working the native staff of a railway, it is painfully evident that the class of men who at present seek employment of this kind rarely show signs of the qualifications required for responsible positions or for the charge of other men, and their intercourse with each other in public matters seems to be characterized by an endless series of intrigues, jealousies, and even conspiracies. Any code of honour among men of this class has yet to be established, and those who know them best would agree that it would be extremely difficult for an individual to walk straight, surrounded as he is with friends who would not censure, and enemies who would welcome his delinquencies. As long as the *employés* on Indian railways consist, as at present, of a mixture of Europeans, Eurasians, and natives, there would, moreover, be serious difficulties in the way of promoting a native into a high position, and it is also more than doubtful whether the native staff would not, for the reasons already given, be more likely to prefer being placed under a European than under one of their own race and class. The native *employés* who give the most general satisfaction are the engine-drivers, who now number some nine hundred in all, including "shunters." They are almost entirely Mussulmans, and, as usual with them, are deficient in elementary education, and especially in knowledge of English; but they are very keen to learn, and readily attend the night-schools which exist on most lines in the country. Their most valuable characteristic is that they do not drink, and are generally a very well-behaved and easily managed set of men; while, on the whole, the damage done to their engines by neglect or ignorance is not noticeably greater than what is done by European or Eurasian drivers, and this is amply met by the saving in their salary, which is about half what is paid to the European. Many of them now drive passenger trains on branch lines, and on most of the railways the goods trains are entirely run by native drivers.

A few words may be said in conclusion in reply to those who hold either that railways are not needed at all in India, or that we have already gone far enough or too far in their construction. At the outset it is hard to understand why a system of communication which has been such an unmixed blessing to Western nations should be unsuited to the East, and appear, according to one writer,* an agency which is "shattering India's social system, and with it all the precious habits of prudence and the priceless feelings of mutual dependence which have enabled its children to weather the frightful storms which man and nature have combined to launch on them." India has been content, it is true, for centuries to advance with almost imperceptible steps towards change of any kind, and even at the present day the desire for improvement, material or moral, is as yet but feebly expressed; but it by no means follows on this that the people wish to continue immovable, or that they are unable to realize the advantages of a more vigorous life. It is admittedly difficult to ascertain with any accuracy the real feelings of the mass of the people in India, but there can be no room for doubt, no grounds for illusion as regards their opinions on the subject of railways, which among the manifold benefits of English rule are generally popular and acceptable with every class. The fear expressed by the writer already quoted, and by others, that the stimulus given by railways to India's export of food stuffs is likely to be severely felt in times of famine or scarcity, is a chimera at once baseless and harmful. The production of food grains on a soil, and in a climate so generally favourable, and with a population so notably industrious, can and does generally largely exceed in average years the needs of the people; and it is difficult to see how the forty odd millions who, according to Dr. Hunter, "go through life with insufficient food" would benefit to any appreciable degree by the destruction of any or of all the railways in India.

The bulk of the food grains now exported and carried

* "Economic Revolution of India." A. K. Connell.

by these railways would, if they were destroyed, simply not be grown for want of a market, and, in time of scarcity, the revenue that this produce provides would not only be absent, but could not, if available, be transported to the area of distress. An important point in connection with the export of grain, especially of wheat, is that the character of the monsoon rains, on which the whole out-turn of India's food supply naturally depends, is known and its effects estimated before the seed of the wheat crop is put into the ground; and before this happens, and long before the season for export arrives, the prospect of scarcity will have raised prices to a point which will effectually curtail the movement of grain out of the country. Moreover, wheat, again, is not the staple food of the bulk of the people, and this not merely on account of its higher price, but because it is unsuited to their habits and constitutions. Wheat is, in fact, regarded over most of India as an article grown for sale as much as cotton, oil-seeds, or opium. But it may be said that the well-to-do people in Europe can afford to raise, and are raising the price of wheat, thus stimulating its growth against the poorer forty millions who are said to have insufficient food, and that the land which now grows wheat would, if railways did not help its export to favourable markets, be used to grow cheaper grains for their sustenance.

This would be sound if it could be shown that this forty millions of imperfectly fed people could afford to buy it at the price it could be offered, and especially without the help of railways for its distribution. The increased food supply, or, in other words, the reduction in the price of food, which this addition might afford, would inevitably result in a further reduction in the already low standard of wages, and it is probable, if not, indeed, certain, that the forty millions would be no nearer a "square meal" than before. The impoverishment and ill-nurtured condition of so large a proportion of the people must be sought in older and

more potent causes than that of railway communication. The density of the population in some parts, their low standard of comfort, and a reckless unthrift that one of their own bullocks might be ashamed of, are the radical evils which must hold them down unfortunately for many years to come. There is not an adult among them who would not borrow with a light heart from two to three years' income at 12 to 24 per cent. for a marriage or other social festivity. Their indebtedness is as widespread as it is chronic, and this condition is regarded as more honourable than disgraceful, while their fear of arousing the suspicions of their creditors leads them to make no effort to emerge from the congenial atmosphere of dirt and squalor in which they live and die. The one hope for them, the one agency that may and really seems likely to regenerate them, which will save them from dying like flies at the first touch of famine, will be the very railways which are too hastily condemned as being in a great measure the cause of their misery.

HORACE BELL.

SHORT TRAVELS IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES.

I.

A TRIP TO NORTH CHINA AND COREA.

I WILL ask my readers to imagine themselves with me at the mouth of the Peiho river, looking towards the low flats on which are situated the Taku forts—scene of an English reverse and an English victory in our wars with China. The problem is to cross the bar and pass the Forts and reach Tientsin. The ice-floes that block the mouth of the river until the middle of March have broken up, but it is none the less a matter of some difficulty to do this.

In the harbour the steamers are lightened till they can cross the bar, and then go as far as they can up the river. The long rows of guns pointing towards us offer no opposition luckily, for these mud forts are very effective defences, and the cannon of the Chinamen are no longer mounted so that they will point in one direction only. The navigable channel of the river is very narrow, and its course winds serpentinely through the low flat fields cultivated with garden crops of vegetables, and dotted with apricot and willow-trees, and near the sea with windmills, which raise the salt water in pans, in which salt is manufactured by evaporation. Frequent villages press on to the banks, and as steamers pass up and down the river it is no uncommon thing for the cross-tree of the anchor swung at the bows to knock the roof off a mud hut. This sounds very extraordinary, but the navigation of the Peiho is very extraordinary. Half a dozen steamers of say two thousand tons will leave Taku with the intention of getting each as near Tientsin as she can. You may be in the

last and will see across an invisible bend in the river the others ahead at intervals, apparently steaming over the fields. One will be flying the aground signal, and two or more will probably be in the same case as, if you have luck, you pass them by. As you steam along the narrow channel, the helm to port will be encroaching on the mud bank, while the bow to starboard will be in close proximity to the wall of a house, as the ship swings round in her narrow lines. Our steamer arrived within four miles of Tientsin and anchored there. The passengers got out and walked. It should be noted that the bed of the river is of mud, and that grounding means no more than at most a day's detention. Cultivation presses on to the water's edge. It seems as if the rudder might almost knock a lettuce off a field. It took an afternoon, a night's halt in the river, and a morning to reach Tientsin. If my narrative seems overdrawn I can only protest that this experience recalled to me the portents of the deluge described by Horace, when fishes were found in the home of the dove, and the natural relations of land and water were disordered.

Tientsin is a great city of perhaps a million inhabitants, the seat of the Viceroy Li, a statesman of great reputation in China and in Europe, not averse to change because it is change, but a believer in China and the destiny of the Chinese. His natural gifts are enhanced by the possession of a commanding and handsome presence. The river here is crowded with junks and boats. The narrow streets, festooned with signboards, looking like long gilded strips cut out of a magician's bible, are alive with men, women, and children; but the place has not the air of a crowded beehive, which Canton and the southern cities suggest, and mankind is bigger and stolid, and less active and talkative, than in the South. The Tartar type of face, of course, is also far more frequent. Here you may in March and April eat last year's grapes, fresh to the taste, and possessed of all the bloom that charmed the eye when they ripened.

How the Chinaman preserves this symbol of what is fugitive, no one could tell me.

From Tientsin to Peking is less than one hundred miles, but custom prescribes that it should be considered a long and difficult journey. A man who rides quickly is very unpopular in China. In fact, it is an easy march, but a guide is essential, as there is no road. Boiled eggs and tea can be got at every village, and at few points can the open eye fail to light on several villages and graveyards, so closely is China peopled with the many living and the more dead. The country around Tientsin, lagoon and low-lying field, recalls the environs of Antwerp; and farther inland, clumps of trees budding in April, and villages of fair houses of mud-made bricks, succeeded one another with monotonous regularity. Teams, very mixed teams, of mules, oxen, asses, and horses, sometimes eight of various denominations harnessed together, were seen ploughing as we rode along. Tandems were universal, the leader's reins being fixed to the splinter-bar and not to the shafts. The cattle were small and undersized. At night the village inn provided a stone platform on which to sleep, and the paper-screen windows served sufficiently well to keep out the cold. The people seemed well fed and clothed, though all travellers and residents are agreed that they are poor. It is hard, however, for Englishmen to gauge the degrees of poverty in the East, and I suspect they have as a rule quite enough to eat in ordinary years, and are not badly off.

Nothing as you approach Peking betrays the proximity of the capital of an empire. You may choose any one of a dozen tracks leading anywhere, but along the right one are more frequent walled tombs with platforms and gardens. Suddenly in the distance a heavy tower with tip-tilted eaves becomes visible. This is on the outer wall of the city, which you soon enter, after pausing, however wet and cold, to survey the extent of vast, high and frowning wall, through a gateway in which you enter a large plain on which is the Chinese city, and inside which in turn is another

gigantic wall enclosing the Tartar city. Inside this again is the wall enclosing the Forbidden city, where the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, lives away his life in seclusion. The walls of Peking are stupendous, and form, I think, one of the most impressive sights in the world. Everything here is very large. The main streets are half as broad as St. James's Park. You can see a shop across the way, but you may need to be mounted on a steeple-chaser to get across a hole, a morass, a heap of rubbish, and what not, that may intervene. Big brawny men and small delicate women, the latter profusely painted, and with gay, false flowers stuck in their hair, dromedaries, gigantic mules worth in some cases £700 or £800, Tartar ponies, and forlorn dogs, pass one another in the streets. The shops are less gay than in Southern China.

Along one of the streets a raised road, as broad as Jermyn Street, had been made. It extended from the forbidden city to the outer walls, and for, perhaps, thirty miles beyond, and had been constructed for the passage of the young emperor, who had to leave the city to perform ancestor worship at a place without. Shops and houses were covered from roof to basement with mats, an edict went forth that none should mount up into high places, and that the street should be deserted, that no eye might see the ruler of 300 millions pass through his capital. None the less did two or three out of those millions exercise their right of stopping the emperor's palanquin to present a desperate final appeal. The men were handed over to the Board of Punishments, not for punishment, but for safe custody till inquiry should show whether they were justified in exercising the last right of a subject. A curious amalgam of democracy, theocracy, and aristocracy is the Chinese system of government. It would surprise no one to learn that one of these petitions resulted in the overthrow of an oppressive governor, or the decapitation of an importunate offender, who deserved more than he had got.

The raised road having served its purpose, was now, the

only made road in China, to fall to pieces. No one, at any rate, was allowed to use it when I was in Peking.

Nothing inside that city compared in interest with its walls. The Temple of Confucius is a solemn silent fane, in the corridors of which may be read the names of the greatest scholars of their day inscribed on tablets. The Temple of the Eternal Peace of the Lamas and the wonderful bronzes of the Observatory have again and again been fully described, but a word on the religions of China may not be superfluous. I use the plural advisedly. The State religion is the annual ceremony of ploughing the earth and invoking the good will of the Deity for the coming season, but this is peculiar to the emperor alone and forms no national religion. Confucianism is a State code of morals, and though temples to Confucius will be found in every town, they more resemble memorial halls in which occasional public functions are held, than places of worship. The latter they certainly are not. The cult of local deities, the worship of ancestors, and Buddhism—these be the religions of the country, but if all these systems named be religions, then may the same individual profess them all. Nor is there anything extraordinary in this. Reverence to ancestors is a principle that any religion might adopt. The Jesuits at one period of their long and honourable connection with China did adopt it to such an extent, that some authorities think that, 300 years ago, a modified form of Roman Catholicism had almost been declared the religion of the country by the emperor of the day, who subsequently learned, however, to fear as well as admire the mighty organization that had nearly annexed his realm. Buddhism, as in its ritual, so in its catholic receptiveness, much resembles the Church of Rome. Thanks chiefly to Mr. Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem, the tenets of the faith are well known. Conscious, however, that Nirvana is but a negative state of bliss, one school of Buddhists, the Mahāyana, has imported into the original creed a heaven, more resembling, so far as I can gather, the Mussulman

than the Christian ideal, yet relying less on the charms of women for its attraction than—in the opinion of the vulgar—does the heaven of Islam. I say in the opinion of the vulgar, for those who have studied Islam will accept the repudiation of toleration of sensuality in this world and promise thereof in the next, which the Christian imputes to the prophet—the Christian who has not yet learnt that toleration of other faiths that honourably distinguishes the Mussulman, the Buddhist, and the Hindu.

In fact, the Chinaman is not given to religion, and is prepared to give any unknown god a trial. He has made a local hero or demi-god of Marco Polo, at Whampoa, of the opium Commissioner Lin, at Canton. Such matters are very much mixed in China. Toleration is infectious, and in a Mahometan mosque at Canton a tablet to the emperor may be seen. Shade of Ali! what would the bigoted Shia think of this? 'Tis enough to make all the corpses in Kerbela shudder in their graves.

A ride of forty miles to the north-west of Peking, past Chang Ping Ton, brings the traveller to a marble arch, whence a track leads through an avenue of stone gryphons, elephants, lions, camels, and graven images of colossal priests and giants, to a lonely valley in the mountains between Mongolia and the province of Pechili, in which are situated the tombs of the Ming emperors, the kings of the Bright dynasty. Each king has room enough, a little ravine in the lonely valley to himself. Huge halls, surrounded by beautiful marble balustrades, cover the altars, on which are simply inscribed the name of the deceased monarch, and on which are placed the one or two utensils peculiar to ancestor worship. The pillars of these colossal halls are enormous trunks of trees, worthy to be mentioned with the Californian Sequoias. The roofs are of glazed round tiles, all yellow, the imperial colour. Simplicity and grandeur mark these dwellings of departed royalty, and stillness reigns supreme in the halls, in the gardens, and in the valley without. The hall over the tomb of the Emperor,

Yung Lon, is ninety yards long, and of proportionate height and breadth. Dark firs and flowering fruit-trees fill the gardens around, and violets grow on the thick green turf. Little does the Pure dynasty that now rules in China care for the tombs of its Bright predecessors. Yet with neglect there is repose, as with care there is too often desecration of the well-kept cemetery. Not the Mogul's queen in her marble mosque at Agra, not King Darius in his rock-hewn sepulchre at Persepolis, not the Shoguns in their lacquered temples on the sunny slopes at Nikko, are more royally entombed than the Mings in their mountain valley near the Wall.

Hence, over stony ground, a ride of a few hours brings you to Nankow, a small town at the foot of the stony pass that leads through the mountains to Mongolia. Caravans of dromedaries laden with tea for Russia and with the scanty merchandize of the steppe, and bound for Siberia, are constantly passing this place; and this fact, and the caravanserai-like inn, give it a Central-Asian character that is entirely wanting in South China, and less apparent even in Peking hard by. Meat and vegetables can be got to eat, and as everything is cut up in Chinese cookery into pieces small enough for an infant, fingers, or chop-sticks for those who know how to use them, will serve for knives and forks.

From Taku to Peking and half-way to Nankow, everywhere is cultivation, but here it ceases, and we come to the mountain pass, through which a horse picks its way with difficulty over big boulders and through frequent streams. A mile or so beyond Nankow, the hills on either side of the pass are crowned with walls, which descend to a point where the track passes through an archway very elaborately carved and covered with inscriptions in several languages. After fourteen miles of this rough road, in a solitary mountain ravine, a prospect opens of a plain below and of snowy range beyond it; the foreground of this picture being the broken peaks of the hills the caravan track pierces, those

peaks being crowned by the most stupendous of the works of man, the Great Wall of China. Over the highest peak, and down into the deepest ravine, with sublime disregard of the conformation of the hills, and of human labour, this great fortification extends for 1,500 miles (or 2,000, counting double portions and windings) without a break, except such as the lapse of 2,000 years must make in the most enduring of human achievements. A modern engineer might have saved hundreds of miles, but no modern engineer and emperor could have commanded the labour required for such a work. No account of the wall that I have read conveys the crushing impression of colossal labour caused by its inspection. It is lofty as a house of two stories, broad as a narrow street, castellated on both sides, and flush from side to side at its summit, along which, at frequent intervals, watch-towers are situated. It is only another sign of an inability to do justice to an eastern question that is manifested too often by people of the West, that hardly any writer refers to the Great Wall without describing it as a monument at once of industry and folly. Let one of these writers see, as I did, a regiment of Mongols, armed with bows and arrows, and mounted on Tartar horses, struggling through the pass, and it would occur to him that of these irregular horsemen were formed the hordes to repel which the wall was built. Let him travel, as I have had the good fortune to do, in Central Asia, and he will see that a little tower is an efficient temporary refuge against the swoop of mounted Turcomans. Now, what happened on a small scale on the frontier of Khorassan, or did happen, historically speaking, the day before yesterday, is exactly what was happening 2,000 years ago on what was then the frontier of the Chinese kingdom. Hordes, numerically trifling, swooped down from Mongolia on an unprotected portion of the land, harried it and worried it, and returned to their own with fighting men and tender maidens and much booty as the spoil of war. Speed was an essential condition of their plans, and a wall

such as I have described was an insurmountable obstacle to horsemen without artillery. At the least it occasioned delay sufficient to allow of the mustering of the Chinese levies at the point of attack. Who shall say that a people so practical as the Chinese, wasted such incredible labour; and who shall say what part the result of their labours may not have taken in the history of the world? 'Twas *post hoc*; who shall say that it was not in some measure *propter hoc*, that the hordes of the Huns turned westward, and so moved the Goths southwards, and caused the Goths to displace the Vandals and precipitate both nations in turns into Italy, causing thereby the final break-up of the Roman Empire? The top of the Great Wall is a grand site for historic communings and speculation. Note, too, how a right understanding of the uses of the wall explains the importance of its continuity, and well supplies the reason for no gap being left in places which nature by the modern lights of warfare had already made impassable.

Back to Peking the route may be varied by a ride through Shah Ho, a large town walled of course (you will not find a friend in Peking without going through at least two walls); and back from Peking to Taku an alternative route offers in a ride to Tungchau, whence I took boat to Tientsin and spent two nights and two days on the river, the winds being perverse on the winding way. All along were villages and everywhere was cultivation. Everything looked prosperous, monotonous, and so Tientsin was reached, and a way pushed through the crowded river there and on to Taku, whence a Japanese steamer, the first to run to Corea by this route, took me across the Gulf of Pechili to Chefoo, and thence across the narrowest portion of the Yellow Sea to Chemalpoo, the Port of Séoul, and the most important place on the eastern side of the Peninsula.

Three years ago, when this port was opened to foreign commerce, it consisted of a dozen huts. In 1885 it boasted a population of 2,000, half of whom were Japanese and

other foreigners, and a trade of the net value of £200,000, a great advance on the returns of 1884, notwithstanding the occurrence of a bad harvest. The exports are trifling, but the hides are good, and money might be made, I think, by tanning them in the country. At present they are exported to Japan, where they are tanned and whence they are re-exported to Europe. The anchorage for ships is two or three miles from the town, and landing has to be effected at a stone jetty when the tide is in, and in the spring tides is not effected without difficulty. In the winter months ice in the mouth of the river Han, which here reaches the sea, obstructs trade, to which the absence of roads into the interior is a still greater obstacle. Generally speaking, pack-ponies and bullocks do the carrying. The loads are light and badly packed, suggestive, like everything else in the country, of the invincible lethargy and idleness of its inhabitants. The imports are chiefly shirtings and, unhappily, aniline dyes, which here as elsewhere in the East are becoming perniciously popular, to the detriment of the manufacture of indigenous fast dyes. Of the exports, beans, seaweed for the Japanese table, and ginseng, a medicinal root for the Chinese, are, after hides, the most important. The exports of gold dust have fallen off, and though the country has been prospected by experts for gold and silver, the best informed are of opinion that there is little that will repay the expense of working. Most of the gold dust that has been exported has gone to Japan for use in arts and manufactures, and has been paid for by silks and Japanese manufactured goods, on which for the purpose of barter a fancy price has been fixed. The quality of Corean silk might be greatly enhanced by improvement of the staple, and it is understood that the hills near Ignehuan are to be planted shortly with mulberry trees.

The opening of the ports to trade has resulted in increased shipping, in improved registration, and in the construction of a cart road from Chemalpoo to Séoul.

Whether any really great development in the trade of the country has taken place, or will take place, is another question. The energetic officers of the Chinese Customs Department who now collect the Customs for the Korean Government can advise, regulate, direct, collect, and report, but they cannot create trade, or force one of the idlest peoples in the world to manufacture and to improve their slipshod agriculture. It is probable that no great development in the trade of the Peninsula is to be looked for. The unofficial adoption of the Mexican dollar as the standard of value is another boon that has resulted from the opening of the country. Previously, copper cash fixed on strings, such as are given to Pooh Bah as bribes in the Mikado, were the only coins in use. A brawny porter would stagger under £10 or so in this coinage. There is a silver coin made of Chinese sycee silver with a blue enamel mark in the middle, but it seems to be little used.

A ride of twenty-six miles up and down over hills sparsely wooded with fir trees, and blushing with azaleas in bloom, takes the traveller to the capital. Since my return I have read Mr. Lowell's "Land of the Morning Calm," and read that this city realizes a vision of the Arabian Nights, rising in solemn majesty amid the bare wastes and craggy slopes of a desert land. It may be as well therefore to say that after riding twenty-four miles the traveller will find himself looking down on a little basin in the hills, the tops of which are crowned with the city walls, the city occupying the bottom of the depression. There are villages all along the way and rice cultivation in the hollows; there are no bare wastes, and the craggy slopes of the desert land are in fact covered with fir trees and azaleas. It is Mr. Lowell's imagination that is Arabian. A visit to Baghdad and Busra, too, might dispel his ideas as to the features of the visions of the Arabian Nights. The walls are like those of any city in the North of China, the Yamuns or public offices, and the temples are, in the same style, but the appearance, dress, manners, and

character of the Corean differ in every respect from those of the Celestial. What is civilized is Chinese, borrowed from China, what is uncivilized is Corean. The huts are mean and poor, and the streets of the capital compare very unfavourably with those of a Chinese provincial town. The main streets are broad as in Peking, and as in that city, lines of temporary mat shops are constructed on either side of the roadway and between the sides of the street proper. These are movable, and are removed whenever the King passes. The Corean houses of the better class are built like those of the Japanese, but are generally of one story, and the folding doors and decorations are far inferior in neatness and art to those of the latter country. The dwellers in Séoul are shopkeepers and the like, and officials, and landowners, and their servants and dependents. Even the rich live poorly—poorly I mean from an Eastern point of view. Their dress alone is elaborate. The women wear broad Turkish trousers, and baggy skirts, and their sashes are almost always of some brilliant colour. Oddly enough everything is covered except their breasts and faces.

The poor live in thatched mud huts and the rich in stone houses, the walls of which are built of ropes of stones in wicker crates. Inside is no furniture. Only a great man sits on a chair. Not that chairs give an air of luxury to a room or house, but there is an air of poverty in a Corean dwelling and of sordidness in its utensils. A Japanese house, which is furnished, or rather unfurnished, in much the same way, gives no such impression. The cattle of the country generally are of a very superior herd. Each hide fetches two dollars in the country, each head of cattle sixteen. The Corean ponies are hardy beasts, running to fourteen hands.

