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* One hand on Scythia, the other on the Nile. SPENNER.



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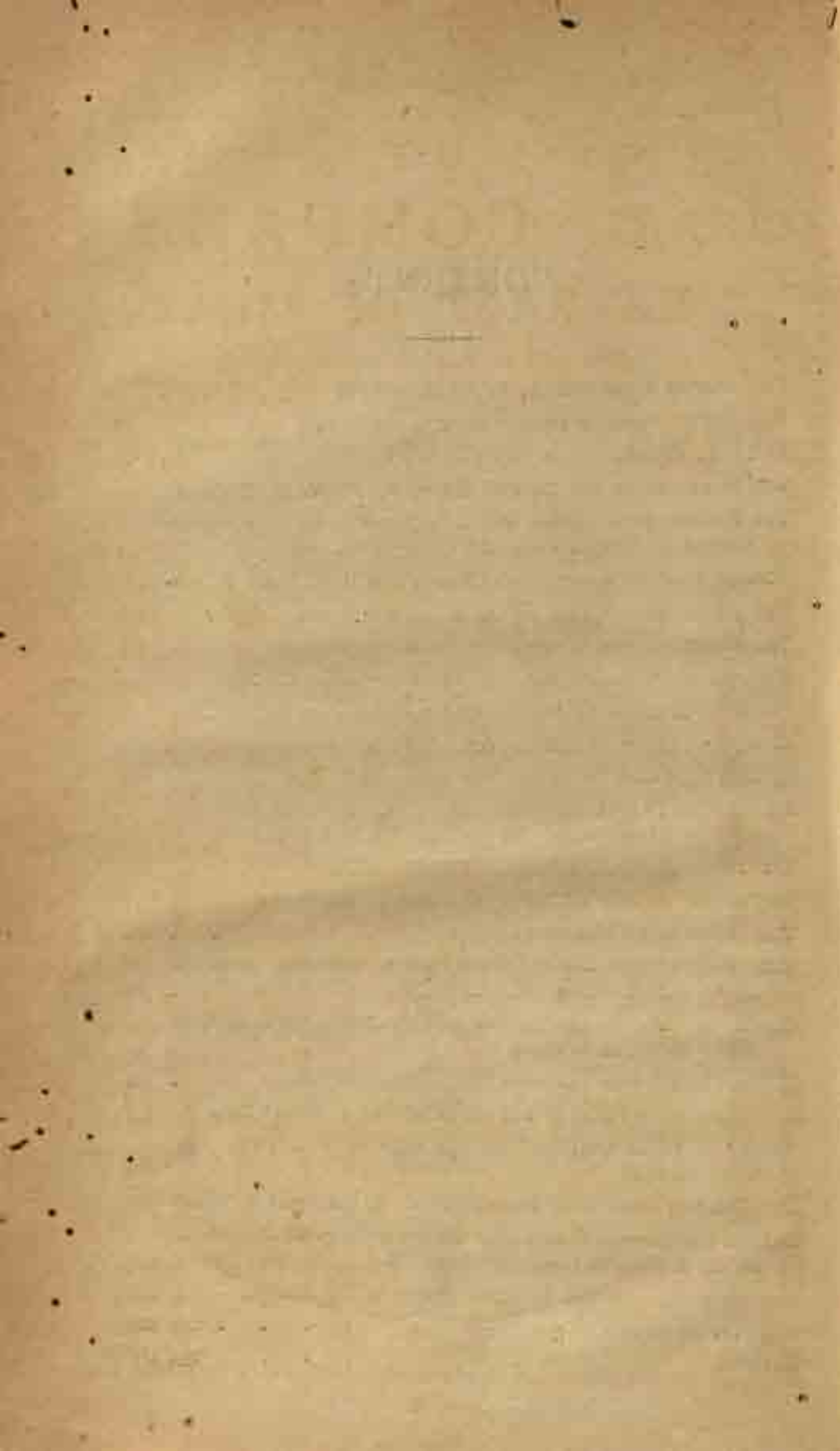
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THE

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JULY, 1889.

THE BRITISH SHAN STATES.

THE Shans are the most widely diffused, and probably the most numerous of the peoples of Indo-China. Their boundaries extend from Manipur to the Gulf of Siam. They overlap all Burma and extend so far into Yunnan that it is a question whether there are not more Shans than Chinamen in that province of the Middle Kingdom. If, as Monsieur Terrien de La Couperie maintains, the original seat of the race was in Ssuch'uen, the nation has moved less from its original home than any other of the Indo-Chinese races, and is, in fact, almost still in touch with its birthplace. Ancient Shan tradition speaks of a great and united kingdom north of their present most northern limits. The tradition, however, is faint, and the national power of coherence is apparently even fainter. The race is now divided into three main branches, each of which arrogates to itself the national name of Tai. These branches are, the Siamese, the Laos, and the British Shans. The Siamese aspirate the *t* and call themselves Thai, or Great Shans. Their northern tributaries they style Lao and our new subjects Nyo. The British Shans, while retaining for themselves the title of Tai, allow the Siamese the benefit

of their aspirate, but always speak of the Lao tribes as Yón. All these have different alphabets. The Shans, as it will be most convenient to call our subjects (though the word is Burmese) to distinguish them from the other branches of the Tai family, and the Laos can make themselves mutually understood, but Siamese differs so widely from both, that all but the most fragmentary conversation is impossible. Of the three main divisions the Siamese is the only branch that has held together as a united kingdom. The Laos are broken up into many States, but the country of the Shans is even more sub-divided, and the principalities vary in size from an area exceeding that of the most extensive English county to the dimensions of a modest private estate. This tendency to break up is seemingly a national defect, but it was greatly fostered by Burmese policy. The broken character of the country, which is an uneven plateau, split up by numerous high ranges running from north to south, no doubt impressed itself upon the people, and exaggerated a segregative tendency, which seems, however, to be inherent in the national character. The savage hills which close in on every side the valley of Mông Pwon naturally suggested and easily established an independence which the sloth or indifference of the chiefs of Mông Nai (Moné. I shall throughout give the Shan names, adding the Burmese only where the latter seems to be the more generally known) did not oppose and eventually recognized. In the same way wide stretches of broken hill-country or unproductive uplands, such as lie between the modern states of Mông Nai and Mông Pan and Mokmai, gradually led to the cutting off of the latter two from the parent State, and such natural boundaries made it everywhere easy for the Burmese conquerors to carry out their policy, to divide and govern.

Even, however, in the days before the establishment of Burmese rule, the Shan country, Cambawsa as it is frequently called, was, according to universal modern assertion, divided into the Ko Shan Pyi, the Nine Shan States.

Want of cohesion has had the natural and fatal result of want of national pride. No national historian is, therefore, to be found, and it has been hitherto impossible to draw up an orderly history of any, even of the largest, existing States. It appears, however, more than probable that the Nine Shan States will prove to be a mere historical expression, and that they no more had a contemporaneous existence than the Saxon Heptarchy. Even the list of names of these States, as given by the best informed modern Shans, varies, and in every case it leaves out Senwi (Theinni), the largest of the Cis-Salween States, and omits all mention of the States east of that river. Senwi was so much the most extensive and powerful of the Western States, that it was looked upon as the natural rival and balance of the Ko Shan Pyi. The most widely supported list of these Nine States may, however, be given. They are Mōng Nai, Mōng Pai (Mobyè), Yong Hye (Nyaunggywe), Mōng Mit (Momeit), Mohlaing, Mohnin, Mogaung, Kale, and Samchok (Thaung Thut). But in place of some of these, Moda, Kantigyi, and Wuntho are substituted, and in the absence of their connected history a mere list of names is as destitute of value as of interest. The name of Ko Shan Pyi is even sometimes applied solely to the so-called Taichè (Shan-Chinese) States north of Senwi, acknowledging the authority of the Chinese Empire.

As far as history goes back the Shans and the Burmese have been connected, either as rulers, subjects, or allies. In the eleventh century the Pagan king took Keing Tung, the most easterly of the Trans-Salween States. Two centuries later Kublai Khan took Pagan and broke up the Burmese Monarchy. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find Shans ruling over all Northern Burma, with their capitals at Sagaing or Ava, among other places. All this time and for years before and after the Shan country was the fighting ground of the Chinese and Burmese. Research may gradually draw up a continuous history, but it will be of interest to the specialists and to

the antiquarian rather than to the ordinary reader. With the establishment of the Alaung Puya dynasty in Burma, Burmese authority was finally extended over the Shans. The earlier monarchs of that line came near to annexing the whole country occupied by the Tai race, and overthrew the most remote and powerful branch. In 1767 Shin Byu-Shin took Ayuthia by storm, and the King of Siam was killed in the assault. But Oriental hordes, though they quickly overrun, do not so readily retain. The conquests were not maintained. Only nineteen years after the destruction of the ancient Siamese capital, Siamese invaders, following on the heels of a routed Burmese army, laid siege to Tavoy, not more than one hundred miles from Maulmein, the capital of the present British province of Tenasserim.

But though Burmese arms did no more than sweep Siam and the Laos, they retained a firm hold of the Shan States. Burmese troops garrisoned Keing Tung and Keing Hong on the upper waters of the Mekong, and when Siam strove thirty-four years ago to extend her colonies north of Keingmai (Zimmè), the Shans united with their Burman rulers to drive back the invaders of Keing Tung. The Burman grip was strong, and the rule not too burdensome, and the Shans were prosperous, contented, and wealthy. With the death of King Mindon and the accession of King Thibaw all, however, was changed. The lethargy of the sovereign and the extravagance of his queen caused the ruin of the Shan States. Huge sums of money in the way of benevolences were exacted from the hill-chiefs. States and portions of States were sold over the head of the reigning potentate. Any man, Shan or Burmese, who possessed the necessary wealth, had but to go to the Burmese Court, begin bribery with the Secretaries, who established a hereditary claim for him, substantiate this by more money with the Ministers of State, and finally buy the territory outright for a round sum from the monarch himself. The process was ex-

pensive, for the purchaser had then to engage the support of the Burman exarchs in the Shan hills to enable him to establish himself, and not unseldom he was jockeyed by a higher bid made by the ruler in possession, or by another speculator. But whoever eventually prevailed, the population was ground down and robbed of all it possessed. Ruined cultivators took to the fells and joined the following of some recognized freebooter, and the system of dacoity which had been developed in Burma by the cunning and greed of ministers like the Taingda Mingyi, took, in the Shan States, more of an independent robber type. The large State of Senwi (Theinni) had already for some years been convulsed by the rebellion of a military leader, Sang Hai, against his chief, and the infection soon spread on all sides. For a time, however, the disturbances were merely local, and were less or more kept in control by the Burmese officials. Four years after King Thibaw's accession, however, there broke out a direct rebellion against Burman rule.

The Sowhpa (Sawbwa is the Burmese form) of Mōng Nai (Monè) has always tacitly claimed and been allowed the first place among the tributary Shan chiefs. The extent of his territory was greater than that of any other State except Senwi. His capital was by far the wealthiest and largest in the hills, and it was the residence of the chief Burmese official. A daughter of the late prince had been the favourite queen of Mindōn Min, and her influence or the king's own partiality had led to the great extension of Mōng Nai influence. The accession of King Thibaw was the beginning of a rude change. The Mōng Nai queen was thrown into prison. Large sums of money were arbitrarily demanded from the Sowhpa, her brother. These were paid, but the obedience of the Shan Prince apparently only irritated the Burmese king. The district of Mōng Sat was handed over to the Sowhpa of Mōng Pan; a State which had itself been in the past a portion of the great Mōng Nai principality. In the same way

another Trans-Salween tract, Mông Pu, was detached and given to the son of the aged chief of Mokmai, territory which also had been a former Da-Hmu or sword fief of the Mông Nai house. All this was endured, impatiently indeed, but still without open rupture, by Kun Kye, the Mông Nai ruler. His anger found a vent in the more or less secret fomenting of revolts by the ceded tracts against their new possessors, and in freebooting raids on the villages of the favoured Sowhpas; but he still acknowledged the authority of the tyrant. When, however, these wrongs were followed by the erection of Keing Tong into a separate State, the endurance of Kun Kye was worn out. Keing Tong lies west of the Salween, and its frontiers reach to within a morning's walk of the Mông Nai capital. This last dismemberment, therefore, seemed to threaten the final ruin of the Sowhpa. The bitterness of the injury was aggravated by the person to whom Keing Tong was given. Twet Nga Lu was a man of no birth. His father was a fisherman at the great Kaw ferry. The new chief had been a monk, and was unfrocked for flagrant sin with a woman of the Mông Nai family, living in Mandalay. The ruling Shans are as proud of their birth as any Highland laird or German baron, and Kun Kye is a man of very strong religious feelings. The injury and the still more galling insult roused him to fury. The Burmese garrison, in the town of Mông Nai, was suddenly surrounded and attacked. But three volleys were fired, and then the troops of the guard, who after the manner of declining monarchies, like the soldiers of the prætorian guard, the Mamelukes, the Varangians, were foreigners, Wontho Shans, broke and fled. Of the five hundred men that held the Burman post only a few escaped with their lives.

An avenging force was immediately sent from Mandalay, and in accordance with the insidious Burman policy, contingents from several of the Westerly and Northerly Shan States were demanded, and marched along with the Burmese

on Mông Nai. On the other hand, several chiefs, united with Mông Nai by the ties of relationship, esteem, and hatred of Burman oppression, joined Kun Kye. The contest was, however, unequal, and Mông Nai, with his confederates, the chieftains of Mông Nong, Mông Sit, Mông Pien, and Loksok (Yatsauk), were driven back and took refuge in the capital of the great Trans-Salween State of Keing Tung. Here they were secure, for the Keing Tung prince had, some time previously, put to death the Burmese official and his guard of thirty men, who affected to control his actions and exact money from his State, and the Burman Government, unable to avenge the injury, had affected to deny the fact. Any idea that the Burman leader might have formed of pursuit beyond the Salween was prevented by more pressing work west of that river. Although the Sowhpa had fled, his subjects kept up a harassing war on the invaders. The capital, with its multitude of religious houses and temples, was burnt to the ground, but Twet Nga Lu, who had now been granted the title of Sowhpa of Keing Tong and Mông Nai, was not able, even with the aid of the Burman troops, to establish his authority over the latter State. The ruined villages soon found it more profitable to attack adjoining States than to oppose the Burmese. Every State that had profited by the wrongs of Mông Nai; every State that now assisted in its oppression, was harried and plundered, and the vengeance of Mông Nai plunged the whole Cis-Salween territory into anarchy. State warred on State; village on village; bands of free lances infested the roads, and all trade was stopped. Except on the remote hillsides cultivation almost ceased. The fertile ricelands of the valleys were, too, exposed to the robber bands; the sower knew not who would reap, and in too many cases the rightful farmer was dead or himself shouldered a matchlock instead of guiding the plough. This was the state of affairs in the Shan States when Mandalay was occupied by Sir Harry Prendergast in December, 1885. The Burmese troops had already then been withdrawn, and the hillmen

were left to themselves. The inter-state quarrels were now carried on with fiercer energy; the robber bands increased in numbers and boldness; the plain lands were almost universally abandoned, and the villagers stockaded themselves on hill tops.

In the meantime the fugitive chiefs in Keing Tung, still in ignorance of events on the Irrawaddy, had formed a confederacy. Among those who escaped the massacre of the royal princes in Mandalay, on King Thibaw's accession in 1879, was a young man who went by the name of the Limbin Prince, taking his title from a small township in the present Minbu district on the Irrawaddy. His father was the Eing-she-min (heir apparent) in the Pagan king's time, but was passed over in 1852, because the Burmese wanted peace, and this prince was pledged to fight, and, indeed, was popularly known as "the War Prince." Mindôn Min therefore succeeded the deposed Pagan king, but there was an understanding that the War Prince, or his issue, should follow on the throne. The Limbin Prince was illegitimate. His mother was a dancing-girl. His father, the Eing-she-min, was murdered in the rebellion of 1866. Nevertheless, his memory still lived in the hearts of the Burmese, and none of his descendants would have escaped the bloody policy of King Thibaw. The princeling, therefore, shaved his head, donned the yellow robe of the Noble Order, and escaped in this disguise to Rangoon. He was good-looking, had a taking manner, and was above the average of intelligence. The local Government, therefore, took him by the hand after a time, and he was appointed magistrate of a small township in the Tenasserim province. In this capacity, however, his intelligence degenerated into craft, and his taking manner assumed the form of venality. Before very long the young *Myôk* had to be retired on a small pension. His energies now took another direction, and he entered into correspondence with the fugitive Shan Sowhpas. Their cause had been taken up by the Trans-Salween chiefs, and an alliance to overthrow the power of

King Thibaw, at least in the Shan States, had been already formed. The Limbin suggested that the result would be more secure and permanent if he were placed on the throne of King Thibaw. The offer was accepted, and he was invited to assume the lead of the allied forces. He set out accordingly from Maulmein and reached Keing Tung on the 10th December, 1885, about three weeks before the occupation of Mandalay and before the Trans-Salween chieftains knew even that there was war between the British arms and the Burmese king. The aspiring princeling knew it well enough, but he kept his information to himself. Immediately after his arrival a general meeting of the Trans-Salween Sowhpas and their fugitive brethren from the West was held, and it was there formally decided: 1. That it was necessary for the restoration of peace, religion, and trade, that there should be a suzerain authority in the Shan States. 2. That without such a suzerain authority the existing anarchy could not be quelled, for no one Sowhpa could hope to unite all others under his leadership. 3. That the Limbin Prince, therefore, was the most suitable person for this position. 4. That therefore all the subscribing chiefs bound themselves to support the Limbin Prince against King Thibaw with men, money, and arms, and would not sheath sword till he was firmly established. In return the Limbin Prince undertook to remit all taxes (a concession which the chiefs style "unparalleled in history"), and to require obeisance from the Sowhpas only once in three years instead of annually. An oath of confederacy was then taken, and letters announcing the resolutions come to were forwarded to the chief Sowhpas of the Western States. Each confederate supplied a body of armed men, and already in March, 1886, the fugitive chieftains were again established in their States, and the Limbin Prince set up for himself what he styled a palace in the pleasant and fertile valley of the Tampak, at Manyin, east of the Yong Hwe lake.

The promise seemed fair, but it was very far from restoring peace to the States. The usurpers who were dis-

placed by the newly-restored confederates did not tamely acquiesce in this reverse of fortune. The chieftains who had leagued with the Burmese in the attack on Mōng Nai feared that their dominions would suggest themselves only too obviously to the Limbin as rewards for his faithful servants. Long and bitter experience had led the Shans to look upon all promises as faithless, and cajolings as mere lines to destruction. At this very moment also, Myinzaing, a rebel prince whom British arms had driven out of the plains of Burma, appeared in the north of the Shan borderland and claimed the support of the tributary chieftains. In self-defence, or from a conviction that this was their only chance of safety, these western rulers, therefore, along with the deposed Sowhpas, gave this new candidate to sovereignty their allegiance, and thus, under different names, the inter-state war went on and the plunderers continued their raids without intermission. The death of the Myinzaing Prince, of fever, in August, 1886, did not avail Limbin anything. The States which openly or secretly had taken up the rival cause, were now so far compromised that they hoped for no mercy from the Limbin party, and carried on the war in a simple struggle for existence. The Shan system of warfare is merely the old border foray. A band is collected, swoops down on a district, lifts the cattle, carries off everything portable, and burns the rest. The band then breaks up, and the forces collected for revenge simply repeat the process in the offending or some other territory. In this way, though the Limbin confederacy had much the better of the fighting, the misery inflicted on the population was equal everywhere. Hundreds of quiet agriculturists and traders who had been burnt out, had fled from the fear of it, and having no stomach for fighting, left the country altogether. Many went east of the Salween to Keing Tung, or the Laos States, some to Karenni, and others to Burma. The country was left to the freebooters, and it seemed probable that the cessation of cultivation would drive even them from the country.

This was the condition of the States for the first twelve months after our annexation of Upper Burma. With the acquisition of that territory the responsibility of suzerainty over the Shan States had also devolved upon us. But at first nothing was known of the way in which the hillmen would regard British overlordship, and no action was possible until the larger dacoit bands in the new province had been broken up and subdued. It was, therefore, exactly a year before any expedition was sent into the hills. During that time the principal Sowhpas outside of the Limbin party had sent messengers accepting British overlordship, and begging for immediate support against the destroying bands that warred in the name of the Limbin. The dacoit leaders, who could no longer maintain themselves in the low country, found secure shelter on the outskirts of the plateau, and were able to recruit their forces from the ranks of ruined hill-villagers. The Limbin Prince enlarged his views, and secretly sent letters and flags, and made indiscriminate promises of reward and office to the more prominent of the dacoit leaders in Burma, to be awarded when he should be settled on the Golden Throne in Mandalay. Prominent among the pleaders for British support was the Sawbwa of Yong Hwe (Nyaunggywe). At the end of 1886, he alone of the Southern Shan Chiefs was able to make head against the followers of the Pretender. Laika (Lègya), Mōng Kūng (Maingkaing), and Kisi-Mansam had been burnt and ravaged from end to end, and their rulers driven into flight until the storm-wave had ebbed again. The wealth of the Yong Hwe State, and the support which he derived from the natural strength which the possession of his great lake gave him, enabled Kun Ōn, the Sowhpa, to offer a more effectual resistance, but he was hard pressed, and all through the rains of 1886 his messengers, with assurances of loyalty to the British Government and entreaties for assistance, came hard on the heels of one another, and grew more and more urgent.

In January, 1887, therefore, a strong force under Colonel (now General) Stedman, with two political officers, marched up to Yong Hwe. The resistance encountered was very slight and absolutely insignificant. Such brushies as there were occurred with bands mostly in alliance with the dacoits of the plains. Chief among the supporters of these malcontents was the Loksok (Yatsauk) Sowhpa. His situation, not far from the edge of the plateau, brought him a profitable trade in the sale of powder, shot, and guns to the banditti of the plains, and not unseldom Loksok contingents joined with the professional marauders and brought acceptable booty to the Sowhpa. This chief was also prominent among the supporters of the Limbin, and foremost in the attack on Kun On of Yong Hwe, his half-brother. Attempts were made to persuade Loksok of the folly of resisting British arms, but in vain, and even the ludicrously rapid dislodgment of his main force from a fortified camp six miles north of the town of Yong Hwe failed to warn his stubborn pride. He was allowed a month to consider and to consult with his brothers of the confederacy. In the meantime all the chiefs of the western fringe of the plateau hailed with delight the arrival of a power which promised to put an end to all discord. The numerous petty rulers of the Myelat (The Middle- or Border-land), whose authority extended over from two or three, to twenty or thirty villages to each State, were too weak to be anything but the tools or victims of their more powerful neighbours, and to them the arrival of a suzerain authority was in very truth rescue from utter ruin. Their ready submission was therefore a matter of course, but it was sincere and not time-serving. That of the more powerful rulers of Mōng Pai (Mobyè) and Loilôn, and of Samka and Sakoi, was of infinitely greater importance and value, and at once justified the expedition, and offered an example to the more easterly States. The Sowhpa of Mōng Pai, whose territory borders Lower Burma, had long been known

to wish for British authority in the Shan States, and years ago had boldly suggested a scheme which was better in accordance with Burman practice than with civilized good faith. Now that the hopes of the septuagenarian chief were realized, he extended all his influence as father of the hill-chiefs, and wrote advising a general and immediate submission.