But what skills it to record such commonplace details in a country which in one respect can give the lead to all others, in hats to wit? See the soldier with a shovel hat on that would shame the most ritualistic priest, and a tassel

depending over its capacious brim; look at this individual wearing a carpenter's quaint and folded head-gear, and another, a labourer this time, with an ideal fool's cap. Admire the gauze hat made of silk and horse-hair, high like a Welsh market-woman's, or an American belle's, broad in its brim like the soldier's, and merely serving as a transparent cover to another internal gauze arrangement, under which a knot of black hair shows darkly like a black pudding under a couple of open dish covers. Sympathize now with a man clad in sackcloth, with an inverted wicker basket on his head, holding a little sackcloth screen in front of his mouth. He is in mourning, and is not likely to forget it. Room for those in high estate, a general this time, not of the familiar type on a prancing war horse. Not at all. An underfed fourteen-hand pony carries him, and he carries on his head an arrangement in shape not unlike the carpenter's, but far higher, made of silk, possessing lobes like ears, and recalling the glories of the Chinese dynasty of the departed Mings. On the back of the general's robe you will find a tiger. He does the prancing. In effigy. On either side of this dignitary's horse, and touching the hem of his garment, walk *aides-de-camp*. If he is a distinguished officer it will take four to hold him on. If you are fortunate you may meet soon after a governor or civil dignitary, on the back of whose silken robe will be blazoned a stork, and he will wear a head-dress with some all-important distinction, and will carry his button behind his ear and not on the top of his cap like a Chinese mandarin. Most fortunately I wore a large Indian helmet of a brown colour, with a large button that at once conducted and facilitated the ventilation of the hat. This, with a smart puggeree bought in Simajar, enabled me, I thought, as a foreign mandarin of the brown button and cloth of gold, to meet a general without blushing.

To explain the head-gears of Corea would take volumes. Suffice it to say that it is not the "Hermit Nation", nor the "Land of Morning Calm." 'Tis the "Land of Hats."

There is much more in the hats than in the heads of the people. They dress well, however, in Corea; the spotlessness of their ample white robes is quite Brahminical. At eight o'clock the big Buddhistic bell is struck by a swinging beam, no small part of a tree, and as the sound reverberates through the little hill basin and away up to the walls on the hills around, all male creatures must go in, and women are allowed to go out and breathe the fresh air and gossip. Then a sound of a tap tap tapping on a clean white robe laid on a wooden cylinder or table, arises from every house, attesting the presence indoors of the housewife, who irons—if the word may be allowed—her husband's clothing, instead of availing herself of the gossip allowed by the curfew regulation. How it would be if the men were not ordered in when the bell rings is matter for conjecture. At this time only will women of the better class come out, and men found out are liable to be bamboosed.

The lot of woman is a hard one in Corea. She labours within and without the house as housekeeper, saleswoman, agriculturist, and labourer, while her lazy husband smokes. Every one smokes here. The pipe is long from an English, and short from a Turkish, point of view, about one-third of a chibouque, which in shape and style it much resembles. I buy some tobacco to try the local weed, and the boy who sells it moistens my purchase by filling his mouth with water and spurring it cleverly but unnecessarily, as I thought, in fine spray over the tobacco. There was nothing in the shop that the most indiscriminatingly enthusiastic person could admire. Pillow-cases and tobacco-pouches abounded, both invariably ugly. Never did art die away so completely from among a people as it has here. Can they be mistaken who hold that all that is beautiful came to Japan from China through Corea? Can Corea ever have stood on the same artistic footing as China and Japan?

The palace of the king is a mass of heavy buildings, with the usual glazed tile tip-tilted roofs and ponderous walls. In the palace are the queen and the heir apparent, who are

said by Mr. Griffis, in his generally excellent and accurate "Hermit Nation," to have been slain by the anti-foreign rioters in 1882. On the hill side we ascend to view the palace are thickets of azaleas, loose forests of firs, and on the ground grow violets and other flowers, at once common and beautiful. On the way back in one of the streets we meet a man sitting on a pony wearing a coat inscribed with the hieroglyphic-looking Chinese characters, who is being paraded for the purpose of being chaffed, because he had *passed* an examination. Perhaps another indication of the opposite poles from which East and West may regard the same act. If an officer with us passes the Staff College he is hardly considered a subject for chaff. Something analogous this individual was said to have accomplished. Theft is very severely punished in Corea, but watchmen are nevertheless considered necessary in Séoul. The sound of the shaking of chains breaks the stillness of the night, but it is less unpleasant than the bamboo tapping of the Chinese watchman.

Not the least profit that results from a visit to Séoul is the opportunity of meeting that distinguished orientalist and traveller Mr. Colborne Baker, who occupies the post of Consul-General for Corea.

In the rain Séoul is a bad place to get away from. All that lies low between it and Chemalpoo becomes a swamp, and the hills that guide you are hidden in fog and mist. All traffic is suspended for days after weather such as I experienced. My horse floundered and was bogged a dozen times, and riding became impossible for a great part of the way. This will show what the little trade there is has to encounter.

A voyage from Chemalpoo of thirty hours' duration takes you past Port Hamilton to Fusan on the south-east of the Peninsula. The port of which we hear so much just now is situated in a small island off the southern coast of the Peninsula, from which it is distant thirty or forty miles. A little to the south of it lies Quelpart, which is

nearly three hundred miles from Shanghai. The island was formed by nature for a harbour, being an amphitheatre of rocky hills, giving narrow access at one point to a little inland bay, in which anchorage for the biggest ships is obtainable. The large adjacent island of Quelpart affords no such harbour, and the other adjacent twin islands of Tsusima—one of the most beautiful places conceivable—and the isles of Goto, form integral portions of the Japanese Empire. The station commands the Yellow and Japan seas, as does that of Hongkong the China seas from the South. Doing about ten knots you could leave Chemalpoo at four p.m., be at Port Hamilton the same time next day, and at Fusan at two a.m. the next morning, and at Nagasaki next day. It will be obvious from this that Port Hamilton is from every point of view a very desirably situated harbour. Port Lazareff is on the eastern side of the Peninsula, about two hundred and fifty miles north of Fusan, and immediately to the north of Gensan, one of the recently opened Korean ports. It is three hundred miles in a straight line from the Japanese coast, and is not in so good a position as Port Hamilton. The country immediately about it, however, is of the best and most fertile in Corea. It is of course a far better station than Vladivostock, at present the most southern station held by Russia in the Pacific, which is closed by ice during several months of the winter. Port Lazareff could not be occupied without a direct encroachment on Korean territory, while Port Hamilton, as has been stated, is situated in a group of small uninhabited rocks some distance from the coast, almost as far indeed from it as the Japanese islands of Tsusima.

Fusan is one of the chief ports in Corea, its trade being hardly less than that of Chemalpoo, which in character also it resembles. The town was built by Japanese immigrants: thus the neat appearance usual in towns of Japan. The Shinto Temple, surrounded by cryptomerias, marks the place as un-Corean. The religions of Corea, it may be here

remarked, are nature worship, ancestor worship, Buddhism, and Confucianism, if that system of ethics be called a religion. Buddhism is less firmly seated than in Japan, and as Shintoism, the indigenous religion of the latter country, may most fairly be termed its national religion, so may Shamanism, or nature and hero worship, perhaps be described as the national religion of Corea. The only religion worthy of the name here, as in Japan, is Buddhism, and here, as there, its practice is discouraged by the State.

At and around Fusan you see the abject poverty of the people better than in the vicinity of the capital. Poor as the country is the people might make far more out of it than they do. But for the Japanese immigrants it seems almost likely that the sea would hardly be called on to supply to a race of flesh-eaters some of its inexhaustible stores of fish. I should be inclined to think the Japanese estimate of the population at 16,000,000 odd as nearer than the last official census of 10,500,000. It is a great mistake to suppose that it is a thinly populated country.

Crime is uncommon, and the women of the country are chaste, immorality being treated as a very serious offence. Deer may be shot on the island across the bay, and inland are antelope, tigers, and leopards, but, so far as I could learn, no natives are accustomed to go after them on their own account or in the service of any sportsman who might land for that purpose. The Corean is no sportsman, and is absolutely unwilling to show sport to a stranger.

The native town of Fusan is three and a half miles away from the anchorage and the Japanese settlement. With the Deputy-Commissioner of Customs, an English gentleman long resident in the country, I went there to call on the native magistrate. As we approach the Yamun a shout is given by a servant, who passes it on to another, who shouts in turn to a third who is near his worship. Many gates are open, through which a carriage, much less a foot-passenger, might pass, but the central huge gate is

opened out of respect. Then we reach the presence and sit on chairs with the magistrate, whose remarks are all made in a loud hurricane judgment-giving voice. Was there much crime in these parts? said we. "A little, owing to partial neglect of my voice," thundered he. "If my words were listened to there would be none." In cases of serious crime what was the procedure? Again he roars, "I send the prisoner to my superior, who beheads or beats to death or exiles to the Yuen Yuen Mountains, just as he pleases, but if they listened to me there would be no need of it all."

This magistrate's official title was Naval Commander and Instructor in Political Economy. That at least is the corresponding English name. There was also an admiral in the province of Respectful Congratulation (so-called), but there were no ships belonging to the Government. The magistrate informed me that the revenue of the province was chiefly raised by a land tax, paid partly in kind and partly in money. There was a tax on shops, but this was more of a local rate for providing for inquests and the entertainment of State officials. His pay (I learnt from another source) was £80 a year. The highest official in Corea gets only a few hundreds. Perquisites, however, are large, and official position is turned to account in a variety of ways.

A few words on the way in which the country is governed. The king is absolute, and governs through ministers and heads of departments or Boards, and these officials, with certain others, form the Supreme Council. There are Governors for the eight provinces, and petty magistrates in charge of towns. Men who have passed the Government examinations are entitled nominally to official appointments, but in practice the relations of the nobles get them. In China, on the other hand, the successful examinees are always appointed to office, though no guarantee of employment is given to candidates selected. As in China, civil matters are generally settled by arbitra-

tion, and in any case there is no line drawn between the civil and criminal jurisdiction. Crime is comparatively rare. Serfdom is dying away.

The ideal aimed at in the administration of the country is a high one, but far less conscientious effort is made to work up to it than in China. Witness as an example the system of competitive examination. In Corea the examinations are carelessly conducted, and the successful candidates only appointed to posts the nobility decline. In a large province in China—for instance, Kwangtung with its 19,000,000—not less than 12,000 candidates will appear for the provincial degree. A very town of avenues and streets of separate cells is maintained for the examination of these men. Each person has his number and his cell, which he may not leave until he has handed in his papers, be he there for several days. The State supplies food meanwhile, and sentries are on guard. The subjects are literary, such as the ethics of Confucius, or economical. The style of the essay is greatly considered, as is its calligraphy. The examiner knows only the number, and it is believed that the subjects are kept absolutely secret by the Imperial Commissioner who conducts the examination. When the essays handed in in the Court of Perfect Rectitude have been duly examined in the Hall of Auspicious Stars, and the result has been made known, some 300 out of 12,000 may be declared qualified, and the 300 from Kwangtung, and the successful candidates from the other provinces, will all appear for the superior degree at Peking, and the names of those successful in the last test will be inscribed on tablets in the temple of Confucius in the capital and in the domestic history of their country, for though there is no guarantee of employment, office is invariably given to these men. Appointments are made from pure motives, and there is, avowedly at any rate, none of that payment for office that is openly made to some Eastern Governments. The blot on the system is that no staff is provided for Governors, personal or official, and

they are therefore bound to make irregularly—if it be irregular—at least enough to pay their way. Often, however, they do no more, and prove honest administrators, relapsing, if not reappointed after their three years' tenure, with dignity and respect into the private station from which their talents raised them. The Coreans drink more than the Chinese. How they compare as to opium smoking I do not know, but the Chinese as a nation are no more opium smokers than the English as a nation are drunkards. On no subject has more gross exaggeration been expended. A man who smokes opium to excess is as much despised and is infinitely and immeasurably more uncommon in China than a man who drinks to excess is in England. The number who smoke moderately is infinitely and immeasurably less than the number who drink moderately in this country. That the English should be the first to cast stones at the Chinaman for this indulgence is indeed hard. But do not the English who forced the Chinaman to trade and beat him till he made friends, tax him heavily when he goes to trade in their colonies, and what treatment does he meet with in America, which also pointed big guns at him, and said, "Let there be reciprocity between us!"

Let no one be surprised if the Chinaman thinks in his heart that Western civilization has its drawbacks. The time is coming, too, when he will learn to know his strength, his weight, the space he occupies.

Time does not allow of more on a subject on which much might be written. Suffice it to say that in Corea there is little purity in the internal administration, which amounts to little more than tax collecting from an idle and docile population. In regard to foreign affairs this Eastern Afghanistan, coveted by Japan (her hereditary foe), admits more fully than is commonly supposed the undoubted rights of suzerainty exercised by China, her great neighbour, her England, that cannot afford to allow her to come under the influence of the rival empire in the far East. The attitude

of Russia complicates the problem, but may lead to a *rapprochement* between China and Japan, in the presence of a mightier nation than either, the advance of which, if southwards, both nations, like Corea itself, cannot but view with apprehension.

The true policy for Corea, safe under the ægis of China, is to maintain its position as a vassal state of that empire, with which of late, as is well known, its relations have been more than cordial. Thus she will be safe from Japan, safe in herself, for her people, which would not stand annexation, is under existing arrangements independent, and safe, that is, as safe as policy and politics can make her against the great empire that stretches from the Baltic to the Pacific, across the length of Europe and of Asia.

J. D. REES.

II.

A JOURNEY IN EASTERN SIAM.

THE best-known man in Bangkok is undoubtedly Nai Sin, a nobleman who holds the official title of Phra Thep Phaloo, whose rank is denoted by 2,500 marks, and who is proud of being a Siamo-Chinese and a near relation of the late second King, George Washington, of Siam.

Nai Sin, in his stockings—all Siamese nobles wear stockings, and are as proud of them and as fastidious in their choice as our fashionable ladies are of their bonnets—stands, a miniature, swarthy Bacchus, some five feet three inches in height, and considerably more in circumference. Like Poo Bah, in the Mikado, he holds many dignified posts, is Deputy Lord Mayor, Town Magistrate, Commissioner of Rice Exports, and general go-between to the palace and to all distinguished foreigners visiting the capital. When granted an audience with the King, Phra Thep Phaloo fetches you in his carriage, ushers you through

the burlesquely-clad guards, and acts as Master of the Ceremonies as far as the steps of the Presence Chamber, and, on your return, conducts you safely home again.

Surely one would imagine, until acquainted with the manners and customs of the place, that such a distinguished, trusted, and useful factotum, would receive a salary, for such multifarious duties, a little above that of his theatrical representative, or, at the very least, above that of a Parish Beadle at home; but such is not the case. The Deputy Lord Mayor, Magistrate of the Capital of Siam, High Chamberlain and Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, rejoices in a pittance of 200 Siamese ticals a year, the equivalent of about £20 in English money. Such pay for such appointments of course implies nearly unlimited patronage, pickings, and such "insults" as Poo Bah and Siamese officials cheerily pocket without feelings of revenge. I do not assert that Nai Sin profited by his many golden opportunities, but, if he did not, and general rumour is to be believed, he forms nearly the single official exception in the realm of Siam.

Anyhow, Nai Sin looked the picture of a thriving and prosperous man, owned rice-mills and fields, houses and a steamer, wives, concubines, cattle and slaves, beamed with good nature—or a very good semblance of it—was a capital companion, and gave me one of the pleasantest holidays I have enjoyed in my life.

I was indeed glad to escape from Bangkok, for notwithstanding the friendship and hospitality of Mr. Ernest Satow, our Minister to Siam, and his kindness in doing his utmost to make my stay with him as pleasant and interesting as possible, I was becoming oppressed with the moral atmosphere of the place. My ears had been ceaselessly filled by every one, merchants, missionaries, and officials, that I met outside our Ministry, with tales of ruthless, high-handed wickedness and brutal oppression, perpetrated by relations of the King, and of the Ministers, and seemingly by nearly every noble and official throughout the kingdom.

I seemed to be breathing an atmosphere heavy with a miasma of injustice, cruelty, and oppression. The Siamese, and the descendants of captured Burmese, Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, and Annamites surrounding me in all directions, were not only slaves, but were sunk in the lowest depths of degrading and loathsome vice. Gambling-hells, drinking shops, opium dens, and stews were owned, or part owned, by members of the nobility, and virtue seemed dead, or discouraged throughout the place.

I was at length compelled to more than suspect that the King, far from wishing to raise his people in the scale of civilization, was listlessly doing as little as he could in the matter. He seemed to have put on the mask of humanity only to delude the sensitive eyes of his European neighbours, and thus to enjoy voluptuous ease in his Castle of Indolence without incurring the constant reproach and much dreaded active interference of Christian nations.

The last drop in my cup was a visit to the prison appertaining to the Mixed Court. This was indeed the best-kept prison in the place, or the child about whom I am going to tell you would have been dead long before. On my visit, I found amongst the manacled and chained inhabitants—for men and women sleep in the same den with a chain run through their anklets at night—a little girl, nine years of age, who had been in prison more than a year, for losing a small boat she had been left in charge of, a boat that had been swept away by the swift current of the river, whilst the child had been thoughtlessly playing in the neighbourhood. On inquiry, I learnt that the child would not be released until the boat was paid for, or until the hard-hearted prosecutor chose to forgive the debt. If we had not visited the prison, in which the stench was so bad that we had constantly to run outside to get a breath of fresh air, the child would have been rotting in that deadly atmosphere, amongst her, perhaps, equally innocent companions, until kindly released by death.

I cannot but think that the moral atmosphere of Bangkok

is as hurtful to human minds as the fetid atmosphere of that prison must be to the health of the inhabitants of the den, and I would strongly advise any people who would compare the beneficent rule of England to the late misrule in Upper Burmah to visit the capital of Siam and see what heathendom in the East really is.

The longed-for opportunity had come. Nai Sin was proud of his steam rice-mill, Mr. Satow had never seen it, and I was anxious to see the first and only railroad that had been laid down in Siam. Nai Sin placed himself and his steamer at our disposal, and it was arranged that we should be ready to start before day-dawn on the 1st of August, 1884.

By 5 a.m. we were on board the steamer, with our bedding, servants, and baggage, and in a few minutes were steaming slowly down the river in a thick mist which hid the beautiful gardens of palm, mango, tamarind, and other trees that skirt the river, and delude the stranger as to the real size of the suburbs, and even prevented us from seeing the junks and steamers lying at anchor until we were nearly upon them.

Two hours later we were passing Paknam, and the pretty pagoda-decked islands in the river, and smiling at the trumpery fortifications that had been erected, under the supposition that they would tend to frighten a hostile fleet from endeavouring to enter it. It is needless to say that one or two of our modern gun-boats could not only silence these batteries in a few minutes, but demolish the ludicrously armed tin-pot vessels that His Majesty chooses to term his fleet. A few torpedoes would have been much more useful as a defence, and would have cost a minute fraction of what has been squandered in the present bogus arrangements.

Leaving the river we quickly crossed the bar, and were soon feeling the very unpleasant effects of a heavy swell, arising from a strong gale that had been blowing a few hours before. You may imagine how the little tug pitched

and rolled as it went along, screwing first to the right and then to the left through the waves. Although good sailors in ordinary circumstances, the motion made us long for the entrance of the Bang Pa Kong River. We grew paler and yellower every moment, yet could not help smiling at our sturdy companion, so well set upon his stout, stumpy legs that the steamer might have nearly turned turtle without his losing his equilibrium.

Passing junks partially dismasted, endeavouring to make headway with the remnants of their mat sails, which had been blown to tatters during the late gale, and winding through fishing and mussel stakes driven into the bed of the sea, we were glad to enter the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River and steam once more in quiet waters.

Near the mouth of the river, backed by the beautifully wooded Blue Mountains, are the fishing towns of Bang Mai and Bang Plasoi, the latter celebrated as the rendezvous from which Phya Tak, the Siamo-Chinese usurper, departed to drive the Burmese out of Siam. This worthy having fled from the Burmese, who were attacking Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam, in 1767, reached Chantabun, a town on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam. Collecting a large force of desperadoes, dacoits, and pirates in that district, he subsisted for a time by robbing villages and merchant ships. In this way he soon became noted as a daring leader, and gradually increased his force to ten thousand men. Forming a treaty with the Governor of Bang Plasoi, he invited him to an entertainment on board one of his ships, and, after making him intoxicated, had him seized and tossed into the sea. Phya Tak then plundered the place, seized the family and treasure of the late Governor, and declared himself ruler in his place. The terrified people were forced to cut down timber, and construct war-boats for his party; and he was thus enabled to proceed to Ayuthia, turn the Burmese out, and reign over the country. This was the end of Burmese rule in Siam.

Passing several small villages inhabited by the ordinary mixed population of Siam, the houses raised on piles some six or eight feet from the ground, with the space between the ground and the floor nearly filled up by mussel shells, in which small pearls are often found, we reached the Kow Din or "cut-off" of the river, which was formed by a wood-cutter making a ditch for drawing his boat over the neck of a bend. The ditch rapidly widened, and soon became the main channel of the river, thus shortening its course by several miles. Most of the sugar-cane crops in the vicinity were ruined by the cut-off, and the water in the river opposite Nai Sin's mill, which used to be salt for only one hour in the day, now remains salt for five hours. The man who made the ditch is said to have gone mad with disgust at the disastrous effects of his engineering feat.

During my journeys in Indo-China, I was frequently regaled with legends concerning the country I was passing through. The most modern one was told me by Nai Sin, with the countenance of a true believer in his story, about this very same unlucky Kow Din. It appears that a few years ago, when the cut-off was yet only 70 feet in breadth, a famous Buddhist monk, whilst on a pilgrimage, arrived at the place with his disciples. Finding his progress stopped by the ditch being too deep to wade across, and believing in the enormous power that he had acquired through his superabundant merit, he faced his disconcerted disciples, who were on the point of turning back, and addressed them thus: "Stay where you are, my disciples, and I, by the power of my merit, will become a bridge for you to pass over. After crossing this stream, you can restore me to my natural shape by pouring sacred water upon my head." He then plunged into the river, and, taking the form of a monstrous crocodile, stretched across from bank to bank. A mouse has never yet been found so rash as to attempt to bell the cat. How could the infatuated monk expect such perfect faith in his disciples as to make

them tread across such a horribly hideous bridge? Human nature had its way: no sooner was the miracle performed, than the disciples, glancing at the huge reptile, as if by general consent, fled homewards. There the poor disconsolate monk still lingers fasting, being too religious to touch animal food, and there he must remain in his voluntarily assumed form, doing solitary and hungry penance, until released by that sacred water which seems so long on the road.

The Bang Pa Kong River is very serpentine in its course. The Blue Mountains, appearing ahead, astern, and on either side of us, as we ascended the river, would have been most confusing had we not known that there was only one range of hills in our vicinity. Owing to the vagaries of the river, we did not reach the mill until three o'clock in the afternoon.

Nai Sin's mill is situated at Toon Chang, a village inhabited chiefly by Swatow Chinese, who have married Siamese and Lau wives, and by pigs. We also saw a few Siamese and Lau men lolling about, who were most likely the slaves of Nai Sin.

The population in the various villages we had passed coming up the river, was curious from an ethnological point of view. Some of the villages were occupied by Cambodians; others by Cochin-Chinese; some by Lau; and a few by Siamese. But the Chinamen seemed to be ubiquitous. Half the population of Bangkok, and indeed half the population of the Delta, is Chinese, and very few of the people are without some trace of the Chinese in them.

To account for this mixed population, we must remember that Siam has had many successful wars with the Burmese, Peguans, Malays, Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, and Lau of the Meh Kong Valley; it has also received a large number of refugees from Pegu. All of the descendants of the prisoners and refugees are treated as captives of war and termed Government slaves.

As these non-Siamese slaves, who form fully two-thirds of the non-Chinese population of Siam, are barred by special clauses from all benefits derivable from the emancipation decrees of the present King, the decrees are a farce and were merely issued to delude Europeans into the belief that the King was a civilized monarch, and was doing his utmost, gradually, to abolish slavery from his kingdom.

Nai Sin's mill is marked on the charts as the English Mill, having been built and owned for some years by an English firm who employed him as their manager, until, in time, he became a partner and, ultimately, owner of the mill. The house, which lies about a hundred yards off, is of the usual type of teak-post bungalows in Burmah, with a shingle roof, plank walls and floor, and stairs leading down into the garden from the front and back verandahs. The floor is raised eight feet from the ground to enable the air to play freely under it, and disperse any miasma which may be floating after sunset near the surface of the earth. Of course, such a precaution is likewise useful to secure the building from snakes and any wild animals that may be prowling about; and may be used as a shelter for dog-carts and for other purposes.

The Blue Mountains had faded into space as we ascended the river, and the country had now the appearance of a dead level. To the west, the plain extends for more than a hundred miles, to the foot of the spurs of the Tenasserim range. A few miles above the town of Petriou, which lies a little to the north of the mill, a canal has been constructed, some fifty miles in length, connecting Bangkok with the Bang Pa Kong River.

To the east, the plain reaches some two hundred and fifty miles, with hardly a perceptible water-parting, then turning to the south-east embraces the Tale Sap or Great Lake of Cambodia, and forms the delta of the Cambodia River. To the north and north-east, it stretches fifty miles or more to the foot of the Dong Phya Phai, or the forest of the Five King, the fever-infested hills which lie to the

south of the Korat plateau. On the south it is bounded by the sea and by the Blue Mountains, which extend, from near the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River, in a southeasterly direction, pouring their waters into the Cambodia Lake and the Gulf of Siam.

The celebrated sapphire mines, which have recently drawn such crowds of Tounghoos from British Burmah in search of sudden wealth, are situated in these hills. The mines are said to be so unhealthy that few of these adventurers live to return. According to Bishop Pallegoix, his party whilst wandering amongst these mountains in an hour or two collected a handful of precious stones. The portion of Indo-China, lying to the south of Yunnan, appears from the accounts of travellers to be rich in minerals. In the hills to the east and west of Siam Proper, far down into the Malay Peninsula, gold has been mined for ages. According to M. Mouhot, the Cambodian hills contain gold, argentiferous lead, zinc, copper, and iron; the last two in abundance, but being fever-ridden and inhabited by Karen, Xong, and other wild tribes, their wealth has not been fully exploited. As we passed up stream, we found the land on both banks cultivated as gardens, sugar-cane plantations, and paddy fields. From the many straggling villages along the courses of the rivers and canals, one would conclude that the country was thickly populated, but, on inquiry, we found this was not the case: agriculture ceases a short distance inland, and not more than one-twentieth of this vast plain is under cultivation.

We were told that the Siamese Government, notwithstanding the sparseness of the population in the delta, does all it can to discourage extensive immigration from China, as the Chinese are dogged, hard-working people, who object to dishonesty and oppression, when practised on themselves, and have frequently risen in rebellion against their would-be squeezers, both in China and in Siam.

In 1848, at the time Phya Bodin, the Siamese General,

was returning from Cambodia after his successful war against the Cochin-Chinese, the Governor of Petriou left the fort with his servants and garrison to meet him, leaving the armoury, which included six cannon, a large amount of gunpowder, and a quantity of small-arms, in the charge of a small guard. The Chinese rose in rebellion, seized the fort, and, closing the gates, held it for a month against the united forces of the General and the Governor. When it was at length stormed, the Governor fell in the assault. Every Chinese within it was massacred. The rebellion spread like wild-fire, and was not put down until ten thousand Chinese had fallen. The sugar mills and other property destroyed are said to have been valued at over a million dollars.

The Siamese, who are perhaps the most mongrel people in the world, are a nation of slaves, nine-tenths of the people are either Government slaves or in debt-bondage. From the Governors downwards, all who are not slaves are serfs of the King. The Chinese are neither serfs nor slaves. They can go as they will throughout the country. They are the tax-gatherers, and, jointly with the King's favourites, the monopolists of the taxes of the country. Nearly all the trade, with the exception of that carried on by our Burmese, Tounghoo, and Indian subjects, and by a few Europeans, is in their hands. They are the shop-keepers, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, and gardeners of Siam; the owners and agents of some of the steamers; the coolies employed in the saw-mills and rice-mills; they man the cargo boats and unload the ships; and by Europeans are considered the best servants in the country. They are frugal in their habits, quick to learn, and utilize everything.

A missionary in Siam calls them the Americans of the East. Many of them are our fellow-subjects, having been born either in Hong Kong or in the Straits Settlements; but, whether born in our territories, China, or Siam, these sturdy, resolute, industrious, and shrewdly intelligent men

command respect, and insist upon fair treatment wherever they go.

The discouragement of Chinese immigration is not, however, the sole reason why this vast and most fertile plain is left untilled, and occupied mostly by elephants, bears, and other wild beasts. The King draws the greater part of his income by encouraging the depravity of the people. The privilege of keeping gambling-hells and lotteries, and places for the sale of opium and spirits, are granted as monopolies, and the very laws of the kingdom are so framed as to aid in every way the propagation of these vices. The lotteries which are held at mid-day and mid-night in the large towns fascinate the people, and draw them away from the country. Music, drinking, and theatricals entice people to the hells where gambling goes on; and constant frequenters, the chances being as nine to eight against them, lose not only all they are worth, but end by mortgaging themselves, their wives and their families into debt-bondage, which has for centuries been the ruin of the people and a curse to Siam.

Leaving the mill at 10 p.m. in the steamer, we did not wake the next morning till we had passed the mouth of a second canal leading from Bangkok, which shortens the distance between the capital and Pachim to about seventy miles. Shortly above the canal the Nakhon Nayok branch enters from the west, and thence the main river, along which we are travelling, is known as the Pachim River. The Nakhon Nayok stream is formed by two branches, both rising in the Dong Phya Phai Hills and meeting near the village of Bang O, up to which place Nai Sin's steamer can run. From thence the town of Nakhon Nayok is reached by boat in four hours.

The banks of the river, throughout long reaches, were beautified by magnificent clumps of bamboos, whose feathery plumes, played with by the sun and the breeze, present a constantly varying charm. The deep recesses between the clumps look like fairy bowers. The thick foliage offers a

perfect protection from the tropical sun, and no retreat could be found more enjoyable for one's mid-day meal. To lie down when weary in the deep shade of the bamboo forest, on the soft, silvery leaves that have fallen, with a large rug spread over them to protect me from the ants, those plagues of the East; just far enough away from my camp to lose the din of the ever-chattering servants; a cup of coffee by my side; a good cigar in my mouth; and to listlessly allow thoughts to pass into dreams, and dreams to take me where dreams only can, is the nearest approach to perfect happiness that I have attained to.

The scenery along these Indo-Chinese rivers is indeed exquisitely beautiful, the streams wind continuously through everchanging foliage; with here and there a house, pagoda, or temple, peeping out from the trees; children playing on the banks; people going to and from market in their little dug-outs, the boats of the poor. Here and there a yellow-robed *phra*, or monk, paddled along by the pupils of his school, on his morning mission to collect from the religiously disposed the daily food for his *wat*, or monastery. Men, women, and children, seemingly fearless of the numerous crocodiles which infest the river, swimming about, laughing, screaming, joking, and splashing each other. A hop-o'-my-thumb astride of a huge buffalo, until the brute gets rid of him for a moment by rolling in the water. Here a gang of men and women fishing with baskets or with sling-nets. The whole scene is teeming with life, and the people seem gay notwithstanding their degradation and the life they are born to. To account for this we must remember that the slavery of Siam is not like the old nigger slavery of America. Whips are not used to goad the people to work, and every man can change his master by borrowing the money and selling himself or his family elsewhere. From all accounts, slaves are the most indolent class in the country, doing less than a third of the work that a Chinaman turns out. The women of Siam are "bold-faced gigs," and unfit to be named in the same day

with the modest and neatly-apparelled women, the peasant-born ladies of Burmah. They are intensely ignorant, and not one in a hundred outside the American Mission Schools can read or write. Men and women are dressed alike in Siam. On a missionary asking a girl if she could read, she exclaimed, with evident surprise, "Why, I'm a girl!" Still, in Siam, as in Burmah, the women are much more industrious, and generally shrewder, than the men.

As we proceeded further up-stream the villages became fewer, and the monkeys more prevalent, the noise of the steamer seemed to startle without frightening them. We could see them running on all fours swiftly after us as we went, as if curious to see what sort of folk we were, or anxious to be fed. From the extreme ends of many of the branches, suspended over the water, hung the grass-built retort-shaped nests of the finch. Nai Sin told us that the villagers can always tell the height the coming floods will rise to by the level these knowing birds build their nests at. Owing to the serpentine course of the river, we did not reach Pachim until 10 a.m., having been twelve hours on a journey measuring barely twenty miles in an air line.

The fort of Pachim is similar in construction to that of Petriou, a square with sides about eight hundred feet in length, containing about fifteen acres. The walls, crenellated at the top, are about 12 feet high, have redans at each corner, are backed up on the inside with an earthen rampart to allow people to fire over them, and are entered by four gates, one in each side. The fort was built some fifteen years ago, most likely as a refuge in case of further Chinese rebellions. In the centre of the fort is a temple containing the usual image of Buddha. Outside the temple is a lingam, to which offerings are made by the women of the district, and prayers offered up for a fruitful marriage. It was stuck all over with joss sticks and prayer flags, as was likewise a model of it which had been erected by one votary in the temple. Others had offered *lakons* or miniature theatres resembling dolls'-houses, flowers, cooked rice, fruit,

dolls, and all kinds of trash. From the top of the fort wall we had a fine view of the hills to the north. To the north-west, beyond Nakhon Nayok, we could trace out six ranges or huge spurs. The nearest is named Kow Khio, the next Kow Chakachan, and the furthest, the highest, the monarch of them all, whose altitude we guessed at from 5,000 to 6,000 feet, Kow Lome, or the mountain of the winds.

The village of Pachim contains about a thousand inhabitants, and is by no means an imposing place. The houses, except when owned by rich Chinese, are merely thatched shanties, raised on posts some feet from the ground, with filthy floors of split bamboo, and mat walls, with a rough bamboo verandah in front. They contain three apartments—the sitting room, or rather, squatting room—for the Siamese squat like toads—the kitchen, and the sleeping room.

There is no furniture in the houses with the exception of a stool about a foot square, which serves for a table at meal-times; a few joints of bamboo hanging to the walls for the purpose of holding odds and ends; and two or three bug-infested mats that serve as mattresses at night and are produced for honoured visitors to squat on. Cleanliness seems to be unknown amongst the Siamese; cobwebs drape and tapestry the building from the ridge to the ground. Under the kitchen is a cesspool where all the dregs, slops, scraps, and general filth are thrown through the crevices in the floor, for the dogs, ducks, and pigs to fight for. Beneath the sleeping and squatting apartments buffaloes and cattle are tethered at night to save them from the numerous cattle thieves, who, throughout Siam, are said to be either the retainers of the Governors of the provinces or else share their plunder with them.

After visiting the Governor, a grey-headed, clumsily-built man of about fifty-five, and asking him to have a boat made ready to carry us to Kabin, from Thatoon, we went

a little farther to the gold quartz-crushing mill, which is situated in the same enclosure as the country residence of the late nobleman, Phra Phicha. The place is surrounded with a kind of terraced fortification, underneath which, with openings into the enclosure, are situated the dwelling-places of the men and the storehouses used in connection with the quartz crushing. The enclosure and the buildings were evidently designed by an Italian architect. The top of the fortification is a fine esplanade, and the garden has been laid out in true Italian style. This nobleman is said to have been far in advance of other Siamese. He had acquired European tastes, married the daughter of a Consul-General, and evidently spent great pains in surrounding her with all the articles of Western luxury.

Phra Phicha was a great favourite of the King's, and growing stronger and stronger every day, he excited the hatred of the then all-powerful Regent, who long looked for a chance of getting a possible rival into his clutches. From all I could hear, I was led to believe that Phra Phicha, far from being worse than the general nobility, was a very great improvement upon them. However, he had been brought up more or less to look upon the people as slaves born to obey his orders, to act on them instantly and without complaint. He had greatly improved the navigation of the Pachim River by cutting through the bends, and withdrawing snags and other obstructions from its bed. One day, having ordered the people to remove a tree which had toppled into the river, a man refused to help, whereupon the incensed nobleman had his head held under water by a forked stick, longer than was good for either of them. The man came up dead. The Regent heard of the homicide, placed Phra Phicha in confinement, opened his ears to, and some people say encouraged, complaints of his past peculation and misbehaviour, and finally caused him to be executed. With Phra Phicha's death the gold workings were stopped, and the deserted mill and house being neglected, rapidly fell into ruin.

Now the place is a picture of desolation; the rain leaks through the roof, the walls and floor are rotting, and the magnificent glass chandeliers and other decorations still in place seem merely a mockery of the now deserted and decaying mansion. Ore is lying in heaps at the spot, but the mill is idle, and the fast-decaying building is merely a storehouse for telegraph material.

Leaving Pachim about noon with the Governor's boat in tow, we gradually wended our way up-stream, the banks increasing in height as we went, and snags, which there was no Phra Phicha to remove, rendering navigation dangerous. We reached Thatoon at 4.45 p.m.,—beyond this it was not safe to take the steamer. The current was now so strong that the cumbersome boat, which the Governor of Pachim had lent us, made slow headway. We, therefore, borrowed a smaller and swifter craft from the headman at Thatoon. Owing to the delay in making fresh arrangements, we were unable to get off again until midnight.

The village of Thatoon is inhabited by Cambodians, who were settled there by Phya Bodin in 1835, on his return from one of his wars. The Cambodians are taller than the Siamese, and in stature and countenance have a strong resemblance to the Burmese Shans. Their hair, however, is slightly wavy, and their skin is decidedly darker. Nai Sin said that you could always tell them by their crumpled skin and light-blue lips.

Paddy is cultivated in the neighbourhood of the village, but beyond the fields the forest commences, and extends to the prairie in Cambodia. Pea-fowl, jungle-fowl, pheasants, deer, tigers, and bears are said to be plentiful. We heard of three kinds of bears—the man-bear, the monkey-bear, and the dog, or honey-bear. The hill minor, the talking minor of India, were frequently seen by us on our journey, as well as flocks of parrots. It is unnecessary to note storks, paddy birds, and other waders that are to be found wherever water lies on the ground. The small boat could hardly contain the recumbent bulk of Nai Sin and

our slender persons in repose. The cramped position we had to assume made sleep for us nearly an impossibility, even if we had been able to slumber with the deafening music emanating from the nose of our fat friend.

About seven next morning we reached Paknam Kabin, where another branch of the river enters from the west. It is a large straggling village, with a considerable trade, as was evidenced by boats lining the bank for a third of a mile. Muang Kabin, where the Governor resides, is situated two and a half miles distant, and is chiefly peopled by Lau. The Lau are the Laos of French travellers; the name is pronounced with the "au," like "ow" in our word "cow," and does not take an "s" in the plural.

From Kabin a military road was constructed by Phya Bodin to Se-su-pon in Cambodia, along which travellers to Siam-rap and the celebrated ruins of Ancor still travel. Siam-rap is 264 miles from Bangkok by canal, river, and road. The journey is generally made by water to Pachim, and thence by ponies, with ox-carts to carry the baggage, *via* Kabin, Wattana, Arran, and Se-su-pon to Siam-rap. The journey could be made in fifteen days from Bangkok were it not for the delay in procuring carts at the different towns along the route. The hire of carts is a dollar and a quarter a day, which makes the journey very expensive, as at least two carts are required for the carriage of baggage, commissariat, and bedding. The water-parting is near the town of Wattana, about forty-eight miles east-south-east from Kabin. The forest ends near the town of Arran, and thence onwards is a vast prairie.

Turning up the west branch of the river, in about half a mile we came to the place where the telegraph line from Bangkok to Saigon crosses the stream, and where the railway which was constructed for bringing the ore from the gold mines ends. The length of the line is about ten miles. It has been disused and left without repair since Phra Phicha's death, and, together with the waggons, is fast going to rack and ruin.

It was no use trudging ten miles along the line to the now deserted mines, so we left the scene of past enterprise and returned rapidly by boat to Thatoon, where the steamer was waiting for us. On our way down we noticed many large bees' nests, each containing about a gallon of wax and honey, suspended from the horizontal branches of the Tong Yang, or cotton trees.

We landed at Pachim, and chairs were brought out for us from the Governor's house. Soon afterwards the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor with a large following came to pay their respects, bringing a tame otter and a young peacock as presents. The otter went overboard at sea through the carelessness of our servants. Having entertained the Governor and his suite on board the steamer, and borrowed two Lau men and women for a couple of days to entertain us, as they were said to be good actors and musicians, we started for Petriou.

The actors and actresses had been for some time in jail for stealing, or for being accused of stealing, buffaloes, and were therefore accompanied by a couple of jailors. The performance consisted of a dialogue between a man and a woman, the former wooing her for his wife, and the latter coyly putting him off with various excuses. A third individual kept time by clapping her hands, whilst the fourth played the accompaniment. There was much waving of hands in regular measure. The instrument played by the man was the Lau organ, which is found amongst many of the tribes in Southern China, as well as in the Eastern Shan, or Lau, States in the basin of the Meh Kong. It consists of fourteen long slender reeds, the mouth being placed to a perforated cocoanut shell, through which the reeds pass. The intervals, according to Mr. Satow, who is not only an accomplished linguist, but a very good musician, approach to the major scale.

On arriving at Petriou we called on the Governor, to make his acquaintance and arrange for a crocodile hunt—a pastime he delights in. We found him looking like one of

Nature's gentlemen, a pleasant, soldierly-built man, considerably taller than the average Siamese, who are a puny race, and seventy-six years of age. He was only too delighted to indulge us, and to show his prowess, and at once sent off men with the necessary bait and tackle, and made arrangements for the hunt to come off the next morning. The bait consists of a live duck, which is fastened across the back to a short stick, pointed at both ends, and attached by a long line of rattan links to a bamboo float. Having been interviewed by two Burmese who had complaints against the Governor for not aiding them in the recovery of cattle that had been stolen from them, we left for the mill, had lunch, and were entertained by the Lau performers in the evening.

The next morning, August 5, we left early for the hunt, accompanied by seven boats. On reaching the bend of the river where the baits had been laid, the hunters commenced uttering incantations in order to force the crocodiles to come to the surface: this they call preaching. We were however to be disappointed, the preaching was in vain, and after several hours, drenched through with rain, we returned to lunch at the mill. The same evening we left for Bangkok, and awoke at two the next morning to find ourselves at sea off the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River. The sea got rougher as we proceeded, and the steamer pitched and rolled about until we suddenly found ourselves, about an hour before day-break, bumping on the bar off the Meh Nam River, and, as the tide was going down, stuck there. Shortly after dawn we hailed a boat laden with bamboos, which their owners, Chinese fishermen, were going to plant in a deep channel to form a fish-trap. Leaving our luggage in the steamer, we sailed with a favourable breeze to Paknam, which is about six miles from the bar, and waited in the customs house for the arrival of the steamer, in which we made the rest of our journey to Bangkok.

Europeans and Americans, whom I consulted in Siam, agreed with me that the only hope for improvement in the

trade of the country, and in the condition of the people, lay either in foreign conquest, or in the opening up of the country by railways. With the construction of railways serfdom and slavery would inevitably vanish. With railways the King could obtain a perfect control over his officials, and justice would cease to be a mere means for oppression, as well as a mockery. With railways the revenues from cultivation and other sources would increase, and there would remain no excuse for the shameful monopolies which are now ruining and depraving the people.

It is solely our fault that railways in Siam have not already been commenced. Our Minister told me before I left that the King would construct a railway up the valley of the Meh Nam from Bangkok to Raheng, as well as a branch to our frontier at Myawaddi, if our Government desired it, and would promise to meet the branch with a line from our British Burmah seaport of Maulmain.

Such a line would form the base for the connection of India and China by railway, a connection desired by every Chamber of Commerce of this kingdom—a connection that would tie together the two most populous countries in the world, and would vastly increase our mutual trade. Such a connection, however, would throw fresh responsibilities and, perhaps, more work on our Government and officials. We need not therefore be surprised that two years have elapsed without anything further being done by our Government in the matter.

When departing from Siam I was told that I left behind me the reputation of being the most inquisitive person that had ever been there. If my curiosity, by throwing light upon the deplorable misgovernment of the country, shames the pseudo-civilized King into ameliorating the condition of the people, I shall think myself amply repaid for my labours.

HOLT S. HALLETT.

CHOTA NAGPORE; ITS PEOPLE AND RESOURCES.

IN classifying the many complicated problems which perplex Indian administrators, those connected with the maintenance, distribution, and employment of the enormous and rapidly increasing population of the Gangetic valley must be reckoned among the class which presents the greatest difficulties, and most urgently demands an early solution. The object of the present paper is to give an account of the country of Chota Nagpore, adjoining the valley of the Ganges, and its people; and to show that by a wise development and use of its great natural resources, the prosperity and wealth of India may be increased, and the condition of the people living in the area watered by the Ganges and its tributaries materially and permanently improved. Additional means of earning a living would thus be given to this large population rendering famines less probable than they are at present, while a more congenial field for emigration should be opened to the inhabitants of the more congested districts than that offered by Assam and the colonies which receive emigrants from India.

The great importance of the questions arising out of the excessive population of the Gangetic valley has long been recognized by Government, and is sufficiently proved by the statement of the following facts which have been frequently recorded in official documents, and may, I believe, be said to be uncontested.

The area of the country traversed by the Ganges and its tributaries is over one hundred and fifty thousand

square miles, or more than three times that of England; and throughout this immense territory the population averages over 400 to the square mile, while in many districts, which taken together are larger than England, it runs from 600 to 1000 per square mile. The people are almost all agriculturists, and as the greater number of the cultivators and their families have to live on the produce of less than one acre per head, it is clear that the land must be extraordinarily fertile, or those who till it exceptionally good and industrious farmers, to be able to live in ordinary years in fair comfort on their small holdings, while their position must be exceedingly precarious in years of deficient crops. The exceptional fertility of the soil is proverbial; and no one who knows the Indian ryots can accuse them of want of industry, but considering how heavily they are hampered in their work, it must be a matter of astonishment to any one who has ever considered the question, how a very large number of them can succeed in getting a living. The ryot has rarely any capital, and is consequently nearly always in debt; his agricultural implements are of the rudest description, and even if he had money to buy better appliances, his plot of land, as cultivated under the system he is accustomed to, is too small to pay interest on the outlay, and his cattle too weak to draw a plough which will do more than merely scratch the soil. To add to all these disadvantages, the manure which ought to be put upon the land must be dried and burnt as fuel, for as all timber—except small patches left in some villages for making rafters, carts, and ploughs—has been cleared away, no firewood can be got except in large towns, and there it is very dear. Charcoal, which is better adapted for native use, is still more expensive. In no village is any land manured except a comparatively small portion close to the homesteads, and this only gets ashes and scrapings in very small quantities. Even if the ryot could put the manure of his cattle on the fields, the quantity available would, owing to the diminutive size of the beasts, be very

much less than is used by good farmers in other countries ; and one great, though by no means the only, cause of the smallness of the cattle, is the small quantity of food that can be spared for their subsistence. It is no wonder that before the precautionary and ameliorative measures, undertaken of late years, famines should have been too frequent in these countries ; and that even now the poorer and less prosperous cultivators and labourers should, as has been proved by official inquiries into the cause of the great mortality in the gaols of the healthy country of Behar, be habitually in a low state of health, while the want of stamina among the coolies from the Gangetic valley is well known among the employers of Indian labour.

The remedies for the over-population described above, which bear upon the subject under discussion, are (1) an increase in the productive powers of the soil ; (2) the employment of a large part of the agricultural population in manufactures ; and (3) emigration.

The agricultural department lately constituted in Bengal, and that employed for a good many years past under the Government of the North-West Provinces, are both striving earnestly to improve the position of the cultivators ; and a great deal has already been done to increase the fertility of the soil by the construction of the Ganges, Jumna, and Sôn canals ; but there are still large tracts in Oude, Goruckpore, Chumparun, Tirhoot, North Bhagulpore, and Purneah, which require to be protected from droughts and floods by making canals from the numerous streams in these districts which flow into the Ganges and its tributaries. It must, however, be recollected that though canal water fertilizes the land, yet that it does not restore to the soil all that has been taken from it by the crops it fosters ; so that continual irrigation, unless the land be properly treated, ultimately exhausts its powers. Now that a great deal of land is deprived by irrigation of the rest it used to get from periodical droughts, it is more than ever necessary to give the cultivators the means of manuring it,

and of feeding themselves and their cattle better than they do now. To secure this the first object to be aimed at by all who wish to improve the country, is to give the ryot a constant supply of cheap fuel, which can be more than paid for by the increased produce of the soil caused by the legitimate use of the manure which is now wasted on the fires necessary for cooking.

As for manufactures, railways, by bringing in cheap imports, are rapidly killing a very large number of the trades that used to supply the simple wants of the people; and emigration to distant countries, and among strange races, is eminently distasteful to all except the poorest of the labouring classes.

Chota Nagpore can, by its extensive coal-fields, supply the fuel necessary to enable the ryot to fertilize his fields, and can also give the means of establishing manufactures on an infinitely better system, and a much larger scale, than that which supplied the country when foreign competition was unknown, and when each district produced all the articles required by its inhabitants. It can thus relieve the pressure on the soil by giving employment to large numbers of the people. Chota Nagpore also has large areas of waste lands where the better class of farmers, who will never emigrate to distant countries, can find desirable sites for settlement in a climate similar to that to which they have been accustomed, and among a population where they will not be received as aliens.

The country of Chota Nagpore is a division of Bengal, covering an area of about 46,000 square miles. It may be generally described as a plateau, or rather an ascending series of table-lands, rising in successive terraces of about 800, 2000, 2,500, and 3,500 feet high watered by numerous rivers flowing into the Mahanuddi on the one side, and the Ganges on the other. These terraces form, especially in the east, wide, fertile, undulating, and well-cultivated plains. The scarps separating each terrace from that next succeeding to it are densely wooded, while the plains are

traversed and dotted over with hills which are still for the most part covered with forests. In the more populous parts of the country, the forests on the smaller hills are reduced to mere scrub jungle, while on many of those which have been cleared of trees the soil has been washed away, and nothing left but the bare rock.