The Loksok chief received this counsel, but remained stubborn. The Mōng Pai Sowhpa's age commanded respect, and implied experience, and his reign, extending throughout that of four Burman kings, had procured for him a reputation for diplomacy, which even his enemies admitted under the name of wiliness. Nevertheless, Saw Waing would not be persuaded that British ways were not as those of the Burmese, nor that promises of free pardon held out to him by the British political officer were not meant to lure him to a prison. He continued his dealings with the Free Companions of the plain, threatened the communications of the Expeditionary Force, and called upon the eastern chiefs to hold by their oath of confederacy. Accordingly, after Fort Stedman had been begun for the accommodation and protection of the guard of the Superintendent of the Shan States, a column marched towards Loksok. Saw Waing was given every opportunity for repentance. The marches were short, and letters and messengers were sent to him repeatedly, but when Colonel Swetenham's force was only a few miles from the capital, the Sowhpa fled, and with him went his father, the chief of the neighbouring State of Mōng Pein. After arrangements had been made for the administration of the two States until a new Sowhpa could be appointed, the column moved slowly eastwards, and Saw Waing, finding Mōng Nai and his other friends but cold comforters and reluctant backers, crossed the Salween, and took refuge in his old retreat, Keing Tung, where he has since remained. The events of Loksok had a decisive influence with the Limbin

confederates. Their determination had been already shaken by the letters of the Superintendent and by the well-timed counsel of the Mōng Pai Sowhpa. On the top of this came another incident, characteristically Shan, and dealt with in a way which convinced the hill-men of British good faith. Among the chiefs who had early submitted to British suzerainty were, as has been already noted, those of Laika, Mōng Kūng and Kisi-Mansam. Officials had made formal submission both in Mandalay and Fort Stedman, and from the latter place carried home the news of the march on Loksok. All these States had been burnt from end to end by the Limbin confederates.

Not an acre had been cultivated, and all their cattle had been driven south or eaten. The chiefs easily persuaded themselves that their assistance might be useful to the Political Officer, and they were very firmly convinced that such an enterprise could hardly fail to result in revenge and plunder for themselves. They therefore gathered all the men they could and descended upon Mōng Pwon, the nearest of the Limbin confederates, and the one offering best hopes of booty, since its walls of hills kept off all but the most determined invaders, and its chief was a man more prompt to raid other States than to wait to be attacked in his own. Mōng Pwon is small. The attack was sudden and in force, and in a few days the allied chiefs had overrun the northern part of the State, and penetrated to within seven or eight miles of the capital. They announced that they were fighting in the name and by the authority of the British. Mōng Pwon, while sturdily opposing the attack, wrote to the Superintendent, pointing out that this action did not correspond with the tenor of the letters calling upon him to submit. As a result, the British column marched to Mōng Pwon, and a small party of mounted men proceeded to the front and stopped the fighting by the simple process of taking up a position midway between the two forces. An officer went up to the Laika camp, and after

some parley, brought down the allied leaders to the Mōng Pwon position. A few minutes' conversation brought about a satisfactory result. The Mōng Pwon Sowhpa was convinced that no treachery had been practised against him. The invading leaders were promised an unmolested retreat on condition that they marched immediately. The chiefs were reprimanded for the too great zeal they and their officers had displayed, and Mōng Pwon, who piques himself upon his good shooting, was so pleased when he heard that he personally had picked off several of the enemy, that he feasted the entire invading force that night, and supplied them with rice enough to carry them home.

The results of this somewhat ludicrous settlement were immediate and far-reaching. The Mōng Pwon prince was the most prominent figure among the Limbin confederates. He is a big brawny man in the prime of life, and represented the fighting leader. He has also a rude eloquence and an impetuous vigour of mind which marked him out no less as the chief in their councils. He promptly accepted British supremacy, and wrote to all his allies, most of whom were also his relations, that the true suzerain had now arrived, and that the Limbin Prince could do no better than accept the terms offered him by the Chief Commissioner. The Mōng Pwon Sowhpa's decision soon overbore whatever scruples the other chieftains might have, and they resolved to submit. But they were bound down by a vow not to abandon their Prince, and the Limbin was told to decide for himself, but was at the same time prevented from taking to flight. He was at Mōng Nai, and professed to be too unwell to move. Accordingly a party of fifty rifles of the 27th Punjabis, with a political officer, marched to the capital. After no small amount of haggling for an enlarged allowance, the Prince "agreed" to proceed to Rangoon. Thereupon the Mōng Nai Sowhpa, as premier chief, requested permission to hoist the British flag. This was done with great formality in the large open space in

front of the Sowhpa's *Haw*, his palace. The bugle sounded a salute. Captain Wallace's fifty rifles presented arms; the Sowhpa's band broke into a triumphant measure, and the entire population bowed down, and did obeisance to the new flag and the new suzerain thus established in the Shan States.

The result was immediate and gratifying. Within three months of the arrival of British troops in the Shan hills the whole of the Southern Shan States hitherward of the Salween river submitted practically without a blow, for the shots fired by the Loksok malcontent might have been counted with ease. The Limbin confederacy was dissolved, and the Prince sent on an allowance to Calcutta; peace was restored, and undisturbed communication opened up between State and State for the first time for six years. With this satisfactory commencement of our authority amongst the Shans, the open season of 1886-7 came to an end.

In the northern States affairs had also gone well, though the success was not so striking or so complete as in the south. The most prominent chief of the north was the Sowhpa of Sipaw (Thibaw). This man has had a career which a desire for credibility would prevent most novelists from giving to their hero. He was connected with the Mōng Nai house, and refused to join the Burmese armies in the overthrow of Kun Kye. The motive seemed generous, but was more probably politic. Nevertheless, the immediate result was the Sowhpa's own overthrow. Sipaw is easily approached from Mandalay, and is, indeed, no more than ten moderate marches from the royal city of gems. The Sowhpa had to fly before the king whose name was taken from the State. His country fell a prey to the anarchy which was then universal throughout the Shan States, and the chief could find a refuge nowhere but in British territory. He settled in a Shan suburb of Rangoon, and supported himself by selling his jewels. He was followed into exile by his hereditary retainers,

a body of men whom every Shan chief keeps about him, men whose fathers and grandfathers have spent their lives in the service of the house, as sword-bearers, almoners, cherut, betel-box, gong, or slipper bearers, men living on his bounty and devoted to his wants. Like the Orang-Rajah of the Malay States, they are insolvent and rapacious in prosperity, but it would hardly be fair to say that the hatred thus roused against them ensures their fidelity in adversity. Over them, as over all his subjects, the chieftain has power of life and death, and the Sipaw Sowhpa shot two of his retainers almost within hearing of the inhabitants of Government House. He was brought up for trial before the Recorder in Rangoon. He calmly avowed the crime; said his servants were plotting to poison him; disowned all knowledge of English law, and denied that he was subject to it. He claimed to be a sovereign prince and *extra leges*. Nevertheless he was sentenced to death, and the sentence was naturally commuted to one of transportation for life. For about a year he remained a prisoner in Rangoon gaol, and was then released on condition that he left British territory for ever. He made his way to Eastern Karenni, where Sawlapaw, chief of the Yang Sarai, boasted independence of all his neighbours, Shan, Siamese, Burmese, Chinese, or English. Sawlapaw was connected with the Sipaw house, and hill-men of all countries are tenacious of relationship. Kun Seing was supported as became his rank; his scattered retainers gathered round him again, and when Mandalay fell Sawlapaw supplied funds and men which enabled the fugitive once more to establish himself in the State of Sipaw. The Sowhpa was ambitious but shrewd; he was absolutely unscrupulous, but his misfortunes had taught him craft. He held back just long enough to avoid being premature in a declaration of submission to British authority, and yet sent in letters early enough to claim the credit of spontaneity. When it was determined that the peace of Burma, not less than that of the Shan States, bound the

British Government to take over the suzerainty of the country, the Sowhpa himself paid a visit to Mandalay, was present at the New Year's parade there, and obtained from the enthusiasm of the moment and the glamour of his eventful career, terms which were perhaps more liberal than justice demanded. The north, like the rest of the Shan States, had been converted into a chaos, and the Sipaw Sowhpa, by dint of what cannot be called by any other name than bare-faced falsehood, was granted authority to assume the administration of States to which he had no title but his own assertion. The State of Sipaw itself remained at peace, and rapidly became prosperous, but the efforts of the Sowhpa to administer the districts handed over to him met with opposition which lasted long, and caused much disturbance.

The great State of Senwi (Theinni), to the east of Sipaw, was at this time, and had been for a quarter of a century, in a state of nearly hopeless disorder. The quarrel began with the rebellion of the leader of the militia against the Sowhpa, Nawhpa. Sang Hai, the rebel captain, had led the Senwi contingent of the Shans who repelled Siamese designs on the Trans-Salween State of Keing Tung. When he came back, whether demoralized by independent command, or offended at an imagined slight by the chief, he rose in rebellion and carried his forces with him. The Sowhpa was defeated, and in accordance with the usual Burmese custom, was summoned to Mandalay, clapped in gaol, and superseded by another member of the Senwi family. This worthy fared no better. He also was defeated, and joined his predecessor in confinement. Then came a motley crew of Burmese regents, recalled one after the other as they were defeated or baffled by the redoubtable Sang Hai. When the rebel leader was beaten, or was forced by superior numbers to leave the field, he vanished into hill fastnesses, only to reappear in a new and unexpected quarter with recruits from among the wild hill men—Kakhyens, Las, Was, Lisaws, and Taichè. Many of

these savage auxiliaries who came to plunder finally remained as settlers on the uplands they had ravaged, and the Senwi Shans were gradually driven more and more to the south. The deposed Sowhpas were given, turn and turn about, opportunities of restoring themselves, but with no more success than rewarded the efforts of numerous Burman warriors. At last the neighbouring Shan chiefs were called in, and this combination drove Sang Hai east of the Salween to the borders of China, and restored peace for a time. The Sowhpa Nawhpa was restored, and remained for some years in power. But the old State of Senwi was ruined beyond hope of restoration. During the years of fighting the large subdivisions of the south had gained an independence so real that it was formally acknowledged from Mandalay, where the Court was glad enough to seize the opportunity of dismembering a dangerous power. The northern and eastern hills were overrun by Sang Hai's savage allies, and Nawhpa was glad enough to purchase quiet by letting them alone. Before long the death of Sang Hai seemed to promise him an undisturbed old age. Unhappily, however, this only opened the way to a younger and equally ambitious man.

Sang Yon Kō was born near the banks of the Salween, in a village whose name, *Tôn Hồng* (the pipul-tree's shade), suggested nothing but rustic quiet and monastic seclusion. His father was a decent villager, and his grandfather had been head-man. But while yet in his teens, Sang Yon Kō killed a man. It is a moot point whether it was a gambling quarrel or the wild justice of revenge for an uncle's murder. Ordinarily murder in the Shan States, as in all early civilizations, is a mere matter of money payment. In this case, however, the victim was a man of rank, a member of the Trans-Salween Manglūn chiefs family, and his death demanded for the credit of the house both blood and money. Sang Yon Kō, therefore, fled, and after the manner of adventurers from the beginning of time, took to himself another name, *Sang Tôn Hồng* (He

of Tôn Hồng). All Senwi was at this time in arms, and the errant youth, followed by a few crack-hemps like himself, made his way to Sang Hai's camp. The youth soon distinguished himself by his boldness and warlike skill. He was a La by the mother's side, and brought not a few of these semi-savages to Sang Hai's flag. In a very short time, therefore, he became the old rebel's chief lieutenant, and on his death, married his daughter, quite after the fashion of much better-regulated personages. Sang Hai had some misty highland claims to be of the ancient house of Senwi, and this alliance was, therefore, politic, and still further secured the adherence of the dead leader's following to Sang Tôn Hồng, who now prefixed a Kun to his war name, and thus figured as a man of family—Kun being a title confined to members of Shan ruling houses. He wasted no time in seeking territory to support the title. The Sowhpa Nawhpa had been lulled into false security by the death of Sang Hai. The new adventurer's swoop therefore, found him quite unprepared; the capital was burnt over his head, and the country all round subdued by Kun Sang Tôn Hồng almost as fast as the invading troops could march. This was in the year of King Thibaw's succession. The defeated Sowhpa was summoned to Mandalay, but having sufficient experience of what awaited him there, even under a mild king, fled north instead, and found a refuge among the Kakhyen hills. His son and his daughters—one of these of the great band of the new Kings' stepmothers—were imprisoned and remained in the Palace gaol till the British advance set them free, six years later. A Burmese official was sent up to Senwi, but he preferred to stay at Lahseo on the western fringe of the State to venturing near the defiant Kun Sang Tôn Hồng. The wide plain at Lahseo guarded him from surprise, and his retreat was easy. Here, therefore, he stayed and confined himself to an epistolary warfare. The usurper on his side declined to submit, but on the other hand was content with the spacious territory he had occupied round the capital, and to the north and east of that place.

In the meantime, after fighting till there were no more villages to destroy, the small districts of Central Senwi appointed an old man, Sang Aw, to be a kind of president over them, with the title of Paókchók and a residence at Mông Yai. Thus a delusive sort of peace was patched up, and but for the bands of Free Companions, Senwi remained quiet until the fall of Mandalay. Sow Nawmóng, the Sowpha's son, was then set free, and promptly went to his native State. The loyalty of highlanders is proverbial, and the young chieftain soon found adherents in the westerly districts of Senwi. He opened up communications with his father, and a combined attack was made on Kun Sang Tôn Hồng. Sow Nawmóng was soon driven back, but the father had tougher fighters at his back, and the adventurer was in some trouble for a time. Eventually, however, he obtained the aid of a well-armed force from Sipaw and also of some Chinamen. Several merchants from Tengyüeh (Mojien, or Mông Myen) had established themselves in the town of Senwi, and as their safety and that of their property depended upon the success of Kun Sang Tôn Hồng, they easily procured for him the support of a force of both Chinese Shans and actual subjects of the Middle Kingdom. The drivers of frontier caravans have to be as ready with the flintlock and the spear as with the abacus and the scales. In addition the merchants of Li Sieh-Tai's prefecture are especially noted in this way. They are like Little Jock Elliot in more ways than one, and most of all in their determination to "tak' dings from naebody." Accordingly, with a couple of hundred of these stark counter-jumpers, Kun Sang Tôn Hồng not only drove back Nawpha's fighting-men but marched into Central Senwi, drove out both Sow Nawmóng and the Paókchók, and soon aspired to restore the State of Senwi to its old limits. In pursuance of this design he called upon the chiefs of Kisi-Mansam, Mông Nong and Mông Hsu to submit to him. All these chiefs had, however, accepted British suzerainty, and now claimed British protection. Kun Sang Tôn Hồng

was so far amenable to reason that he obeyed the political officer's letters, and forbore to press his claims. He, however, retained possession of Central Senwi, and wrote in a vague, pompous way about his numerous Chinese troops, the aid promised him by the Empire, and more than hinting that a collision between England and China would be the inevitable result of a visit by a British force to Senwi. The settlement of Senwi was, however, a matter which could not be delayed. Nawhpa was still in his Kakhyen retreat, ready to resume hostilities when chance offered. The Paòkchòk and Sow Nawmòng had submitted their claims to British arbitrament. Their followers were only prevented from rising against the cruelties of Kun Sang Tòn Hông's wild spearmen by the orders imposed upon them and by the hope of a speedy settlement. This settlement was therefore the main task of the second season's operations in the Shan States.

The matter proved of no great difficulty. Kun Sang Tòn Hông was a barbarian who had never known a power that did not fear him, or at least that did not regard him as an equal. The Burmese he considered he could defeat if they measured strength with him; the Chinese were too far off to be looked upon as anything but people of another world. Senwi was his world; Senwi had been the greatest of the Shan States, and there he was supreme, and Senwi affairs therefore appeared to him all-important and alone worthy of attention. He was, therefore, not a little disconcerted when he found that the political officers treated his flourishes about Chinese support as mere figures of speech; his insinuations about the danger of coming to Senwi as matters not worth taking notice of; and finally that, instead of marching directly to his State, they made a leisurely tour beforehand in the northerly and southerly States. The result was most salutary. Pedlars brought him news of the formidable equipment of the British forces, and of the universal submission of the southern chiefs to British authority. Kun Sang Tòn Hông, though exceedingly

home-bred, was yet educated beyond the average of the learning to be acquired in the Shan States. He spoke and read not only Shan (which latter faculty some of the chiefs, not having the incentive to acquire even a "neck-word," neglect to study), but also Chinese; and the Chinese merchants with whom he came in contact, while duly extolling the unapproachable might and magnificence of the Hwang-Ti, were disposed to admit that the British were not hopelessly inferior to the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom in resources and warlike ability, and were particularly noted for a savage ferocity which made fighting with them extremely unpleasant. Besides this, the adventurer was naturally very capable; he had been accustomed from his youth to weigh and decide for himself in emergencies; and when he found that peace and contentment followed in the wake of the British column, he definitely decided for submission, and having once decided, remained loyally by the settlement which was agreed upon at a great meeting of the Senwi notables in Mông Yai, a village nearly in the centre of Senwi. Here the great State which had at one time overshadowed all others west of the Salween was finally broken up. The chiefs of the old southern division were confirmed in the independence which they had already gained in Burmese times; the centre was given to Sow Nawmông to hold and administer for his father, whom age and infirmities of body and mind prevented alike from attending the meeting or controlling a State; and the old northern, eastern, and western divisions, with the territory round the ancient capital, fell to Kun Sang Tôn Hồng. This settlement, which was arrived at by the political officers in consultation with the heads of the people, has since been loyally maintained, a circumstance gratifying in itself, but especially so as a result of the first popular conference held in the Shan States. Kun Sang Tôn Hồng has a very arduous charge in the medley of wild tribes who inhabit the hills to the north and east of his State. They require careful but determined handling, and

no more capable man than the Sowhpa of Northern Senwi could be found for the post. The fact that his State marches with China, or at any rate with districts tributary to China, over a distance of not far short of two hundred miles, also calls for administrative skill, and for this Kun Sang Tón Hông's knowledge of Chinese and his previous connection with Chinamen eminently fit him.

The march of the two columns in the open season of 1887-8 completed the submission of the Cis-Salween States. In a march of seven hundred miles, extending over four months, the political officers with the Southern Shan Column visited nearly every capital and met with every chief west of the Salween. All the chiefs unreservedly accepted British supremacy, abjured correspondence with other powers, and received patents confirming them in possession of their States. The conditions of tenure are as nearly as possible the same as those under which the chiefs held from the Burmese kings. Each chief is supreme in his own State, and manages its affairs without interference as long as he does so in accordance with Shan usage and law. Inter-State quarrels, if they cannot be settled by mutual agreement, are referred to the Superintendent of the Shan States for decision; inter-State war being of course absolutely forbidden. The succession is determined by Shan customary law, which does not recognize that the first-born, or indeed any son, necessarily succeeds his father. The approval of the Local Government is however required, and subject to such approval every chief may nominate his successor. Internal administration and the appointment of officers for such duties is entirely in the hands of the Sowhpa of each State. Tribute is paid as in Burmese times, and the amount fixed was that last paid under King Mindon, an assessment which was largely increased by his son Thibaw. This tribute was absolutely fixed for a term of five years, but in nearly every case heavy remissions have been made for the first year, owing to the devastation of the country and the diminution

of the population. In not a few cases, only one-twentieth, or even less, of the actual fixed sum is paid, and it will probably be some years before the political officers will exact the actually fixed amount from several of the States. These conditions were freely and willingly accepted by the Sowhpas, all the more readily because they are now freed from the "presents" habitually required by the Burmese kings, a reminiscence of the adoration exacted from their tributaries and subjects by all Oriental potentates. The difference between British politicals and extortionate Burmese officials is an even greater relief to the State exchequers. All this was settled by March, 1888. A month or two over the year therefore resulted in the complete pacification and submission of the Cis-Salween States, an area roughly two hundred miles square.

Burmese misrule and injustice had, however, left us a legacy which proved more troublesome than the direct hostility of any one State would have been. There were numbers of persons who claimed to have been defrauded of their just rights by Court intrigue or venality. Some of these had been actually ruling princes, ousted for a variety of reasons, or for no reason. Others claimed to have been wrongfully kept out of the succession by superior force. Others, again, had been overthrown in the promiscuous free fight and jostling which immediately preceded our appearance in the States. The Burmese held Mōng Nai with a strong garrison, but elsewhere they had few troops capable of controlling a race so quick to take offence as the Shans. Craft, therefore, took the place of just rule. The equilibrium was preserved by the fostering of feuds between princes who seemed likely to prove restive, or who were too prosperous for the safety of Burmese authority. Laziness or sheer malice not unseldom left the settling of the right of control of a State to the personal efforts of rival claimants. The understanding was that the victor would be confirmed as Sowhpa by royal authority. Thus there were not only many men who had been direct victims of

this infamous policy, but there were others whose own efforts, though insufficient to maintain their claims, imaginary or otherwise, had only more strongly impressed on their minds the sense of wrong and the conviction that their claims were just. Add to this that caprice or favouritism had taken groups of villages, or whole districts, from one State and given them to another, without reference to the Chief, and without concern for the feeling of the inhabitants. It would, therefore, have been very singular if, with all this simmering discontent and resentment, peace had been absolutely and immediately restored. In anticipation of these grievances and feuds the general principle followed by the political officers was in every case to acknowledge the *de facto* ruler, except where the popular wish was unmistakably in favour of the chief *de jure*. Settlements on these lines met with the universal approval of the people, and resulted in the quieting of the principalities for the time. But the unsuccessful aspirants were not less naturally dissatisfied. Their experience of British rule had been too short for them to realize its stability and its firmness. Of all the princes, only one, the Sowhpa of Loksoke, had been displaced by us, and Saw Waing owed his fall as much to his own flight and the consequent necessity of an administration for the State as to any direct British action. It was therefore perhaps natural for these ousted claimants to adopt the course they would have taken in Burmese times, to appeal to arms. Each would-be chieftain had his own body of retainers, and it was easy to add to these bands of professional fighting men, free lances who would take up any quarrel where there was a chance of plunder.

Accordingly, the end of the cold weather of 1888 was signalized by several such attempts. The most serious of these was that of Twet Nga Lu on Mōng Nai. It has been already mentioned that this man, the son of a Salween boatman, and expelled from the monastic order for capital sin, had been appointed Sowhpa of Mōng Nai on the flight

of Kun Kye to Keing Tung. On the return of the hereditary prince the Mông Nai State rose in his favour, and he entered into possession without striking a blow. A few months' marching, rather than fighting, served to drive the recreant monk out of Keing Tong also, and Kun Kye was in full possession of both States when we first entered the Shan hills. Twet Nga Lu came to Fort Stedman, and laid formal claim before the Superintendent to Mông Nai and Keing Tong. Kun Kye was called upon to reply, and the whole case was laid before the Chief Commissioner of Burma, who naturally decided against the upstart. Pending this decision Twet Nga Lu had taken up his abode in the State of Laika, north of Mông Nai. On being informed of the rejection of his claim he made no answer whatever, but began secretly to get together a band of men-at-arms, and with these made a sudden descent upon Keing Tong. He was unable to maintain himself in the State, but burnt his way through from north to south, and crossing the hills fell without warning on Mông Pan, and drove out the Sowha of that State, an old ally of his own. The advance of the Southern Shan Column a few days later drove him across the Salween, and he remained quiet for several months in the hill fastnesses of Trans-Salween Keing Tung. The mere fact of Twet Nga Lu's rise in a country so partially civilized as Burma and the Shan States is a sufficient proof that he was no common man. Under more favourable circumstances he might have played the part and attained the success of Kun Sang Tôn Hồng. Like very many Buddhist monks, he had dabbled in mystic arts, and had a wide and sinister reputation as a necromancer or dealer in periapts, talismans, and incantations, and as a natural consequence a tattooer of most pretentious abilities. Hence he drew to him the scum of the States; novices in guilt, who wished to be made proof against wound of bullet, stroke of sword, or thrust of spear; and captains in crime who recognized in the uncowed monk and dethroned prince a desperate man who would point the way in many a raid.

where spoil was to be gotten, and who could moreover add another potent charm or two to the amulets already embedded beneath their skin, another red cabalistic scrawl to the rimes which decorated their chests, backs, and arms. Twet Nga Lu's retreat was well chosen. He could assemble followers in the jungles and gorges of Mông Kang without any one being the wiser, and he could supply himself with bullets, powder, and caps from the shops of Keing Mai (Zimmè). His time for action was equally well chosen. When the political officers, with the great part of the troops, were two hundred miles away in Senwi, he crossed the Salween and burst upon Mông Nai with only a few hours' warning. The Sowhpa fled to Mông Nai, and Twet Nga Lu halted for a time to let his bandit followers plunder the State, and to allow the gathering of Free Companions, attracted from all sides by the news of his success. The adventurer had resolved to spare no precautions which might ensure his success in a second attempt on Mông Nai, now roused to a sense of its danger. Kun Kye, on his side, resolved to fight the battle out in Mông Pan if possible. A force was despatched against Twet Nga Lu, who awaited the attack on the crest of an abrupt hill. The leader of the Mông Nai force was shot dead in the assault, and his men broke and ran. Twet Nga Lu followed with such speed and persistence that before he halted he had covered thirty miles, had occupied a large village in Keing Tong State, and was within striking distance of the capital of Mông Nai itself. He halted only a single day to reassemble his scattered followers, and then baffled the Mông Nai forces by a long night march along a forgotten jungle track. Kun Kye was unprepared for so sudden an attack. He had few men and fewer guns; the mouldering walls of the ancient city afforded no defence; the warlike reputation of the attacker doubled the force of his arms, and after a half-hearted defence of two days he fled, and Twet Nga Lu triumphantly established himself in Mông Nai, and issued firmans announcing his success to his neighbour chiefs and

his Siamese friends. But his triumph did not last long. A British force marched rapidly and secretly on Mông Nai. A handful of mounted men galloped on ahead of the column, came upon the town by a bridle path, and seized the palace enclosure before Twet Nga Lu's followers realized what had happened. The rebel and his six chief leaders were made prisoners, his body-guard was disarmed, and while measures for a rescue were being debated by the main band which held the town, the British column arrived and the whole rising was at an end. The six *Bos*, all notable banditti chiefs, were sentenced to death and shot. Twet Nga Lu was sent to Fort Stedman, and on the way nearly gave his Biluchi guard the slip, but was fortunately brought down before he could reach the shelter of the jungle. Kun Kye was restored within ten days of his expulsion. The lesson taught by this rapid succession of events will not be soon forgotten, either by the ruling Shan chiefs, or by those who aspire to rule. It was proved that the British Government would firmly uphold a ruler who had been confirmed in his State; that rebellion would neither be tolerated nor manipulated as it was in Burmese times; and, finally, that the most potent charms, cantraps, cabala, or telesms were of no avail against the whiz of a British bullet. It is a point that might be sustained, that this last lesson was the most salutary and peace-provoking of the three.