The country is very varied in its aspect and development, presenting everywhere alternations of hills, plains, and valleys, and in all parts, even in the rich and populous districts in the east, there are large areas of thinly-peopled and sparsely-cultivated wastes and forests. The scenery, especially in the river valleys, is exceptionally and wildly beautiful, though the outlines and contours are much softer than in the Himalayas. Among the more beautiful spots are the long gorge formed by the Brahmini in its passage through the volcanic ranges crossing the tributary State of Bonai, and that of the Rehr in the north-west of Sirgoojya, where it severs the lofty sandstone range overlying the coal-fields of Korea and Ramkola; also the falls of the Soobonrikha, and the deep glen below them. The climate is as varied as the scenery, and ranges from the dry heat of the lower lands to the east, and the damp warmth of the southern valleys, to the more moderate temperature of the secondary plateau and the nearly European climate of the high table-lands of Sirgoojya and Jushpore, which are from 3,500 to nearly 4,000 feet high.

The people who are most interesting and peculiar belong for the most part to two distinct races, one composed of tribes from the east, of the class called by Professor Huxley Mongoloid, and speaking Kolarian languages. The chief tribes of this class, who are called Kols when spoken of as a whole, are the Mundas, Hos, and Santals in the east of the division, and the Korwas in the west. The tribes of the other race, of which the most important are the Ooraons of Chutia Nagpore; the Gonds of Sirgoojya, Gangpore, Jushpore, Oodeypore, and Korea; and the Bhuyas of Gangpore, Bonai, Porahat, and Manbhum; are allied to the Australioid

racés of Southern India, and, where they have retained their native speech, speak Dravidian dialects.

The Kols and their conquerors from the east were certainly the first inhabitants of the country, and they still form the bulk of the population in the east of the division, but in the west they have been deprived of the best lands and driven into the hills by the Ooraon and Gond invaders, whose superior organization made them the permanent rulers of the country.

The character of the two races, while alike in some particulars, is essentially different on the whole. Both are fearless, fond of sport, and have very strong constitutions, generally proof against malaria; and both have shown their prowess as soldiers in former days, and are still ready to make excellent troops if called on to fight. But though some Kol tribes, especially the Mundas and Hos, have shown their mettle in the gallant and, on the part of the Hos, perfectly successful defence of their country against the Ooraons and Bhuyas, they have too frequently distinguished themselves by predatory inroads into their neighbours' territories; and it is probably from the bad character they have thus acquired that they have obtained the name of Kol, which means pig in Hindi. Both races are good labourers and pioneers, and are, as a rule, quiet and orderly when fairly treated, the Kol races generally being more gregarious, excitable, turbulent, and less steadily persevering and enterprising than the Dravidian.

The Kols are the more mobile and less self-reliant, and though among the more advanced tribes, such as the persistently independent Hos of Singhbhum, a comparatively stable government has long been maintained, yet the general tendency of the race is to leave their settlements and seek new homes on very slight provocation. It is to the Kolarian races that the forest tribes belong, who do so much harm to the forests. They change their abodes every two or three years, first cutting down and burning the timber growing on the spot they select for their en-

campment, fertilizing the ground with the ashes, and growing their crops on it. When they have exhausted the plot, they move away, and build their huts in another place, in which the process is repeated. That the migratory instinct was prevalent at no remote period among the more advanced Kols, is shown by the history of the Santals, who moved in a body in the middle of the last century from Orissa to escape the depredations of the Mahrattas, and first settled in Hazaribagh, whence they moved into the forests of the volcanic hills of Monghyr and Bhagulpore, near the banks of the Ganges, and cleared the country now known as the Santal Pergunnahs.

Though the Kols are fond of change as a body, they are not individually adventurous, and it is to the Dravidian tribes that the so-called Dhangar coolies belong who visit Calcutta every year to get work, and return home with the savings from their wages. They also supply the greater number of the men who go on similar annual expeditions for employment to the tea-gardens near Darjeeling, and of those who emigrate to Assam and the colonies on more lengthened engagements, which frequently end in permanent settlement.

The Dravidians are somewhat similar in character to the Scotch, and are much sterner, harder, more thrifty and practical, than the Kols, who bear more likeness to the Celtic tribes. Both are fond of amusement, especially of dancing, the national dances which are common to both races being exceedingly elaborate and intricate performances. The Kols are the brighter and wittier race, but the Dravidians have a peculiar quiet humour of their own, and the latter, especially the Ooraon tribe, have some musical talent, possessing, what is very rare in India, beautiful voices of great power and compass. There are very few places where better music can be heard than among the Ooraons trained at the German Mission at Ranchi.

The great perseverance and indomitable energy of the Dravidians, who, under the general name of the Naga or

Snake race, were the first founders in India of extensive kingdoms with a fixed polity, is shown in the systematic character of their mode of conquest, and organization of newly acquired territory. Their slow deliberate march, followed by the gradual domination of the country, can be traced across the whole of Central India as far as the Ganges, where they appear to have been stayed, at least, to the south of Behar. Their progress is everywhere marked by the same typical form of State, formed on the model of their military camps, in which the central lands were allotted to the Raja, or General-in-Chief, and his immediate followers, while round the frontiers were ranged the estates set apart for the subordinate generals and their dependents, whose duty, like that of the Lords of the Marches in early times in England, was to guard the boundaries of the kingdom. This typical form, while frequently found complete in the smaller states, is considerably modified in the larger kingdoms composed of groups of smaller organisms formed by earlier leaders, or by the incorporation of Kol provinces which proved too strong to be exterminated or evicted, and which were received into the confederacy of the invaders on the payment of tribute, without, however, having any voice in the determination of the national policy.

The general rule appears to have been that in tracts which were comparatively uncleared before their arrival, and only peopled by wandering forest tribes, such as Gangpore and Bonai, the settlement was made on the national plan; but in countries in which a settled Government existed before their arrival, they contented themselves with taking some of the lands, generally the best, and leaving the hills and outlying portions to the original settlers, and in all cases in which the rule of the invaders was consolidated by a long and undisturbed occupation, the tendency to give the central lands to the Raja and his relations, and the frontier provinces to the subordinate chiefs, seems to prevail.

The national organization, even of the most advanced

Kol tribes, such as the Mundas of Chutia Nagpore, and the Hos of Singhbhum, is much looser than that of the Naga tribes. It provided no more closely binding tie than that of tribal and linguistic affinity, without the basis of an organic centre. Their unit of administration was the Parha, or union of villages under a chief, and I think they may be accepted as the founders of the village community, though their simple plan of a headman to preside at the division of lands and the settlement of disputes, and of a tribal not a village priest to offer sacrifices to propitiate the local spirits, was considerably modified in the direction of strengthening the central power by the Ooraons who adopted it. Each village in the territories of the more settled tribes had its hereditary headman, or Munda, and each group of villages its hereditary chief, or Manki; but there was no bond of cohesion between the territories under different Mankis. Though order was generally maintained among the associated villages, yet where they were not restrained by a strong central authority, neighbouring Mankis were constantly quarrelling, and raids were frequent. When they united it was too frequently for the purpose of robbery. During the middle of the last century, when the central Government was weak, they systematically plundered the Bengal districts to the east of Chota Nagpore, and in the early days of our rule, strong bodies of troops had to be maintained in these districts to guard the people against the Kols and Bhumijes.

A good illustration of the difference in the character of these races is shown by two instances that came under my notice when Commissioner of Chota Nagpore. The first case is that of the Bhuyas, who were the descendants of the first settlers on the remote plateau of Koira in Bonai, who had lived there for generations, built substantial houses, cleared a large part of the land and laid it out in rice fields, regularly paid their fixed contributions to the expenses of the State, and lived peaceably with their neighbours. These people were in 1877 and 1878 driven into

rebellion against the Raja of Bonai by numerous acts of oppression and by excessive taxation; but their rebellion was throughout conducted in an orderly and systematic manner, though, besides their own grievances against the Raja, they had to complain of his treatment of their brethren in the plain country, whose villages he had depopulated, after seizing their property. The family of their chief had to save themselves by flight. The Bhuyas came down from their hills in force against the Raja, accompanied by some of the exiles, and burnt his private granaries; but they stole no property nor touched any one living in his private domains, except when they were resisted or attacked. When they had destroyed the granaries they returned to the hills and remained perfectly quiet, only preventing the Raja and his people from entering their country, but allowing free ingress to the Government officers who came to inquire into their case. When their grievances were redressed and they were secured against further oppression, they at once settled down as peaceable and industrious cultivators.

In the second case a section of the Korwas, a Kolarian tribe living in the hills of Sirgoojya and Jushpore, had long occupied a lofty table-land, called the Lahsunpât, covered with magnificent forests, showing the excellence of its soil; but neither they nor any of the hill Korwas were settled down as regular agriculturists. Their houses are mere wattle huts which can be put up in a few hours, and they lead the semi-nomadic life of the forest tribes described above, and only cultivate crops which require very little labour. The Lahsunpât Korwas had taken advantage of the position of their plateau, which stood between the two principal roads into Sirgoojya from the north to levy contributions from, or, in the case of refusal, to plunder, travellers using them. The Raja, in hopes of putting a stop to these robberies, which had become very frequent, brought two of their leaders down to the plains below the hills and gave them lands on condition of keeping their fellow-tribesmen quiet. The robberies,

however, continued to go on, and the hostages were accordingly arrested. The Korwas considered this interference with what they regarded as their hereditary privileges a grievance, and the arrest and imprisonment of the two hostages was in their eyes an aggravation of the offence; but instead of doing as the Bhuyas of Bonai had done, and attacking only the Raja's private property, they came down and burnt and destroyed twenty-one villages, and would have burnt more if they had not been successfully resisted in some of those they attacked. They carried off all the property they did not destroy, and murdered several persons in villages where no resistance was attempted. This was by no means the first, though it was the worst, of their outbreaks, and it was found necessary, after arresting and punishing the leaders, to take measures to remove the tribe from the plateau and prevent them from again settling on it for purposes of plunder.

There are almost everywhere a certain number of Hindoos mixed with the aboriginal tribes, some of whom, for the most part Gualas, or herdsmen, and Rautias, who are perhaps Kauras, belonging to the Ruttia clan of that race who ruled Sirgoojya, came into the country in very early times. These tribes either came to get pasturage for their cattle in the forests, or were brought in by the chiefs to serve as guards and personal servants. These early immigrants for the most part mingled amicably with the people, who had no objection to the settlement of new-comers, provided they came on terms of equality, and either settled in villages cleared by themselves or took the lands that were allotted to them by native village communities. But the intrusion of strangers was looked on with very different eyes in later times, especially in those parts of the country where the people did not follow their Rajas and become Hindooized. The Rajas by degrees disclaimed entirely their aboriginal origin, called themselves pure Rajputs, and succeeded in getting their claims acknowledged by accredited Rajput families, who

gave them their daughters in marriage. While this transformation was in progress, and to a still greater extent when it was completed, and when the growing prosperity of the country made land more valuable, they began to bring in high-caste Hindoos and men with money, who offered higher rents than had been paid by the original tenants. These men were made heads of aboriginal villages, and some of them received grants of subordinate chieftaincies. This enraged the people, who objected to seeing the leading position in the villages, with the best lands, which were set apart for the headman, given to strangers instead of the natives, and to be obliged to do suit and service to intruders as representatives of the Raja.

The rebellion arising in the central territory of Chota, more properly called Chutia, Nagpore, from the above cause, and also from the excessive exactions of rent and disturbance of old customs by the new-comers, together with the predatory habits of the Kols in the Eastern districts, made it necessary to depose the Chutia Nagpore Raja from the direct government of his principality, and to bring his country and that of the Eastern chiefs more directly under Government control than it had hitherto been.

Accordingly, when the South-West Frontier Agency, part of which has since become the division of Chota Nagpore, was organized in 1833, the eastern section of the country was formed into four districts—Lohardugga, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and Singhbhum—which were placed directly under Government officers; while the tributary States of Porahat, together with its dependencies of Seraikela and Khursowan in the Singhbhum district, and the western States of Bonai, Gangpore, Oodeypore, Sirgoojya, Jushpore, Korea, and its dependency, Chang Bukhar, were left under their native Rajas, subject to the general superintendence of the Commissioner.

As the whole country lay outside the regions within which the generally recorded events of Indian history took place, and as the people were very little interfered with by

the successive Governments which established their supremacy in India, the notices to be gathered of its former condition and of the distribution of its component territories are very vague and meagre.

The earliest mention of the country is contained in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Tsang, who visited the different kingdoms, into which India was then divided between the years 629 and 645 A.D. The country was then called Karna, or Kirana-Suvarna, a name which is interpreted by General Cunningham * to mean the Suvarnas of mixed race, and the name Suvarna he refers to the Sairras, or Suars, who were a considerable and influential tribe in Orissa to the South, and also, as is stated by Sir H. Elliot,† in Behar, Ghazipur, and parts of Benares, Mirzapur, and Ghazipur. Sir Henry gives the name as the ancient appellation of the Cheroos, or snake race, who formerly ruled the territory along the Ganges belonging to these districts. The great river of the region was the Suvarna-riksha, now the Soobunrikha, and it was near the banks of this river that the ancient capital must, according to the distances given by Hiouen Tsang, be sought. It was most probably on the site of the present extensive ruins, close to the village of Dalmi, in Patkoom in the Manbhum district, which certainly belong to a large city of the size attributed to the capital by Hiouen Tsang. At Bara Bazar, suggested by General Cunningham as the ancient site, there are no such extensive ruins, and it stands about twenty miles from the Soobunrikha instead of near it as Dalmi does.

Another reason for looking for the capital at Dalmi is that the Raja of Patkoom claims descent from Vikramaditya and the ancient snake rulers, whereas the Raja of Barabhoom makes no such claim. The country is thus described by Hiouen Tsang :—

"The kingdom is about 1,400 or 1,500 li (about 735 to 750 miles) in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated. The house-

* "Ancient Geography of India," p. 509.

† "Supplementary Glossary, N.W.P.," pp. 158-160.

holders are very rich, and at ease. The land lies low, and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness.*

He then goes on to say that there are ten associations of Buddhist priests, with about 2,000 priests; also fifty heretic temples, and the heretics are very numerous. In his time the king of the country, Sasungka, is described as a great persecutor of Buddhists. The Buddhist monasteries to which he alludes were most probably on the old road from the great Buddhist kingdom of Orissa, or Udra, to the shrine of Budh Gya, in Behar, the place where Buddha attained, by long and anxious thought, complete and final knowledge of his great scheme of salvation by self-culture, and which is to Buddhists what Jerusalem is to Christians, and Mecca to Mahommedans—the most sacred spot on earth. On this road numerous Buddhist ruins still exist, more especially at and near Telkapi, on the Damooda. Nothing more is known of this country of honest, learned, and amiable people in the centuries immediately succeeding Hiouen Tsang's visit.

We find in the records of the Haihobunsi rulers of the adjoining country to the west, called, in the times of Hiouen Tsang, Moheshvarapura, that Gangpore Sirgoojya and Chutia Nagpore* were conquered by the Raja Ruttun Sen, between the years 972 and 1016 A.D. This conquest, as will be shown later on, only resulted in making these states tributary to the Haihobunsi rulers, and did not dispossess the old dynasties or interfere with the distribution of territory made after the settlement of the Naga immigrants.

It was probably because the forest-clad hills and valleys

* This information is taken from a copy of the account of the Haihobunsi dominions prepared by the Dewan, or prime minister of the Raja Lushmon Sen, in the year 1579 A.D., which was given to Mr. Chisholm, Settlement Officer of Belaspore, in the Central Provinces, by the descendants of the Dewans.

of the country seemed less desirable places of settlement than the wide and fertile plains of the valley of the Ganges, that the Naga races were not displaced and driven from their old homes by the Haihobunsis of Moheshwarapura and by previous and subsequent invaders, as happened to their brethren the Cheroos in Behar.

But the present divisions of the country show that the organization of the component states of Kiranasuvarna was in course of time altered from that which prevailed when the capital and richest part of the kingdom were situated in the district of Manbhum. The country being, as its name implies, a country of mixed races, in which both the invading Nagas and the aboriginal Kols ruled subordinate provinces and petty states, was probably held in somewhat loose subjection to the central authority in Patkoom; and, as happened afterwards in the case of the Mahrattas, the chiefs, who had previously governed outlying provinces under the control of the descendants of their first leader, proceeded, like the Mahratta chiefs who separated themselves from the authority of the Government at Sattara, to set up independent kingdoms for themselves; while the Patkoom chiefs sank from being lords paramount to be merely subordinate barons. This change appears to have been made gradually, and without such violent disturbance as would have left its traces in the traditions of the country. If the kingdom had been, like Behar, conquered by invading tribes, the conquest would have been marked by the rise of new tribes, claiming precedence over the older settlers, as the Rajputs of Behar over the Cheroos, and of the later Rajputs over the earlier clans. In lieu of this being the case, the Nagbunsis—who are in Chota Nagpore the descendants of the contemporaries of the Cheroos—did not, like them, sink into a subordinate position, but maintained their princely rank and were universally recognized as Rajputs.

In the process of disintegration following on the deca-

dence of the original ruling authority, the ancestors of the Pachete Rajas became lords paramount of Manbhum; those of Chutia Nagpore, of the kingdom of that name; and the Porahat Rajas of the northern part of Singhbhum, which had been colonized by the Naga tribes; while in the centre of the country occupied by these three kingdoms were the states which had been left by the invaders to the Mundas, represented by the present chieftaincies of Tamar, Baghmoondi, Bundu, Baronda, Silli, and other smaller holdings in Manbhum and Lohardugga. While there is no doubt whatever that these last-named states were inhabited almost entirely by Mundas as owners of the country, there is considerable uncertainty as to the ethnological affinities of the Bhumijes, an important tribe who inhabit the extensive provinces of Manbhum and Barabhum. The name of their country bespeaks them as Bhuyas, of Naga origin, and so does the fact that almost all the land is held on the peculiar Ghatwali tenure, under which the whole cultivating population had to assemble and serve in force on a summons to resist invaders; but, on the other hand, the absence of the strong village organization found everywhere among the higher Naga tribes, such as the Ooraons, as well as their turbulence and tendency to commit violent robberies, marks them as Kols. I cannot but believe that they are really a mixed race, born from the union of the sons of the Snake with the daughters of the Kols; and this, if really the case, would give additional force to the interpretation given by General Cunningham of the name Kirana-Suvarna.

The largest and most powerful of the three kingdoms formed out of the old confederacy was that which is properly called Chutia Nagpore, from its capital Chutia, which is close to Ronchie, the present headquarters of the division. It comprised the whole of the Lohardugga district except the greater part of the subdivision of Palamow, and that of Hazaribagh, formerly called Ramgurih, except the extensive pergunnah of Kharrukdiha, which belonged to Behar,

and was the appanage of the chiefs who were Ghatwals, or hereditary guardians, of the frontiers of that kingdom.

In Chutia Nagpore the country—except the eastern portion, which was left to the Munda tribes—was generally distributed according to the national system of the Naga races. The important frontier province of Ramgurn was assigned to the hereditary Commander-in-chief, and subordinate chiefs held the frontier lands to the west and south, while the Raja's homelands, forming the great pergunnahs of Khokra and Doisa, were in the centre of the kingdom.

Sirgoojya, though its subordinate provinces have always been held by Gond and Korwa chieftains, has changed its rulers several times. I think it is very doubtful whether it ever formed part of the Kirana-Suvarna confederacy, as there is no tradition of a former Gond dynasty ruling the country, or of its belonging to Chutia Nagpore; while the ruling races in both countries, though both of Naga origin, call themselves by different names: Gonds in Sirgoojya, and Oraons in Chutia Nagpore.

It most probably belonged to the country of Moheshwarapura, adjoining Kirana-Suvarna on the west, which was ruled by a Gond dynasty before the Rajput Haihobunsis, or their Buddhist predecessors who called themselves Pals, took the country. The Haihobunsi records show that Sirgoojya was not brought under their control when they first became the ruling power, in the time of Kundeo, who reigned from 568 to 630 A.D. When Ruttun Sen conquered Sirgoojya, he either appointed or continued in possession a Raja who belonged to the very interesting race of the Kaurs, who held all the subordinate chieftainships in the immediate neighbourhood of Ruttunpore, the Haihobunsi capital, and are the best farmers among non-Hindoo tribes. The affinities of the Kaurs are most difficult to trace. They certainly are not Aryans, and do not in any way acknowledge the authority of the Brahmins, while they are quite of a different stock from the Gonds, and consequently do not belong to the Naga races. Some of the leading clans

claim to be Rajputs, and in some cases their claims have been recognized, but the great majority of the tribe utterly repudiate any connection of this kind. They certainly stood in a very peculiar position of trust in the Haihobunsi State, as they held not only the fiefs near the capital, but also received large grants of land in the frontier province of Dhumtary, and considering that the rulers of Moheshvarapura were in the time of Hiouen Tsang bigoted Hindoos, it is hard to understand how a tribe which had certainly no Brahminical proclivities could have stood so high in their favour. The probability is either that the Haihobunsis themselves were Kaurs, and not Aryans, and that their zeal for Hindooism was that of converts, which is not likely—as Hiouen Tsang, who visited the country not long after they came into power, calls them Brahmins—or else that in the outlying parts of the kingdom of which Moheshvar, now Mundla, was the capital, the chiefs representing a former race of rulers, held the fiefs granted to them when their tribesmen governed the country. The rulers of Chuttisguri, the eastern section of Moheshvarapura, as well as those of the central states before the Haihobunsis, were a race who called themselves Pals, and who certainly were Buddhists. This is proved by a bas-relief, an undoubted representation of Buddha, which is in the temple of Rajun in Chuttisguri. A long inscription in the temple says it was founded by Brahmins, whose names are given; but what they did is perfectly evident: they changed it from a Buddhist shrine to a Hindoo temple, removing the Buddha from the interior to the vestibule, where it was when I saw it in 1867. It was then said to be the effigy of Juggut Pal, the great king of the Pal dynasty, in whose reign the shrine was first built, and who ruled Moheshvarapura in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century of our era, from whence he is said to have invaded and conquered Behar. It appears, therefore, probable that the Kaurs were the trusted servants of the Pal rulers, who probably belonged to their tribe, and

in that case the Kaur chiefs, who certainly governed Sirgoojya before the present Rajas, were not appointed by Ruttun Sen when he made Sirgoojya tributary, but were continued in command of the country in the same way as Chutia Nagpore was left to its native Rajas.

There were thus formerly in Sirgoojya three ruling races. First, the Korwas, or Kolarian aborigines; next, the Gonds, who still hold the subordinate frontier provinces; and last, the Kaurs.

The Kaurs probably belonged to the Ruttia clan which still holds estates in Oodeypore, close to the old capital, and the country under their rule comprised the three present States of Sirgoojya, Oodeypore, and Jushpore.

The central hills of this territory, comprising the extensive table-lands of Pundraput, Lahsunpât, and Jomivapat, together with the numerous smaller table-lands cut off from what was once a continuous plateau by the enormous denudation caused by the rising streams of the Eebe, Sunk, Kunhar, Mand, and their tributaries, were held by Korwa chiefs, but the frontier lands to the north, west, and south were occupied by Kaurs, Gonds, and Rautias. These last may possibly be Ruttia Kaurs, who have taken their clan name as that of their caste.

The Kaur dynasty was ousted by a family from Behar, belonging to one of the tribes which invaded the country when it was ruled by the Cheroos. After they had established themselves in Behar a branch of the family succeeded in making themselves rulers of Palamow, though they still kept the Cheroos in power and chose their hereditary prime ministers from that tribe.

The following is the story of the way they became Rajas of Sirgoojya. The Raja of Palamow went to Sirgoojya to marry the daughter of the Kaur Raja. While he was absent his Cheroo prime minister rebelled and set himself up as Raja. On hearing this the Palamow Raja probably thought that the home rule party in his former dominions was too strong for him, for instead of returning

and fighting for his crown he killed the Sirgoojya Raja and succeeded in getting himself acknowledged as chief. The whole story shows the usurper and his family to have been military adventurers, who were not then the high caste Rajputs they are now acknowledged to be, or they would never have married into a Kaur family.

Oodeypore was given to a younger branch of the family, and, when the Raja rebelled in the beginning of the century, it was first confiscated by Government and afterwards given as a reward for his good services in the Mutiny to Raja Bindesuri Prashad Singh, the younger son of the Sirgoojya Raja.