At the same time that these events were happening in the South, there was a similar rising in the North. The aged Paókchók had been a candidate for the government of Senwi at the Mông Yai meeting. Mông Yai was the seat from which he had administered the various cantons forming the confederacy that had been the old central riding of Senwi. The election was held in his own district, and within rifle shot of the *haw* where he held his councils. Nevertheless, not a voice was raised on behalf of the childless old man. Perhaps the fact that he had no son to succeed him was a decisive objection with the Shans, whom past miseries had caused to dread a doubtful succession. It

does not appear that the septuagenarian's rule had been anything but gentle and just, yet his former electors failed to give him a single vote. In the settlement, therefore, he was left a subject of Sow Nawmōng, but with direct control over the district of Mōng Yai, which had formerly been his more personal charge. The Paōkchōk was quite satisfied, but, unhappily, though he had no children, he had numbers of none too scrupulous nephews. The family was one of the more prominent among the vassals of the old Senwi State, and many of its members continued to administer districts and circles of what had been the Central Division, and now had become Southern Senwi. Besides this, they were connected by blood with the Trans-Salween house of Manglun-Tōnsang. What the age and infirmities, and possibly the ambition, of the Paōkchōk did not care to struggle for himself, the unruly pride and zeal of his nephews determined to thrust upon him. The conspirators found allies in one or two rural magistrates, who had hoped and voted for the subdivision of Senwi into a multitude of small independent States. Sow Mawmōng's gratitude to the British Government had also prompted him to name a sum as tribute, which the country, worn by war and discussions, considered too heavy. This also played into the hands of the rebels. A sudden revolt, when the British column had marched down to Mandalay, therefore seemed for a moment to capsize the whole Senwi settlement. The rising, however, was as promptly put down. The northern political officer restored the Sowhpa, summoned a meeting of the rebellious vassals, and after an investigation, where he sat as *amicus curiæ*, and the Sowhpa officiated as judge, the more guilty were punished with imprisonment in Mandalay. New headmen of circles were appointed at the same time, and since then Southern Senwi has enjoyed peace which has justified and endeared British supremacy among the people. The escape of three of the younger and more reckless conspirators to the wild Trans-Salween State of Mōthai was an unfortunate circumstance which led to

another inroad at the end of the year, but the punishment inflicted on the ignorant and savage La invaders will prevent the recurrence of such an event. The Paòkehòk himself had died of dropsy before Sow Nawmōng was restored, so that this second attack had simple plunder and revenge for its object. The inevitable end of such enterprises will soon prevent the most irreconcilable malcontents from obtaining the support even of the wildest of the farther Salween tribesmen.

Chance at the same time furnished the Shan chieftains with another lesson, and a still more impressive proof of the inflexible justice of their new suzerain. The people of Yonghwe and the neighbouring State of Loilôn had long-standing complaints of cattle-lifting against each other, and bitterness of feeling had gone so far that all communication between the States was interrupted, and several of the petty rulers of Myelat, or Middleland, were drawn into the quarrel. Pride, or a sense of the weakness of their case, prevented the Sowhpa of Yonghwe and his subordinate chiefs from sending representatives to settle the dispute when the political officers visited Loilôn. The question, therefore, necessarily remained open, and the Yonghwe chief, confident in his strength and not yet convinced that the old Burmese *régime* had passed away, seized the opportunity of the absence of the Superintendent and the great bulk of the troops in distant Senwi to take the settlement of his claims into his own hands. He attacked Loilôn and ravaged nearly the whole of the north of that State, which, though belonging to the Shan hills jurisdiction, is mainly inhabited by Karen-Byo, of the same race as those Karens whom we have so long ruled in Lower Burma. The Karens after they had recovered from the suddenness of the first attack, rallied in force, drove back the Sowhpa's men, killed one of Yonghwe's chief vassals, and occupied his town. At this moment one of the political officers hurried up from Mandalay and stopped the fighting. At a formal investigation held some time

afterwards, the whole question was fully examined. The leaders on both sides were punished according to their degree of guilt, and a considerable fine was inflicted on the Sowhpa of Yonghwe, backed by a solemn warning that such lawless action would not for the future escape so easily. The Yonghwe chief had been in the habit of giving himself airs before his brother-rulers as the man who introduced the British into the Shan States, and in whose territory the Superintendent had established his residence. His habits of intrigue, no less than an excessively boorish manner had combined to make him detested by the Shan princes, who in their own way have a very strict code of courtesy. The disgrace of Yonghwe was therefore noted with scarce concealed delight by his brother chieftains. But while they chuckled at the downfall of his pride, they noted its cause, and it may be confidently anticipated that wars of revenge, no less than wars of succession, will henceforth cease in the States. In the Mōng Nai affair the most prominent prince was restored to his dominion; in the Yonghwe case the chief, who might be supposed to stand highest in favour with the suzerain power, met with simple stern justice.

Most of all perhaps the recent overthrow of Sawlapaw, the chief of Eastern Karenni will tend towards peace. Karenni is a small block of territory lying between the Shan States and Lower Burma. The western area is divided among a number of petty rulers with States not much bigger than an ordinary parish. The late King Mindōn threatened to annex them, but the Government of India interposed, and their independence was guaranteed by treaty over twenty years ago. Eastern Karenni was a tougher job. The Red Karens are bold and warlike, and this eastern division is a wild tangle of hills and ravines. The Burmans attacked Sawlapaw several times, but could never get beyond the western fringe. So far were they from overcoming the eastern Karenni that the latter made periodical raids into the Shan States, pene-

trating occasionally as far north as the head of the Myelat and even to Mōng Kūng, leaving a wake of burnt villages behind them, and carrying off herds of women and children whom they used as servants or sold into helpless slavery in Siam. Sawlapaw therefore triumphantly maintained his independence, and was in the habit of styling himself "the Great Ruler who has never paid tribute to China, Burma, Siam, the English or any else." This lofty style, backed by the man-hunting expeditions, had its effect. The Red Karens of the east were looked upon as invincible, and their country as impregnable, and neighbouring Shan chiefs were happy to buy impunity for their villages. The Red Karens have been known to us for many years, but their place in the family of nations is still undetermined. They are absolutely distinct from the Shans, not less in language than in personal appearance. Notwithstanding the common name Karen, they have no similarity with the Sgaw Karens of Lower Burma, either in features or in speech. Closer acquaintance with them will now be possible, and their affinities may be traced without danger of personal violence or robbery. Of their pluck there can be no dispute, and now that their vanity has been bitted and their lawlessness curbed, they will probably prove very useful subjects, and possibly soldiers under the British flag. Their collision came about with us in this wise. The only man who was able to gall Sawlapaw's heel was the turbulent Kolan Sowhpa of Mokmai. Twenty years or more ago he harried Northern Karenni again and again, and adopting the enemy's tactics held mountain crests and narrow passes and prevented retaliation. Baffled in his attempts to recover the elephants and timber which the Mokmai chief had carried off, Sawlapaw appealed to the Burmese for retribution.

This opportunity of collecting fees was too good to be recklessly treated, and the hearing of the Red Karen chief's claims and demands proved a comfortable source of income to a succession of Burmese exarchs in the Shan

States. A settlement was as far off as ever when we took over the Shan States. From the first Sawlapaw took up a hostile attitude towards British arms, and advised the Shan princes to refuse submission. Of this no notice was taken, and he was invited as an independent neighbour to meet the Superintendent. This suggestion he treated with suspicion and disdain, and naturally this attitude precluded any request to have his case against Mokmai considered. Sawlapaw remained in obstinate and sullen seclusion, and his only sign of wisdom at first was the cessation of man-hunting. When, however, Twet Nga Lu's attack on Mông Nai took place, the Karenni prince thought that his opportunity had come. Without warning he attacked Mokmai. The Sowhpa, a degenerate son of the warlike Kolan, offered but a shadow of resistance. The town of Mokmai was taken and burnt, and the whole State, west of the Salween, was plundered by the victorious Red Karens. Sawlapaw's ignorant pride now outdid itself. He proclaimed the deposition of our chief, annexed the State, and put in a nominee of his own. The same party which captured Twet Nga Lu and restored the Mông Nai prince drove out the Red Karens and put Kon Môn back again as ruler of Mokmai. The beginning of the rains and the smallness of the column, prevented any immediate action against Sawlapaw, and it was also determined to give him a last chance. As was perhaps natural in a half-savage Sawlapaw took leniency for fear, and the neglect to exact vengeance for a consciousness of being unable to do so. Accordingly, after the main column had returned to Fort Stedman, a fresh attack was made on Mokmai; the native officer in charge of the post beat off the assault, and a few days later, Lieut. Fowler, of the 1st Biluchis, with eighty men attacked the Karenni earthworks, killed and wounded over a hundred, and finally drove the invaders out of Mokmai territory. This was in July, 1888. Sawlapaw was given till December to repent. He began a correspondence, and now for the first time mentioned his claims against

Mokmai. But his messengers were spies, and his confidence in his hills and jungles was unshaken. He blocked the road with felled trees, and covered all the approaches to his capital with spiked bamboos, and believed that what had kept out the Burmese would be no less effectual against the English. The result is known. The British march began on the 29th of December. On the first day of the year a hundred and fifty Karenni were killed at Loikaw; the place which had been the limit of Burmese advance. On the eleventh day, in spite of blocked and spiked roads, sniping parties on the hills and jungles in the narrow passes, Sowlôn, *la pucelle*, was occupied, and Sawlapaw a fugitive in the woods. He remained stubborn to the end; refused to come in and admit his defeat, and pay compensation for his harrying of Mokmai. He was therefore deposed, and his nephew put in his place. This rapid and utter overthrow of the stalwart Red Karens, and the ignominious collapse of Sawlapaw, the bogie of Shan nurseries, has not only ensured the quiet of our new subjects and released many who were in slavery, but has furnished a proof that, undoubted bravery, the confidence which ignorance of defeat implies, the highest of hills and the narrowest of gullies are helpless against the new suzerain power when it is in earnest.

For some unexplained reason it has been assumed by recent writers on the Shan States that there is an understanding that the British Government has occupied the Salween river as the limit beyond which authority will not be extended, nor protection exerted. It is difficult to say how such an idea should have been started, but it probably originated with a Siamese whose patriotism and zeal exceeded his knowledge of geography, history, or existing facts, but who yet knew enough to presume on the equal want of information on these points among the bulk of mankind. Even if we had been desirous of having so well-marked and defensible a frontier as the deep, narrow valley and rapid current of the Nam Kông, as the Shans call the Salween, inexorable

facts would have made it impossible. Mokmai, Mông Pan, Mông Nai, Senwi all possess, and have possessed for ages, territory beyond the river. The Salween as a frontier line is therefore denied to us. The question of how far British supremacy is to extend is still open, and may not be decided for some years.

In annexing Upper Burma we succeeded to the rights and liabilities of the Burmese Government. King Thibaw's rule, bad and weak everywhere, was most oppressive and disastrous in the Shan States. Hence the difficulty with regard to the principalities beyond the Salween. The turmoil and anarchy in the years preceding our assumption of our lordship in the States were so great that the chiefs most deeply interested in the matter are unable to say whether in rejecting the authority of King Thibaw they intended to free themselves altogether from the Burmese yoke or not. The Cis-Salween States have all decided that they rebelled against the man and not against the system. They are now convinced that a suzerain is a necessity, not merely for the peace of the country, but for their very existence. Everything seems to point to the fact that the Trans-Salween States will experience the same necessity, and will accept the same protection.

The influence of the Burmese Government over the hitherward States was always strong and regularly maintained. Beyond the Salween the control, always less directly felt, became gradually weaker and weaker. Twenty years ago when Commandant Doudart de Lagrée's exploration party passed up the Mekong, it was found that Burmese garrisons were indeed maintained, but that the royal officials had very little power. The conceit of their words very greatly exceeded the weight of them in the councils of such potentates as those of Keing Tung and Keing Hong. The payment of a fixed sum as tribute by the hill chieftains was an innovation of Mindôn Min. He reformed the State economy by establishing fixed salaries

for his officials, instead of allowing them to live on what they could exact from the people over and above the royal tithes. The fact that the officials had indeed a salary fixed, but seldom had it paid to them, is a circumstance which might tend to a continuance of the old practice, but did not interfere with the new theory. Under this new system all the Cis-Salween States paid a regular sum as tribute, called the Thathameda money, instead of the old presents of so much gold, silver, silk, and grain, so many ponies, elephants, and what not. But this innovation did not extend beyond the Salween, whether because the chiefs were suspicious of new methods or because the king hesitated to suggest what he might not be able to enforce, does not appear. The Trans-Salween States continued to send their gifts in kind, and to acknowledge their liability to supply a contingent of so many thousand fighting men to the royal armies, and in this way there arose a specious difference between the nearer and the farther States. A further complication, which to semi-civilized peoples and especially to such random, casual, happy-go-lucky races as the Shans and Burmese, is a matter of small moment, but to Great Britain is an embarrassing custom, was that these Trans-Salween States not only did not pay this "gold and silver flower" annually, but actually in the interim, paid a similar compliment and homage to China. Thus, Mōng Lem paid tribute, or its equivalent, to Burma annually and to China triennially, while this arrangement was precisely the other way in the case of Keing Hong, a State naturally much more under Chinese influence. Yet though Keing Hong paid Burma only once in the three years, a Burmese garrison was stationed there permanently, and the support of the officer in command and the up-keep of the detachment devolved upon the State.

Scattered throughout the Trans-Salween territory are a number of aboriginal races, more or less independent, among whom investigation may discover relatives of Mr. Colborne Baber's Lolo, black and white, and the hill-

dwellers of Kweichao, Kwangsi, and other provinces, whom the Chinese nick-name Miaotsu. On the northern and eastern frontier these tribes are certainly independent, and, if Shan report does not belie them, are exceedingly savage. The amount of clothing they are said to wear, would make a man in skimpy bathing-drawers appear over-dressed even in their most select female society. For arms they use poisoned darts with bow and blow-pipe; and they are accused of cannibalism of the domestic kind. The assertion that they eat their own parents to relieve them from the miseries of old age and to ensure them a respectable grave, one that cannot be readily dishonoured, is too singular and too much like the known customs of the more enlightened cannibal races to be altogether a fiction. Of their polity little or nothing is known, but it seems most probable that they have a system of village communities. A more civilized branch of the savage Was, who are probably the most widely spread of these wild tribes hold the extensive States of Manglün-Tönsang (Manglün-Nalao, west of the Salween, has a Shan population with a Wa ruler) and Mòthai in the north, and south of them are the comparatively mild La in the State of Mawhpa. Apart from these, however, who scout the idea of being tributary to anybody, and may very well be left to themselves, if they remain quiet, there are four great States beyond the Salween, which were certainly feudatories of Burma as long as King Mindön ruled. These are Keing Tung (called by the Laos Chientung and by the Burmese Kyaingtôn), Keing Hong (Lao, Chienghung; Burmese, Kyaingyôngyi), Keing Cheng, and Mông Lem. The population of these States is almost entirely Shan, though the dialects spoken approximate in Keing Tung to Lao and in Mông Lem to Chinese, and are in general so corrupted and debased as to be difficult of comprehension to a Cis-Salween man. Of these four principalities, Keing Tung is the unquestioned chief. At the capital of this State the Limbin confederacy was formed, and the first,

condition of the terms of agreement was that, for the safety of the Shan States, it was necessary that there should be a suzerain power. As far as can be learnt, all four States, following the lead of Keing Tung, revolted from Burma in the first year or two of King Thibaw's reign, and paid him no tribute whatever. It is therefore a nice question whether, in succeeding to that monarch, we have acquired an authority which we can confidently assert over these States or not. It is a most unfortunate circumstance that the old Sowhpa of Keing Tung died almost immediately after the formation of the Limbin party, and that he was succeeded by a boy of no more than eleven or twelve years of age.

The deceased prince was the leader of the confederacy, a conspiracy against King Thibaw, as it really was in its inception, and he contributed very largely towards it with both money and men. It is also understood that he leaned towards an alliance with a European power, of whom the State had vague notions from recollections of the visits of Macleod and Richardson, and of the Mekong exploration party. No such ideas can be expected from a mere boy, but he is said to have a great regard and affection for the Mōng Nai prince, and will no doubt when he has overcome his fear of the unknown, eventually follow the advice of Kun Kye, and accept British protection and supremacy. Within the last two years the town of Keing Tung, which is encircled by a wall of very great extent, but has very few houses within it, has been visited by Lieutenant Younghusband of the Guides, and by Mr. Archer, British Vice-Consul at Keingmai (Zimmé). From the statements of these gentlemen it appears that Keing Tung is equally afraid of China and of Siam, and is determined to avow allegiance to neither. The young prince's advisers are understood to be unanimously in favour of a request for British protection, and it is probable that this would have been established long ere this, had it not been for the influence of Saw Waing, the deposed Sowhpa of Loksok.

This rebel chieftain took with him a considerable number of his old subjects. He has in addition "started up a band of landless resolute," and now completely terrorizes the boy prince in his own capital. The idea of the deposed chief that the arrival of British force in Keing Tung would mean his instant execution naturally prompts him to exercise his influence in the most vigorous way against such a contingency. The fugitive chieftain has however no allowance, and he was able to carry but little wealth with him from his own State. To support his followers he has to adopt the plan of Ripon steel suggestion. Their raids on the Keingmai colonies of Keing Hsen and Keing Hai have already attracted attention; and it is probable that to save himself from the consequences, the Keing Tung prince will have to call in British assistance to protect him from the just anger of the Siamese and probably also the Chinese, by ridding him of this Old Man of the Sea.

Keing Tung is the largest of the Trans-Salween States, indeed, of all the Shan States (the Lao States and Siam apart). It extends from the Salween, since the annexation of the small territories of Senyot and Senmong, to the Mekong and to some distance beyond. How far to the east of that river the thirty-two cities of the Gong, as the Burmese called Keing Tung, extend is uncertain, but it is certain that its farthest limits would not bring us anything like into contact with the most westerly frontier which the archaeological labours of Monsieur Pavie and other French Roustanites in Luang Prabang and elsewhere, may be disposed to claim for the ancient feudatories of that Tongking which they have not yet succeeded in pacifying. The other Trans-Salween States will follow the lead of Keing Tung as a matter of certainty. Keing Hong indeed is properly a part of Keing Tung. When the late Sowhpa of Keing Tung revolted from King Thibaw and had executed the Burmese political officer and his scanty guard, he reduced the northerly State, and put a nephew of his own in possession of Keing Hong. This nephew seems

not to have tacitly acquired independence, though he is so much more bound to China than to a Western suzerain, that the conditions on which British protection can be extended to him will necessarily have to be settled by an Anglo-Chinese Commission, and the same will probably be the case with Mōng Lem, to say nothing of the belt of wild tribes. It is practically certain that the Chinese will welcome the extension of a power which will ensure peace. The neighbouring province of Yunnan, not less than that of Kweichow, contains probably more Shan and aboriginal inhabitants than Chinese. These are turbulent and difficult to manage by Chinese methods, and rebels against the Imperial authority find a ready and safe retreat in the Shan provinces under such adventurers as Saw Waing of Loksok. The certainty of peace and support in case of necessity would enable the Shan potentates to exert a power and authority in seizing and delivering these marauders which they do not now possess, or are afraid to exert. Chinese policy will therefore unite with the promptings of a necessity which the chiefs themselves will soon feel to throw these Trans-Salween territories into our hands.

It may be well to state here the facts of the case as to the five small Trans-Salween districts which have been already handed over to the Mōng Pan Sowhpa. It was the resumption of his authority over these territories by that chieftain which gave rise to the absurd notion that Siam was being coerced into ceding territory to our feudatories. The States in question are Mōng Tōn, Mōng Hang, Mōng Chwut, Mōng Ta, and Mōng Hsat. The area covered by these settlements, since they have existed at all, has always been tributary to Burma. The first colonists planted about a hundred years ago were natives of Mōng Pan, and for a time that was recognized as the mother-state. In time, however, when the value of the forests increased both the number of the population and the importance of the States, the area was created with a separate principality and a chief of the Mōng Pan house, but independent of that

ruler, was appointed from Mandalay. After a time this new State of Mông Tôn was administered by Burmese regents, issue of the Shan chief having failed, and eventually, some thirty years since, the territory was restored to Mông Pan, and was held by three Sowhpas of that family in succession. In the turmoil which succeeded the fall of King Thibaw the Mokmai Sowhpa picked a quarrel with Mông Pan, over-ran the State and burnt the capital. The Trans-Salween States, to escape the ravaging and burning which an invasion would have implied, implored the protection of the Keing Mai Chief Commissioner, and received it at the price of "drinking the water of faith," taking a vow of allegiance to Siam.

They were impelled to this by the apparently hopeless case of their chief, and still more by the threats of a warlike Amazon, Nang Mya, who governs Mè Hongson, a State subject to Siam. This lady is a cousin of the Mokmai Sowhpa. Her relationship to that prince prompted her to side against Mông Pan, and her subordination to Keing Mai suggested to the Trans-Salween officials their only hope of safety. Meanwhile the Mông Pan chief rallied his forces; the Mokmai Sowhpa was killed in a skirmish, and his followers, according to the unvarying customs of the Shans in such circumstances, disbanded and returned to their homes. The Mông Pan ruler regained his State, but the Trans-Salween districts were already held by Siamese garrisons. Against the power of Keing Mai, backed by Siam, that of Mông Pan availed nothing, and the chief was forced to rest his hopes of recovery on British intercession. The whole question was gone into at a meeting between the Superintendent of the Shan States, the Vice-Gonsul of Keingmai, and four Siamese Commissioners in January, 1888. The papers were submitted to the Foreign Office and the Siamese Government.

The Siamese had absolutely no case, and therefore resigned the claim. There are however many Siamese in England, and some of them adopted, on behalf of their

country, the modern resource of baffled speculation, and appealed to factious newspapers, eager for an opportunity to gird at authority. The Siamese Government, recognizing the failure of their contention, immediately withdrew their garrisons, and the Mông Pan chief peacefully resumed possession of his territory in December, 1888. To prevent the oppression or resistance of those headmen who had prompted the temporary secession and might fear the displeasure of Mông Pan, as well as to comply with ancient hill custom, the Sowpha was accompanied by a political officer to re-instruct him. The handful of troops which acted as an escort was magnified by the over-zealous and public-spirited scribe into an ungenerous weapon to overawe a friendly and allied nation into ceding its legitimate territory. The Siamese acknowledge that none of their subjects had at any time settled within the limits of the districts in question. Their contention was that the land itself had been considered theirs for more than a hundred years. Assertions of this sort touch somewhat delicate ground. It is little over a hundred years since Burmese troops stormed Ayuthia, the ancient capital of Siam, and killed its sovereign. Thirty years since, the redoubtable Kolan Sowpha, so named from his fabled leap of nine fathoms, the chief of Mokmai, raided almost up to the walls of Keingmai; and it is to him and his quarrels with the Burmese Government that the Siamese owe their authority over Mè Hongson and Mûang Fai. The Mokmai warrior held all that territory for himself at a time when the superior force of the Burmese kept him out of his own capital. When age warned him that he could fight no more, he made his peace with the Burmese, but he gave Mè Hongson to his niece, and Mûang Fai to another relative, with the injunction to seek the protection of the Keingmai Chief Commissioner, and not of the Burmese king. Had it not been for this action of the nine-fathom warrior these States would undoubtedly have come under Burmese authority. Burmese listlessness did not care to

agitate the matter, and the time was inopportune. Shortly before the Siamese had made an ineffectual attempt to annex Keing Tung. Peace had just been restored, and had the Burmese claimed Mè Hongson and Mùang Fai it would have been undoubtedly broken up again immediately. These two districts, therefore, with a large population indisputably Shan and not Lao, remain in Siamese hands, and will continue so to remain.

The mention of Siam in connection with Burma inevitably raises the long-standing question of the tapping of South-western China. It is now generally admitted, notwithstanding the enthusiastic and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Hallett, that a line of railway which should run to Raheng and there join a Siamese trunk line, which is still in the air, would be not only of little advantage to Burma, but would be enormously expensive in proportion to its length. The unanimous report of forest officers and others who have made the journey to Raheng points, in spite of Mr. Hallett's information, to at least one of the Mount Cenis tunnels, which Mr. Colborne Baker has strewn with such a liberal hand over the Bhamo-Tali route. Fortunately, however, there is another way of approaching Yunnan which does not imply either Menai bridges or cork-screw tunnels. It has the further merit of passing entirely through British territory, and of opening up the Shan instead of the Lao States. Such a line would traverse a country which produces everything from indigo to tea and opium, from potatoes and cabbages to forests of teak, and is moreover rich in ores of all kinds, so rich that an Indian mineralogist grows eloquent over a spot so singularly wealthy in metal that he calls it a solid mountain of iron, and records the absolute paralysis of his compass. Lead and silver have long been found in abundance, and the paltry holes dug by our new Shan subjects yield an amount which promises to skilled labour a return that will probably eclipse in interest the much-vaunted ruby mines. Hot springs and mineral waters await the arrival of the speculator in table

drinks, and the mines of sulphur may probably be as valuable as the seams of coal which have yet to be scientifically examined.

Engineering experts may find a better ascent to the plateau, but as far as is at present known the easiest line would be from the station nearest Hlaingdet on the new Mandalay railway. The route followed would be that taken by a huge traction engine dragged up the hills to please the vanity of a Yonghwe chief. Once on the plateau the most promising line would be down the Yonghwe or Loilôn valley to Mông Hpai, thence north-east to Mông Nai, and from there two hundred miles up an almost perfectly level plateau, a *plaine mamelonée* to the Kun Lôn ferry on the Salween. This is almost at the foot of Marco Polo's "great descent" which he speaks of as so easy. If therefore the Chinese choose to connect, the proverbially wealthy province of Ssuch'uen might be reached from Rangoon well within the week by a goods train. The only serious obstacle on this route is the deep gash in the hills made by the rapid waters of the Nam Pwon. In the latitude of Mông Nai and Fort Stedman, however, the altitude of its bed is three thousand feet, a height above sea level corresponding with that of both these places. A more extended knowledge of the hills may therefore surmount this difficulty. The Sipaw route from Mandalay through Senwi has also its advocates, but here also there is an obstacle in the abrupt face of the Gôkteik cliffs. Both routes make for the Kun Lôn ferry, which till Sang Hai's rebellion in Senwi, thirty years ago, was without dispute the great route for Chinese caravans. Burmese fears and jealousy, as much as its dangers, owing to the unsettled state of the country, concealed the pre-eminent advantages of this entry into China from British searchers after new routes for commerce. The closing of the Kun Lôn ferry at the same time forced Chinese merchants to take either the Bhamo track, alternately so much belauded and so absolutely condemned, on the Southern route, by Ssu'mao

and Keingmai or the Takaw. The caravans which travel by this southern road adopt a system particularly characteristic of the innate trade instincts of the Chinaman. They assemble at Keing Tung. A committee is appointed, and on a fixed day determines by what routes and at what intervals the various caravans are to make their way west to Mandalay, or south-west to Maulmein. In this way the iron pots and pans, the grass-woven and felt hats, the shoes, silk, gold leaf, orpiment, walnuts, and what not, brought by the traders, are judiciously distributed, so that in no place there may be a glut and the merchants everywhere may make an equal profit. It is in this way that caravans make their way by Keingmai to Maulmein, and not because the road is a good one. As a matter of fact between Keing Tung and Keing Hsen the route is execrably bad. As a rule the caravans reach Mandalay, Maulmein, or Yamèthin empty, make purchases of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield goods there, and sell off again in the Shan States, reaching their Yünnan homes again with empty panniers and heavy purses. The same committee of distribution may very soon be expected to reassemble at the Kun Lôn ferry, and the three or four paltry dugouts there are there now will once more be multiplied into a fleet of busy ferry boats; the miserable wattled bamboo clachan will again assume the proportions of a town; Manchester looms will grow busy, and the hardware town will forget what it is to have a strike.

The Shans have the instincts of trade. Even now large caravans make their way to Mandalay and the larger towns of Upper Burma, and the steadiness and docility of the bullocks, which are exclusively used, instead of the Chinese mules, excite the admiration of British transport officers who know the famed cattle of Mysore. Nevertheless, the Shan roads are exceedingly bad; the driver disdains to take any but the most direct line to his destination, and the bullocks clamber up rocky steeps and slide down muddy slopes with the dexterity of an ibex. But the loads are on this account

necessarily very light. But one, or at most two trips can be made in the year, so that the Shan mercantile endeavours are seriously hampered. Huckstering is what all but the few are condemned to. The race is as prone to peace as the Chinese, but as prompt to resent oppression; with no small amount of the intellectual stability—or stolidity, if that term be preferred—which has maintained the Chinaman so long, yet without the Celestial crabbed hate of change. The Sowhpas, by treaty, are bound to grant land free for the passage of a railway through their territories and most of them are already eager to see it begun. The financial authorities of the government of India will probably shrink from such an undertaking for some time, but were a syndicate formed for the construction of a railway, there is no doubt that the chiefs would be among the earliest and eagerest applicants for shares. The country is now poor and thinly peopled, but it cannot fail soon to recover its former riches. With a railway to stimulate the natural resources of the hill States, the wealth of our tributary Shan princes would soon outrival that of the most potent of the Indian Maharajas.

J. GEORGE SCOTT.

THE NATIVE PRESS OF INDIA. .

It is now more than fifty years since Metcalfe, in his one year's tenure of office as Governor-General of India, gave freedom of expression to the Press of that country. His way had been in a measure cleared by the policy of his predecessor, Lord William Bentinck, who more than once said and constantly showed, that he did not care a button what any one published in any language. But Metcalfe himself, with him Macaulay and before him Sir Thomas Munro, had always contemplated the possibility of return to legislation of a restrictive character if journalists should take "a malignant turn, and designedly set the population against the Government." In Metcalfe's time the English Press was practically the only Press in India. No administrator now holds that Metcalfe's great measure was other than politic and fair. Any exuberance of diction or harshness of comment on the part of Scotch or English editors has always been compensated by the fact that in their papers grievances were frankly discussed, abuses exposed, and redress given to the members of the unofficial and independent community. But in 1835 it never occurred to the few native papers struggling into life to denounce any one above the rank of a Kotwal or a Nazir. A native writer would then as soon have thought of abusing General Avitabile or Runjit Sing, if he had been living in the Punjab, as the Governor-General or the Commander-in-Chief. By degrees, of course, all this was altered. Flattery and compliment have been exchanged for comment, censure, and abuse. The Commissioner and the Magistrate are no longer sacred personages. The Mutiny gave free scope to murmurs, discontent, open sedition, and disloyalty.

For more than a quarter of a century successive Statesmen since the Sepoy rebellion have been perplexed as to the best mode of dealing with a venomous Press. It has been repeatedly shown that criticism was hostile or seditious: that there was no sort of antidote to the circulation of false rumours: that the credulity of Oriental natives was fed and excited by mendacious tales: and that some steps ought to be taken to remove unfounded impressions, especially as to taxation, either by establishing a paper in the style of the *Moniteur*, or by subsidising some one of the existing journals, or by some other practical measure.

The danger of allowing the circulation of falsehoods about English and native functionaries, and about the general policy of a Government resting on force and superiority of character and not on popular choice, was over and over again admitted by Lord Lawrence and by the late Lord Sandhurst. It had engaged the attention of a calm jurist and philosopher like Sir Henry Maine. But for divers reasons, more or less powerful and politic, nothing was done till the administration of Lord Lytton. It became quite clear to that Viceroy and his experienced adviser that this grave question could no longer be shelved. It was conclusively shown that a considerable number of native journalists existed only "for the sake of preaching seditious principles, for bringing the Government and its European officers into contempt, and for exciting antagonism between the governing race and the people of the country." Their principal topics were "the injustice and tyranny of the British Government," and the "insolence and pride of Englishmen in India," both official and non-official. Englishmen were monsters; Englishmen might with impunity kill natives, and the laws passed to prevent such acts were only intended to keep natives in check. It is sufficient to say that, with the full consent of the Council and with the advice of such a true friend of the natives as the late Sir Ashley Eden, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and of district officers well acquainted

with the feelings and habits of the masses, a very temperate and mild law was passed. It was known as Act IX. of 1878. It was then enacted that when vernacular papers were shown to have systematically excited disaffection in the minds of credulous and ignorant natives, to have annoyed private individuals, and to have intimidated public functionaries, the executive authority of a district or town, with the sanction of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, might call on the printers and publishers to enter into a bond binding themselves to refrain from such habits in future. There were other provisions for the deposit of valuable securities to cover the bond, for forfeiture, and for the seizure of plant. Offending scribblers were to be duly warned before the infliction of any penalty. The Lieutenant-Governor was to exercise a close and constant supervision over his subordinates; and if the law were ever put in force, there was provided an appeal to the Governor-General in Council. The good effects of this very mild form of coercion were apparent at once. The native Press rapidly became sober, respectable, and decent. It still continued to discuss reforms, to ventilate abuses, and to aid the cause of order and good government as far as it could be aided by a Press generally far behind the English Magistrate and Commissioner, missionary, or planter, in drawing attention to the real wants of the country. Not once in four years of its existence were the preventive or confiscatory measures of the enactment put in force. It would have been impossible for the purest of Irish patriots to harrow the feelings of any audience by the picture of an editor forfeiting his [bond and losing the type of his printing-office by the despotic action of a magistrate whose misdoings he had fearlessly exposed. As far as we can make out after considerable research, once and once only, was a defaulting editor warned. The law, which had been very properly entitled an "Act for the better control of publications in the Oriental languages," had done everything that was wanted. Englishmen discharging their

duty in isolation and exile, were not compared to Nero or to Suraj-Al-Doulah ; native officials, always timorous, and requiring countenance quite as much as supervision, were not terrified or shamed ; real discussion, with a view to improvement and progress, was not checked in the least.

Lord Ripon made his appearance on the stage, and there was at once a complete change. On the 19th of January, 1882, that Viceroy repealed the enactment of his predecessor. There had not been published one report or tittle of evidence to show that the censorship had been exercised with undue severity or unfairness. No one charged with high administrative functions had suggested its modification. No public association, Committee of vigilance, or assembly of village patriots, had quoted Lord Erskine and Sheridan, alluded to the Petition of Right or suggested that an Oriental Runnymede could easily be discovered in one of the alluvial formations, covered with bulrushes and jungle-grass, of the Hooghly or the Rup-Narayan rivers. There was comparatively little discussion in the Legislative Council. Two fervid orators indulged in premature comments on the advantages to India of an unfettered Press. Editors in future would behave like good boys, would use no bad language, and would throw no nasty dirt. The Press Act was repealed simply to show to a bewildered population, accustomed for a century to be ruled by vigour, justice, and tact, how beautifully it could be governed on maxims cast in the latest Radical mould. What was good for Bradford and Middlesbrough must be equally good for Bhawanipur and Benares. To crown all, Lord Ripon addressed a circular to the emancipated native journalist, hoping that he would use his pen with fairness and discretion, and that everything would not in future be vinegar and gall.

What the effect of this premature confidence has been must now be shown. A careful perusal of the weekly reports furnished to the Government of India from the several provinces and extending over six months in regular

succession, shows that the effusions of the native papers may be described by three or four epithets: the writing is either—1. Disloyal and seditious; 2. Silly and perverse; 3. Inoffensive and harmless. It must be stated that in spite of all its innocent credulity, the Government of India has still thought fit to keep up a staff of officials, whose business it is to analyse or translate the weekly deliverances of the vernacular Press. The papers are published in the Marathi, Guzerati, Kanarese, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, and a few other dialects. The number of copies of each issue varies from 200 to 1,000 or 1,500. One or two notable exceptions have a circulation of more than 2,000; and one is credited with the extraordinary number of 20,000. The average might be set down as 500. Now, against a considerable number of these expositions of what is gravely termed "public opinion," we have nothing whatever to say. They would have entailed no disagreeable consequences under Lord Lytton's law. When an editor tearfully regrets the departure of one functionary, or mildly doubts the capacity of his successor, when he advises policemen to be on the alert to catch burglars, and magistrates to be independent of their native subordinates, when he strives to infuse a little more energy into the native Municipal Commissioners of the sleepy town of Sustipur, when he announces the failure of rain and suggests precautions against a famine, when he deprecates the increase of intoxication and the maintenance of too many out-stills, when he deplores the defective state of roads and bridges, the irregular arrivals of the post, or the failure to elevate some worthy Zemindar or Deputy-Magistrate to the dignity of a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, he is innocuous; and occasionally he may do real good. Government and its officers are always on the look out for anything which may explain the sentiments of any part of the community or reveal a chapter of native requirements and wants. But, mixed up with a good many local details and village gossip, there is no little unsound finance and false

political economy. In one paper the Income Tax is represented as sucking out the very life-blood of the people, though it is perfectly notorious that a limit has been fixed which includes only the well-to-do, and which leaves the millions quite untouched. Another writer blames railways for doing the very thing which rapid and easy communication is intended to do: they carry off the surplus produce of one province, he says, and offer it for sale in another where it is wanted—whereas the writer's real reason for desiring an abundant harvest is that the actual producer may have plenty to eat and an overflowing garner besides. A third laments the practice of raising loans: it absorbs too much of the capital of the country, and withdraws it from other profitable investments. A fourth, to show his solicitude for the masses, wishes the salt tax to be increased: this being notoriously the only imposition, besides his rent, which touches the agriculturist and the ryot. In one paper the slaughter of kine is regretted, and there are divers other specimens of what we have above designated as foolish and inept. But the gravest charges have now to be dealt with, and here the very language of the native Press must be given.

First comes a choice specimen of what can be written under the very nose, as it were, of the Government of India.

"Reports are coming from every district of grave failures of justice, of rich men becoming impoverished, of respectable people being insulted, of chaste women being ravished, and the ghastly atrocities of a Nero and a Suraj-Al-Doulah are being re-enacted in every town and *zillah* (district). The indifference of Government in the matter of punishing official delinquency is making its officers more absolute and lawless than ever. There is now no distinction between a Government official and a fiend. Nobody knows what else is reserved for the hopeless people of this country."

It will be observed that the writer of this precious stuff contrives to keep on the windy side of the law of libel by giving no specific instances, and mentioning neither names nor places.

A pamphlet which has been widely circulated is too

long to be quoted. It takes the form of a conversation between a graduate of an Indian University and a Ryot of a village named Kambukhtpur, or "the luckless city." A Raja stands for the British Government, and he is a man of good intentions, but his Chota Sahib or Deputy, spends his time in ruining the peasantry, spoiling their lands, and making them pay for water which they do not want. Under this functionary is a magistrate, who thrashes villagers because they do not supply his stud with grass for nothing. One of the most prominent members of the National Congress has had the effrontery to refer to this and another pamphlet as "loyal and kindly alike in spirit and in word."

Our next extract is from the Marathi paper called the *Pratod*, with a circulation of 400. It begins by saying, what nobody would contest, that the permanency of our rule will not be secure till we see to the welfare of the natives; and then, after a sentence or two in the same style, the writer goes on:—

"How shameful it is that notwithstanding that Englishmen have been ruling over India for many years past, they, excepting only two or three, should not have considered the prosperity of this country. It is most discreditable to the wisdom of Englishmen that they should not look to the interests of India. Our rulers are aware that the chief industry of India is agriculture, and that millions of people earn their bread by it; and yet they never seem to think of improving it. There are wise and shrewd Englishmen, but they are *not* to be found in India, but in England. The authorities in India have pleased no native, and have done nothing which will tend to do permanent good to his country. They have, on the contrary, deprived the natives of all their means of subsistence. They have ruined the trade and the agriculture of India, and the people are always in anxiety about their subsistence."

The *Rast Gofar*, or "Truth-speaker," in its issue of the 14th of October last, has a long article abusing the Government for taking Upper Burma, declaring that the annexation has cost five millions of our money, regretting any help and subsidies given to Abdul Rahman, and gloating over the prospect of the roar and thunder of artillery in Sikkim and Afghanistan, coupled with a monster deficit

in the finances of the Empire. The *Vartahar*, a Marathi paper, finds fault with Commissioners of Division for travelling about the country (*i.e.*, for carrying out one of the chief objects of their existence), and adds that it has become "a fashion with the big-wigs to enjoy themselves at the poor Rayats' expense."

The *Indu Prakash*, an Anglo-Marathi paper, after deploring the religious and political degeneration of India adds: "The representations of the people are not so well respected by Government now as they were twenty or forty years ago. Formerly Government was prompt in redressing the grievances of the people as soon as they were brought to their notice, and were careful to please them. But such is *not* the case at present."

The *Rast Goftar* in its issue of the 21st of October last accuses all the authorities from the Governors and the Under-Secretary of State, of deliberate lying: "We are sincerely sorry to observe the growth of official mendacity in the administration of this country. The cancer seems to flourish and fatten with each successive government." "There is a growing habit of calling black white and white black in State and governments of every kind of degree from the State despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India to the trumpery reports furnished by junior officers." "Never was a despatch more full of glaring mis-statements and deliberate untruths than the papers and statistics supplied by the Bombay Abkari [excise] Department." It is suggestive after this venomous paragraph to find the writer calling on Lord Dufferin to "perform a lustration by killing that destructive parasite, the rabid and reptile Anglo-Indian. Press," meaning, we apprehend, the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, the *Bombay Times*, and the *Madras Athenaeum*.

A Marathi paper, the *Satya Sudha*, with one hundred subscribers, finding apparently no one and nothing to abuse in its own neighbourhood, flies off to Benares and gravely announces that Government have attacked and sold by

auction property belonging to a temple in the holy city of Benares. "*If it be true* [the italics are ours] what a grave injustice it is! Government fully know what stuff we are made of, and so they have set aside all promises, morality, respect, and fear, and have begun to fill their belly in any way they can. It would not be improper to say that this is only plundering the people by main force." It would not be difficult to multiply these precious pearls of freed journalists, striving on the purest principles of morality and patriotism, to emancipate their oppressed brethren. But this part of the subject must be condensed. Of course it was natural that the papers should make capital out of a late notorious case at Bombay, where a Civil Servant was charged with corruption. Over and over again the public are told to expect an acquittal because the accused is an Englishman, and is therefore sacred. For more than two years virulent and persistent abuse was lavished on Sir Rivers Thompson, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, than whom a more conscientious and high-minded administrator never injured his health by excessive devotion to the real interests of the natives. Government has been charged with an intent to check the progress of education, and to keep the people in ignorance. Political officers and residents at native courts have illicit intercourse with married women, and "if the latter do not leave them when pregnant, they persuade some friendly Raja to give these women fifty or sixty thousand rupees. Why should Government look to the matter? In short, what wonder is there that wrong things should be done when lakhs of rupees are spent for the Political Agents, and when they are worshipped as God?"

Caricatures have been drawn in aid of these wonderful attempts at enlightenment and progress. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales has been portrayed selling titles and rewards to those who have money to buy them. The *Oudh Punch* depicts an European shaving a native prince, and adds, "The shaving is excellent, as even the roots of the hair are being cut quite clean." In another paper, the

Kanauj Punch, there is a picture of an European conversing with a Nawab and a Raja, and asking them why they are so lean, to which the pair reply, "We have become so lean owing to the mischievous proceedings of the Residents." In another paper of about the same date Anglo-Indians are said to have "hearts of stone." An ordinary riot having taken place in a district in the Upper Provinces, a writer in the *Yam-i-Yamshed* quietly assumes that a number of Mussulmans who were missing were probably shot, and their bodies secretly removed by "the police." Then we have more pictures and more cartoons. In one that loyal and excellent gentleman, Syud-Ahmed Khan, is seated, with a Turkish hat, on a donkey, his face towards the animal's head, while a Hindu is next him with his face to the tail. Then we have the enlivening incidents of a doctor who kicks the natives, of tea-planters who beat coolies, of magistrates also who tell lies about inundations, and who report that there is no distress while ryots are starving, of outrages on a native lady, and of two thousand millions of money carried off to the India Office to the impoverishment of India, within the last century. To finish a summary of what is becoming wearisome and repulsive several of the papers have filled their columns with insolent denunciations of Lord Dufferin. This was perhaps to be expected, as he did not imitate Lord Ripon. The Viceroy, as his name imports, represents the Crown of England, and though it may be argued that Her Majesty's representative in India not only reigns but governs, it is certain that till within the last few years the personal character and motives of the Governor-General were sacred; and it is beyond question that there is not a single Raja, Nawab, Prince, Princelet, or Thakur managing his own dominions, large or small, in which such pestilential, indecent, and seditious trash would be allowed. Only let the writers of such scandalous paragraphs pen something similar in Gwalior, Indore, Hyderabad, or any of the Protected or Mediatized chiefs, as they are termed, and we

all know pretty well where they would find themselves twenty-four hours after such issues.

It is easy to anticipate the excuses and palliations to be devised for all this stuff by journalists, omniscient members of Parliament, and superior, advanced, and thoughtful personages resolutely bent on applying the maxims of the Radical Press and the Radical Platform to all sorts and conditions of men. The Press, in its infantine struggles, in the delight of its recent emancipation, in the exercise of its dearly-bought privileges, may be now and then exuberant, insolent, and slightly incorrect. We must tolerate these extravagances. We must not be too hard on a people depressed by ages of despotism, superstition, and priestcraft. The writers do not always mean exactly what they say. Their vehemence will be counteracted by the good sense of the community and by its real appreciation of the inestimable benefits of British rule; the school, the railway, the telegraph, the canal, the moderate assessment, the accessible magistrate, the impartial court. A great and powerful Government, conscious of integrity and noble aims, can afford to despise and laugh at these attacks, just as Englishmen in their long residence disregard mosquitoes, sandflies, the furnace blasts of Delhi and Agra, the steamy exhalations of Lower Bengal. In spite of a good deal of occasional malevolence, the native Press brings to light instances of abuse of power and neglect of duty, and acts as a sort of interpreter between the unsympathetic official and the mute peasantry. In cases of libel or slander, any aggrieved person can resort to the Penal Code or have his action in the Civil Courts. Gradually, but surely, journalists will be educated into a due sense of their responsibilities as exponents of native thought. You cannot now go back. "Censorship" and "Coercion" are no remedies. Better a free and even a licentious Press than hireling scribblers who can only fawn and flatter, and who will not let the Government know when the next eruption may be expected from the slumbering volcano.