Jushpore was taken by the ancestors of the present Raja as in fief from Sirgoojya. They came from Belonjia on the Behar frontier of Palamow, and are recent immigrants, having only left their old homes towards the middle of the last century. They also call themselves Rajputs, but are not as universally accepted as belonging to the caste as the Rajas of Sirgoojya and Chutia Nagpore.

Of the remaining three tributary States Korea and Chang Bukhur had always under native rule been dependent on the Haihobunsi kingdom of Chuttisgurh, while the southern States of Gangpore and Bonai are old Buya chieftaincies, dependent on the powerful central State of Sumbulpore.

Though the extensive and varied country above described has no recorded history, yet the omission is not due to the want of natural wealth by which it could powerfully influence the countries near it, but to the absence of accumulated treasures and commercial riches, to tempt the cupidity of invaders and make the country the scene of those contests for supremacy which fill up the greater part of Indian history. The resources of Chota Nagpore consist chiefly in minerals, especially coal, the use of which was not known to the native rulers and their subjects. If it had been like the valley of the Ganges, a country of extraordinary fertility, and like

it well provided with natural and easy means of transport along the broad waterways formed by the rivers intersecting the country in all directions, it would doubtless not have remained the quiet home of a dogged and determined race, who, having won the country by stubborn and patient warfare, found in it the means of living in peace and contentment without constant struggles against external enemies and an unfertile soil. It would have been contended for by successive swarms of immigrant invaders eager to enrich themselves with its spoils; learned and lettered Aryans would have settled in the courts of its princes, rich merchants would have thronged to its towns, and these continual influences would have stimulated the intellects and energies of the people and have prevented them from falling into the long sleep in which they have indulged since their conquest was finished. This awakening has been denied them up to the present time, but every one who knows the people and country must feel that a brighter future awaits them when their value is fully recognized, and the undeveloped resources of the country become the basis of an active and regenerating commerce.

In former days there was little intercourse between the hills and the plains except in the way of trade, but the difficulties of carriage were so great that trade, except on the lower slopes of the plateaus lying near the more civilized country to the east, was languid. Though rivers were numerous, yet navigation, even on the largest of them, was and still is impossible owing to the constant interruptions caused by the rocky barriers thrown across them by the scarps of the successive terraces marking the different elevations of the plateau in the north and east, and by the ranges of volcanic hills which cut across the river valleys to the south. Boats could not pass over rapids and waterfalls. Transport was consequently restricted to carriage on pack-bullocks along the narrow bridle paths which formed the only roads of the country,

and though the forests were able to supply an abundance of products which found a ready sale in the marts below the hills, yet owing to this cause only a comparatively small quantity of the tusser cocoons, stick lac, and lac dye, catechu, fibres and wax, which formed the most valuable part of their produce, could be brought to market.

Timber, except a few bamboos, could not be carried at all, for the transport by rafts on the rivers was too difficult, and carriage by other means was all but impossible. This, perhaps, was fortunate, or otherwise the forests, which have already suffered too much in the few years that have elapsed since roads of any kind were made, would have been quite cleared away. The soil would have been, as has already happened in some instances, washed away from the hillsides and future planting rendered impossible, while the rainfall of the whole country would have been diminished.

Commerce, owing to the hindrances above described, consisted almost entirely in easily-worked metals and jungle produce, which could be sold at a price sufficient to pay the cost of carriage. The metals exported were gold and copper, a great deal of the latter metal being worked up into brass before it left the country.

Gold is only to be found in the south of the division, and was extracted not from mines, but from the sands of the rivers and the gravels found in old river-beds in the valleys of the present streams. That the trade was considerable is shown by tradition, the constant occurrence of the word *Son*, meaning gold, in names of local divisions, such as Sonpur, Songra, and Sonakan in South Lohardugga and Singhbhum, and also by the large numbers of Gonds calling themselves Jhoras or gold-washers, who now occupy the district of Biru in Lohardugga and the lands in the valley of the Eebe in the south of Jushpore and the north of Gangpore. Traces of their work are still to be found on all the rivers to the south, especially the Soobunrikha, Brahmini, Eebe, and Mand.

There is little immediate hope of the revival of the former trade, for almost all the washings are now abandoned, as the gold in surface sands and underlying gravels is almost entirely exhausted. The only places where a few years ago any works which could be called extensive were to be found were in a few villages on the Eebe, close to the junction of Gangpore and Jushpore. The gold there was extracted from old river gravels found from thirty to fifty feet below the surface; but the profits when I visited them were still, as they had been found to be by my predecessor, General Dalton, so small that almost all the people had abandoned them, and only a few families still remained to work for the scanty remuneration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day, which was about the average of their earnings.

If gold is to be found in future in paying quantities it must be taken from the parent rocks which yielded the deposits which have been hitherto worked, and in a country which has undergone such enormous denudation, as Chota Nagpore, it will require very careful examination and testing of the rocks in the gold-bearing region to determine whether gold mining will ever pay, or whether all the most productive rock has not been carried away. Its prospects now are not hopeful, as there are no means of transporting the necessary mining apparatus to the country to be exploited, except at a cost which the present outlook would not justify; but if the Mysore mines, which are now being worked in rocks similar in character and perhaps contemporaneous with the auriferous rocks of Chota Nagpore, prove successful, and when the long-projected Bengal and Nagpore line which has been begun is finished, a thorough examination of the country may result in showing that enough gold to make the working profitable may be found in the formations left intact.

Besides gold, diamonds used to be found in the Sunk river in Chutia Nagpore, near the region of the Palamow coal-fields; and Tavernier, the French traveller, who visited India in the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes his visit to

the mines. The Raja of Chutia Nagpore has among his family jewels a very fine diamond taken from these mines; but all search for them has ceased for many years past, both in the Sunk and the Mahanuddi, near the mouth of the Eebe and the Hingir coal-fields, where diamonds used also to be collected.

The large deposits of copper ore in Seraikela and Khursawun and at Baragunda in the Hazaribagh district, under the Parasnath hill, used in former days to be extensively worked. The great tunnel driven by the miners into the hill near Lando, in Seraikela, and the remains of the workings at Baragunda, show the former importance of the industry. The mines at Baragunda have lately been again opened under European superintendence, and seem from all accounts likely to pay, as they are only a few miles from the East Indian Railway; but an attempt made about twenty-three years ago to revive the old copper mines at Lando utterly failed, as the distance the metal had to be carried before it reached the railway was too great to leave any profit. As these deposits lie close to the Bengal and Nagpore railway, they may be profitably worked when that railway is finished. In a country like India, where all plates, dishes, drinking vessels, and basins used by all except the poorer classes, are made of brass, the trade in cheap copper is certain to pay, even though it should, as doubtless will be the case when the resources of Chota Nagpore are developed as they ought to be, be exposed to competition with china manufacturers, who will make use of the caolin, or china clay, which abounds in the talcose formations of Kharrukdiha, in Hazaribagh, in Pandra, in Manbhum, and doubtless in many other parts of the division where granite and felspar are the prevailing rock.

Besides gold and copper, lead has been found in many places in North Hazaribagh and North Sirgoojya; but among the numerous finds which have been made no trace of a vein has yet been discovered. In all, I believe, as in the two I myself inspected, the lead ore was composed of

water-rolled boulders and pebbles, some of them of considerable size, which had evidently been washed out of the veins in which they were originally deposited and left in the clay and gravel which had been brought down with them. In both instances that I saw the ore lay scattered throughout a deep bed of clay in narrow valleys, and was quite unconnected with any rock in the immediate neighbourhood.

Tin ore as well as manganese has also been found in the Hazaribagh district, but neither have yet been worked. There are also talc mines in Hazaribagh which yield a fair profit.

But though the metals above named, as well as others which may be discovered, may be profitably worked in the future, and may prove most valuable to India as a whole, yet it is the large and valuable coal-fields and the rich stores of iron ore distributed through the country that can most materially improve the condition of the people living near its borders. Chota Nagpore has always been celebrated for the great excellence of its iron ores, red and brown hæmatite and magnetite being found in almost all districts, and the iron-workers being very skilful. All that is wanted to make the trade a most potent factor in increasing the national wealth, is to bring railways to those spots where the best iron ores are found in close conjunction with coal and limestone. Such a spot has already been found at Barrakur, on the borders of Manbhum, where works yielding considerable profits are being carried on under Government management, and there is another still unoccupied in the neighbourhood of Baloomath, on the north-west of Lohardugga, close to the proposed railway from Benares to Cuttack. Here red and brown hæmatite, magnetite, limestone, and the excellent coal of the South Kurunpoora coal-field are all to be found within a few miles of one another. It is here, or in some similar position, that the future Sheffield of India should be founded; the high character of the Barrakur works shows that the metal-workers of Chota Nagpore will, under proper guidance, be able to turn out as good work as Sheffield or Birmingham can. The coal-fields once,

most probably, surrounded the plateau, but on the north-east only small traces of the former deposits remain in the diminutive fields of Itkuri and Choje, which are only valuable for geological purposes, as they contain no coal worth using. On all other sides of the division they occupy very large areas, and in Sirgoojya and Korea are found at considerable elevations. Besides the coal-fields round the outside of the division, there is also a broad belt of coal-bearing rocks, beginning at Palamow, and passing right through the country from west to east down the Damooda valley till it joins the Barrakur and Ranigunge coal-fields.

The following is a list of the coal-fields in the division, with their areas, but as some of the fields, such as the Sohagpore field and its adjuncts, are situated both in the native State of Rewah, and in Korea, and Chang Bukhar, I have included the whole field as well as that of Hingir, which is situated partly in Chota Nagpore, and partly in the Chuttisgurrh division of the Central Provinces in the list. The areas given are those stated by the Survey, except where no definite area is recorded in their reports or publications.

FIELDS TO THE NORTH		Area.
Rewah	Sohagpore field	1587 square miles.
	Johilla field (North and	
	South)	14 "
	Korar field	9 "
In Korea	Umaria "	6 "
	Kurasia "	48 "
	Koreagurrh field	6 "
In Sirgoojya	Jhilmilli "	41 "
	Ramkola, Rajkheta, and	
	Tatapani field (about)	700 "
In Palamow	Daltongunge "	200 "
Total		2611 "

FIELDS IN THE CENTRAL BELT.		
In Palamow	Hutar field	78 square miles.
	Aurunga "	97 "
	North Kurunpoora field...	472 "
In Lohardugga, Hamari- bagh, and Manbhoom ...	South Kurunpoora " ...	72 "
	Ramgurrh field... ..	40 "
	Bokaro "	220 "
	Jherria "	300 "
Total		1179 "

FIELDS TO THE SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH.

In Sirgoojya	Sirgoojya field... ..	400 square miles.
	Lakunpore „ (about) ...	50 „
	Hingir, Raigurh, Oodey- pore, and Korba field (about)	2000 „
	Total	2450 „

FIELDS TO THE EAST.

In the Burdwan division of Bengal and Man- bhūm district... ..	Ranigunge field	500 „
In Hazaribagh	Kurhurbari	11 „
	Total	511 „

ABSTRACT.

Northern fields	2611 square miles.
Central „	1179 „
Western and Southern fields	2450 „
Eastern fields	511 „
Grand total	6751 „

Besides the above fields there is also in the Orissa division to the south, and quite out of the limits of Chota Nagpore, the Tulchir field, covering an area of 700 square miles. It belongs to the same group as those recorded above, and formed part of the same ring of coal-bearing rocks which marked the limits of the oceanic island, or islands, of which Chota Nagpore was the centre in the coal period.

Of the above fields, only those of Ranigunge, Kurhurbari, and Daltongunge have yet been worked on any considerable scale. In the Ranigunge field coal mining has been most extensively carried on for over thirty years. Though it is traversed by numerous trap dykes which deteriorate the coal in their immediate neighbourhood, yet the quality of the coal is generally very good for ordinary domestic and manufacturing purposes, though not equal to the best steam coal.

The small Kurhurbari field which supplies the East Indian Railway gives coal much superior to the ordinary Ranigunge coal, and all but equal to the best English coal. Recent borings in the Daltongunge field have shown the

existence there of seams quite equal to the best found in Kurhbari. In the Umaria field most excellent coal has also been found, and a railway is being made from that field to Kutni, a station on the East Indian Railway, for the conveyance of the coal.

Of the remaining fields nothing decisive is known beyond the general opinion given as to the merits of each field by the geological surveyors, who were only able to examine the coal that cropped out or was exposed on or near the surface, and could not test or trace more than conjecturally the seams in the underlying and unexposed parts of the formation. Speaking generally, the fields which are stated by them as likely to yield the best coal are, besides those which have been already worked, the great northern and central fields, especially the Sohagpore field and those of Hutar and North Kurunpoora. The Aurunga field, which has apparently suffered from volcanic action, is said to be less promising than any of the others ; but the North Kurunpoora field, especially in its eastern portion, is likely to be one of the best. It is entirely undisturbed by irruptions of trap, and has a continuous seam of shale and coal, varying from twenty-seven to thirty feet thick, running through it horizontally from west to east.

Borings have been lately made in the great Hingir coal-field, through which the Bengal and Nagpore line will pass. It is said to be somewhat similar to the Kurunpoora field in its combination of shale and coal. In the first borings, though the coal was fair, no especially good coal was found ; but in a field where there are—as in the great seam exposed at Korba on the Hestho river—ninety feet thick of shale and coal, there must be a great deal of very good coal.

The value of these fields to the country generally differs according to their position ; those to the south, where forests abound, and where the climate throughout the year is much warmer than in the north, will not so immediately benefit the people as those near the North-West Provinces

and Behar, where wood and charcoal is scarce and dear, and fires are wanted, not only for cooking throughout the year, but also for warmth in the cold season. These northern fields are also most valuable for manufacturing purposes as being near the districts where, owing to the pressure of population, hands can be most easily obtained.

While the Umaria and other fields forming the western portion of the great Sohagpore field will most easily provide coal for Allahabad and the west of the North-West Provinces, it is to the Daltongunge and Hutar fields that Benares and the whole country to the east, including Oude, must look for their supply. Benares is from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty miles from the Daltongunge field, while it is about two hundred and fifty from Umaria. Gya, which is already connected with Patna and thence with the whole of Behar by the Patna and Gya line and the East Indian Railway, is only seventy-five to eighty miles from Daltongunge.

The line from Benares to the Daltongunge field forms the first section on the proposed Benares and Cuttack line, of which that from Daltongunge to Gya will be a branch. The following facts will show the great value of the railway when constructed. Coal can, as is shown by the working of the Kurhumbhari mines, be carried to the surface at an average cost of two rupees, eight annas, or about five shillings a ton, taking the rupee at par; and when brought to Benares will, at the rates charged on the East Indian Railway of one-fifth of a pie per maund, or about two and a quarter farthings per ton per mile, have cost, including incidental charges, about twelve shillings per ton, while the cost of a ton at Gya will be about ten shillings. Wood costs at Gya, which is comparatively near the forests of the Monghyr hills, nine rupees, or about eighteen shillings a ton, so that if the coal is converted into coke, which would be the material best suited for native cooking, it could be sold at a very large profit for much less than even wood and still less than charcoal.

The cost of the railway, as estimated by the Government surveyors who prepared the plans and estimates, will not exceed twelve thousand six hundred pounds a mile, so that the whole two hundred and thirty miles—which is the outside distance to be travelled by the line from Benares to Gya *via* Daltongunge—will not cost more than two million nine hundred thousand pounds, and probably less, as I have allowed a large margin for the bridge over the Sôn. Considering that this line will supply coal to the Oude and Rohilcund, and Bengal and North-West line, and over thirty millions of people, the cost is very trifling.

If such a railway were projected in a European country, the mere statement that it would yield the fuel required for so large a number of people at a cost of less than two shillings per head would be quite sufficient to prove the certainty of its success; but many people think differently when the question is one concerning India. The question there is, Will coal ever become to the people so completely a necessary of life as it is in Europe to people living where coal is cheap and wood dear? Many assert that the people are so conservative that they will never burn coal. This appears to me to be an absurdity. Those who make this assertion in fact say that even the intelligent people living in the towns, consisting of traders—who are very keen in discerning any possible source of profit—of professional men, shopkeepers, clerks, artizans, and labourers, too many of whom are obliged to scrutinize carefully every fraction of a penny they spend in order to make their small means suffice for their living, will continue, even if cheap coal and coke is brought to their doors, to use expensive firewood and charcoal. This might be the case if some religious prejudice interfered, but there is none on this subject. It is true that there is a difficulty about burning coke and coal in native braziers, and the holes in the ground used for fireplaces, but even if this difficulty exists the people would doubtless overcome it, as the people in Bengal have done, and there ought to be no difficulty in

inventing a cheap brazier which would obviate all objections. The argument that the ryot is incapable of seeing that it would be practically cheaper for him to put the manure, which he now burns without paying a farthing for it, on his field, and to use cheap coal instead, is more plausible than the other, but it supposes the ryot to be an utter fool; whereas, though he is hard to convince and very much afraid of novelties, he is quite capable of seeing where his advantage lies if it be once proved in a way convincing to his understanding. I would reply to all objections of this class in the same strain as a ryot once answered me when I was inquiring as to native opinion about opium cultivation. He said, "Why should I not like to grow opium, sahib? Of course I do, when it pays me fifty or sixty rupees a bigha" (about two-thirds of an acre). So I would say, of course the people will burn coal when they find it much cheaper than wood, and the profits of manured fields larger than the cost of the coal substituted for the manure which has increased the yield of the crops. This last process of convincing the ryot may be slow, but it will come; the richer men will take the lead, and the others quickly follow them.

The large consumption of Ranigunge coal by the people of Calcutta and of the towns and districts around, will doubtless be greatly exceeded by that of Behar and the North-West, as the people require so much more fuel in that colder climate. As the present trade in firewood and charcoal, though it is collected at considerable distances from the towns nearest the forests and from the railways which distribute it to more distant places, pays, in spite of the long and costly carriage, so much the more will the cheaper coal pay when it is found to supply more heat at a less cost than the present firing.

Even if only the towns, such as the large cities of Benares, Gya, Patna, and Lucknow, and the numerous secondary towns throughout the country peopled with wealthy traders, took coal in addition to the railways, the

proposed line would certainly pay; but even if there is at first some deficiency in the receipts, the loss would be very small compared with the benefits to be conferred. The case is certainly one in which, if Government does not make the railway itself, it ought to offer such a guarantee as will secure the success of the scheme, if placed on the money market. Even in these days of depreciated rupees, the ultimate profit would far more than repay any loss which might be incurred at first in paying the guaranteed interest, and it would be quite in accordance with the dictates of the very severe economy which is the present policy when silver is so low to incur some immediate risk in making the line. It is a famine work of the first necessity, and such work should be preferred to less pressing schemes. It will, when completed, and its results are worked out, ensure to the people a supply of food adequate to their wants under all circumstances; it would stop the degeneration of the soil that must increase yearly as long as crops are raised without restoring to the ground the chemical elements that were taken from it, and will supplement the work done by the canals. If it has been thought advisable to spend millions on making them, so much the more necessary is it to insure that this expenditure shall all be to the good, and that the canals shall not, as they do now, take away with one hand what they give with the other, depleting the soil by taking from it not only increased crops, but the fertilizing elements which combine with the canal water to produce them.

The limits of this article will not allow me to discuss fully the many other interesting questions connected with the development of Chota Nagpore, the increase in manufacturing enterprise, the cultivation of its wastes, and the utilization of its forests. It must here suffice to say, that the first step in the progress of the country must be the making of the two projected and surveyed railways.* If

* (1) The Bengal-Nagpore line, and (2) that part of the Benares and Cuttack line which lies between Benares and the Bengal-Nagpore Railway.

the East Indian Railway, costing twenty-five thousand pounds a mile, is able to pay dividends of from 7 to 9 per cent. from the traffic of the valley of the Ganges, which represents as far as exports go the surplus products of that densely populated country, there can be little doubt that a line made for half the cost of the East Indian would pay largely from the traffic in the surplus produce of Chota Nagpore, and in the timber and other products of its forests. No one can say what the traffic will be when the railways are supplied with the manufactures which must be set up in Chota Nagpore and in the surrounding districts when once the great facilities for manufacturing enterprise furnished by it are realized. There can be no doubt that it is only capital that is required to make it stand to the rest of India in the same position as Lancashire and Yorkshire do to England, and that large profits await the investors. It, and the districts immediately adjoining it, ought to be the seat of great and productive industries, supplying the rest of the country with its products, and should give, in the extensive and fertile waste lands of Palamow, Sirgoojya, and the other tributary states, new settlements for the farmers of the over-populated tracts, who wish to find a wider and more profitable field for their energies than they can get in their crowded homes.

If these initial lines are made, there will be no difficulty in extending others over the plateau which, as the surveys already made have shown, can be ascended and traversed by lines with easy gradients nowhere steeper than one in a

The first of these is an assured success, as the money for it has been submitted many times over. The second line, though surveyed, is not apparently yet considered so important. I hope, however, that I have in this paper shown convincing reasons that the line from Benares to Daltongunge and thence to Gya, is not only urgently necessary in a political point of view, but that it will be most profitable to those who make it. In estimating the profits of the second section from Daltongunge to the Bengal-Nagpore line, it must be remembered that Chota Nagpore is not only a land of hills, forests, metals and coal-fields, but that the greater part of the Eastern districts of Johurdugga, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and Singhbhum, are thickly populated agricultural countries, interspersed with forests, besides being rich in metallic wealth.

hundred, and these ascents do not extend for much greater distances than those on the railways from the South to the North of England. These lines would open out the cool, healthy, and fertile table-lands of the higher levels of Sirgoojya and Jushpore which cover an area of over six hundred square miles, and are now only inhabited by a few wandering kokorwas and cattle graziers.

In conclusion, it is necessary to say one word about the forests which form such an important element in the resources of Chota Nagpore. The preservation and regulation of these forests is especially necessary for the future prosperity of the country. I have in a former part of this paper shown the evils that would result from reckless cutting and clearance, but these are not the only evils to be guarded against. Though forest fires, lighted by the herdsmen to secure a supply of grass for their cattle in the hot season, and indiscriminate grazing have been stopped in the tracts under Government management, they still go on to too great an extent in the much larger area belonging to private individuals, while indiscriminate cutting is denuding many parts of the country of the trees which should be their most valuable products. Efforts have been made of late years to induce the landowners to look more carefully after their forests, and these efforts have been to a certain extent successful, but until they learn by experience the profit to be derived from wise management, and by replacing in localities reserved for woods the timber which has been cut down, the deterioration of the forests, which will be increased when greater facilities for transporting timber are given, must go on. If this is long delayed, the difficulties of retrieving lost ground will be increased, and I believe the wisest and most beneficial way of dealing with the question would be to enforce by law special rules for forest management on the model of those of France and Germany.

J. F. HEWITT.

INDIAN FIELD SPORT.*

IN selecting the two works, of which the names appear below, my object has been to take some new books, which are adequately representative of field-sport in the chief Provinces of India. There is much in the pursuit of game which is common to both Bombay and Bengal; but there is much which differs, chiefly owing to the difference of soil and climate. There has been no lack of authors on Indian sport. There are few of the present generation who have not delighted in the *Old Forest Ranger*, which described the wild animals of the Madras Presidency. Colonel Barras tells us that when he was seeking for a publisher for one of his books, he was informed by an eminent authority in the Row that London might be paved with the books which have been written on Indian hunting adventures. Nevertheless, every year finds new authors, like Colonel Barras and Mr. F. B. Simson, coming forward, to put on record their various and exciting experiences. They wish to tell what they did and what they saw, whilst the recollection of it is yet green. The ordinary incidents of the chase repeat themselves every season, though with infinite variety. But the principles by which success is obtained are almost immutable. And if the novice, or beginner, will carefully study the precepts and example of veteran sportsmen who have written for his guidance, he will derive much profit from it. Perhaps there are some things in Colonel Barras' book which may be more

* "India and Tiger Hunting." By J. BARRAS. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Row.) "Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal." By F. B. SIMSON. (Published by R. H. Porter, 6, Tenterden Street.)

prudently left alone than imitated; but with Mr. Simson as his mentor there is nothing which the young sportsman may not accept and follow without hesitation.

I propose to deal first with the work of Colonel Barras. He slowly but steadily rose through all the grades of the Bombay Army, from ensign to colonel. The country in which he sought for sport was very extensive, and went far beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency. He shot tigers on foot in the forests of Central India. He managed to join a tiger-shooting expedition in the sub-Himalayan Terai. He was quartered at several jungle stations in Sind, and he found something to hunt even at Aden and Perim. He went with his regiment to almost every military cantonment in the Bombay Presidency. Wherever he went he managed to satisfy his strong craving for the chase. He was like the typical Englishman, who is said by a French writer to arise in the morning with the question on his lips, "What shall I kill to-day?" With his genuine love for sport, he was not always particular as to the kind of diversion which presented itself. He had a proper ambition to kill a tiger, and he found a special pleasure in exposing himself to unnecessary danger in killing a wounded tiger. With elephants, he preferred to take the mahout's place on the animal's neck, and to drive it for himself. He had also a preference for certain male elephants, known to be dangerous, as having killed their mahouts or some inoffensive natives. He had a great fondness for dogs of all sorts. He had a fancy for falconry, and kept several well-trained *juggurs* and hawks. He seems to have been seldom very well mounted for regular hog-hunting; and he records with satisfaction how he once shot a wild boar, to supply the wants of his regimental mess. He was fond of fishing in moderation; but even the smooth sea at Kurrachee soon made him feel unwell.

There was a great difference in the climate and soil of the country where Colonel Barras and Mr. Simson respec-

tively pursued their sport. Mr. Simson usually hunted in a moist alluvial country. Colonel Barras sought for his game, with but few exceptions, amongst rocks, and ravines, and in caves, and on sandy deserts, and through scrub-jungle. His thermometer seldom registered anything under 98° Fahrenheit in the shade. In the sun's rays the heat was overpowering. There was rarely a sufficient supply of water, and where there was water it was often almost unfit for use. The black rocks and the scorching sand burnt like fire under the feet of man and beast. Some of the accounts of the expeditions, made by Colonel Barras and his brother officers, in search of panthers, are quite appalling from the description of the heat, and of their sufferings from want of water. When Colonel Barras and one of his companions were badly mauled by a wounded panther, the absence of water so aggravated their sufferings that they almost lost their lives.

Colonel Barras is rather a diffuse writer. He likes to describe a number of petty details, which interfere with the interest of his main story. In order to let him speak for himself, I will tell the tale of the death of the last tiger that he killed. With a friend, he set off for a month's tiger-shooting near Mardi in the Berars, "which," he says, "are situated in the Deccan, and form part of the Nizam's territory, of which the capital city is called Hyderabad." He took with him two Government elephants, old tuskers, named Futteh Ali and Bundoola. Futteh Ali was a murderous beast, and on a previous occasion had tried to kill Colonel Barras. But this had only made the Colonel "anxious to bestride his neck, and drive him to battle against a wounded tiger." The elephants and camp and baggage were sent on from Ahmednuggar a month beforehand. Colonel Barras and his friend overtook them in two days' journey by railway and pony-carriage. From Warora they marched to Mardi, a dreary waterless country. There were some footprints of a tigress; but the principal local *shikari* was absent, and little sport could be expected

without him. They tried a few beats, and found a few wild boars and deer. They built *machaus*, or raised platforms, and watched near the water for tigers; but none came. At last they decided on making one final beat; and suddenly a tigress presented itself right in front of Colonel Barras. He fired and wounded the animal severely, but it escaped. His companion and the beaters came up, but the tigress was nowhere to be found. Then came Colonel Barras' fortunate moment. He mounted the neck of Futteh Ali, and sought for the tigress from this coign of vantage. He soon saw the animal, and fired and struck her just over the heart.

"She started convulsively, and uttered her last savage roar. The sound of her voice settled the question of Futteh Ali's character. Like most bullies he was a coward. He spun round and fled at a gallop through the thorn jungle. Presently the elephant stopped, and feeling that he was not being pursued, became perfectly tranquil, and, obedient to my slightest hint, he marched back at once to the bush where the tigress was lying, motionless, and, in fact, dead. At the word of command, accompanied by a gentle pressure on the crown of his head, the huge animal came to the kneeling position, within twenty feet of his detested foe. The necessary precautions having been taken, the tigress was hoisted on his back, and, thus loaded, I headed the return procession, and drove back in triumph to the village outside of which our camp was pitched."

I must now pass on to Mr. Simson's book, which is styled "Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal," and addressed to an imaginary novice in the Civil Service of the present time. It was in 1847 that Mr. Simson joined the Bengal Civil Service as a student in the College of Fort William in Calcutta. Each young civilian was required to qualify in two native languages, of which he had learnt the rudiments at Haileybury. The best way in which a young man in Calcutta can familiarize himself with the native language is by taking to field sports. Mr. Simson promptly began with snipe-shooting, and by a piece of good luck he was also quickly entered at hog-hunting. He was staying with a hospitable member of the Calcutta Tent Club, who lent him his spears. He had imported his own Arab horses from Bombay. The Tent Club were at a favourite meet

near Calcutta. Hogs were scarce, even in those days; and Mr. Simson had amused himself with the "griff-like" performance of riding alone after a jackal. I must let him tell his own tale.

"After a long chase I speared the jackal, and just as I was dismounting a very fine hog appeared going fast away from a patch of grass. I rode him at once, and, after a gallop of a mile or so, gave him a slight prick. He then charged, and I believe I speared him in the ear. Then I galloped alongside, and struck him hard, leaving my spear in his loins. At this I was much disgusted, because I had been told not to let go my spear. I thought the boar would escape, and no one would believe I had speared the first real boar I ever saw. The boar, however, went among some bamboos and got rid of the spear, which some fishermen brought to me, pointing to where the animal had gone. As soon as I got round the clump of bamboos I saw him, and went at him as hard as I could. He came at me full charge—I do not know exactly how I managed it, but the spear went in at his shoulder and came out between the hind legs. This, of course, was sufficient. By this time the other men had found out that I was riding a hog, and, coming up, I was found dancing round the fallen hog. My horse, who had had quite enough, in going after the jackal first and the hog next, was standing by. I had the head cut off, and walked to the tent beside the man who carried it. The tusk is beside me now as I write. Champagne at dinner that night had no effect on me. Thus I got my first spear and first hog: but it was long before I delivered another so good a thrust as that, and two years passed before I was properly taught the art of spearing."

Before going deeper into Mr. Simson's book it is desirable to note the geographical limits of his hunting-grounds. They lay in the delta of the Ganges and the Megna, but the largest area belonged to the alluvial lands of the Megna. He was, for a short time, Commissioner of Orissa, and found some sport with the bears and tigers in the hill tracts on the western side of Cuttack. In Purneah, a district north of the Ganges, and permeated by several large streams, he found many tigers and buffaloes, and an endless supply of ducks and crocodiles. But the best of his hunting-grounds were along the great rivers, the Megna and the Berhampooter, in the districts of Mymensing, Dacca, Tipperah, and Noakholly: to which may be added Chittagong, and the country lying around Calcutta.

Snipe-shooting is the sport with which Mr. Simson

advises the novice to begin. It is not expensive, and is procurable in almost every district. The snipe begin to arrive, from beyond the Himalayas, with the first full-moon of September. A few may be found in August. In October they are plentiful, and the supply holds good through all November, December, and January. From February to May they become scarcer and scarcer. The first thing to be done is to learn the haunts of the snipe, and to ascertain where they are likely to migrate, from time to time, during the season. According to Mr. Simson's advice, every young official should keep a *shikari*, to look after his guns and roam over the country in search of game. If the *shikari* goes out in the early morning and finds snipe he will take his master to almost the exact spot where they are lying, and no time will be wasted. It is a great mistake to go after snipe into too deep water, in the fields of growing rice. The snipe like a shallow depth of water in which they can wade; and they do not care about the growing rice being very high over them. Moreover, when a bird falls to the shot it is rather hard to mark him in the rice, especially if two or three other birds get up before you can pick up the first dead bird.

The novice will do well to observe Mr. Simson's advice as to the dress to be worn whilst snipe-shooting. Above all things a good solah (pith) hat is absolutely necessary against the sun. Light boots and light gaiters (not of leather) are good for walking through the mud. It is no use to try to avoid getting wet feet. When the shooting is ended let the sportsman change everything and put on flannel garments, with a tendency to extra warmth. Whilst shooting let him drink nothing but plain water, and have special bottles made for keeping the water cool. In the cold weather the best time to shoot snipe is between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., but a government servant will have to be guided by the nature of his official work; and with many the rule must be to seek their business first and their pleasure afterwards.

From snipe-shooting Mr. Simson goes on to give instruction in the shooting of larger birds. The stock of jungle-fowl is now so small, save in some parts of Tipperah and Chittagong, that it is hardly worth while to dwell on it. A few woodcocks are to be found in Chittagong. Year after year the birds visit the same spots; where a brace was killed in 1885 there will almost certainly be found a fresh brace in 1886. In duck-shooting some brown or mud-coloured raiment should be worn by the sportsman. In many parts of Bengal the ducks are to be found in legions. Mr. Simson gives detailed advice for approaching them in boats or canoes, and he insists on the golden rule, that where two or three men go out together for ducks they must all keep together. Otherwise it too often happens that one man fires at the birds exactly at the moment that his companions are unfortunately unable to shoot. He advises that all wounded birds should be killed, and picked up with landing-nets, before the sportsman goes on for a fresh shot at the re-united flock, or at a new set of birds.

It is very difficult to get a shot at a flock of wild geese; but Mr. Simson found them most accessible before noon, when they were feeding in the paddy-fields. There are also certain noble cranes, the *koolhuns* and the *syms*, which have to be stalked artfully. The best plan is to get hold of a cow, and, by twisting its tail, steer it gradually towards the unsuspecting birds. Unfortunately the cows themselves are suspicious of Europeans, and it is not easy to find what Mr. Simson calls an *amiable* cow. His *shikari* Budurudin, was a great proficient in stalking, and could keep several cows advancing simultaneously between himself and the birds. There is one thing further to be noted in shooting ducks and other aquatic birds. They are almost all very good to eat; and when the bag is sufficiently large there will be some for dinner, and some for neighbouring friends, and some for native servants, and still plenty more for the inhabitants of the villages, whose

good-will it is always prudent to conciliate, as it is in their power to leave the ducks undisturbed or to disturb them from their accessible haunts, according as they may welcome or dislike the visit of any particular sportsman.

Whilst in pursuit of aquatic game the sportsman will doubtless fall in with crocodiles and snakes, and he may meet with jackals and foxes and wild cats and otters. Most of these are comparatively harmless, and will seldom show fight if they can get out of the way. A man may live many years in Bengal without finding a snake. A crocodile is rarely to be seen unless you take much trouble to search for him. Jackals are more frequently heard than seen. The animal which is called the *pheal* is only a jackal, but he changes the tone of his call in the jungles according to certain circumstances connected with the tiger. You may, however, be almost sure that when the call of the *pheal* is heard a tiger or leopard is not far off. It is not usual for English sportsmen to go after crocodiles unless the people complain that some particular monster is making himself troublesome at the village bathing-place or at a ferry, and is of sufficient size to carry off men and women and cattle. The crocodile, by a sweep of its tail, knocks its victim down and drags it into deep water, and lies upon it until it is fit to be eaten piecemeal.

Amongst the larger animals to be found in Eastern Bengal there are both wild cattle and wild buffalo; but the wild cattle are scarce, and hardly worth hunting. Wild buffaloes are usually to be found in herds; but sometimes a wild male buffalo associates himself with the females of a tame herd. It is very dangerous work to shoot wild buffaloes on foot. It is very exciting sport to shoot them on horseback. Mr. Simson recounts one adventure of his own, in which he nearly fell a victim to the buffalo, which he was pursuing on horseback; and several of his friends had similar narrow escapes. To shoot wild buffaloes from a howdah, on an elephant, is very indifferent sport, if it can

be called sport. With a good rifle, held straight, the buffalo has no chance. It is occasionally necessary to kill wild buffaloes for the sake of the villagers, whose crops are being damaged by them; and the flesh is always very acceptable to the native servants and camp-followers, and also to the villagers; whilst the marrow-bones and the tongue fall to the master's share in the spoil. Mr. Simson concludes his remarks in the following words :

"It is quite as dangerous to expose yourself on foot to the attack of an infuriated buffalo, whether it be a cow with her calf, or a solitary bull, as to stand before a tiger in his charge. A number of steady men together will stop a tiger; but I doubt much if three men, unless armed with weapons of very large bores, could invariably bring an old bull to the ground. His hide is much tougher than a tiger's skin; and the thick bones of the head, and the protection afforded by the long, massive horns, and the difficulty of causing a bullet to penetrate to a vital spot, all tend to add to the risk. Yet many buffaloes are regularly shot on foot, and from boats, and I have often pursued them in this manner, though I never laid myself out much for buffalo shooting."

In Africa the wild elephant is regarded as an animal to be hunted and killed for his ivory. It is otherwise in Eastern Bengal, where the wild elephants are caught only to be tamed, and made serviceable to man. It may, however, be sometimes imperative to kill a *must* or mad male elephant when there is no possibility of capturing him without too great risk of human life. The rhinoceros is now to be found only in a few places: some in the Sunderbuns, and some in the swamps at the foot of the Assam Hills. Before the British Government annexed Bootan, the rhinoceros came right down by the river Teesta to the station, now known as Julpaigoree. One of the regimental officers first stationed there in 1857, went out alone and shot two rhinoceros, right and left, with a double-barrelled smooth bore. Mr. Simson went after rhinoceros in the Sunderbuns, and killed one out of two which were found; but he failed to shoot any more throughout his career.

Next I come to bears and leopards and tigers. Bears

are not numerous in Eastern Bengal, but leopards are to be found in almost every village. They are sometimes dangerous; but Mr. Simson considers that "it is a proper sporting risk" to shoot them on foot. He tells the tale of a young Frenchman who used to shoot leopards, chiefly with the aid of a nondescript sort of dog, half pariah and half spaniel. When the dog smelt a leopard he would cock his ears, and point out, from a respectful distance, where the leopard lay. If the leopard was on the move the dog would keep moving and giving signs, but without barking. The Frenchman kept on peeping and peering about, wholly regardless of anything the leopard might do in the way of attack, till he could sight the animal. He then killed him, almost to a certainty, with a single shot. Mr. Simson did not much care about shooting leopards, but he went out to shoot them whenever the villagers sent to seek his aid.

To tiger-shooting Mr. Simson devoted his most complete and concentrated efforts. To shoot a tiger nothing must be left to chance. Good guns, good elephants, good howdahs and *mahouts*, and good howdah tackle are needed. At least two elephants should be kept, each of them well able to carry a howdah. If the same elephant is used day after day the weight of the howdah overtires the animal. The sportsman sits, or usually stands, in the front part of the howdah; his *shikari* sits behind him, silent, but watchful. The *mahout's* courage depends greatly on the confidence that he has in his master's skill in shooting, and this in turn affects the courage of the elephant. Where the *mahout* knows that his master will do all that can be done for his protection, he will keep his elephant's head very straight. When there is "a griff" in the howdah, the *mahout* and the elephant are apt to think too much about their own safety. As the elephants advance in line through the jungle, with one howdah to four beating elephants, the sportsman in the central howdah gives the general direction to the line to advance, or to halt; or, if the beat has not

been successful, to go again through the jungle, especially if any elephants have uttered the well-known warnings that a tiger is near. Some tigers lie very close, and will not break cover, especially in the case of a female with a young cub. At other times the animal is off and away the moment that the elephants enter the jungle. It is well to post a spare elephant a long way ahead, as a scout, to watch the direction in which the tiger may break, where the jungle will allow it; and it is still better for one of the howdahs to go on and take up a position at the point towards which the line is beating. There is a slight risk of being shot by the other guns; but there is a very excellent chance of getting an easy shot at the tiger as it is stealing off, and if the first shot is not fatal, perhaps the beast may charge and present a second easy shot. It is possible that the elephant may be nervous; and Mr. Simson mentions the case of an elephant which ran right away when, instead of a tiger, a jungle-rat came out. But the very same elephant has been known to stand as firm as a rock, quietly watching a tiger trying to steal past her.

There are so many incidents connected with tiger-shooting which Mr. Simson relates, that it is difficult to make a selection from them; but perhaps the following is one of the best:

"On the 29th Sept., 1854, I was engaged on official business, when a man forced his way to my table, and threw down on my papers the leg and foot of a boy, saying, 'What is the use of a *hakini* like you? There is the leg of my only son! Why not kill the tiger that ate him?' The rain had ceased. I knew there were several tigers, so I at once ordered the elephants and set out. I was taken to a nice kind of jungle, and in less than five minutes away went a tiger. I had a couple of long shots, and believe I missed. We now had to beat the sides of a large tank: I took up a good position, with one elephant beside me, to prevent my howdah elephant from being unsteady, and let the other elephants beat towards me. Presently, not one, but two beautiful tigers broke across an open space. I tried hard to perform a feat I had long wished for an opportunity to try, viz., to kill two tigers dead, right and left; but the first did not fall to the shot, so I had to put the second ball into him. That, too, did not kill outright. Tigers on such occasions go a great pace, and both my balls were slightly behind the spot I meant to hit. The second tiger was unfired at. I went after the wounded one, got another shot as

he was going quick through the jungle, and when I next got to him he was dead. How the second tiger got back into the spot where I first found her I never could tell, for there were hundreds of villagers watching from the tops of houses, and from the tops of trees. However, she got up again, exactly where she did at first. I hit her somewhere about the head, I think, because her behaviour, after the shot, was rather insane. She loitered in the thin jungle; and then she went out into the growing rice, and there I got an easy shot and killed her. This was a nice pair of tigers. But the man who had lost his son said that the real animal was larger and darker. The scouts now came with reports of a kill only two hours before. They said the tiger was in the *hooghla* jungle, which is always easily beaten, so, though the sun was already low, and the jungle three miles off—and my rule is not to disturb a tiger late in the day—I resolved to go at him. We got to the jungle just as the sun set. There had been no kill; but a large tiger was said to have attacked a buffalo, which had beaten him off. The cowherd declared he had heard the tiger roar not ten minutes before we came. The elephants were put in line, and the beating was quite easy. Presently, Budurudin, who was in the howdah behind me, said, 'I smell him,' and then I saw a large tiger, standing about 80 yards off, lashing his tail. Almost instantly he gave a roar, and charged down in splendid style. I hit him well forward, and he rolled over twice like a rabbit, but was up in a moment, and went straight at a small beater-elephant on my left, which bolted with a shriek of terror! This gave me an easy shot at about twenty yards, and I killed him stone-dead with a bullet in the neck. This was a large tiger, about ten feet four or five inches long, and probably this was the man-killer."

I must now briefly revert to hog-hunting, which sport Mr. Simson considers the best in the world, next to good English fox-hunting. Nevertheless, fox-hunters fresh from England have sometimes hesitated to stand up for the superiority of fox-hunting when they have just succeeded in spearing a wild boar with their own right hand. The wild boar is the bravest animal in the creation. He has no fear of a tiger, and will charge as straight at an elephant as he will at a horse. Almost every picture of hog-hunting fails to do justice to the grandeur of a wild boar when charging. The picture of the old blue boar of Tipperah, in Mr. Simson's book, is a mere libel on that animal. The photograph of the newly slain boar, on which Mr. Simson sat for his own photograph, gives a clearer idea of a boar's head, and of his size in proportion to a man. The late Mr. Blyth, the naturalist of the Asiatic Society, once gave a lecture in Calcutta on the comparative anatomy of the

tame hog and the wild hog, with skeletons of the two animals before him. It was marvellous how every point of superiority rested with the wild boar: with his massive skull and large brain; the deep-set vertebræ, nearly double the size of those of the tame hog; and the knees and thighs and hocks, well let down, so as to give him that great speed which so astonishes the rider of a fleet horse when he first pursues a boar.

Mr. Simson has recorded for the benefit of his pupil the precepts which he learnt from the famous indigo-planter, Mr. Cockburn, how a boar is to be ridden and speared, so that the boar may be killed, and the rider's horse may not be exposed to needless risk. Too often the sportsman only learns this at the cost and suffering of his good horse, who merited better treatment. Mr. Simson has given a drawing of the spear-head, which he finally adopted as the most deadly and serviceable weapon, and it is now known by his name. He tells us how the hog-spear of Bengal assumed its present form in the time of that good sportsman Moffat Mills, who did away with the sort of javelin which was in use before his time. But it is time to finish these very imperfect extracts. There was a story told of Mr. Simson that a friend, who was staying with him, heard him call out to his native servant, "Bring me the book which I read every day." The friend was curious to see if this book was the Bible; but it turned out to be "*Hawker on Shooting*." On the same principle it may be recommended to any young man who wishes to become a master of woodcraft in Lower Bengal, that he should obtain a copy of Mr. Simson's book, and, having read it all through, should read it again, bit by bit, from day to day. He will then learn not only to enjoy the sport which the country provides, but so also to combine it with the due discharge of his official business, that the days of his Indian exile may never seem wearisome to him.

C. T. BUCKLAND.

CHINA AND ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS.

1.

THE article which appeared in the last number of this Review, from the pen of the Chinese Minister Tseng, accredited to the Court of St. James's for so many years, is altogether a very remarkable document. It is remarkable not only in matter and style—and both are original—but still more as emanating from such a source and addressed to the reading public of this country. For it is to be remembered that the Marquis Tseng, as he has been styled here, is a Chinese statesman, and at this date a veteran diplomatist, who has been accredited to many European Powers, and in that capacity resident for considerable periods in Paris and St. Petersburg, as well as in London. In all he has been charged with the conduct of important negotiations. He has now returned to his own country to take up a high position in the Imperial Councils as a member of the "Tsongli Yamen" at Peking, the equivalent of our Foreign Office, in carrying out the foreign policy of the country.

That a Chinese official of this high standing should feel himself at liberty and otherwise disposed to speak out freely his opinion of the present condition of his country and its policy, is an event of no ordinary kind, and one therefore well calculated to attract public interest. But apart from all these considerations, the substance and main purport of the article claim for it more serious attention than is usually given to the ordinary run of periodical literature. Some newspaper correspondent has spoken unhesitatingly of the "Marquis Tseng's mastery

of the English and French languages." This, however, can only be accepted with considerable reserve. But the fact that a certain quaintness of form and phrasing remains after having passed through the trying alembic of translation, is a proof that the original stamp of individuality and the mind from which the opinions proceeded has been well preserved.

The title itself partakes of these characteristics. "*The sleep and the awakening*" of a great Asiatic race, such as the Chinese Empire holds within its wide limits, has something that appeals to the imagination, and supplies the key-note of the whole production. Accordingly we are not surprised that Tseng-ta-jin in true Chinese form leads off by repudiating the theory, that the past history of the world as understood among Western races entitles us to deduce from certain facts in the life of nations a law that "nations like men, have each of them, its infancy, its manhood, decline and death"—and he urges that this doctrine would be "melancholy and discouraging, could it be shown to be founded on any natural or inevitable law." But he will have none of it. On the contrary he says, "fortunately there is no reason to believe it is."

Thus relieved, he proceeds to apply his more hopeful faith to his own country. While admitting that "Nations have fallen from their high estate, some of them to disappear suddenly and altogether from the list of political entities, others to vanish after a more or less prolonged existence of impaired and ever-lessening vitality;" he adds, "Among the latter, until lately, it has been customary with Europeans to include China." A conclusion only drawn from the "disparity between the record of her ancient greatness and her present seeming weakness"—the fallacy of which he proceeds to point out in vigorous terms. And it is pleasant to observe with what a fine air of half unconscious superiority he enters on his country's defence, not without a certain feeling of contempt for all the wisdom of the West. Like a true denizen of the Celestial Empire and a disciple of Confucius, the great sage who enlightened the

world with his matchless wisdom 500 years B.C.,—when Europe, with its boasted mushroom civilization of recent years, was steeped in barbarism,—he scoffs at the thought pervading Europe at this day that China "having become effete, the nineteenth-century air would prove too much for her aged lungs"; and proceeds to quote with some spirit the opinion of a distinguished diplomatic agent writing of China in 1849, to the following effect:

"With a fair seeming of immunity from invasion, sedition or revolt, leave is taken to regard this vast empire as surely, though it may be slowly, decaying." And Tseng's comment is, that such "was the opinion of a writer whose knowledge of China and its literature is perhaps unequalled, and certainly not surpassed. Nor was he alone in entertaining such an opinion at the date on which he wrote."

The distinguished diplomatic agent was, of course, Sir Thomas Wade, the Minister who succeeded me at Peking in 1871; and Tseng is fully justified in his high estimate of the special qualifications possessed by Sir Thomas for arriving at a knowledge of the conditions of the Chinese Empire. No one perhaps has ever been so thoroughly equipped, in scholarship and experience combined, or more conscientiously desirous of rendering to the Chinese full justice, than Sir Thomas Wade. But not the less, the Chinese Minister has no hesitation in maintaining that "as events have shown, they who reasoned thus were mistaken." And they were mistaken, he contends, because they mistook a long lethargy or sleep for death. "China," he says, "was asleep, but she was not about to die. Perhaps she had mistaken her way; or, what is just the same, had failed to see that the old familiar paths which many centuries had made dear to her did not conduct to the goal to which the world was marching."