Now to these and to any number of similar arguments we venture to make the following reply. In the first place, in nearly every kingdom where a free Press exists, such freedom of comment has been preceded by a representation of the people. The leaders of the community, often found in the aristocracy of the country, have first won the franchise for their fellows, have resisted taxation at the will of the sovereign, and have checked the progress and curbed the power of despotic rulers. When these valuable objects have been attained by much self-sacrifice, by unbought exertions, and even by shedding of blood, then has come the unlicensed and unfettered Press. In India this process has been exactly reversed. We have allowed the Oriental penman to write what, how, and when he pleases, before there has been the faintest desire in the masses of the population for the outline or shadow of representation. It may be said with the strictest accuracy, that of the 250 millions whom we are accustomed to talk about so glibly, 249½ millions have not the smallest notion what representation means. Lord Northbrook once made a very pertinent remark that if a man only went a few miles out of Calcutta into any village dense with palm-trees and other tropical vegetation, any one whom he questioned among thousands of industrious cultivators and proprietors, would certainly not be able to tell the Queen's name or say who was Viceroy. It would be surprising, Lord Northbrook said, if the typical ryot could say who was administering the country from Belvedere. The only representation that these thousands and millions know or desire is that of the Collector who assesses and collects their revenue, and the Magistrate, to whom on every occasion they resort for redress and aid. They have never, unless played on and excited by wire-pullers, shown the smallest capacity for political and patriotic union. Then, as to the existing law of libel. It will have been seen from the extracts given above that the aim of the scandalmonger has been general abuse and

misrepresentation. He avoids giving names or dates. But suppose a gross attack to be made on a Magistrate, a Deputy-Commissioner, or a native Judge of the Small Cause Court—is it the least likely, or is it desirable, that when the lie has been exposed and the misrepresentation been corrected, as it has been in some recent cases, the injured official should drag the editor and printer of some obscure local journal into the Criminal or Civil Court? If he did, what a splendid chance for a barrister to rant about a powerful Government and a submissive tribunal crushing a poor editor because he happened to have made a mistake or to have been humbugged by a correspondent! It may be laid down as a sound principle that Civil Servants do not and ought not to resort to the courts presided over by officials like themselves, if the Government which they serve retains its confidence in them and disbelieves general or particular slanders.

Next, it has been said that the circulation of the papers is limited and that, consequently, the publication of silly accusations and palpable falsehoods can do little harm. This is an argument with a double edge. If there are but a few score or a few hundred subscribers to the *Gazette of the World*, the *Nightingale of India*, the *Mirror of Guzerat*, or the *Friend of the Poor*, then it follows that such papers do not represent the feelings of the vast agricultural community. Some one hundred and seventy journals show a total of eighty thousand subscribers, or an average of about five hundred subscribers for each paper. This, it may be argued by the advocates of lawless pens, is a mere trifle; such a paltry circulation is not worth an exceptional law; it will be very long ere the hearts of the millions are touched or their credulity excited by this scanty vernacular literature; you may safely disregard it and trust to good administration and solid facts. But is it the case that the journal is read and treasured only by the subscriber himself? Such is not the opinion of skilled administrators who collect the revenue, preserve

the peace, mix as far as possible with the population, and watch the signs of the times. The journal may be paid for by one individual, but it is read or its contents imparted to hundreds and thousands. Natives are very fond of listening to recitals. In the bazaar, under the village trees, in the Court House where the Zemindar has his local agent* for the collection of his rents, wherever a knot of villagers assemble to discuss the state of the crops or the burden of taxation, pamphlets and weekly issues, scraps of prose and poetry, are constantly recited. It is easy to imagine the avidity with which stories of cruelty and oppression are swallowed. Householders carry away with them to their own homes distorted accounts and exaggerations of what has been read out. The antidote to the poison if there be one, they never see nor taste. It is a well-known fact that gossip, retailed from mouth to mouth, forms an universal ingredient in the daily experience of every Hindu and Mahomedan. Without adventitious aid there have been, in every generation, groundless fictions of every kind propagated, retailed, circulated, and credited in every mart and bazaar. Will any one be bold enough to say that such rumours derive no additional impulse from comments and leaders about the iniquities of the Sahibs? As in Arthur Clough's new "Decalogue"—

—The lie
Has time on its own wings to fly,

and so it has in India, thanks to Lord Ripon

Another characteristic of the native journalist is that he seldom thinks for himself. The staple of his weekly budget is borrowed from the English Radical Press. His illustrations, his commonplaces, his similes, his tricks of style, his quotations, are foreign and seaborne. Instead of telling his readers something about their own village wants or their social economy, he fills columns of his paper with an account of the strikes of some English colliers, or with a speech by Sir John Gorst or the Marquis of

Salisbury. It is true that he returns perforce to the National Congress, to a sensational trial, and to the policy of the Viceroy or Governor; and then he goes off into school fees, studentships, University degrees, and the administration by Englishmen of some petty state, the ruler of which has been deposed temporarily for gross mal-administration. And here and there we do find a protest against some social abuse, or a suggestion for improvements in the revenue or executive departments. But these remarks it was quite open to native editors to make fearlessly, under the very temperate, politic, and restrictive censorship established by Lord Lytton.

But the strongest argument against tame acquiescence in this state of things is this: Our Empire in India does not depend, except in the last resource, on the power of the sword. No Statesman or administrator recruited from either of the two political parties at home or from the services of India, and no one with any claim to be heard, has ever preached or practised this doctrine. Our army is there, but it is kept in reserve and is not an engine for Government. But that our power does rest on "public opinion," is a theory that will not be contested, and if this plea be sound and incontrovertible, what are we to expect from a public opinion which slowly but surely is corrupted, poisoned, and misled? If the reader and the listener, week after week, are told that the English officials are no longer just and fair as they used to be; that they are oppressive, venal, and corrupt; that native complaints are despised, and that Englishmen in office or out of it may do just what they like without fear of consequences; that women are outraged, temples violated, and soldiers behave like "fiends"; that the Government has ceased to trouble itself about the grievances of the community in any shape, and that its only object is to squeeze more money to be remitted to England; if, in short, this same public opinion is treated weekly to a hideous caricature of English manners and policy, sketched with a bold outline and daubed over with

glaring and false colours, what sort of foundation shall we rest on in the next ten, fifteen, or twenty years? It is not necessary to expect a general rising in which many millions of Ryots could easily bury one million of Christians of all sorts under a heap of clods; but several of the political thunderbolts in India have fallen from quiet and unclouded skies. No real grievance was put forward before, during, or after the Sepoy Mutiny. The Kookie outbreak was not foretold. Those who, with every show of reason, insist that the Indian Government should not rest on force only, forget that this same Government may have to employ force when its authority, prestige, and influence, have been thoroughly undermined by the circulation of atrocious calumnies and the imputation of bad motives and bad faith. An Oriental population can be brought to believe anything, especially of a rule which it is being taught either to hate or to despise. The conditions under which the native Press of India lives and writes, we repeat, has no parallel in any Continental State. Its virulence would not, as we have urged, be tolerated for a day in the dominions of Scindia or the Nizam. The best type of native statesmen look on at the inaction of Government with bewilderment and incredulity. There are surely high-minded and experienced councillors and administrators who could show Lord Lansdowne how to deal quickly and effectively with seditious and disloyal journalism, before it becomes a serious obstacle in the path of good and progressive administration.

W. S. SETON-KARR.

IS RUSSIA VULNERABLE IN CENTRAL ASIA?

CURRENT English literature teems with paragraphs and articles that impress on the English nation and such portion of the outer world as takes any interest in the subject the fact that Russia is a standing menace to the British Empire and above all to its largest dependency India. Of the truth of this fact there is no denial; but would it not be instructive occasionally, by way of a change, to touch upon the other side of the question, viz., the danger that Russia has to apprehend from England? While English writers ignore or are silent on the latter theme, it is decidedly remarkable to find Skobelev bringing it to the notice of Russian diplomatists. Skobelev wrote in April, 1879, but his letter seems to have first seen the light of print in the *Novoe Vremya*, early in the current year. Ten years have elapsed since it was written; and perhaps even Englishmen will admit that Russia has in the interval done more than her rival to acquire and strengthen an "operating base for the future" in Asia. Skobelev, in 1879, considered the English base to be "Cyprus, the Gulf of Iskanderoon, the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea, Karachi, and a railway to Kandahar." At the same time he proposes the following base for Russia: "Moscow, the Volga, the Caucasus, the Caspian, Krasnovodsk, a railway (or at least a horse tramway) connecting the Caspian with the Aral, and a system of boats to navigate the Oxus as far as Kirki." The ten years, from 1879 to 1889, have made in these bases some considerable modifications which need not be specified in detail here, as all those who take any interest in the future of England and Russia in Asia know them by heart.

In any conflict that may ensue between England and

Russia the attitude of the remaining Great Powers must be the factor that will carry the most weight with both. No one can predict how the future will affect this factor; but at the present moment it is not too much to say that the balance of benevolent neutrality, if not of more active sympathy, is in favour of England. Be it Germany, Austria, Italy, or Turkey, we may surely conclude from such information as the ordinary public possesses that the ties of friendliness and common interest are stronger between each of them and England than between each of them and Russia. France is the one doubtful Power. Of late there has been a decrease of friction between England and France; but the latter has not forgotten Egypt; and furthermore in the settlements of Tonquin and Annam and in our growing power in Indo-China there are the germs of certain collision in the future—unless, indeed, China forestalls us in deciding the French to withdraw from Indo-China.

Our purpose here, however, is to review the actual positions of Russia and England in Asia, and consider what may be reasonably expected of the independent Asiatic Powers, *i.e.*, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and China, and of the races and nationalities in Asia subject to England and Russia, in the event of war. Every year makes it more certain that three at least of the four independent Asiatic Powers above named, *viz.*, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, must be drawn into the vortex of the war. As far as we can see at present China may hold aloof. The chances of China uniting with Russia against England are too small to merit attention; but albeit the sympathies of China in such a war would almost certainly be with England, it by no means follows that she would be the latter's active ally. However, a war between England and Russia must be a matter of the gravest import and greatest interest to China; and therefore it will not be out of place here to pass briefly in review the relations during the past ten years or so between England and China on the one hand and between Russia and China on the other; and further to consider the

existing state of those relations. Of late both England and Russia have closed in on China; and it stands to reason that the latter Power must be apprehensive of aggression from both. At Bhamo we are within a few marches of Chinese territory. We have annexed all the Shan country up to the Salween, and the Chinese know that we mean to go on annexing until we reach the Mekong, aye! and beyond the Mekong. In Sikkim we have been fighting with the Tibetans, the tributaries of China. We have been pushing our columns northward from Bhamo and Mogaung, and our exploring parties east, north-east, and south-east from Assam. In 1885 we seized Port Hamilton (to be sure we have given it up again).

Now these are not facts that China can regard with perfect indifference. Just recall that one odious expression, at which every true and sensible Englishman must revolt, "Russian scare." If the approach of Russia to India is a source of apprehension to us, is it not likely that our advances towards the confines of China are a source of anxiety to that nation? That hypothesis needs no demonstration. We are bound to admit that China has been very patient during the last year or two—at least as far as the outside public can judge. Throughout all that has happened no reports of serious friction between England and China have ever reached the public ear. While we were persuading the Burmans and Shans that they could desire no greater blessing than to become peaceful and loving subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, the authenticated proofs that China did anything serious to baulk and thwart us were *nil*. Yet the Kachyens who are so troublesome at Bhamo are perhaps egged on by Chinese officials at Momein. Paragraphs, too, quoted from the Chinese journals, show that the Celestials sympathize with their Mongolian brethren west of the Salween River. Certainly China did not take kindly in 1886 to the proposed Tibet Mission, and it was abandoned; but in the Sikkim

affair the attitude of China has been conciliatory. And reciprocally English statesmen have, throughout all these occurrences tending to breed ill-feeling, studiously endeavoured to promote a conciliatory policy. Apparently they have succeeded.

Now to turn to Russia and China. The relations of those Powers have for a long time been strained. Siberia has now been colonized and occupied up to the very frontier of China, and in Central Asia during the last twenty-five to thirty years Russian annexation has advanced the frontiers of that empire some 1,500 to 2,000 miles nearer China. Kuldja was actually occupied and for a time held by Russia. Ultimately it was handed back again to China. We are fully justified in considering that it was expediency and not generosity that moved Russia to restore Kuldja to China. As to Yarkand and Kashgar, we had best quote Skobeleff's words to indicate Russia's policy there: "No sooner was an attempt made to raise the Standard of the Prophet at Kashgar than they (*i.e.*, General Kaufmann and his Staff) understood at Tashkand that it had become necessary either to conquer Kashgaria by the force of Russian arms or else allow that country to be overrun by the Chinese hordes. It was finally decided to adopt the latter alternative." The Chinese in 1877 reconquered Kashgaria, and they still rule at Yarkand and Kashgar.

The intrigues of Russia in Corea have of late been a very troublesome thorn in China's side, and in the future they promise to create still more serious trouble. In from five to ten years Vladivostock will be connected by rail with St. Petersburg. In course of time, too, a line of rail will be laid from Tomsk, Irkutsk or Semipalatinsk, or some point there or thereabouts on the Siberian Railway to Tashkend, thus uniting the Transcaspian and Siberian lines, and so greatly strengthening Russia's strategical position in Asia. Where China is at present most open to an attack from Russia is on the side of Manchuria, and its defences on that side have been consequently strengthened. The Russians

maintain a small fleet in the Pacific, with its head-quarters at Vladivostock. For Russia to seriously threaten China is impossible until the railways above-mentioned are completed. Meantime the scientific explorations towards Thibet, &c., undertaken by the late General Prejevalsky, and prosecuted by his successors, must be far from agreeable to China; and our operations in Sikkim, Burma, and Shan-land no more so.

Thus Russia encompasses Chinese territory on the north and north-west, from the Pacific shore to Kokand, while England is gradually enveloping the south-west corner of that Empire. China has indeed good grounds for watching anxiously the movements of both. It is the fashion with us Britons to trumpet aloud the innocence of our motives, and to explain away anything that looks like aggression. The Russian does likewise. Which is China to believe? Which is China to accept as foe, and which as friend? That must be a hard problem to solve. We Britons, no doubt, are surprised that China should hesitate for a moment, fully persuaded as we are that we annex only for the good of our neighbours, and that Russia annexes solely for the lust of conquest. Curiously enough the persuasion of the Russian is the very reverse. All this would be very amusing to the Chinaman, were it not also very alarming. It is more than two years since the Marquis Tseng, in his powerful article in this Review, warned Europe that China was arming and preparing, that China would never again submit to be bullied by a European Power; nay, more, that the time might come when all that European Powers had wrested and exacted from China by war might be regained. In the past (to wit, in 1860)* England has dealt China some severe blows, albeit a year or two later she lent that country Gordon for the repression of the Taeping rebellion.

When, then, we look back over the relations of China with England and Russia respectively, it is by no means clear that China should have a friendly leaning to one more

than the other. One thing we may say, and that is that if English statesmen, knowing well that the time is at hand when England and Russia must decide by force of arms the question which is to be supreme in Asia, do not conciliate as far as possible, and cultivate the friendship of China, with a view to an offensive and defensive alliance with her, then those statesmen are heedlessly flouting a valuable ally. However, on the whole, we have every reason to suppose that the friendship of China is a possession that British diplomatists value and aim at both gaining and retaining.

To turn now to the three States in Asia that cannot, if they would, hold themselves aloof from the next great struggle between England and Russia. Let us take Afghanistan first. It is undeniable that at the present moment British influence is paramount in that country; but owing to the instability of its Government, the future must always be a source of grave anxiety. It is quite possible that on the death of the Amir Abdurrahman the country may be involved in a civil war. Such a state of affairs will afford the opening Russian intrigue desires. However, the Amir's sons are now growing up, and we may hope that one of them will be qualified by his personal ability and influence to adequately fill his father's place. Failing that, we have Ayub Khan and Musa Jan as a reserve. That one so implicated as Yakub Khan was in 1879 would ever be placed by us on the throne of Kabul is very unlikely. The Russian card, of course, is Sardar Mohammed Ishak Khan, and doubtless they will play him as opportunity offers. Some say that Abdurrahman is at heart no friend of England. Perhaps! At present, anyhow, he sees which side his bread is buttered. Whether or no he will elect to butter it on the other side later on, who can say?

Certain it is, however, that in the event of Russia attempting to invade India through Afghanistan, the co-operation of the Afghans on one side or the other will be of great importance; indeed, may be of such weighty import

as to turn the balance of success. We give the Amir now twelve lakhs per annum, but that does not go very far. It may possibly pay his army for some six weeks, or suffices to provide the army with clothing and boots for the year. We must not expect any gratitude for the past. Our only real hold on Afghanistan is to make it to the interest both of its ruler and its people to uphold their alliance with us.

Let us now consider how England and Russia are politically, geographically, and strategically situated in relation to Afghanistan. It is not necessary to notice the country east of Badakshan. Everything tends to show that Russia will invade India from the side of Herat or Southern Persia, if she can. The passes and roads that connect the Upper Oxus with India through Chitral, Dir, Gilgit, and Kashmir are not favourable to the passage of an army capable of conquering India. Of course, small columns might advance by these routes just to create a diversion. If, however, we have the people of Chitral and Kashmir, and the warlike tribes of Yaghistan with us (or, better still, if we brought Kashmir directly under our rule, an event that the incompetency and more than doubtful loyalty of the existing Government seems likely to promote), we may count on them to successfully resist small Russian columns in that extremely difficult country, where the mountain passes are 11,000 or more feet high, the roads as bad as nature can make them, the climatic conditions very trying, and water and supplies scarce. What is known of Colonel Sir William Lockhart's explorations there, and the very severe experiences recorded by M. Gabriel Bonvalot, in "*Through the Heart of Asia*," justify us in not viewing the possibility of attack from that side with any apprehension. Even if a small invading force does succeed in working its way through, a body of troops will be easily concentrated in the north-west of the Punjab ready to fall on it as it debouches on the plains. Victory alone then, or unconditional surrender, can save them from annihilation. The position of such a force retreating after defeat through Dir,

Chitral, Mastuj, and Gilgit will be most unenviable. Their fellow countrymen will remember it, as we remember the retreat from Kabul in January, 1842.

The rule of the Amir Abdurrahman is stronger and firmer now than ever. The late Wali of Afghan Turkistan (Ishak Khan) has from the first been an anxiety and danger to him. After his (Ishak Khan's) defeat and expulsion, Abdurrahman may at length feel that the Cis-Oxus Khanates are really his own territory. His power is now in a fair degree consolidated. His rebellious subjects, Ghilzais, Shinwaris, and the adherents of Ishak Khan have heavily taxed his resources, but he has emerged triumphant so far from the prolonged ordeal. Further trials no doubt await him, for his bed is anything but one of roses. It takes a strong man to rule Afghanistan.

The course of events during the last eight years has been such as to give us good reason to conclude that the Amir's sympathies are enlisted on our side. To enlist his sympathies alone is not enough; his interests also must be in unison with ours, and to all appearances are so. In 1880 we invited him to Kabul, and, withdrawing our troops, left him to rule there. By the defeat of Ayub Khan at Kandahar on September 1, 1880, we gave him time to breathe and organize an army. Had we continued our occupation of Kandahar instead of withdrawing our troops in April, 1881, we should, no doubt, have acted as a further check on Ayub. But there is no reason to consider here what might have been. Undoubtedly Abdurrahman preferred our withdrawal, even though it cleared the way for Ayub Khan's attack. Having retired behind the Khojak, we resumed the old policy of "masterly inactivity," which we adopted towards Shir Ali at the commencement of his reign. We left Abdurrahman to fight his own battles in his own country; but we have from the first given him strong support against foreign aggression. We have subsidized him, and furnished him liberally with munitions of war. By our influence at the Persian Court, we pre-

vented Ayub from again seriously troubling him, and finally we landed Ayub safe in India. The critical time, when we were to show whether we could or could not protect him against Russia, came in 1884, when the Afghan Boundary Commission was despatched to Badkhis. The fact that that Commission marched through Afghanistan, the Amir providing and being responsible for its safe conduct, was strong evidence that the alliance between him and the Indian Government (England's representative) had a solid foundation. The weak diplomacy of the Gladstonian Cabinet in the winter of 1884-5, prevented the British Commission from protecting the interests both of England and of the Amir with that vigour which should have been displayed. But although M. de Giers and General Komaroff were in the winter of 1884-85 far more than a match for us, the British Commission was in the long run able to render the Amir important service. The frontier from Zulfikar through Maruchak to Khamiab has been clearly demarcated, and to infringe it may be a *casus belli*. The return of the Commission through Kabul to India and its reception by the Amir, following on the Amir's visit to India in March-April 1885, was a proof of unity that can only be appreciated by those who know how stubborn Afghan enmity and fanaticism are. In the spring of 1885, in view of the great probability of war with Russia, the sinews of war—money and munitions—were bestowed on the Ameer with open hand. It may not be known generally that he is regularly supplied with the leading Indian journals, and that all articles and paragraphs in any way relating to or concerning him are translated for his information. Since 1885, if not before, the tone of the Indian Press (or at least of all journals that are worth taking into account) has been almost uniformly friendly and sympathetic, except once or twice when his action towards tribes bordering on the north-west frontier seemed likely to trench on our rights and interests.

His successes against the Ghilzais, the Yaghistan tribes,

and Sardar Ishak Khan have been greeted with cordial congratulations; and his recent escape from the bullet of an assassin at Mazar-i-Sharif elicited expressions of sympathy both from Press and (of course) Government. All this must please him. The only Europeans now in the Amir's employ (there was a Frenchman of sorts some years ago), viz., Mr. Griesbach the geologist, Mr. Pyne the engineer, Dr. Gray, and a few others, are all British subjects. But for the outbreak headed by Ishak Khan at Balkh, a British Mission under Sir H. M. Durand was to have visited the Amir at Kabul last October. At any rate, that outbreak was the reputed reason of its abandonment. During the nine years that have elapsed, Anglo-Indian statesmen have been careful to avoid anything that could irritate or arouse the susceptibilities of the Amir. Suspicious he is to a degree, and very justly too, considering his neighbours. The Government of India would, undoubtedly, like to see Peshawur and Kabul, and Quetta and Kandahar connected by telegraph lines, and railroads laid from Bannu to Ghazni, and from the Khojak to Kandahar; but, nevertheless, no attempt has been made to force these projects on the Amir. Although year by year we are gradually absorbing the independent territory on the north-west frontier (for example, the Zhob country, to be followed in a year or two by the Gomal Pass, the Mahsud-Waziri country, &c.), still we touch nothing that is actually subject to the Amir. It is striking to note the difference in this respect between Afghanistan and Persia. The former is independent, and ready to fight for its independence any day. The latter, at any rate under the reigning Shah, is simply the plaything of England and Russia—more especially of Russia.

The surrender of Ayub and the concession of the right to navigate the Karun, are the two points lately scored by England. *En revanche*, Russia demands the right to keep a Consul-General at Meshed, and asks for Kelat-i-Nadiri, a railway from Resht to Teheran, a *chaussée* from Askabad to Kuchan, and improved means of navigation between

Enzelli and Resht. It is only a year or two since Russia was pleased to rectify the northern frontier of Persia from the mouth of the Atrek river to Sarakhs, and it is some fifteen years ago that British Commissioners were good enough to rectify its Eastern Frontier from the Persian Gulf littoral as far north as Sistan. Since the peace of Turko-Manchai in 1828 the Persians have only twice summoned up pluck to fight, and that only because they had Russia at their back. They achieved nothing, being worsted before Herat in 1837 by Eldred Pottinger's efforts, and defeated by Outram in 1856-7 at Bushire, Reshire, and Khushab. In 1854-6 they did not dare to strike a blow at Russia, tempting as the opportunity must have been, and strong the thirst for revenge. Afghanistan, on the other hand, despite being crippled by internal warfare, has twice thrown down the gauntlet to the Indian Government, and though beaten made a gallant fight of it. The fact is that the patriotic spirit still burns in the heart of the Afghan, whereas in that of the Persian it has dwindled down to empty braggadocio; not that there is not good stuff left in Persia, but the rulers and nobles of the country are, as a rule, too effete to bring it to the front. It must be admitted, however, that while England has always insisted that Afghanistan should be outside the sphere of Russian influence, it has never, since the days of Malcolm's and Harford Jones' Missions, accorded a similarly determined protection to Persia.