Perhaps it might be suggested that China had not so much mistaken her way, as supinely but obstinately refused to believe that there was any outside world worthy of atten-

tion. Steeped in lethargy, or living in a fool's paradise of ignorance, she was slow—too slow for her own peace or security—to recognize the fact that there were Powers far beyond the uttermost limits, wide as these were, capable, with the aid of steam power in ships, of assailing her, seizing all her ports, and landing an army to which neither Chinese nor Tartars, with bows and arrows or matchlocks, could offer any effective resistance, or even defend the capital and seat of the Sovereign Power from the Barbarians. To bring this knowledge within their cognizance, and home to their conviction, required twenty years in time and three disastrous wars; the last to end in the capture of Peking, and the acceptance of treaties imposed by the victors contrary to her will and revolting to her national pride.

The sleep, if sleep it was, must certainly have been very profound, more resembling the hypnotic state induced by mesmeric experts, than any normal state of conscious existence and vitality. But the explanation offered by the Chinese Minister to excuse, if not to account for, the possibility of such a lethargic state, is not without a fair foundation. Until the discovery of steam as a motor power for ships, China was in effect secure from any invasion in force from Europe. And all the past history of China, and her conflicts with the subject races around her borders, which had ended generations before in facile victories and in acknowledged supremacy over Mongols, Eleuths, and Burmese—from Corea to Central Asia on the Oxus, including the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula in the Southern seas—did no doubt tend to foster a habit of mind (helped by the fumes of flattery and incense brought from so many alien races) which predisposed to the beatific contemplation of her own greatness and supremacy over the rest of the world. A little knowledge of geography was much needed. That China and her statesmen should neglect to take note of what was passing in the outer world, in the isles beyond their ken, was indeed

not unnatural, but fatal to the serenity in which she was rejoicing.

The Marquis Tseng makes the most of this sequence of cause and effect, but admits that towards the end of the reign of Tau Kwang the sleeper became gradually aware of influences at work, and forces sweeping along her coast, very different from those to which China had previously been accustomed "from pirates and Japanese freebooters," and in a word were such as no longer justified, or left any excuse for, the deceptive sense of security in which she had been reposing for so many generations, lulled by the well-founded conviction of the inferiority of all the subject races which surrounded her borders, and looked up to her humbly as their undisputed Suzerain.

Nor is he less candid in admitting that the first war with Great Britain, which led to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, and the opening of four more doors in the wall of exclusiveness with which China had previously surrounded herself, did something, by multiplying the points of touch between China and the West, to rouse her from the "Saturnian" dreams in which she had so long been indulging—and that more was wanting to make her wide awake. That something more, he says, which was still required was the fire of the "Summer Palace to singe her eyebrows." The advance of the Russians to Kuldja, and later of the Frenchman to Tonquin, further helped to enable her to realize the fact "that she had been asleep, while the world was up and doing;" and to realize the "situation in which she was being placed by the ever-contracting circle that was being drawn around her by the European." By the light of the burning palace "which had been the pride and delight of her Emperors," she commenced to see that she had been asleep—"been sleeping in the vacuous vortex of the storm of forces wildly whirling around her."

If such, indeed, were the effect of the burning of the Summer Palace, no friend could ever have rendered China a greater service. The vandalism of which the British

have been so lightly accused by their allies in this campaign, was a most righteous act of reprisal and retribution to mark indelibly in the Chinese mind that the barbarous cruelty perpetrated, during days and nights, in the courts of that palace by those in power, upon the unfortunate British prisoners, could only be rightly punished and avenged by the destruction of what the Emperor himself and his high officers took most pride and pleasure in. Indemnities would be paid by the people, but the palace touched the Imperial pride and person. It was necessary to teach all in power that in warring with civilized nations it could never be safe to outrage all feelings of humanity, and submit prisoners of war to long and cruel tortures, until from agony and exposure they died; and that the penalty of such acts might be the loss of a Palace or—a Throne. And it is a lesson they have not yet forgotten, and will not forget, happily for themselves, no less than for any foreign enemy they may have to meet hereafter in the field.

Marquis Tseng, referring to the first tardy wakening, derives some consolation even from the disasters at Peking and Yuen-min-yuen, in the reflection that China knew at least how to bear her defeat with dignity, and pay the price of her mistakes without losing her self-respect by vain efforts to mitigate the penalties.

One cannot help agreeing in his reflection that "It is not a moribund nature that can so quietly accept its reverses, and, gathering courage from them, set about throwing overboard the wreckage and make a fair wind of the returning cyclone. The Summer Palace with all its wealth of art was a heavy price to pay for the lesson we there received, but not too high if it has brought us to repair and triple our battered armour; and it has done this."

Yes, we must agree, it could hardly be too high a price if "it has done this." But has it? That at least is a very grave question, and one which has an important bearing on other countries as well as China. He contends that China is no longer what she was even five years ago, and that

each encounter, and especially the last with France, has, in teaching China her weakness, also discovered to her—her strength. I confess to some doubt as to how far we may accept this conclusion without considerable qualifications. That the Chinese did learn much in the conflict forced upon them by events in Tonquin, I have no doubt. Especially in perceiving the strength derived from her size, in the capacity for bearing punishment which is only given to some nations, and to them a power of passive resistance to any attacking force where more active means are wanting. The French were enabled to inflict, with little active resistance on the part of the Chinese, a vast amount of injury, and great loss in life and property and trade, in addition to the destruction of one of their great dockyards only created after many years of lavish expenditure. But neither on the bulk of the population, nor on the Government at Peking, did this make any serious impression; or in any way advance the French cause. Nor did they in the end succeed in imposing upon the Chinese Government the terms on which they first insisted. The exhaustion caused after two or three years of active hostility was much more with the French than with the Chinese. And the ultimate victory rested in consequence with these, and not with their enemy.

China is in some respects like Russia—by reason of her huge size, and the difficulty of reaching any vital part. Both find protection from attack by the enormous distances to be traversed for the transport of troops, supplies, and other conditions; which form the defensive power of the Megatherian-type of empires. Huge in bulk, and with a pachydermatous hide or shell, neither the one nor the other is very vulnerable to a nation like France. The resisting power is at home, near its own supplies, and their vital organs very inaccessible. So it is with China. For although it is quite in the power of any first-class European country to inflict enormous injury upon the population, by wasting their property and destroying their trade, it is not so easy to

inflict serious wounds on the Government, without a vast expenditure both of time and treasure.

And after all, if even Peking were the objective point of attack, the Emperor and his Governing Boards might all retreat to Jehol, or into the far steppes of Mongolia, where no European army could venture to pursue. And as we and the French both felt in 1860, no general will ever be disposed to quarter his army in Peking, and be frozen up for six months with no possibility of re-embarking his troops, or certainty of obtaining supplies. It is true the large and populous towns, from Canton to Newchwang, along 1,500 miles of coast, may all be destroyed, and the Custom-house revenue and trade with them; but it is very doubtful whether any European Power would be able, or like to attempt, to hold them for any length of time, even with adequate forces. But even if they did so, the eighteen Provinces, with their separate governments, independent administrations, and resources, would be as far as ever from being subdued. In these conditions lie the elements of China's strength against foreign aggression, or the attempt of any European Power, not excepting Russia, to occupy China Proper. But for the means of defending her coasts and her trade and maritime populations from insult and injury, or of meeting in the field, whether to cover Peking or any other point of attack in force, the disciplined troops with repeating rifles and artillery of the army of a first-class European Power, it would seem, so far as the latest information extends, that all Li Hung-Chang's efforts to create an army or a navy with the requisite armament and drilled efficiency, have not during the last five years very materially increased the power of China to take the field against seasoned European troops,—or the sea with ships of war.

When Marquis Tseng comes to the "awakening" and inquires, "What will be the result?" the answer in part is in the preceding paragraph, namely, that without further and great advance in defensive power, China will remain open to aggression, or a pressure which falls little short of

coercion, whenever it suits the interest or the policy of any first-class Western Power to employ such means as they can command. From some of these Powers, however, the Chinese Government may feel secure from any unprovoked aggressive or coercive action. That is, it will not enter into the national policy of these, and they are fortunately the greater number of Western States, including England and the United States among the first. The large commercial interests of both these are pledges of peace and a desire to maintain friendly relations.

China may also be assured that neither of these last-named countries are likely to desire acquisitions of territory at her expense. If the Chinese Government, therefore, should desire to enter into any closer alliance than already subsists, with a Treaty Power, for purposes of defence against foreign aggression, it is probable they will turn their eyes to England; not only from her maritime strength, but also from the identity of their interests in Central Asia in the constant menace of encroachments, or invasion of their respective territories.

To China, an alliance of a defensive character with a first-class maritime Power is a necessity, and must continue to be so for many years. To England, an alliance with China would chiefly be desirable, or valuable, as affording a practically inexhaustible reserve of Asiatic fighting power, in addition to our own, on Russia's flank in the event of an advance on India. But at the other extremity, looking to the tendency of Russia to bring on some conflict with England, it is important that she should not find it possible to seize, or obtain by other means, an unfrozen port on the Korean coast or in the Korean Straits, from which the whole of the trade of China, foreign and native, could be harassed or destroyed.

Is China, then, really awakened to her own interest in both these directions? Is it true, as Marquis Tseng suggests, that there is not only a stirring among the dry bones of the official fossils of the Chinese Empire, but such

a strong and vitalizing movement as will suffice to restore vigour and strength to the governing power, and inspire it with the progressive spirit required to meet the present altered conditions of China, as one of a great comity of sovereign States, each capable of bringing a crushing force to bear in conflict with any one of the number, including China as one?

Our Chinese Minister, State official and diplomatist, answers confidently as he looks into the future, and sees the awakening of a nation of three hundred millions to a consciousness of its strength—and answers in the affirmative. Possessing one of the largest realms in the world—with territories so vast that there is no room "for the land-hungering so characteristic of some other nations—hungering for land they do not and cannot make use of, that contrary to what is generally believed in Europe, she is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population, which only wants to be more widely distributed in her own wide domains, where there is room to spare for all her teeming population!" Looking, as Marquis Tseng tells us, into the near future, he sees not only the fruitful occupation of waste lands, "which have never felt the touch of the husbandman," but to "another and a more permanent" outlet for the industry and energies of an eminently industrial population, which "will soon be afforded by the establishment of manufactures, the opening of mines, and the introduction of railways." All these sources of prosperity and peaceful development pass before him as in a prophetic vision. No dreams of a war of revenge for past defeats mar the prospect. "No memory of her reverses," he tells us, "will lead her to depart from a policy of moderation and conciliation, for she is not one of those Powers who cannot bear their misfortunes without sulking." "What nation," he asks, "has not had its Cannæ? Answer Sadowa, Lissa, and Sedan. China has had hers, but she is not of opinion that it is only with blood that the stain of blood can be wiped out. The stain of

defeat lies in the weakness and mistakes which led to it." Who can fail to admire these wise, humane—and I was about to say Christian—sentiments; but the writer, I am reminded, is a disciple of Confucius, and in European parlance only a "heathen."

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of this Chinese Statesman's reflections on a possible future for his country, is the evidence he gives in the succeeding paragraph that he is not carried away by any inability to realize the actual situation of the country and the difficulties to be overcome. For he tells us:

"Though China may not yet have attained a position of perfect security, she is rapidly approaching it. Great efforts are being made to fortify her coast and create a strong and really efficient navy. To China a powerful navy is indispensable. . . . In 1860 she first became aware of this, and set about founding one."

And he adds:

"China will steadily proceed with her coast defences and development of her army and navy, without for the present directing her attention either to the introduction of railways or to any of the other subjects of internal economy which, under the altered circumstances of the time, may be necessary, and which she feels to be necessary."

This is the only announcement in the programme calculated to raise a serious doubt as to the progress so vividly described. There is so much in the internal economy of China and its administration which requires improvement, and such large reforms are needed to give the necessary means for carrying out any far-reaching plans for the progress of the country; that without these proceeding *pari passu* with the coast defences and the creation of an efficient army and navy, it is scarcely possible to effect even these primary objects. The universal corruption in the administrative service is enough to impoverish any State and effectually prevent efficiency.

It is true that Marquis Tseng tells us it is not the object of his paper to indicate or shadow forth the reforms which it may be advisable to make in the internal administration of China;—and adds that the changes which may

have to be made, "when China comes to set her house in order, can only profitably be discussed when she feels she has thoroughly overhauled, and can rely on, the bolts and bars she is now applying to her doors." But it is difficult to believe that this is the best policy for China to follow, or that it will tend to advance the primary object of forging the bolts and bars required. While the exclusive devotion of efforts and funds to this one desideratum is likely to defer indefinitely the still more difficult and more necessary measures for the purification and reform of an administration honeycombed throughout and discredited in every department by notorious corruption in the officials. By the purchase of every office, with an elaborate and connived at system of bribery pervading all ranks, from the highest to the lowest;—no public service can answer its only true purpose under such conditions. Neither can any army or navy be created or maintained if regular payment be not secured to all ranks and the funds assigned for that end are not honestly employed. Neither discipline nor efficiency can be secured without these conditions. And the very reverse is the normal state of affairs in China, as must be well known to Marquis Tseng. It may no doubt be urged in opposition to this view that there are States in Europe where embezzlement and peculation are not unknown in the public service and in the army and navy; where the men are defrauded of their pay and cheated in their rations and clothing, while the rank and file as well as the inferior grades of officers are suffering from long arrears,—and yet an effective force exists, formidable alike in the field and afloat. And to a certain extent it is true, but at what cost to the nation, who have to supply the expenditure and the budget? In China undoubtedly the population is greatly impoverished, not for the State requirements, but for the enrichment of a horde of hungry, unscrupulous administrators, and, if this leakage were stopped, taxation might be largely reduced, while the administration of justice would be not only more satisfactory and less un-

certain, but also greatly reduced in cost. Therefore I still contend that the first step towards the creation of an army and navy and coast defences, would be the reform of many acknowledged abuses in the civil administration of the country, by which the necessary funds would be secured, and the revenue raised by taxation honestly applied would greatly diminish the burden on the people.

It is of course easy to conceive that a writer in the position of Marquis Tseng, a high official *pur sang*, and about to return to a post in the Government, may have good reason for declining publicly to enter upon the reforms he may know to be necessary and even contemplate advancing. Seeing that any effort in this direction, affecting as it would the *personnel* and interests of the whole hierarchy of officials, from the Palace to the Chehien and his subordinates, from one end of the empire to the other, the boldest statesman or reformer may well stand aghast at such a formidable array of opponents and enemies. We may not therefore know the whole mind of the Minister on this subject in an article written for publication.

As regards the foreign policy he is more outspoken, and naturally feels under less restraint, more especially as he has nothing really aggressive or alarming to suggest in relation to foreign Powers. He complains indeed in no measured language of the disgraceful treatment his countrymen have met with in the United States—as in the Spanish colonies, Peru and elsewhere—not omitting our own colonies in Australia. But his language and the measures he proposes for their protection are no whit stronger than the occasion demands. He only demands that these unfortunate Chinese subjects should in future receive the treatment which the law of nations and the dictates of humanity require from civilized nations; but which has hitherto been signally and shamefully denied.

We are reminded that China by her late experiences in regard to her vassal States, and the pretensions or encroachments made by some of the Treaty Powers, has learned the

necessity of better arrangements for the government of her outlying tributaries, and a more effective supervision over the acts of her vassal princes, since they must accept a larger responsibility for them than heretofore.

A still more serious and important question is raised by the Marquis in his concluding paragraphs, and that is the conditions imposed upon China by the Treaties of 1842 and 1860, after defeat by which she was compelled to "give up the vestiges of sovereignty which no independent nation can continue to agree to, and lie out of, without an attempt to change the one and recover the other." And he very pertinently cites in support the insistence of Russia with regard to the conditions imposed on that Power respecting the Black Sea in 1856, and which it caused to be cancelled by the Treaty of London in 1871. The main point no doubt in the Chinese mind is, as Tseng states it, the "alienation of sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports;" as well as other conditions embodied in the extra-territorial clauses of the treaties. Conditions which China feels, to quote the words of the Marquis, in view of, "and in order to avoid, the evils they have led to in other countries, will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period."

On this subject, the gravity and importance of which cannot be overlooked, the writer of the article speaks with no uncertain sound. Thus, we are told, "It behoves China, and all the Asiatic countries in the same position, to sink all petty jealousies, . . . and combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on treaties rather than on capitulations." Which means, in effect, the abolition of all extraterritorial rights, and more doubtful encroachments on these in the independent status claimed by certain of the treaty Powers, for the concessions occupied by their respective subjects at the ports with municipal rule, powers of taxation, and independent police administration. These no doubt have been and are still claimed, but all on question-

able grounds and in exaggerated forms. There is nothing in the clauses in any of the treaties with foreign Powers which give warrant for such claims, or the exercise of wholly independent authority in municipal and territorial matters within the several concessions. Among these matters, which weigh heavily on the Chinese mind, and wound their national susceptibilities, as well they may, we must not omit the claims of the French to exercise a protectorate over all Roman Catholic missions in China, in the interior, and wherever situate, and all the abuses connected therewith. Whence we have had a succession of popular uprisings, massacres, and collisions with the established authorities. This last grievance there is reason to hope and believe has recently ceased or been put in abeyance, and the pretensions practically relinquished by France as admittedly without treaty warrant.

But her extraterritoriality question remains, and we are told "China is not ignorant of the difficulties" which any attempt to deal with it will involve; but also, that she is "resolved to face them, rather than incur the certainty of some day having to encounter greater ones; evils similar to those which have led to the Land of the Fellah concerning nobody so little as the Khedive." These are significant words.

In regard to existing treaties and treaty relations generally with foreign Powers, it may safely be predicted, that when China feels sufficiently strong to defend her coasts and effectively to resist any aggressive action by Western Powers, she will claim the independence which is the right of every sovereign State, and exemption from foreign interference in her internal administration. Whenever this time may come, some material modification will of necessity have to be made in the extraterritorial clauses. The sanctity or binding force of treaties, the Chinese probably have observed, is more in theory than in practice among the Western Powers; and has never yet restrained a strong Power from denouncing them when opportunity

offers, or otherwise securing the abolition or modification of objectionable clauses. And China is no doubt looking forward to the time when she too may find her opportunity to give effect to this practical reading of the "Law of Nations," Grotius and Puffendorf or Vattel, to the contrary, notwithstanding. But, whenever that time comes, whether sooner or later, we are assured that China will not be precipitate. That is not her usual mode of action. Indeed, in the concluding sentences we have from Marquis Tseng, the assurance that China will, though "surely," yet leisurely, proceed to diplomatic action, and with the further comforting reflection that "The world is not so near its end that she need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done that China will not have time to play the rôle assigned her in the work of nations."

If I may sum up in a few concluding words the most important question suggested by this interesting and instructive contribution of Marquis Tseng's, it would be this. Is China at this time awakened to the necessity of placing the empire in line with the great Western Powers for her own security—and capable of making such progress in the development of her material resources, as will allow her to go her own way and follow her own methods of improvement, free from the interference of any foreign Power in her internal administration—and thus unfettered, to achieve the end?

For answer I feel much disposed to refer to the terms I employed in a despatch addressed to H.M.'s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated from Peking, Nov. 15, 1867, when the approaching revision of treaties was under consideration. Although some twenty years have elapsed since then, and I have ceased to be an observer on the spot of Chinese progress, on reperusal of my opinion, deliberately formed at that time after a long and varied experience in China, I find no occasion to change it. As the Marquis suggests, "the circles of the sun are not so nearly done that China need hurry;" and as a rule China

does nothing in a hurry, and her progress to any goal is correspondingly leisurely, and leads to few great changes in short periods. The following is an extract from the despatch to which I am now referring.

After observing that although the general aspect of affairs was not very satisfactory or promising I believed there was—

“a leaven at work among the ruling classes, and more especially in the Foreign Board here, if not in the Palace itself, which forbids despondency. If only means ever be found of keeping from them all foreign meddling and attempts at dictation there is yet ground of hope. But these rouse strong instincts of resistance and national pride, giving fresh force to the retrograde and anti-foreign party; while at the same time it paralyzes all hopeful effort in those more favourable to progress, from the fear of its being made a new pretext for action on the part of one or more foreign Powers, and a degree of interference with their internal affairs which affects their sovereign rights as an independent nation. Governing under an incessant menace of this interference, wounded in their *amour propre*, and irritated with a sense of humiliation in their inability to resist, they do nothing. Great changes might be looked for at no distant period, I am satisfied, but for this ever-recurring obstacle—a veritable *bête noir* to the Chinese. No nation likes the interference of a foreign Power in its internal affairs, however well-intentioned it may be, and China is no exception to the rule. On the contrary, their pride of race, and what they conceive to be a real superiority in civilization to all outside nations, renders them peculiarly impatient and restive under the goad of foreign impulsion. I am thoroughly convinced they would go much faster and better if left alone. They see now where the nations of the West are immensely superior and have the advantage of them, both in the arts of war and peace. They have learnt the former by a series of very bitter lessons; and the consciousness of the latter has not less certainly, though more slowly, penetrated through the triple armour of ignorance, pride, and prejudice, to the heart of some of their leading men.”*

To this I would only add that, while China may have many material and substantial grievances with one or more of the Western Powers, not a few of those they feel the most are questions which touch their *amour propre* and the national susceptibilities. Among the latter no doubt have been the pretensions to interfere in the civil jurisdiction of the authorities over their own subjects where con-

* See Blue-book, China, No. 5, 1871, presented to the House of Commons, by command of Her Majesty.

tentions arose about Christian converts, of which the most recent case is one where a rich Catholic convert, in repelling an assault on his house in which life was lost, has been sentenced to death by the provincial authorities, and the French Legation is appealed to. China is not the only country where sentiment plays an important part in national policy, and is the cause of serious and endless enmity between different nationalities. This is one ever-present danger in the present state of China, and its relations with foreigners and their Governments.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

II.

I HAVE read with much interest the paper on Chinese policy by the Marquis Tseng in the January number of this Review. It is a good sign of the desire of the Chinese Government to understand the relations between China and Western lands, and at the same time to set forth its views regarding more extended intercourse, that one of the best informed and most highly educated of Chinese official representatives should, before leaving the scene of his ambassadorial responsibilities, write an article expressing his ideas in regard to the future relations between the Chinese and foreigners.

Having lived many years in China—I would fain if I could be there still—all that affects the welfare of her people naturally excites my interest, and the paper of such a man as the talented Ambassador of the Court of Peking deserves that great consideration be given to it. In all the observations I may make I especially wish to be careful not to hurt his susceptibilities or to speak lightly of his views. His Excellency has taken great pains to prove his assertions as to the condition of China at the present time of activity compared with what he is pleased to call her state of "sleep" in past times.

He strives to show that, in his opinion, she is not by any means in a condition of decay, and this idea he rebuts with considerable power and a fair show of earnest truthfulness. He admits that the Government of his native land has made great mistakes, but seems unable to realize the fact that the troubles which have fallen on China have not happened merely because she was "asleep," but because from her pride and self-conceit she ignored the power and energy of the peoples of other lands, and thought she could compel foreigners of all countries to bow to her behests with humility and abject submission.

I cannot agree with His Excellency's remarks on the emigration of the Chinese. He apparently imputes this chiefly to the distress and destitution caused by the Tai-ping and Mohammedan rebellions. But long before those troubles had arisen very large numbers of Chinese had settled in Java, Singapore, and the Straits of Banca, not to say in Calcutta and other cities of India. When I was in Java in 1838 I was astonished to see the large Chinese colony in Batavia, numbering more than 30,000 persons. Similar colonies existed in Sourabaya, Samarang, and other places in Java. In Singapore the same thing was noticeable. And throughout the Straits settlements, wherever work could be found, there was the industrious and frugal Chinese artisan, attaining frequently to great wealth and considerable social importance. When the gold fields of San Francisco and Australia were opened, there the Chinese flocked in great numbers, much to their enrichment. All this had nothing whatever to do with either rebellion or civil strife in China itself, but was the result of the poverty of many members of an over-abundant population.

Much is said in the paper as to the increased and ever-growing strength of the armaments acquired by the Chinese Government, and of the power that this gives her among other nations. It is very true that much money has been spent on naval and military equipment, but until the officers of the Government learn what is meant by discipline, and

that education in military tactics, which is only to be obtained by long training of the officers themselves, munitions of war are valueless; and though the men forming the armies are as good material as any in the world, they can do nothing worthy of the name of soldiers till they are led by trained and capable officers.

When I was in Peking, a military officer of high rank, with whom I was very intimate, asked how it was that the small army of European troops obtained the victory over the great hosts of the Chinese army in 1860. I answered that the reason was easy to find. In the first place the European officers were carefully educated in the art of war, and in the second place, they *lead* their troops, while the Chinese officers had very little real training, and *drove* their men to the front, while they remained behind, as I have seen them, sitting in their sedan chairs, under the shelter of a wall, while the fighting was going on. So much for the Chinese army, which has not advanced at all in comparison with the large sums of money spent on military stores.