Such, then, is the existing state of affairs in Afghanistan. Our relations with the ruler of the country are intimate—so intimate that we may call him our ally. On the other hand we have for the time being debarred Russia from having, at least openly, any diplomatic relations whatever with him. That Russia has secret agents all over Afghanistan is more than probable. So far, even if we have had to concede to Russia some of the late debateable land between the Hari-rud and the Oxus, we have at least upheld what we have so long contended, viz., that Afghanistan is to be beyond

the sphere of Russian influence. The policy that we profess towards Afghanistan is one of non-interference in the internal affairs of that country, but we claim the right of exercising a control over her dealings with foreign powers. In fact, in the latter respect, the intimacy of the relations between the Government of India and the Amir amounts to an offensive and defensive alliance. Russian territory is conterminous with the northern frontier of Afghanistan, as British territory is conterminous with its south-eastern frontier. The troops of both powers can at any moment cross that frontier; but at present, while British troops can do so as an ally, Russian troops can only do so as an enemy. No one will deny that Russia, provided she chooses to go to war with England, can at any moment occupy Herat and the whole of the country north of the Tirband-i-Turkistan and Hindu-Kush ranges.

But that will not affect the line of defence of India, which stretches from Kabul to the Helmand near Girishk. Of the two bases of operations as they now exist, the Indian is the strongest. With nothing but that one line from Uzunada to Samarkand the Russians will take at least two to three months to collect at Herat and Balkh forces numerically strong enough to undertake an advance on Kandahar and Kabul with any chance of success. The railway communication between all parts of India and the north-west frontier is being daily improved. To be sure, before long we must expect to see lines run from Dushakh to Zulfikar and to Chaman-i-bid (or thereabouts), through Sarakhs, from there to Chaman-i-bid, and from Bokhara to Kirki or some point on the Bokharan bank of the Oxus. But even if the prejudices of the Amir and the Afghans will not allow us to run lines from Chaman to Kandahar, or from Bannu to Ghazni, still their enmity, backed up by the power of England, will prevent Russia from pushing her railways across the frontier, at any rate until war is declared. (Of course it is possible that in course of time we may see the Trans-Caspian and North-Western State Railway linked.

by a line running through Kandahar and Herat. Colonel Stewart and others have advocated it.) Once war is declared, both sides will promptly push forward their railways, materials for which will have been collected beforehand at suitable points on the respective frontiers. But all this being taken into consideration, the Indian termini are nearer to the Indian line of defence than the Russian termini are. Our policy being avowedly defensive (as far as the north-west frontier is concerned) at any rate at the commencement of the campaign, this is all we want. As far, then, as attack through Afghanistan is concerned, we are fairly well prepared, and are daily becoming more so.

The question of the dangers that lie behind our Army Corps fighting on the Kabul-Kandahar line is one too complex to be entered into at length here. Sir Lepel Griffin has lately (in *THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*) given us his views on the temper of the Indian races, and his opinion must carry weight. If we merely consider the relations that exist between the English and their Indian subjects, and the Russians and their Central Asian subjects, we would unhesitatingly say that the stability of British rule is established on bases infinitely firmer than those of the Russians in Central Asia. The attendance of Indian chiefs and nobles and officers of the Native Army at the Jubilee in 1887, the loyal offers of assistance both in money and troops that have lately been made by most of the leading chiefs; these and a score of other incidents find no counterpart in the relations between the Czar and his Turkoman and Uzbek subjects. But we cannot regard the matter only from the point of view of the friendship that has been established between Briton and Native, and the loyalty the natives feel to the Queen-Empress and the Sarkar. We must also consider the temptations to disloyalty, which are greater for the subject races of India than for those of Central Asia. There are many who condemn the new policy of allowing and assisting

certain of the native chiefs to maintain a small force, armed, trained, and disciplined like the Indian Native Army. However, when statesmen like the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava (and he must have been guided by the best advice that India can offer) approve of the scheme, we may venture that the irresponsible and imperfectly-informed persons who condemn it in a casual conversation, paragraph, or article, need not be seriously heeded. As a matter of fact, the Government has no intention of confiding the safety of India to these troops. Probably only a minority of them would, in the event of war with Russia, be left for garrison duty in India. The majority would be employed in the field and on the communications. Of the 250 millions whom we rule in India we shall ask nothing but to be quiet. Of course they will not do so. They would not be human, if they did. Ambition, love of intrigue, bribery and corruption, discontent, the pride of race, love of freedom, hatred—at such a time these passions and motives will not allow men to sit passive. Where interest and loyalty do not outweigh these incentives, their activity must take form of hostility to the dominant race. Some may contend that Russia has as much to fear from her conquered subjects (Turkomans, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, &c.) as we have from ours in India. The case is a very different one. Russia here gains distinctly by having adopted an offensive policy. The presence of Russian armies at Herat and Balkh will put every discontented and disloyal Indian on the *qui vive*, and their arrival at, or even near, Girishk and Kabul, if they ever get there, will be an anxious moment for the Government of India. All then probably will depend on the result of the pitched battle that must be fought. If the first encounter goes against the British forces, then the odds are anything to nothing that the troops in garrison all over India will have their work cut out for them. But our arms, standing on the defensive (or rather defensive-offensive), will cause little or no flutter in the bosoms of the Turkomans and Uzbeks. They know

well that we do not want Central Asia, and shall not go out of our way to oust the Russians from it. They have therefore little or nothing to hope from rebellion. No doubt if the Russians are defeated in the attempt to invade India and driven back, harassed by merciless Afghans, on Merv and Bokhara, then, may be, the temptation will prove too great, and the Turkomans will rise to avenge the pitiless, and we may say brutal, massacres of 1873 (after the taking of Khiva, see MacGahan's description), and 1880 (at Geok-tepe), while the Uzbeks will seek retribution for defeats at Tashkand, Khojand, Chemkand, Jizak, Serabulak, Samarkand, and many another siege and fight. But the danger of this is remote. As matters stand, the English have every reason to dread an outbreak in India, while the Russians are troubled by no such apprehension. Besides we have to control 250 millions, but Russia only from five to ten.

Under the head of Afghanistan may be also included Beluchistan. It is scarcely possible for a force of any suitable size to approach the western frontier of Sind, across the country that lies between Sistan and the Registan on the north and the sea-board of Mekran on the south. A good-sized force may move from Herat or Farah to Sistan and the Helmund Hamun, and then work up the banks of the Helmund past Rudbar to Kalah-Bist, or from Sistan it might find its way south to Jask, Kharan, Panjgur, or Gwadur, but they will not be able to strike in force any point on the line Quetta-Karachi. We may dismiss the idea of an invasion through Beluchistan as being as unlikely as one through Chitral, Kashmir, or Thibet, unless, indeed, we are so weak as to let the Russians occupy Southern Persia.

We will now pass on to Persia, Turkish Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor. It is in these parts that we are most vulnerable; for it is here to all appearances that we are most unprepared. Lord Beaconsfield's occupation of Cyprus has been as freely abused as most efforts of statecraft; but

it is the only important step that we have taken, within the last ten years, to secure the most essential of the lines of communication between England and India, viz., that from the Gulf of Scanderoon across Southern Persia. That this line is now becoming a subject of serious concern to British statesmen is evident from the fact that Colonel Mark Bell has lately travelled along this line for the special purpose of reporting on it. The Euphrates Valley Railway is a project of very old standing. The line to connect the North-Western State Railway of India with the port of Scanderoon was brought into prominence by some of the officers who accompanied the Afghan Boundary Commission. A consideration of the state of affairs in Persia, Turkish Arabia, and Syria should show that our hold on this line of communication is a very precarious one. It may be cut by Russia before we can step in to protect it. Kars and Erzeroum are already in the hands of Russia. The next step of that Power will be to occupy Diarbekr and Mosul. Syria will be given as a sop to France, and then where will our railway from Scanderoon to Quetta be? The one little step we have made lately is the securing the right to navigate the Karun. After the war in 1856-7 with Persia, we might have held on to Mohammerah. The outburst of the Mutiny left the Indian Government no leisure for deliberating on terms of peace with Persia. So we got little for our money out of that campaign except the immunity of Herat from invasion by Russia's cat's paw.

It is most important that we should watch our interests in Syria, Asia Minor, Turkish Arabia, and Southern Persia with an ever wakeful eye, ready to seize our opportunity and to thwart the attempts of others. We must have the control of the Scanderoon-Baghdad-Quetta line. It is of vital importance to the security of India. We can put no faith in the stability of the Sultan's Empire. It may break up any day; and when that happens, Egypt, Syria, and Turkish Arabia must be our share; unless, indeed, we

can succeed in founding, under our protection or at least with our support, an Asiatic Turkish Empire, which will hold Asia Minor, Syria, and Turkish Arabia for us, until the time comes when we have no choice to take them (or, at least, the two latter) over ourselves. The advance of Russia southwards from the Caucasus threatens to sever Asia Minor from Turkish Arabia. That Kars and Erzeroum are now in Russian hands is not a dangerous menace to India; but it will be an evil day for us when the Russians seize Baghdad and Bushire, and the French Aleppo and Antioch. Therefore we should decide what share of Turkey in Asia and Persia must at the great dismemberment be ours, and prepare ourselves to fight, if necessary, for the possession thereof. For the failure to secure it will, it is to be feared, be the precursor of the loss of our Indian and Indo-Chinese Empire. As matters now stand, we are in a fairly good position for securing what we want. Our naval strength in the Mediterranean is great; we hold Cyprus; the navigation of the Shat-el-Arab, Tigris, Euphrates, and Karun is solely in the hands of English merchants and firms who have houses at Baghdad, Basrah, Mohammerah, Bushire, &c. The Persian Gulf is a British Sea and must remain so. We are now in a position to put our troops into Southern Persia and Turkish Arabia before any other Power can do so. But we must be watchful, and see that this position of vantage is not insidiously, and owing to our own apathy, filched from us. There is a very dangerous neighbour whose territories march with Northern Persia and North-Eastern Asia Minor, a neighbour that grudges us every little picking we get out of Persia, and herself unblushingly pulls that miserable monarchy to pieces at every turn; gets the Zil-es-Sultan ousted from nearly all his governments; insists on having *chaussées* from Resht to Teheran; and from Askabad to Kuchan in order that her armies may at any moment sieze Teheran, Meshed, and Herat; demands the public recognition by the Shah

of that weak bigot, the Governor of Tabriz (the Shah's second son) as *Wali-ahd* or heir to the throne; claims railway and harbour concessions on the shores of the Caspian; and rectifies the Persian frontiers free of charge at any time. This is the rival on whom we must keep a vigilant watch.

To look forward now and say or even surmise how and when Turkey and Persia will be dismembered is, perhaps, premature. It depends on the balance of power in Europe. The signs of impending dismemberment are sufficiently clear and ominous. To whomsoever the lion's share of the spoil in Europe may fall, the Russian bear and the English lion have only each other to fear in Asia; unless, indeed, the eagles of France swoop down in the nick of time. The Russian Empire has this advantage over the British, that it is consolidated and not scattered. It has not to look across the wide seas for its fields of conquest and colonization. The very position of the British colonies, severed by thousands of miles of ocean from the mother country, is a temptation to seek independence. The outlying provinces of Russia are not so tempted, and if they were, are powerless. On the other hand the colonies of England, as long as they are true to their allegiance, are a great source of strength to the mother country; while the Russian possessions in Central Asia and Siberia are rather a tax on its financial and military resources, than a source of strength. As long as England and its great colonies hold together, the British Empire may rival and defy the growing power of Russia. But let Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (incited, perhaps by treatment akin to that meted out by Lord North's Administration) follow the example set them by the States of North America one hundred years ago, and then it is to be feared the "tight little island," left all alone, will have hard work to hold its own. It will be a pity, then, if what bids fair to be the great English-speaking nation of the future does not lend a helping hand to the land of its forefathers.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR.

FOURTEEN years ago Tsai-chun, Emperor of China, lay dead of smallpox in his palace at Peking. He was the only son of his father, the Emperor Yi-chu (known to the world best by the title of his reign, Hsien-fêng), who, to avoid the ignominy of capture by the Allies in 1860, "went on an autumn hunt" into Manchuria, and died there, some say of chagrin, in the following year. Tsai-chun's mother was not the Empress of Hsien-fêng, but one of a numerous zenana, a *fay* or *pin*, who late in her lord's life bore him this one son, and who, by right of her son, was elevated, on his accession, to the rank of Junior Empress Dowager. She and the Empress Consort of Hsien-fêng became joint guardians of the child Emperor, and ruled the country in his name, with the assistance of Prince Kung, his father's younger brother. In 1872 Tsai-chun was married to Aluté, and in January, 1875, he died, childless, in his nineteenth year. By European theories of succession his heir was his eldest uncle. This was Prince Tun, the "Fifth Prince"—fifth-born son of his father; but he had earlier been adopted as heir to an uncle of his own, and had passed out of the succession. The next uncle was the Sixth Prince, the celebrated Prince Kung. After him came Prince Chun, the Seventh Prince, and his little son Tsai-tien. Chinese feeling on the all-important subject of birth-right—the right to continue the ancestral worship—holds that the heir to one who has died childless should be his nearest (or, at least, a near) male relative of the next generation. So that, had Chinese sentiment alone prevailed, the successor to the ill-fated Emperor

should have been a grandson of Prince Kung, or at the least a child of his house in that generation. Prince Kung's son was at the moment (had, indeed, often been) in disgrace; furthermore Prince Chun was married to the sister of the late Emperor's mother. Peking officialdom was not, then, altogether taken by surprise when it was announced on the 13th of January, 1875, that "by a will of the late Emperor" Tsai-tien, the two-year-old son of Prince Chun, had succeeded to the Great Inheritance. The child was carried in the night from his father's *fu* into the Imperial Palace, where he has since remained, in a seclusion unbroken except by a guarded journey to the Eastern Tombs or a brief visit to the ruined Wan-shou Shan.

His accession was received without much demur. One member of that remarkable institution the Censorate—which has cultivated a licensed, and in its essence honest, criticism of the throne till it has become a vice—chose to take his own life rather than see the manes of his master left without an heir: for the child Tsai-tien had been adopted not as heir to his cousin and predecessor Tsai-chun, but to his uncle Yi-chu [Hsien-feng]. An attempt was made to constrain the Empresses Dowager into an agreement that the eldest son of the new Emperor Tsai-tien should succeed to the throne as heir to Tsai-chun; but their strong-willed Majesties bluntly declined to submit to dictation on this point. The empire at large accepted their choice with perfect indifference, for personal loyalty can hardly be expected in a country where for decades the sovereign has not shown his face to his people. And so the baby Emperor began his reign, the *Kuang Hsi* or "Glorious Continuity," in the leading strings of his aunt and her sister Empress. The latter died in 1881, and since then this other wonderful woman has exercised all but absolute power. That power she has indeed shared of late with the Emperor's real father, Prince Chun, though he has taken no nominal share in the government, nor could take.

His son, from being his son, has become his nephew and sovereign, and should the Prince have audience he must kneel and do homage like any other subject; but nature, even in the affairs of a Chinese Court, cannot be altogether denied, and, to avoid such a reversal of the fitting relations between father and child, the father must abstain, from open attendance at Court. In private he is said to often see his son; indeed during his late dangerous illness both the young Emperor and the Empress Dowager have frequently visited him. Three years ago a new department of State was created, an Admiralty, and Prince Chun appointed its President. As Lord High Admiral he visited Tientsin, Chefoo, and Port Arthur, and his return to the capital has been followed by an abandonment of the opposition to railway extension; by the introduction into Peking, indeed into his own palace, of the electric light; and by other hopeful signs of progress. Now, however, it has been decided that his son has attained his majority—he is seventeen, or nearly so, and has been on the throne fourteen years—and that the, at any rate nominal, direction of affairs must be placed in the Emperor's own hands. Before this is done in its entirety the young sovereign must mark his manhood, as every one of his subjects does, from noble to coolie, by getting married.

Preparations for this important event have long been making. In 1885 each official of the Eight Banners (Manchus of the Conquest) was called upon to furnish a list of his daughters between twelve and eighteen years of age to—surely of all departments the most whimsical!—the Board of Revenue. The maidens would attend at the Palace in the following year, and there await inspection and selection by the Empress Dowager. In what light this enforced tribute is viewed, Western residents, living as they do on the mere fringe of Chinese life, cannot pretend to judge. They rarely come in contact with this phase of an antique civilization (or barbarism if you will),

but when they do, if the glamour fades somewhat from the old story of Esther and her rivals, the pathos remains. A staid member of our Consular Service in China (staid even then, though it was twenty years ago) was under orders to proceed from Canton to Tientsin. He had officially made the acquaintance of an officer of the Manchu garrison of Canton, and on calling to take leave was surprised, and not a little embarrassed, by his host's request to escort his daughter to Tientsin, on her way to the inspection that was to furnish a zenana for the then Emperor. He had little choice but to comply, and exerted himself at Hongkong and Shanghai in pointing out to his young charge and her duenna the strange foreign sights. He was convinced that her father, in his desire to retain his daughter, had resolved on this desperate project of committing her to the care of a foreign barbarian, the least contact with whom should surely make her ineligible for the companionship of His Sacred Majesty. The girl, however, was among those chosen, and perhaps in some corner of the palace still relieves the monotonous life of her less travelled fellows by stories of the bravery of Shanghai. Another tale comes from that storehouse of Chinese facts, *The Peking Gazette*. The Governor of the province of Kiangsi, on the south bank of the Yangtzu, was a Manchu, and as such obliged to obey the call of the Board of Revenue, and send his daughters to the Imperial harem. His embarrassment is better told in the official language of his own Memorial to the throne:

"The Memorialist has two daughters, one fifteen years of age and the other fourteen, both of whom he is legally under a obligation to send to the Capital, and, as the records will show, he has already sent in a return of their names to the Board and his Banner. His original intention was that, in obedience to the limit laid down, they should start for the Capital in the tenth month, but it happened that just then his second daughter

caught cold and was unable to proceed on the journey. She has now made a gradual recovery under medical treatment, but has not entirely regained her usual health. The Memorialist's one son is serving in the Board of War at Peking, and did not accompany him to his post, and with the exception of this son he has no relative or kinsman competent to escort his daughters on so long a journey by boat and cart, with its attendant risks. In a separate Memorial, Memorialist has solicited an Audience, and if His Majesty should be graciously pleased to grant the same, he will forthwith hasten to the Palace Gate, and will avail himself of the opportunity to bring his daughters with him to be in readiness for selection, though he fears they will arrive somewhat late." To this pathetic appeal (for surely we must read between the lines) the only reply was the cold command, "Let the said Governor depute persons to escort his daughters to Peking at once, there to await inspection and selection."

That selection over the maidens chosen remained to the discretion of the Empress Dowager, who was supposed to decide, after some weeks or months of careful deliberation, which of them was most worthy to be the Consort of the Son of Heaven. In the meanwhile the Board of Astronomy (which would be far better styled the Board of Astrology) was called on to name two or more fortunate days in the coming year for the Emperor's marriage. With their aid the Empress Dowager selected the 26th of February for the marriage day, and the 4th of December for the day of betrothal. On the 8th of November the fateful election took place, and the Chinese world was informed through the pages of *The Peking Gazette* that their Empress had been chosen. The decree of the Empress Dowager ran: "Since the Emperor reverently entered upon the succession to his great patrimony, he has been growing day by day to manhood, and it is right that a person of high character should be selected to be His Consort, and to assist him

in the duties of the palace, to the end that the high position of Empress may be fittingly filled, and the Emperor supported in the pursuit of virtue. The choice having fallen upon Yehhónala, the daughter of Deputy-Lieutenant-General Kuei-hsiang, a maiden of virtuous character and becoming and dignified demeanour, We command that she be appointed Empress." At the same time two other maidens, sisters, one aged fifteen, the other thirteen, daughters of a Vice-President of a Board who died a few years ago in disgrace, were appointed *pin* or Imperial handmaids.

The bride-elect immediately left the palace for her father's home. That father, Kuei-hsiang, is, it would appear, a younger brother of the Empress Dowager, and there can be little question, one would think, that Her astute Majesty has determined that, if she must resign the sceptre she has wielded for close on seventeen years, she will still have it in her power to control the young Emperor and to benefit her family. It is of course possible that the Emperor himself may have seen his cousin, for such she is, and that the marriage may be one of more inclination than can usually be the case in China; but it is far more probable that the Emperor, as every well-drilled Chinese youth would do, has left the choice submissively to his aunt and adoptive step-mother. That lady meanwhile has been honoured in a way which must by now have grown somewhat stale for her, and exceedingly wearisome to all her secretaries. On the birth of her son she received as her title the four honorific characters, "Tender, blessed, dignified, helpful." On her son's accession another pair of epithets was added (the translations are all at best but approximate) "reposeful and serene." When he assumed power on his majority these were increased by two more, "refulgent, contented," and when he married, by a further two, "sedate and sincere." Now that her retirement and the present young Emperor's marriage have taken place

she has been honoured by the final couplet "reverent and long-lived." As in all decrees in which she figures her full style must be given, this wonderful princess is hence forth to be known as "the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi-tuan-yiu-k'ang-i-chao-yü-chuang-ch'êng-kung-shou." A patent and title will be bestowed in good time on her successor, whose father has been raised to ducal rank.

The election once over the next step was for the Board of Rites to obtain the approval of the Empress Dowager to a programme of the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of the Imperial marriage. Little latitude was left them. When the Manchus conquered China in 1644, they found in existence a code whereby every conceivable act of the Emperor and his government appeared to be prescribed and controlled. This they adapted and issued to the world as "The Collected Institutes of the Great Ch'ing Dynasty," a stupendous work in a hundred volumes, two of which (vols. 24 and 29) are devoted to the Choice and Establishment of an Empress and to An Imperial Marriage. With this to guide them, the Board could hardly have gone wrong, though it seems, from an angry decree of the Empress Dowager, that they contrived to do so. However, after suffering wholesale degradation (it was merely a question of offering prayers on one day or the next) they fixed at last on a programme which satisfied their exacting mistress. This was published on November 10th, and arranged the order of the various ceremonies thus: (1) sending of presents to the bride; (2) the marriage; (3) joint worship of the ancestral tablets; (4) conferring of a patent on the bride; (5) visit to the Empress Dowager; (6) reception of congratulations; (7) an Imperial banquet. The Board at the same time stated that they were causing "a golden patent and golden jewels" to be made for the new Empress.

"Solitary man," as he calls himself, the Emperor of China is still a man and (questions of origin apart) a Chinaman. Hence his marriage follows in the main the

lines of every Chinese marriage. When a Chinaman seeks a bride, or when his parents seek one for him, the first and invariable step is to obtain the services of a go-between. The match being arranged the next thing is to exchange the eight characters that mark the year, month, day, and hour of birth of bride and bridegroom. The parties are now indissolubly betrothed. When the marriage time comes round, the bridegroom sends gifts to the bride, and after an interval of hours or days despatches a bridal chair and musicians, in charge of one of his intimate friends, to bring her to his home. When she has arrived there, he and she kneel down before the ancestral tablets, and together worship heaven, earth, and their ancestors, informing them of their union and, as it were, asking their blessing upon it. The next day, or a few days afterwards, the bridegroom takes his bride to do homage to his parents, in whose home, it is perhaps needless to say, he is living and, until their death, will continue to live. The Emperor of China, like the meanest of his subjects, has his go-between—the Empress Dowager, or one of his predecessor's *jay*. He does not, it would seem, condescend to the interchange of horoscopes, but in other respects his marriage is assimilated to the ordinary Chinese ritual. With one notable exception: the bride is brought into the palace in the dusk, through streets screened and guarded from the vulgar gaze. When the late Emperor was wedded, the Tsungli Yamen—the Chinese Foreign Office—sent a circular to all the Foreign Legations in the capital requesting them to prevent their nationals from intruding on the streets through which the procession would pass. At that time Mr. W. Simpson, the special correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*, was at Peking, anxious to take notes. Through the kind offices of a resident he was able to secure a fleeting view of the bridal chair and its surroundings from behind the shutter of a loft, and he has since published his impressions in a most readable book, "Meeting the Sun." Those impressions, however, were necessarily limited, and it is to be feared that

any similar attempt to view the marriage of the present Emperor will have met with even less success. Fortunately for the curious in the details of a Chinese Imperial wedding there is in existence a most circumstantial account of the whole ceremonial observed on this occasion. It happened that this marriage was the first celebrated by a reigning Emperor of the dynasty since that of K'ang-hsi in 1674, and whether with a desire to interest his subjects in the event, or to glorify himself, the youthful bridegroom directed the Board of Rites to issue a long and elaborate programme of every detail of the ceremony. A translation of this highly interesting paper was published shortly after the marriage by Miss Lydia Fay, the only foreign lady who, in the estimation of the Chinese themselves, has ever attained to the dignity of a true sinologue.