The account of the fleet of some half-dozen war steamers, under the direction of Admiral Sir Sherard Osborn in 1863, is not correct. I was in Peking, where the incident excited much discussion on the part of the few foreign residents in the capital. I am able to quote from my own memoranda made at the time. The Chinese Government had obtained and paid a very large sum of money for these steamers, which were all of the best pattern of war ship. Their equipment comprised all that was possible, both in material and design, of the latest and most approved inventions, and they were all manned by picked English seamen.

Sir Sherard Osborn understood before he left England that he was only to receive his orders from the highest authorities; but on his arrival in China, when various points of duty had to be considered, he found that the Imperial Government would not assume the responsibility of directing him in his operations against the Tai-ping

rebels. On the contrary, he was told to take his orders from the nearest local authority, off any place where he might happen to be; which meant that he was liable to be sent on any filibustering expedition that the said local officer might order him to undertake. Under such conditions Sir Sherard Osborn refused to act, and, after many consultations with Sir F. Bruce, it was determined to surrender the ships to the Chinese Government, after removal of the officers and crews.

At this time the Civil War between the Northern and Southern divisions of the United States was being actively carried on, and the U.S.A. Minister-Plenipotentiary, Mr. Burlingame, protested against these fully armed war-steamers being left, without foreign officers and crews, on the coast of China, lest the privateers of the Southern States should attack and take them, and thus use their armaments against the navy or army of the Northern States. The steamers were in consequence of this protest sent round to Bombay, their armament removed, officers and crews paid off, and the vessels sold, but at great loss to the Chinese Government, who probably lost about a quarter of a million sterling by the transaction. Thus I argue that the fleet was not disbanded owing to "jealousies and intrigues," but owing to the facts above stated, and the refusal of the Chinese Government to permit the Admiral to receive his orders direct from the superior authorities only. In this way the Chinese lost the opportunity of procuring what would have been the commencement of a useful navy for Imperial purposes at a most critical time. And here let me ask what can be expected from Chinese officers, even of high rank, when a man may be sent on duty in time of war, either as admiral of the navy or as general of the land forces, as emergency requires?

The argument of the paper now under review culminates in the latter part of it. The chief contention is shown near the end of the essay, as in one of the closing sentences His Excellency says, "In the alienation of

sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports, as well as in some other respects, China feels that the Treaties impose on her a condition of things, which . . . will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period." This of course means that the Chinese Government will aim at the abolition of the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction clauses of the treaties, exercised towards Europeans as has hitherto been the case, and which has ever been contended for by all European Governments without exception. But so long as the administration of law is carried out by civil officers, who practically receive no salary so long as the emoluments of office and the payments of subordinates are derived through fees, exactions, and bribes from applicants—so long as office is held and judgment passed by men ignorant of any but antiquated and obsolete forms of law, arbitrary in administration, and aided by torture and all that is thereby implied—so long as this system of judicature (if system it can be called) exists—what possible security can be obtained that foreigners in China would get justice, or even exemption from torture in their own persons, and how can the Western powers ever consent to such a risk?

At the Treaty Ports, where the Courts could be watched constantly, oppression of foreigners might not be practised, but in country places, where this supervision is impossible, no security could be expected that justice would be done and personal safety guaranteed. From all I know even the mixed Courts at the Treaty Ports are not in anywise a perfect success, the Chinese officers frequently behaving with extreme rudeness; as in a late case, when the Chinese officer or Judge (?) even went the length of striking the British Consul, who was sitting with him, and who had distinctly objected to his judgment in the case before them.

The attempt has for a long time been made in Japan to induce European Governments to give up the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction in that country. The arguments against

this step are quite as strong (if not stronger), in the case of Japan, as in respect to China itself.

The Japanese Government and officers have made great strides towards the education of the people, and most praiseworthy endeavours to introduce Western knowledge and science among them ; but it will take many years of education before the jurisdiction of the country is brought into a satisfactory condition. Courts of justice are not known in the land, and though around Tokio and the Treaty Ports, an attempt would be made to do justice to the European, no adequate security could be given that this would be done in the outlying districts. No assurance from the Imperial authorities would have any weight outside the Treaty Ports.

It is true that the Japanese Government promises large concessions if this point be granted, but as it is practically powerless to cause the natives to respect its authority, except at a few points, no real protection can be granted to dwellers in the interior. Strenuous efforts are being made to accomplish the fulfilment of the wishes both of the Chinese and Japanese Governments, and, in the case of the latter Power, a certain success has been obtained by a recent Convention. But it is to be hoped that they will not be granted everything they demand. For, should such concessions be made, Europeans might depart from China and Japan at once, as life and property would be henceforth unsafe. His Excellency says that "It behoves China and all Asiatic countries to combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on Treaties rather than on capitulations." The meaning of this sentence is somewhat obscure, and the time is rather distant before such a combination can be carried out, or before China will be able "to eliminate from the Treaties such articles as impede her development." The Treaties on the whole have been most serviceable to the Chinese themselves, and it will be long ere the articles hinted at are removed from them. It might well be asked, In what way, and by what article, has her development been impeded ?

As a well-wisher to the Chinese people, and in their interest, I contend that the time has not come for these concessions. When the officers of the Government are educated, and the people brought to know the value of Foreign relations and of Treaty obligations—when the judicature of the country is placed on a satisfactory basis—then, and not till then, can they with any show of reason be pleaded for.

Since writing the foregoing a telegram from Peking, dated February 24th, has been received in London as follows: "Lo, the head of a wealthy Christian family in Szechuen has been executed, in spite of the remonstrance of the French Minister. The situation in the provinces of Szechuen and Kweichow is very critical. The Mandarins are siding with the *literati* against the Christians."

If this be true, then, must we not ask the question—Had Lo offended against some law of the land which rendered him liable to capital punishment? Then why the remonstrance of the French Minister, which seems to have been little taken into account? Or has he been murdered for his religious belief to gratify the private prejudices of a class? which, we argue, is far too probable from the latter part of the telegram. That such things have been and may again occur we know. And those that know China well, know also that she has not made sufficient progress in the very elements of the administration of civil government to prevent the recurrence of such circumstances, even in the case of Europeans themselves, were the extra-territorial jurisdiction clauses of the treaties set aside.

WM. LOCKHART.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE delay in the resumption of negotiations between the Governments of England and Russia on the subject of the remaining undefined strip of Afghan territory in the district of Khojah Saleh must be explained by the fact that the diplomacy of Europe has been engrossed in more serious matters, and a hasty taking up of the work resigned by the Commissioners might have indicated a wish to seek a cause of rupture rather than the desire for an amicable arrangement. The return of M. de Staal to his post in London after an absence of some months, which will have sufficed to place him in complete possession of the wishes and intentions of his Government in regard to the Central Asian question, is the preliminary to the reopening of the Afghan delimitation; but even now all the indications favour the belief that Russia is in no hurry to press the matter forward. There is reason to doubt if the Russian Ambassador has yet done anything more than convey an intimation to Lord Salisbury of his Government's willingness to resume the negotiation in London, and it is hardly open to question that the coming stages of the Afghan frontier discussion will take their character from the more important events about to happen on the European board in Bulgaria and elsewhere. We have consequently nothing to add to what has already appeared on the subject in these pages, and until some definite step has been taken on the one side or the other it is desirable for several reasons to leave the question without further comment.

The negotiation will also be affected by the course of events in Afghanistan itself, and before the issue of our next

number something decisive will surely have occurred there with regard at all events to the imminent struggle between the Ameer and the Ghilzais. On this point there is no doubt that Abdurrahman Khan is sparing no effort to place an overwhelming force in the field so that the hostile faction may be crushed during the months of April and May, which are the most favourable for military operations. All the known facts do not warrant a belief in the capacity of the Ghilzais to make any protracted resistance. They were defeated last October when the Ameer's army was comparatively small. They owe their subsequent immunity not to their own strength, but simply to the inaccessibility of their homes to which it was too perilous for the Afghan troops to pursue them at the commencement of winter. The same objection will not apply to Hyder Gholam now following up any success he may obtain in the field by the occupation of the villages of the Andars and Tokaris, who seem to be the chief clans implicated in the rising against the Ameer. Apart from the personal risks of war there is, humanly speaking, every probability that the Ghilzais will be vanquished before June.

Some details will be acceptable about the composition of this body of insurgents, whom many writers still assume to be led by the deceased Mushk-i-Alim. The nominal leader is that arch-priest's grandson Jilani, while his principal supporters are his uncle Abdul Karim, son of Mushk-i-Alim, and Fazil Khan, one of the Andaris. It is also said that they have corresponded with Ayoob Khan and invited him to make some move in conjunction with their projected rising. This for the present he has not the power even if he has the inclination to do, so that the Ghilzais will not be able to derive the political advantage they anticipated from associating themselves with the Ameer's most formidable rival. In connection with the late Mushk-i-Alim it is interesting to mention that Abdurrahman has caused his tomb to be destroyed and the land to be ploughed up by asses. A measure of a more practical kind is illustrated by

the marked activity of the arsenal and cannon foundry which he has established in his capital.

The Ameer seems to be experiencing as much trouble at the hands of his officials as from the Ghilzais. The disgrace and recall of Surwar Khan, the Governor of Herat, is well known, and the only alleged crime of this officer is that the revenue of his province was short of what was expected by 150,000 rupees. Surwar Khan is now kept in close confinement in Cabul. He is not the only high official who has fallen into disgrace. Sirdar Mahomed Aman Khan, Governor of Cabul, has also been thrown into prison, and his property has been forfeited by the Ameer. It is said that his punishment has been commuted to banishment, and Khan-i-Mulla Khan has been appointed Governor of the capital in his stead. Kazi Saad ud Din, late Ameer's Agent with the Commission, has been deputed to Herat, and he reached Candahar *en route* at the end of January. The whereabouts of the Ameer's sons, Habibullah and Nasrullah, appears a little uncertain, but according to one account they were at Candahar when the Kazi reached that town. Several members of the Baruckzai family have also been banished and sought shelter in British territory. These dissensions, aggravated by the Ameer's ill-health from gout and kidney complaints, are a more serious menace to the stability of Afghanistan than the disaffection of the Ghilzais.

With regard to Ishak Khan—the second most important personage in the kingdom—his relations with his cousin seem to be friendly enough, and he has reiterated his advice to him to visit Herat and the North-West frontier. For sufficient reasons it is not likely that this advice will be followed in its integrity, although Abdurrahman may go as far as Candahar. At the same time Ishak is anxious that his three brothers, Aziz, Mohim, and Hashim, now kept at Cabul, should be allowed to return to Turkestan; but this favour the Ameer is too suspicious to grant. He has, however, reduced the extent of Abdullah Jan's authority by

dividing Badakshan into two districts—one, Khanabad, to be left under that official, and the other, Badakshan proper, is to be placed under Mir Ahmed Shah. Abdullah Jan, whose relations with Ishak have been the reverse of cordial, is described on excellent authority as a man of energy and capacity. These fragments of evidence point to the disturbed state of authority natural in Afghanistan, but they indicate also the sustained vigilance of the ruler. Momentous issues hang on the life of Abdurrahman, and the welfare of Afghanistan depends more on his good health than on any other circumstance by which it can be affected.

Within the limits of the Indian frontier considerable activity has been shown in improving our military position, and the announcement that the permanent line *viâ* Hurnai has been completed to Quettah will cause widespread satisfaction. The present visit of Sir Frederick Roberts to Pisheen will obviously place the Government of India in possession of the very best information as to the strategical position on the Indo-Belooch frontier, and the final selection of the healthy as well as strongly placed central cantonment will be made. There seems every ground for believing that Saiad Hamid fulfils all the required conditions. As to further measures in this quarter we must preserve a discreet reticence, but it is satisfactory to know that the apathy which postponed the beginning of the Pisheen railway from 1880 to 1884 finds no place in our present arrangements. One suggestion may, however, be thrown out, and that is the necessity of constructing a railway direct from Kurrachee to Pisheen through Beyla and Khelat. The importance of this line would not be so much as regards India herself, as in reference to the employment of English troops from Europe on the Indian frontier. For three-fourths of the distance the engineering difficulties are insignificant.

The pacification of Burmah may be said to have made fair progress, and although we must look for a recrudescence of dacoity during the hot weather it will be on a

much smaller scale than last year, and we may anticipate with some confidence the complete and permanent tranquillity of the country being established in the winter of 1887-8. When the experiences of the last war are remembered, this progress must be pronounced as satisfactory as either the country or the Government had any reason to expect. To ensure this result there must however be no weakness or shortcomings on the part of the chief civil authority at Mandalay. It is the sign of the born ruler of men, which the Viceroy of India should always be, to be able to pick out the best officers for posts of danger and responsibility; and at Mandalay there is still need for all the nerve, courage, and energy that the ablest Anglo-Indian could display. In addition to these qualities the Governor of Burmah will have to evince no ordinary tact and a diplomatic acuteness when the time arrives for finally arranging our relations with China under the terms of the Peking Convention. Mr. Crosthwaite will therefore have many opportunities of justifying his selection, and of proving that our Anglo-Indian service is still full of unknown men capable of undertaking at a moment's notice the administration of large and disturbed territories. The military officers have done their work as well as it could be done. General White has shown a skill in drawing up a plan of operations which justifies us in believing that he will prove a worthy successor to those gallant and able officers, Sir Herbert Macpherson and Sir Charles Macgregor, whose premature and untimely loss every Englishman will long deplore. Brigadiers Low and Lockhart have exhibited marked energy and enterprise in the field. With the exception of a few isolated instances of gallantry it would be impossible to say that the civil authority has shone in the same manner. Public opinion will not be disposed to condone any further deficiencies in this respect, and, unless the civil authority is firmly and progressively established, not only will the reputation of the Government of India be imperilled, but the whole enterprise will be discredited, and it will become a political cry

at home only too likely to captivate popular votes, to abandon a task which has proved too much for the strength and resources of the Calcutta administration, and to restore Burmah to the Burmese.

The Chinese will have not a little to do with the course of events in our new province, and it must be hoped that as little time as possible will be lost in inducing them to show their hand clearly on the Burmese frontier and in Tibet. All experience proves that the worst way to propitiate the Chinese is by indiscriminating acquiescence in their demands. Yet for the last twelve months this has been the one characteristic of our action. Our policy has made a complete *volte face* from the former and not less short-sighted course of withholding everything and denying all their cherished pretensions. The true policy is expressed in the phrase, "*Do ut des.*" China must come out of her shell if she is to be treated as an equal Power and as a frank ally. That this is far from being the case is shown by what is now happening at Pekin. The young Emperor Kwangsu has taken upon himself some of the functions of his authority. He has offered his first sacrifice to the supreme Deity, but although this happened more than three months ago the ministers have not been received in audience by the sovereign—a privilege to which they are entitled by treaty. The matter is being pressed upon the Tsungli Yamen, and will in due course be conceded. But there is no sign of the readiness to admit the consideration shown by foreign States, and particularly by England, towards China which might have been looked for with some degree of confidence. For this we blame ourselves more than the Chinese, who are acting within the strict letter of their rights; but with recent occurrences present to our mind in Kashgaria, on the Tibet borders, in Corean waters, and even on the Yunnan frontier, we affirm, and not without personal regret, that a policy of yielding to the demands of Pekin without obtaining tangible equivalents is not calculated to attain the desired results, or to promote the

permanent accord of the two countries. It is to us inconceivable that, if this country had been represented at Peking by ministers experienced in Chinese policy like the late Sir Harry Parkes, or Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade, such a one-sided policy could ever have been carried out to its present lengths.

The Chinese have just taken the first step in the important matter of railway construction, and they have taken it in the way least agreeable to foreigners and most characteristic of themselves. Li Hung Chang as Viceroy of Pechihli has sanctioned the railway from Taku to Tientsin, but the concession has been given to a Chinese subject, and will be carried out by Chinese labour and by engineers in the service of the Government. This will be a rude blow to those who lived in the expectation of China providing a golden field for European railway enterprise and speculation, but it is really only a fresh illustration of their self-reliance and of the fixity of their national policy to exclude foreign influence and to act for themselves.

Three subjects of geographical interest deserve brief notice. The first is the safe return of M. and Madame Potanin from their adventurous journey in Western China. The second the discovery of the spot where Adolphe Schlagintweit was murdered in 1857, and the erection of a monument in his honour by the Russian consul at Kashgar. The third is the continued silence of Messrs. Carey and Dalgleish, who left Khoten some months ago *en route* for Northern Tibet—a journey which has not drawn the least notice from the English Press.

REVIEWS.

British Power in India.

PROBABLY not one of the older writers on Indian topics possessed the literary faculty in as high a degree as Mountstuart Elphinstone, several of whose works have been published since his death under the careful editorship of Sir Edward Colebrooke. Of these the present volume forms an interesting specimen ["The Rise of the British Power in the East." By the late Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. (John Murray.)], although at the most it can only be described as a historical fragment. It suggests a closer investigation regarding the incidents in the rise of the Company's power before the appearance of Clive—that is to say, during the long period of a century and a half—more than it supplies the desired information. In one or two passages the fact is revealed that Elphinstone had access to some of the Company's records, and it may be regretted that he allowed himself to be so far discouraged by the brilliance of Macaulay's rhetoric as to abandon the task of writing the elaborate history for which no one could be more competent or better trained than himself. It is always instructive to know what so enlightened a man thought on any critical passage of our Indian experiences, and for this reason alone the present volume might safely count on a welcome reception and the permanent regard of the Oriental student.

Modern Hinduism.

MR. WILKINS is the author of one successful book about Hinduism, and in the present work ["Modern Hinduism."

By W. J. WILKINS. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] he endeavours to give an account of the life of the Hindus, which, he says, is "largely the result of the worship of their deities." Mr. Wilkins, with a worldly wisdom that is not a common characteristic of the missionary body to which he belongs, abstains from comment on the Hindu practices which he describes. He shows, in a very clear and forcible manner, the intimate connection that exists between the religion and the daily life of the Hindus, and he sees with "the eye of faith" many signs of the loss of force in their religion on the popular mind, and from them is disposed to deduce more favourable chances of the growth of Christianity in the future. However sound or the reverse these prognostications may be, there can be no doubt that Mr. Wilkins has written another eminently suggestive and instructive volume.

Anglo-Indian Biography.

It would not be difficult for an unfriendly critic to dwell only on the defects and deficiencies of Colonel Laurie's volume ["Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians." By Colonel W. F. B. LAURIE. (W. H. Allen and Co.).] We prefer to point out some of its many merits, and prominent among these is the most detailed account of the long career of the most illustrious of English politicians and savants devoted to Oriental history and affairs which has ever come under our notice. The biography of Sir Henry Rawlinson, to which we refer, would by itself give this book a more than temporary value. Among other Anglo-Indians whose lives are told, we may mention Sir Alexander Burnes, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Arthur Phayre, John Russell Colvin, Sir Robert Montgomery, and the lately deceased Sir William Andrew. We have named the best of the series, and we will only add that Colonel Laurie would have been better advised if he had left such men as Sir Bartle Frere,

Sir George Clerk, and Sir George Birdwood alone than to have attempted to describe their varied careers in the two or three pages he alone devotes to them. All faults included, Colonel Laurie's volume is still of practical use, and will often serve as a convenient book of reference for those following events in India during the last thirty or forty years.

The Geography of China.

PROFESSOR DE LOCZY has compiled from his personal experiences with the expedition of Count Bela Szchenyi in the years 1877-80 a very elaborate and detailed volume relating to the geography of China. Unfortunately it is written in Hungarian, a language which even among Orientalists is the least known after the cuneiform, but we have received a private and positive assurance from our friend Professor Arminius Vambéry that this gazetteer is in every way a worthy rival of Baron Richthofen's *magnum opus* on the same subject. This guarantee is sufficient in itself to ensure the literary reputation of the volume, and all that is required to make it generally useful is that the learned professor should himself undertake the task of placing it before the general public in an English form. So far as looks go, the volume appears to us pre-eminently solid, and, at the same time, not unattractive.

The Balkan Peninsula.

M. DE LAVELEYE at his best is one of the most charming serious writers of the day; he is not less instructive. An English rendering of his work, "*La Peninsule des Balkans*," comes with particular appropriateness at a time when the whole civilized world is intently watching the progress of events in the region which he visited some years ago, and

of which he now writes to-day. It is not necessary that we should echo every one of the political sentiments expressed in this volume ["The Balkan Peninsula." By EMILE DE LAVELEYE. Translated by Mrs. THORPE. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] to come to the conclusion that it possesses great merits, and that it supplies a considerable quantity of the solid material of fact for the formulation of many fluctuating and probably erroneous opinions. Perhaps the most remarkable feature connected with the work is the admission made by Mr. Gladstone in his prefatory letter that "the well-being, tranquillity, and liberty" of Bulgaria have become of more critical importance than ever to the interests of Europe, because whatever well-being and tranquillity might be established in that state by the triumph of Russia's policy, it is quite clear that its liberty must suffer, and therefore it may be argued that Mr. Gladstone's sympathies are against the triumph of Pan Slavism in the Balkan peninsula. M. de Laveleye's book is well worth reading carefully in its new and English dress.

Tales of the Caliph.

THE anonymous writer of these tales ["Tales of the Caliph." By AL ARAWIYAH. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] must be complimented on the possession of a literary style which only requires cultivation to bring him no small reputation among writers on Asiatic topics. His success is the more creditable because it is inevitable that his work should suggest comparisons with such a masterpiece as the "Arabian Nights," and both in freshness of incident and in the form of his narrative Al Arawiyah must be allowed to have done well. These further adventures of Haroun al Rashid are divided into nine separate chapters, of which all but the last are typical of that Caliph's love of adventure, and of the many narrow escapes he experienced in its gratification. The four incidents arising from the possession of the first

jar of ointment are the group of stories that will most command the attention of the reader, but the perils of the great ruler of Bagdad in his nocturnal peregrinations are perhaps best shown in the first story of all. The narrative of Sidi Ibn Thalabi, who traded on his resemblance to the Caliph, is also exceedingly well told, and the trick which kept the monkey quiet while he was shaved, shows an earlier acquaintance with electricity than is commonly supposed. If this is Al Arawiyah's first appearance in print it ought to prove distinctly encouraging to him, but even if not his "Tales of the Caliph" will afford several pleasant hours to readers of light literature.

The Trial of Nuncomar.

WE cannot attempt to review Mr. Beveridge's book. To do so would be to throw ourselves into a controversy in which our sympathies would be arrayed against him. The work is mainly a reprint of two articles contributed to *The Calcutta Review* in reply to Sir Fitzjames Stephen's remarkable volumes, and begins with an admission of some mistakes, but in the next paragraph he states he derived courage and satisfaction from perceiving that his opponent had "evidently taken up the subject hastily and had written his book in a hurry." Mr. Beveridge, encouraged by these reflections, goes on to say that "Sir F. Stephen's work was thoroughly unreliable," but the evidence he adduces so far as we can judge is trivial and inconclusive. We must conclude with this opinion, or we shall allow ourselves to be drawn into an endless controversy. Mr. Beveridge's title ["The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar." (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.)] shows no small degree of confidence in the English reader's powers of discernment, as it will need an expert to readily identify this personage with the Nuncomar of Macaulay.

The Imperial Gazetteer.

THREE more volumes beginning with Madras and ending with Ratia have been published since Christmas of "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," and in calling attention to this further instalment of a remarkable and most useful work, it will not be out of place to offer our congratulations to its author on the well-deserved honour which has at last been bestowed upon him. Sir William Hunter has rendered both the Government of India and the British public sterling service by his many statistical and literary labours, and the approaching completion of "The Imperial Gazetteer" (of which two, or possibly three, more volumes have to be published) will place the seal to his fame. What we have said before of this work we say again, it is simply indispensable to every one who writes or even thinks about India. The publishers are Messrs. Trübner.

India Office Records.

MR. FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS, Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, has drawn up a very valuable Report on the records relating to agencies, factories, and settlements, not now under the administration of the Government of India. The principal of these specified by name are Java, Sumatra, and Borneo among the no longer British, although North Borneo must be mentioned as an exception, and the Straits Settlements, St. Helena and the Cape, still British, but no longer associated with the Indian Government. As most of these places were of greater importance to us in the seventeenth than in the eighteenth century—for instance, Bantam in Java was the original head factory of the Company—it is surprising and gratifying to find that the records relating to this period are so voluminous, and on the whole so well preserved as Mr. Danvers shows them to be. The classification of the records is

admirable and most convenient for reference, whilst a copious index and list of places named in the Report add greatly to its value. The present volume will, we understand, be followed by another, when we shall hope to be able to do fuller justice and at greater length to the laudable efforts of Mr. Danvers to show the value of the documents in the India Office, and more than that, to make them easily accessible to future officials and students of Indian history.

* * * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. A. Q. R.







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