Chinese regard for precedent being what it is, there can be little doubt that the ceremonial of the present Emperor's wedding has conformed in all essential particulars to that of his predecessor, and that the programme thus translated by Miss Fay gives as true an account of the later as of the earlier event. The first step in the ceremony consists in the sending of the bridal presents. This is done on the day before what may be taken to be the actual marriage, the bringing home of the bride. The wedding presents, besides gifts innumerable from the Empress Dowager and Emperor, comprise of necessity the golden tablet on which is inscribed the consent of Her Majesty to the marriage of her adopted stepson to Yehhónala, the bridal crown with veil of pendant pearls, and the silken wedding robes embroidered over with the Phoenix—emblem of the bride as the Dragon is of her Imperial bridegroom. A sceptre and a seal of state form part of the indispensable paraphernalia. When all is ready these are laid out on three richly decorated tables in one of the palace courts. On the centre table is placed the sceptre, on the right the seal, and on the left, in a casket of gold and jewels, the tablet. Surrounding the court is an array of princes and nobles with

guards, horses, chariots, banners, musicians, and, if any still survive, elephants. An officer of the Board of Astronomy gives the signal with a loud voice, "The hour of joy dawns," and through a space left open for him, the young Emperor passes into the court to view his gifts. He is then led to a pavilion and seated, when the high officers present all do him homage by bowing thrice three times to the ground. A herald announces, "An Edict from Her Majesty the Empress Dowager." Then, all kneeling except the Emperor, is read aloud the Consent of Her Majesty to the union of their sovereign with the Princess Yehhónala, and the herald proclaims, "The appointed officers in the name of the Lord of the Dragon Throne present to Yehhónala, Sceptre, Tablet, and Imperial Seal." The music plays, "The Emperor's Triumph." That ceasing, the procession forms. The precious symbols on the table are delivered with all reverence to the Master of the Ceremonies who places them in the Dragon Car. The *cortège* defiles through roads levelled and screened to the residence of the bride, preceded by banners and gonfalons innumerable, and escorted by princes of the blood. They are received at the outer gate by the bride's father, who conducts them to an inner court where tables have been prepared for the Imperial gifts. At the entrance to this court all fall back and kneel while the Dragon Car containing the three symbols moves in. At the same time eunuchs of the palace carry into a further hall the bridal robes and crown. When the sceptre, seal, and tablet have been duly placed in position, the father is ordered to kneel and do homage while he listens to the Will of Heaven as embodied in the Empress's edict. He then retires, and the doors of the hall being flung open, his daughter advances into the court arrayed in her bridal robes and crown of pearls. As she appears a chief of the eunuchs raises in both hands the sceptre, to which she kneels a moment and passes forward. Her attendant ladies do the same, then range themselves on either side. Kneeling again, all hear the edict read and

listen to a congratulatory address from the Empress. The tablet and seal are solemnly presented to the bride; she bows nine times to the sceptre, and retires into her apartment.

The next day the Emperor must rise early and pay homage to his adoptive mother. He awaits her arrival in the Throne-room, standing, and when, surrounded by her train of ladies, she has taken her seat, does her reverence by nine prostrations. She and Heaven alone receive such worship from him, who exacts or expects it from the rest of the world. Her Majesty having retired, a similar reception is held by the Emperor of his nobles, and the Empress's Consent is read again. The audience ended, comes the chief part of the ceremony, the bringing home of the bride. A gorgeous sedan chair is borne by sixteen bearers from the palace, escorted by princes on horseback and preceded by banners, canopies, and emblems, quaint and rich, while the band plays, "We come for the Phoenix." The procession reaches the bride's home, and is received as before by her father. Listening again on his knees to the Edict of Consent he is told that "The will of the Emperor is to receive his Empress." He is then suffered to retire, and the chair being borne forward into an inner court, the Empress-elect in her bridal robes is conducted by her mother and attendant ladies to the chair where she is closely screened by curtains. The mother withdraws, and the chair is again met by the father and so brought to his outer gate. The cavalcade reforms and winds its way back by a different route to the palace. At the Golden Bridge, which no horseman may pass, the procession halts, and the senior prince present, bearing the sceptre, dismounts. "A herald proclaims, 'The Phoenix Chair is come,' and is answered from the courts within by a burst of music, by ringing of bells, by beating of gongs and drums, by clash of cymbals and blare of trumpets." Borne through court after court, the chair is at last set down in the great Throne Hall, the princes who carried the sceptre, seal, and tablet retire, the

eunuchs roll back the silken screens, and, as the chair-bearers fall down with veiled faces, attendants lead the bride to her throne. A herald cries, "The auspicious moment dawns, all is prepared for the joyful union." As he speaks, the Emperor enters in his dragon-embroidered robes, escorted only by his eunuchs, and there receives, perhaps for the first time beholds, his bride. Wine is poured by the kneeling attendants from flagons of gold into two jewelled winecups, in which the Imperial pair pledge each other, the bridegroom putting his lips first to his cup and then to that of the bride, and she in turn to his. "This, the real ratification of their marriage vows, is accompanied by bands of music outside, and clouds of incense within, as though sacrifice were being offered to Heaven."

There is no place here for the after-ceremonial so charmingly translated by Miss Fay, or for the description which she gives of the wedding gifts. The same pageantry that then welcomed the luckless Aluté has by now welcomed Yehhónala, though the terrible scourge of famine laid on the northern half of the empire by the bursting of the Yellow River may have dimmed its splendour somewhat. Despite the omen, may a better fate befall this youthful bride and bridegroom, and their marriage mark happily the beginning of change; for, whether for good or evil, a change must come, is coming even now, over China and her ancient Court.

W. H. WILKINSON.

THE FALLING RUPEE, AND A PROBABLE CONSEQUENCE.

SOME men, it is said, are born before their time, but the observation is scarcely applicable to the Anglo-Indian—at least, so far as that vitally important point, the rupee, is concerned. For the Anglo-Indian of the present day, finding the exchange rate now 1s. 4d. per rupee, wishes his lot had been cast in those halcyon times, when that silver coin was worth two shillings or more. In this connection, old authors are not very pleasant reading to the present generation of Anglo-Indians. Terry said, many years ago, "They call the peece of money a roopee, of which the meanest is worth two and threepence, and the best two and sixpence." In Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms," published in 1855, no fewer than twelve kinds of rupees are enumerated, all worth from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 1½d. "Letters from India," 1873, describe the rupee as worth two shillings. But the reduction in value shadowed above has continued gradually, and steadily, until, from the 1st of April last, the official value of the rupee has been declared to be 1s. 4d.; being, however, a little higher according to bank rates. The Royal Commission, in their report "On Gold and Silver," published last year, remark, "Prior to 1873, the fluctuations in the price of silver were gradual in their character and ranged within very narrow limits. The maximum variation in 1872* was ½d. and the average not quite ¼d., while in 1886 the maximum was 2½d. and the average nearly 1½d." And so attenuation has been going on till the present moment. As for the remedy, a number of the members of the Commission advocated bi-metallism, and others did not do so. The Indian Monetary Society advocate the issue

of 10s. and 20s. notes, against a reserve of silver; the repeal of the duty on Indian manufactured silver; and several other minor changes as an introduction to bi-metallism. But the rupee disease is of that inveterate character, for which no remedy has yet been discovered. In the meantime it progresses, and Cassandras prophesy a-shilling rupee at an early date.

Now, so long as the fall in the value of silver only affected Anglo-Indians, no one cared much about the matter. The Anglo-Indian was glibly, almost jovially told, that if he obtained fewer pounds for his rupees he remitted home, things were so much cheaper, owing to the appreciation of gold, that the position was equalized, as he got so much more for his money than in former days. But we never heard of any Anglo-Indian who paid less for his boots, or his coat, or his lodgings, or his wife's dresses, or for hats, or for children's schooling, than before this much-talked-of gold appreciation. Perhaps bread, matches, paper, and some comparatively insignificant articles of consumption are cheaper. But such relief is infinitesimal. The public certainly do not realize the loss the Anglo-Indian is subjected to. A few years back, if he remitted one thousand rupees, he received as the equivalent in England one hundred pounds. Now, if he remits one thousand rupees at the exchange of 1s. 4d. per rupee, he receives in England £66 13s. 4d.—a loss of £33 6s. 8d. in every thousand rupees remitted. It will require much greater cheapness than now prevails to compensate such a loss! But this is not all. In 1873 the author of "Letters from Cashmir and India" stated that all European articles were sold in India at the rate of one rupee for the shilling, the dealer gravely assuring you that "leakage and breakage swallowed the difference." But with the depreciation of the rupee the cost of all European articles has risen. Only recently we required to purchase in India a small graduated rule, which may be obtained for 6d. in London. The shopkeeper, an European, asked five rupees for the article,

and when expostulated with replied that tradespeople must charge high on account of the depreciation of the rupee! It is almost needless to add that rule was not bought. Neither have country products altogether escaped a rise in price. Years ago Bernie wrote, "For a roopy in Bengal you may have twenty good pullets and geese and ducks in proportion!" Later generations have certainly not obtained so many pullets for their money, but prices have been fairly reasonable. Now, however, productions of the country are beginning to rise in price, and also servants' wages. It is therefore evident that the unfortunate Anglo-Indian is mulct in every direction as a consequence of the fall in the value of silver.

As observed above, so long as the Anglo-Indian was the only sufferer no one cared. But when it was found that the Indian ryot could get the same number of rupees for his wheat when sold at 24s. per quarter as he did when it was sold at 36s. per quarter, it began to be perceived that a blow had been struck against the British farmer. And when the Indian Government persistently pressed the subject on home attention, it began to be perceived that a real danger threatened India; for to meet the loss by exchange, extra taxation must be devised, which would be ill received by the 240 millions of people we are supposed to govern in the East; especially with Russia near the borders *promising* exemption of taxation, with other alluring prospects. Hence the Royal Commission, from which no results have yet been obtained.

The rupee being now down at 1s. 4d., the matter has become of vital importance not only to India, but also to this country, but more especially to the Indian services. Formerly our Indian official could, with ordinary prudence, live on his salary, and eventually, probably, save a little money. Also, when necessary (as most married Anglo-Indians do find it necessary), support his wife and family at home. It is well known that European women in India break down sooner than men, and require change from a

tropical climate at an earlier period. The Anglo-Indian himself also requires periodical change of climate and freedom from work. Children must be sent to Europe for education or for health. The expense of a journey to Europe, entailing the breaking up of an establishment, is no light one. With the rupee at 1s. 4d. all this is impracticable, unless for the man in the higher grades of the services, and in the receipt of large allowances. It is evident that matters cannot remain as they are. It has been proposed to establish high-class schools for Anglo-Indian children at the different Indian hill stations, where the children may enjoy a climate approximating to that of the temperate zones. But the experience derived from children brought up in the three Lawrence Asylums is not encouraging. Children of European parents, reared and educated on the Indian hills, are not of the same mental and physical calibre as children brought up in England. Moreover, it has been denied by the head master of Westward Ho! College that children can be educated more economically on the Indian hills than in England. Anglo-Indians cannot, therefore, be congratulated on even this lightening of their burden.

The inevitable result must be a lowering of the morale of the Indian services. People will not embark on an Indian career unless it affords a fair prospect of living comfortably. They will prefer to take their chance at home, or to rough it in the temperate climates of the colonies. The Indian services (at least of recent years) have been noted collectively, and almost individually, for rectitude and honourable dealing—affording a good day's work for a fair day's pay. It has been cynically stated that every man has his price, that every woman but one would take gold, and that she would succumb to diamonds. If this is a rule, Anglo-Indians are the exceptions proverbially said to prove the rule. But if an Indian career ceases to be attractive, the same stamp of men will not take it up. An official in India, who believed in Lord Avanley's precept, that it would be hard if a man wanted money he

should therefore want everything else—an official with such principles might work incalculable evil. Natives are not above offering a *quid pro quo*; and, as Becky Sharpe pathetically observed, it is so much more easy to be good when one is rich than when one is poor. A missionary in the United States army, when accused of drunkenness, asked whether Uncle Sam expected all the cardinal virtues for fifteen dollars a month. It has been remarked that "nothing is certain but the unforeseen." As we foresee Indian officials asking much the same question as the missionary, we cannot say they certainly will do so; but it appears extremely likely! As in the case of Shakespeare's apothecary, it will be their poverty, not their will, which gives assent.

Now one of the inducements to young men to embark on an Indian career is the idea that they may afford to marry sooner than if remaining at home. It has been long said by mothers that an Indian civilian was worth £300 a year, dead or alive! Even in the military department Indian pay has induced many a subaltern to marry in haste—a procedure generally ending in repentance at leisure. This ability to marry early will no longer be the case. The matter, therefore, affects the fairer sex to a very considerable extent, and might really form a fitting subject for the shrieking sisterhood on the rights of woman! It is not good, however, for man to live alone, and the truth of this is felt nowhere more forcibly than in the solitude of an Indian bungalow at a remote station. In former times, when facilities of communication were not as they are now, when European ladies did not abound in India as they do now, many men did not disdain the companionship of the "dusky daughters of India." And it has been said, with some degree of truth, that through such connections Anglo-Indians of former days arrived at a more intimate knowledge of the natives, and knew more of what was going on than their successors of our time. It has also been argued that what Abraham and David did in the

most open way can scarcely be called a grave offence. Be this, however, as it may, there is the fact that few men are really Josephs, and a state of society existed which would not be tolerated in our moral, innocent, and virtuous days. Men are not now supposed to leave their morals in Egypt when they go to the East, as they were presumed to cast them off at the Cape when they travelled that route to India. But men in India are beginning to find they have not the same choice of wives from the "merry maids of England" once accorded to them, for the girls of the period are quick to perceive that Anglo-Indians have grown to be an impecunious race; and men in India are realizing that they cannot support an European wife and family. It is not to be supposed that the "zenana kana" will be again added to every sahib's bungalow. But there is what many would esteem a danger threatening. This is marriage between Europeans and Indians. It must be recollected that many native ladies have now been extremely well educated, so as to be fit to hold their own in any society. There are now well-educated Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsee, and Eurasian ladies. It is supposed that some at least would not object to unite their fate with that of an European; and, as a matter of fact, several marriages of the kind have already taken place, especially with Eurasian ladies. Although many Indian women we meet in the bazaars, on the roads, or see in the fields, may be as ugly as original sin, and by no means so agreeable, this does not apply generally. If we consider in what female beauty consists, as in deepness or richness of colour, in gracefulness of outline and curve, in large and brilliant eyes, in luxuriant hair, in vivacity of expression, not even the Anglo-Saxon female will surpass the Indian female who is not exposed to the vicissitudes of weather and climate.

With the exception of the Eurasians, there is certainly an objection on the score of religion. But this is not a fatal objection; according to the missionaries,

indeed, it is one which is fast being removed. Then there is the sentimental objection of colour. As Wordsworth observed, "Custom hangs on us as a weight heavy as frost and deep almost as life," and we have custom (as difficult to uproot as any Indian caste) to combat. It is custom only which determines our preference for the colour of the European to that of the Ethiopian. Adam the progenitor was, as his name signifies, tawny. Extremes of white or of black must, therefore, be a departure from the original type, if we accept the Bible history of creation. It is somewhat ridiculous that this sentimental objection to a dark skin should create a barrier between the European and the Indian, especially when the Hindus and the Anglo-Saxons belong to the same Aryan stock, and even speak languages which, according to Max Müller, were fundamentally the same. If from the science of languages it can be proved that the progenitors of Anglo-Saxons and of Hindus were originally living as one people under the shadow of the Hindu Kush—if this is true, there can be but one solution of the mystery of colour. The change of colour now marking the two sections of the Caucasian race must have resulted from the effects of the climate into which they wandered. Colour, indeed, may eventually weigh little in the scale. Bishop Heber long since remarked that the higher classes of Indian females are comparatively fair. Some Indian women, never exposed to the sun, are as fair at least as the natives of Southern Europe often are. Many of the Eurasian ladies are even fairer. Moreover, the Eurasian females have always been noted for beauty of form and features, and, as they are all Christians, it is probably with this class that intermarriage is likely to assume—at first, at least—greater proportions than has yet been the case. Here, however, we are met by the objection of the "chee chee tongue," or mincing pronunciation of the English language so often characterizing Eurasian girls. But, as Sir Ali Baba observes, "the Eurasian girl is pretty and graceful—what if upon her lips

there hung the accents of the 'chee chee' tongue"? This is a mere matter of education. Both Scotch and Irish maidens, American girls, and many English girls also, have a national or a provincial accent. But as there are many Scotch, Irish, American, and English girls who have not a peculiar accent, so there are many educated East Indians who are quite free from any suspicion of "chee chee." But the old stock objection may be advanced that Eurasians are characterized by all the vices of both Europeans and natives, with a minimum of their virtues. This may be true as regards some of the lowest of the class, but any sweeping assertion of the kind is altogether incorrect. There are large numbers of Eurasians who honestly and efficiently fulfil the duties of that station of life into which their somewhat depressed fortunes have called them. In private and confidential situations, often involving great responsibilities to their employers, the Eurasians are the equals of any class. There can be little doubt that, with the facilities of education and bringing up accorded to Europeans, the Eurasian would compete favourably with the European mentally, and surpass him physically—or at least so far physically as to be better fitted for a tropical climate. It has been remarked that "the blending of races is essential to progress." It is an undoubted fact that the most blended nations occupy the most prominent positions in the world. Prichard said, "Mixed breeds are often very superior in all their physical qualities to the parent races." Neither are there wanting individual examples of the kind. Demosthenes had a Scythian mother; Timothy had a Jewish mother; Tous-sant L'Overture was of African descent; the mother of Themistocles was a woman of Asia Minor; Alexandre Dumas was the son of a Creole; the energy of Napoleon I., which astonished the world, seems attributable to the Corsican mother, his father being a somewhat indolent Italian gentleman. When anything is advanced in favour of Eurasians, the depressed condition of the so-called Portuguese of Western India is always referred to as proving

the worthlessness of half-castes. But herein is involved a great fallacy. Not one in one hundred of the so-termed Portuguese of Goa have by descent European blood in their veins; they are nearly all descendants of Hindus, forcibly made Christians by the Portuguese, and supplied with Portuguese names. Even in the few who may boast semi-European progenitors, the constant union of native blood, without corresponding renewal of European stock has reduced this section to that condition in which they resemble the European Portuguese in nothing but name.

But it will be asked, Can Eurasian or Indian maidens make good wives, in the sense we Europeans regard what women as good wives should be? Well, judging from the results of certain trials, we should say they would. As Adam Smith remarked, the difference between the most dissimilar characters—between a philosopher and a street porter, for example—seems to arise not so much from nature as from habit, custom, and education. Mankind has been certainly constructed on the same general model. But one becomes the philosopher, and the other the street porter, under the action of surrounding circumstances and conditions. It is only marriage with educated Indian women which is contemplated as looming in the future. At all events, Indian women would not require periodical visits to Europe for the recovery of their health; neither would there be the same necessity for Eurasian children being sent to Europe at an early age as there is for children of European parentage being so despatched. Eurasian children might remain and grow up under their parents' supervision. An Indian lady, moreover, knowing the language and the habits and customs of the country, would be in a better position to insist on economical housekeeping. The mild Hindu is a proverbial expression, therefore we may surmise that an Indian lady would not be likely to say "It is the moon," if her husband remarked it was the sun. The result of such a happy marriage would probably be, ultimately, the settlement of the family on one or other of the Indian hills, the escape of

the "sahib" from the coughs, colds, and bronchial affections of English winters, and from the temptation to lose his hard-earned gains on the Stock Exchange—a disastrous bourne to which not a few retired Anglo-Indians wildly press.

Although marriage may be regarded as the first law of nature—for no one ever saw a bachelor cock robin, or even a spinster tigress—still, were we asked if an Anglo-Indian should marry, we should be inclined to refer to Bacon for an answer. Bacon quoted a wise man who, when asked if a person should marry, replied, "A young man not yet, an elderly man not at all." Nevertheless—we all know the fate of good advice—Anglo-Indians *will* marry, and we do not think that under existing and coming circumstances they will do very badly for themselves by mating with Indian ladies.

We will even proceed further, and venture the opinion that the permanence of the British in India can never be secured unless closer social relations are entered into between the two races; and this closer relation is probably but a matter of time. The Eurasian class, if we continue to hold India, must increase in numbers and importance. The mingling of races which has so long been proceeding illegitimately, will progress legitimately; the sequence being the proper and suitable education of Eurasian children. It may some day be found that Eurasian regiments and Eurasian loyalty will be the great bond of union between England and India. To this many things tend—the depreciation of the rupee being among the most forcible. Viewed in this aspect, I am not prepared to say that the lowering of the value of silver is very much to be regretted. Then there is the increased number of Europeans in the country, consequent on the development of railways and other works, many of whom do now, and will continue to, connect themselves with native females. The gradual disappearance of the prejudices of the natives, and the extension of education among the native ladies are potent factors. According

to missionaries, the spread of the Christian religion cannot be omitted from the calculation. The majority of Eurasians of the present day are not well educated or well cared for—but this is their misfortune, and not their fault. But the legitimate population of Eurasians now springing up will be well educated and well cared for, and being to the manner born will be well fitted for tropical life. As before observed, they must become a power in the State. When, having educated a few more Bengalee Baboos, we evacuate India, bag and baggage, leaving only empty beer bottles behind, it will be the Eurasians, and not the Baboos, who will fill our places.

W. J. MOORE.

POONAH ADMINISTRATION, A REJOINDER.

THE able *résumé* on this subject by Mr. A. Rogers in the January number of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW seems to require some explanation before the management of this district can be fairly understood by any future historian. The materials have been collected from old records, and as the points to be noticed were gleaned from these, Mr. Rogers may be exonerated from any intentional misrepresentation of facts. There is an instinct in human nature to find fault with old things when they require mending, yet if the old had not been there the use of the thing could not have been enjoyed, and perfection might not have been acquired. John Harrison encountered much petty jealousy before he was paid for his rough chronometer, yet that was the origin of the present perfect instrument. Mr. Pringle is now found fault with for his rough revenue survey of 1825, yet if he had not made it the system might never have been so perfect as it is. It is on this survey of Mr. Pringle that remarks have been made which require modification for a true history of the work of administration. The province came under the rule of the East India Company between 1819 and 1821. The old systems of village accounts were made over to our revenue officers, and difficulties of collecting revenue soon began. A survey was determined on, and Mr. R. K. Pringle was selected as the best qualified man in the Civil Service to carry it out in 1825. In 1833 to 1836 it was superseded, and another survey was commenced. The Bombay Government and the district officers were fully aware of the causes that led to the failure, and carried out the arrangements for the new survey on a more liberal scale, with the view of pre-

venting a recurrence of the evils. I was on the spot at the time, and aware of feelings that existed, not only against the original survey, but against the civilian who had carried it out. I put these things down as gossip of the day to be forgotten to-morrow; but here they are cropping up again after more than fifty years as worthy of record in an historical review!

I select two paragraphs for quotation here, to which my first objections will be made. P. 141: "It is difficult to imagine how anything but a reliance on the magic power of figures could have led an able man to conceive that he could evolve a system that would establish the true relative values of lands to each other out of returns of their actual out-turn." There will be no argument on the policy of this sentence; it is only to be taken as casting the shadow of an aspersion on the well-known qualifications of Mr. Pringle. At p. 145: "The frauds and oppression exercised by village and inferior Government officers under Mr. Pringle's survey having been put a stop to," the new survey went on in "1837." Casual readers may possibly interpret these sentences as implying blame on Mr. Pringle for the evils which had been detected in his survey. They were, however, due to other causes, which I shall endeavour to explain. Mr. Rogers describes a part of the revenue system as carried out by the Peshwa. In practice the farm of a district was made good by each village, the patell, or headman, collecting the revenue from each cultivator, and the coolkurny, village clerk, entering each contribution in the village book without any measurement of his land. If the cultivator was a wuttundar, or resident of the village, a receipt was sometimes given to him on a scrap of paper; when a field was cultivated by a stranger, upri, or by the servant of any resident, no receipt was given, and the farmer gave a general receipt to the village. There was much fraud and extortion in this system, not only by the revenue native officers, but by the hereditary ballutidars of the village.

These were twelve in number; they constituted a species of Home Rule, and transacted all the ordinary duties of the social circle, with a small claim on the produce of each field. These claims were forcibly exacted occasionally in the Peshwa's time, and the Government revenue was collected for the farmer in the same way. The entire village was therefore interested in saving their own, and extorting the high assessment from casual cultivators, or from their own people, who were supposed capable of paying.

The survey of Mr. Pringle measured and assessed each field, the cultivator being liable for the assessment. As this acted against the interests of the village officers, while they were obliged to accept the system, a great deal of fraud was practised with or without the consent of Mr. Pringle's native surveyors. These men were selected with as much care as possible, but very few were qualified either in measuring or assessing. They were, therefore, often imposed on by village accountants and servants, and the errors thus initiated brought the whole survey under suspicion.

The committee on the ryots of Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875 called it a "rough survey." Some of the results of the Peshwa's rule extended to this date, and, as the capitalists of the country are concerned in them, they are probably still in existence. If they are, they are no more due to the latest than the frauds of 1837 were due to Mr. Pringle's survey. This corrected the main faults of the Mahratta revenue system, while the next survey, under a more liberal British superintendence, corrected some of the frauds in Mr. Pringle's work, and has established a fairly equable system of a very low land assessment.

We now come to another point in Mr. Rogers' history, on which I find evidence tending to correct the verdict that has been found against the first revenue British officers of our administration in this province.

At p. 150 it is written: "The early collectors had drained the country of its agricultural wealth, and caused

the distress and poverty into which the ryots had been plunged." In the report of the committee on the ryots in Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875, a letter from Sir G. Wingate is quoted of about 1855: "There can be little doubt that the over-estimate of the capabilities of the Deccan, formed and acted on by our early collectors, drained the country of its agricultural capital, and accounts in great measure for the poverty and distress in which the cultivating population has ever since been plunged." This error has then crept into history, and is supported with figures by Mr. Rogers; yet he, the committee, and Sir George Wingate all hit the true blot that brought the Deccan ryots into poverty, and caused the disturbance in 1875.

The Ryot Commission of that year quote a letter from Mr. Chaplin, the first collector of Poona in 1822:

"The ryots in many villages, though usually frugal and provident, are much in debt to soucars and merchants, owing to the oppression of the revenue contractors. A ryot thus embarrassed can seldom extricate himself." The committee tell us that when we began our rule "there was a considerable burden of debt, and many of the ryots were living in dependence upon the soucar, delivering to him their produce, and drawing upon him for necessaries." There was the ordinary *lana-dana*—give and take—between the creditor and debtor. The instalments of revenue were generally advanced, and "the creditor received little or no assistance from the State in recovering debts, but had great licence in private methods of compulsion." We then find that "this licence was curtailed under the British rule. A temporary contraction of the soucar's trade took place," but "the fall in prices with the high rate of assessment must have made the ryots' need of the soucar even greater than before." In 1827 our civil courts afforded relief to the soucars, and "they began to be resorted to." In 1826-7 Mr. Pringle found a district of Poona "in a wretched, half-deserted state." At p. 20, "Ryot Report," 1875—"The

economic condition of the agricultural class during the first twenty years of our administration may be concluded from the facts that, while population was increasing, the area under cultivation steadily diminished; and while production was decreasing, prices steadily fell."

During the whole of that period various portions of the Poona districts were infested with gangs of robbers. The ryots were their friends; the soucars and other money-lenders their prey. In 1830, or about that time, the Poona Treasury was attacked. Oomagee Naique Ramoosee murdered, burnt, and plundered the wealthy classes in the Poona districts. He and two of his gang were hung in the Poona gaol. Occasional gang robberies often took place. In 1844-5-6 Ragogee Bangria* harassed parts of the Poona and Ahmednagar districts. Some of this gang were caught by our police of Nassick, but Ragogee escaped the gallows for some years. Another gang of these Koli and Bheel robbers was destroyed by Mr. Souter near Ahmednagar in 1857 or 1858, so that the exactions by the money-lenders were often forcibly avenged. The enmity of the ryots to these classes was shown by their unwillingness to give any information against the robber gangs, and culminated in their attacks on them in many parts of the district in 1875. At this period the robber tribes had been

* Several romantic or tragic incidents occurred in this man's life. His father was a naique, or headman, of the Koli tribe, executed for murder about 1825 in the Tanna gaol. Soon after this a policeman, Luximan, was patrolling the mountain gorges, when he passed by the humble dwelling of Ragogee. A woman sat at the door nursing a child. "What!" said the policeman, "are you nursing another gallows child?" "Every drop of my milk that this son of Ragogee swallows shall be repaid by your blood!" replied the woman. Luximan passed on. In 1845 young Ragogee Bangria began his career of murder and plunder. Luximan had done good service. He had silver-mounted pistols in his girdle, and was the jemmidar (officer) of a police party in pursuit of Ragogee. They had slept in a jungle temple; the men had gone to the stream at daylight; Luximan was left alone. On their return they found the headless body of their officer, and no trace of the murderer. On the same day the magistrate of the Tanna district was transacting business many miles away from the scene of murder, when a basket was placed in his tent. No one saw who brought it, but the ghastly head of Luximan was in it.

deprived of their arms. In the absence of natural avengers, and possibly goaded on by a sense of injustice under the proceedings of the civil courts, these ryots had taken revenge on their creditors, and the committee give us the reasons.

"The causes of hostility between the ryot and the soucar" are given at p. 65 of the report under the heads of "*usury, ex-parte decrees, excessive powers of realizing debts, loss of land by private sale, the limitation of law, frauds, and the action of the civil courts.*" The whole of these were grievances; some will be touched on presently, but here we can only show that the grievances were aggravated by our law courts. "The cost of suits falls on the debtor." In 1876 these civil courts of the Bombay Presidency "yielded a net revenue of nearly ten lakhs of rupees," a very considerable grievance from a class of men of whom the report says, p. 68: "The simplicity of the borrower in the Deccan is extreme;" at p. 74, he is "ignorant."

These incentives to anger in 1875 were not unforeseen. At p. 31 Captain Wingate, 1852, wrote: "The facilities which the law affords for the realization of debt have expanded credit to a most hurtful extent. A set of low usurers is fast springing up, by whom small sums are lent for short periods at enormous rates of interest. All grades of the people are thus falling under the curse of debt." If this system continue, says Wingate, realized property will go to a "small monied class," and "no greater misfortune could befall any nation than this, by which the many are made miserable in order that the few may be pampered; and yet this is the inevitable tendency of the existing relations between debtor and creditor in our Presidency."

In 1827, Regulation V. limited the rate of interest receivable in the civil courts to 12 per cent. per annum; this was evaded, and in 1858—

"His Lordship in Council entertains no doubt of the fact that the labouring classes of the native community suffer enormous injustice from the want of protection by law from the extortionate practices of money-lenders. He believes that our civil courts have become hateful to the masses of our

Indian subjects from being made the instruments of the almost incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists."

This subject was brought forward for the consideration of the "Legislative Council," p. 32 Report on Poona Ryots. There is then evidence, from the first year of the British rule to 1875, that the poverty of the Deccan cultivators was due to their own simplicity and ignorance in the hands of money-lenders. Our own regulations and surveys aided the latter and injured the former. The land revenue had been considerably lowered; this increased the horde of capitalists, and in 1875 the ryots were as miserable as they were in 1825. It was not therefore due to any over-collections by the early collectors of Poona that the cultivating classes were reduced to poverty. Their assessments were handed on to them by the Peshwá officers; they lost no time in reducing them, but from both these first cesses remissions were freely granted, while heavy balances of revenue were yearly left uncollected.

I must now relate a little of my own experience on this revenue administration. In 1832 I was sent from Poona to assist Mr. Pringle in the sub-collectorate of Sholapur. My special duty was to inquire into the causes for the heavy arrears of revenue from the beginning of our rule. I found that the old Peshwá system had been going on merrily, the patell had undertaken the responsibility; but, under our more strict individual assessment, he and the coolkurny had entered names which very often never existed. Coercion, torture, and privations had been practised on some ryots, balances had been entered against the living, the dead, and even against Gomagee Kopsy (*Mr. What's-his-name*). Of course the ploughmen denied their debts, receipts were not found, very few had been given, and evidence was only in the soucar's books. Occasionally patells, coolkurnies, and the district hereditary officers, deshmooks, and deshpandies, were suspended during criminal inquiries. Many of these were convicted and punished afterwards; but my balance report went in to Government in 1833-4. The minute on

it that I remember was : " Mr. Malet has done much, and opened the way for others to do more." The papers were circulated to all revenue officers, with instructions to pursue the inquiries, and a general raid was entered into for the suppression of all irregular proceedings in connection with the collection of revenues. All ryots were soon supplied with receipt books, and more civilized modes of revenue collections were going on in 1837-8.

A considerable sum of the old balances was collected, but much more was written off, so that the new survey started fair both for the plough and the bank. The latter saw its opportunity ; servants and slaves started as farmers under the soucar's hands, till, as the survey officers found, all waste lands were under cultivation, with a promise of no remission. In practice some was always given—the loss of bullocks, the burning of house and implements, want of rain or presence of cholera, and deaths of bread-winners, all told on this vital question. Both the latter were very common, and small or great famines were frequent over certain areas, before carts existed, and when Brinjaree bullocks and tattoos were the only beasts of burden. In 1833-4 a very severe one took place at Sholapur, when I was left the only civilian at the station. As the arrangements were peculiar, and very satisfactory, a brief account may be acceptable, as the effect of a famine on the revenue from land can be shown.

The district was situated on the confines of the Bombay Presidency, bounded north and east by the Nizam's territory, west and south by the Beemah and Seena rivers. The country was undulating with extensive plateaus of black soil, and broad valleys with many wells near the villages. These were frequent, generally with ruined walls and scanty populations. In ordinary seasons the black soil returned good crops, and the irrigated lands gave sugar-canes and other valuable products. The latter were held chiefly by village officers, enamdars, freeholders, and mirasdars, perpetual tenants, paying revenue. The village accounts were fair to look at, but not to analyze ; assessments were

still made on the Peshwás rates, but liberal remissions had been given; the balances were very heavy, and the people were delighted at the prospect of further remissions under my inquiries. All were paupers; and, excepting the patell, a few enamdars, and mirasdars, all were more or less dependent on the soucars. Before I had finished this inquiry, a very severe famine commenced all over the Sholapur districts.

I was the only civilian on the spot, but in those busy days no one was afraid of responsibility. There were two good men under me—a Brahmin head clerk and a Portuguese police-officer. We summoned a durbar of principal natives to consult on the best mode of meeting the difficulties and saving life. The situation was placed before them—no food anywhere, no water in many places, and the starving families flocking to the city. The position of the food merchants and the soucars, as dependent on the produce of the country, and on the well-doing of the cultivators, was dilated on and discussed. When this position was accepted, the traders were asked to continue their operations by supplying food; I engaged to pay for it, and to employ those who were capable in any public work they could recommend. Our plan was circulated through the assembly; I put myself in their hands, and in half an hour it was arranged to clear out the great city tank and repair the walls; they were to import food. I had to arrange the gangs for workers, and the incapable. As there was no work going on in the districts, some of the Government servants were drafted from them. I had an inspector over each working area; each gang of twelve selected its own head; he received his ticket daily; the nearest shop supplied the food for his gang, and the shop received payment on presenting the ticket to my treasurer. I only had one case of fraudulent supply. The food was brought to Sholapur on bullocks and tattoos from Guzerat and Khandesh, and a very fair tariff was struck by the merchants and my two head-men weekly. I reported the whole proceedings to the

Government, asking sanction for 5000 rupees: this was granted. There was much loss of life in villages and on the roads, but very little in the crowds that came to the works. The thanks of Government were sent to me for conducting this famine, after I had been promoted to another district. There was no waste of material or of money. As to labour, it was not worth much, but I congratulated the soucars on having assisted in maintaining several thousands of their dependants, without whose labour they could not exist. I have watched the proceedings of several famines since I left the service in 1854, but never found them more economical or more successful in saving life or in general policy than they were at Sholapur more than fifty years ago. In these drought famines the cattle die, consequently the cultivators had to replace them.

As they live from hand to mouth generally, and as even the better classes pawn or sell all available property before resorting to public charity, nearly the entire population fell back on the soucars for help; so that what with famines—of which Mr. Rogers mentions several—what with the general indebtedness of the Mahratta ryot, and the old claims on the cultivator by the village ballutedars, from which they are now relieved, there were ample causes for general poverty without the ideals arising from Mr. Pringle's survey and severe realizations of revenue by the early collectors of Poona. The officers of the second survey, from 1834 to 1837, found the soucars of all kinds in a fairly flourishing condition. If they had gone as deep into the subject as I did, they would have discovered that these men, on the spot, had often realized their claims in kind from the cultivators, at from one to two hundred per cent. interest per annum, and left but little wherewith to pay the Government revenue. These officers also saw that more money-lenders sprang up under the reduced assessment, and that all the waste lands fell under the plough. It was of no consequence to them how this was brought about; they saw in it a happy result of their own work. I, as a

collector of revenue, found that many of the new farmers were insolvent, and dependent on their soucars for their daily bread. Some were in fact their bond slaves; that is, in consideration of a loan, very small in amount, these ryots had bound themselves to serve the soucar for terms of years, sometimes for life. The soucars often put the names of their servants on the village accounts, while they were often returned by the village officers as incapable of paying their revenue. Under the survey we gave no general remissions, and a ryot only held his field while he paid its rate. When the attempt at imposition was exposed, and the village accountant reprimanded, the rate was eventually collected and the man held on.

This bond slavery is noticed by the Ryot Commission as existing in 1875; I reported on it in 1833-4, urging the Government to put a stop to it as an iniquitous proceeding; but nothing was done. I spoke to Lord Clare on the subject when at home in 1841-2; he allowed the blot, but did not see his way out of it, while he thought the soucars were a necessary evil. Yet he was the best Governor of Bombay since the departure of Sir John Malcolm. It appears from the same report that the Deccan cultivators were much oppressed by the soucars in the civil courts. The fifth chapter details many grievances, some of which are, we may hope, put a stop to by this time. Enough has now been said to enable any future historian of those changing times to relieve the early collectors of Poona from the unfounded accusation of reducing their districts to poverty by too high collections of revenue. It will also be seen that the frauds and oppressions did not begin with Mr. Pringle's survey, and that there was no error in the judgment of that distinguished officer in his theory of obtaining the true value of land at a time when there was no other mode than that adopted by him. I am fully aware that this gentleman requires no assistance in vindicating his eminent character from me; but I objected to what I called petty jealousies at the time, and I now repeat the

mature opinion that it was the duty of the new survey officers to do their work without endeavouring to cast a shadow on men, who had done their duties honestly and fairly with the materials at their disposal.

I do not wish to retort, for I allow the best intentions and good judgment in all my many friends and contemporaries in the judicial and survey departments; individually they all laboured for the general good of the whole community, while they did their duty to Government. From what has been said on the reduction of survey rates and the civil courts, it is evident that pauper cultivators and exacting soucars were encouraged, and that their mutual actions brought on the poverty and discontent that led to the lamentable riots and great destruction of property in the Poona and Ahmednagar districts in 1875. It may be hoped that some of the recommendations of the Committee have been adopted to prevent any recurrence of such unfortunate outbreaks.

H. P. MALET.

• THE GREAT INDIAN DESERT.

ON some of the older maps of India there appears on the eastern side of the Indus river an almost blank space, on which is written "Great Indian Desert." The map-makers gave us a few names, perhaps to save appearances of total ignorance, such as Bikanir, Jeysulmir, Barmir; but these only served to intensify the contrast between this part and the rest of the peninsula, and to rouse the suspicion in most minds that the tale was not all told. The fact that nearly the whole of this area is in native States accounts in great measure for the comparative ignorance of its physical features, and it is indeed only of late years that its topographical survey has been undertaken by the Government of India. In a few years more its wastes will have been explored and mapped; already it can boast of its "gazetteer," and if it can only be gradually, and even partially, opened out by railway communication, it may earn, as it deserves, a character less forbidding than it has borne hitherto.

During the last cold season of 1888-89 I was able in some degree to satisfy my own curiosity about this country by having to conduct a reconnaissance for a proposed railway between Delhi and Katri, in Sind, passing through Bikanir and Jeysulmir, which was to form a direct commercial and strategic route between Kurachi and Upper India. The great improvements of late years in the harbour and in the loading facilities at Kurachi have resulted in great strides being made in the trade of this port, and it is claimed that it must ere long become the main inlet and outlet for the trade of Northern and Western India.

The country commonly referred to as the "desert" is in fact very far from being so in reality, for though the surface is largely covered with sand or sand-hills, and the soil is so poor that it is a marvel how any crop at all can be grown on it, it can boast, nevertheless, of many old and interesting towns, and of being the present home of one of the most martial and vigorous races—the Rajputs. Taking the Luni river, which falls into the Runn of Cutch, as the eastern boundary, the Varra, the old channel of the Indus, as the western, and the Runn of Cutch as the southern limits, the whole country to the north as far, say, as the old bed of the Guggur river, now buried in sand, is an undulating sandy country with varying heights above sea-level. Bikanir is, for instance, nearly 500 feet above the level of the plain of the Indus at Bhawalpore, while Jeysulmir is about 650 feet above the same plain at or near Sukkur. The southern end of this great area is known as the Sind desert, and may be considered to be the initial boundary of the sand, and the extreme type of the whole; where the sand-hills run to mountainous heights, and where, except in seasons when the rainfall is exceptionally good, say from 4 to 6 inches, there is practically no cultivated land over an area of some 4,000 square miles.

No better description of the Sind desert could be given than to say that its surface resembles the Atlantic in a severe storm, but that the height and length of the waves are enlarged threefold. The hills or ridges do not, however, as is the case with sea-waves, run with the line of their crests at right angles to the direction of the wind; but, curiously and inexplicably, run roughly *parallel* to it. The distances from centre to centre of these ridges vary between three hundred yards and three-quarters of a mile, and are joined up at intervals of from one to two miles, by long slopes on the windward side, into deep basins in which there is a subsiding system of sand-ridges of less height running roughly in the same direction as the main ridges.

The crests of these latter were found to be frequently 120 or even 150 feet above the bottom of the hollows, and some isolated points to be seen here and there must have been considerably higher. As a general rule, the slopes of these sand-hills were very abrupt on the north-west flanks, being often as steep as forty-five degrees, while on the south-east flanks the slope was much easier. The actual surface of this country is a dirty sand, filled, in the course of centuries, with dust and fragments of vegetation; but below this is clean and rather fine quartz sand, the particles being rounded off into almost complete spheres by the action of either wind or water, or both. Yet, notwithstanding this most unpromising "soil," the country is clothed, though sparsely, with tufts of coarse grass, cactus bushes, and prickly shrubs, and even dwarfed trees, though few and far between, are dotted over the hills and hollows, while, in good rainy seasons, the sandy bottoms produce patches of "*bājri*," a small millet, and the staple food of the people over the whole of the desert country. The cultivation is primevally simple—the sand is worked into furrows by a camel drawing a rough, light plough, the seed is put in deep and left to do its best in the showers and sunshine of the rainy season. Judging by the stubble in these patches, it would seem that perhaps one seed only in thirty, or even fifty, germinates and comes to maturity; but when one finds that a good handful of the sand when stirred in a tumbler full of water can barely do more than seriously discolour it, one marvels why any should get beyond the stage of mustard and cress grown on damp flannel.

A strong wind from the south-west and west-south-west blows over the Sind desert and runs up over Rajputana in the months of March, April, May, and June. At the end of April, or in May, when the wind is most violent, or in what the natives call the "*chalisa*," or forty days, the wind has at times a probable velocity of forty miles an hour,

and is apparently hardly less violent at night. The whole atmosphere is charged with dust and fine sand, the crests of the ridges are all in motion, and scarfs of drift-sand form on their north-east ends. The people who live in this desert describe this time of the year as almost intolerable; and, indeed, with the fearful heat day and night, the sand in their mouths, eyes, food, and clothing, the want of water, and the almost sleepless nights, it must be as near a realization of the infernal regions as they can expect to find in this world. They are, however, rewarded by their winter season, which affords them a dry, bracing cold, and by an almost complete immunity from cholera, small-pox, or other diseases which in the hot season occasionally decimate villages in other parts of India.

The origin of this immense volume of sand is a geological mystery. In character it differs inappreciably in the sand-hills about Omercote, from those near Bikanir, a distance of something like 320 miles, and at Omercote I ascertained that the sand dips below the alluvium of the Indus valley, while under the sand, at varying depths, a pebbly silicious conglomerate is found both towards Hydrabad and eastward into the desert. Outcrops of this conglomerate, altered near Barmir by contact with plutonic rocks, are found all over the desert, and the city of Bikanir itself is built on an extensive ridge of it. It has been suggested, I believe, by our geologists that the whole of this great desert was at one time the bed of the sea, and the brackish water in the wells, and the numerous salt-pans, or depressions, lend some colour to the idea. If this was the case we may imagine Central and Southern India as a great island with the Indian Ocean flowing round the present basins of the Indus and the Ganges up to the foot of the Himalayas. It would, I think, be clear to any one who studied this country that the immense sand-hills and ridges of the Sind desert, and even those further inland, have been formed under forces and conditions which no longer exist; that, geologically, they are very old,

and from the point of view of sand-hills "have seen better days." Near Barmir, for example, there are high ranges of metamorphic sandstone and conglomerate running across the line of the sand-hills, and which seem to have been upheaved through them, in so far that the sand-ridges run up on to their flanks on the weather side, and on the *leeside* are formed of the same even section with the ridges tilted up slightly towards the rocky range. The sand could not well have been blown over ranges 1,200 feet high above the average level of the country, and even if this was assumed, it is hard to imagine that it should fall again on the *leeside* to the same section and lie symmetrically on the rock. I tried, but failed, to find any indications of alteration in the sand where it joined on to the rock, but I had no sufficient appliances or labour to make a satisfactory inquiry. The general parallelism of the sand-ridges in the Sind desert with the direction of the prevailing wind is, as I have already noted, difficult to account for, more especially as about the latitude of Jodhpore the sand-hills take what may be called their normal shape, viz., that of huge sea-waves with a long slope on the windward side, a steep slope to leeward, and line of their crests at right angles to the wind—as, in fact, a sea-wave would run. In the triangle between Jeysulmir, Bikanir, and Jodhpore, such sand-hills are dotted all over the country in the most irregular way, and rise to heights of 80 or even 100 feet above the general level of the ground; but no sand-hills, except small drifts, are now being formed, and it is only in places where the surface has been disturbed by cattle or by cultivation that this action is seen at work on anything like a large scale.

The population of the Sind desert might be put, and very liberally, at an average of one to the square mile. Between Omercote and Barmir, a distance of some 120 miles, there is only one place that can be called a village. Any other indications of human habitation consist of collections of from two to half a dozen round huts built of

twigs, and as much like American "wigwams" as can be. These are the abode of cattle and goatherds, and seem to be moved or abandoned at short notice. They are generally found near some hollow where shallow wells about two to three feet in diameter have been sunk through the sand, the sides of which are kept up by ropes and bundles of grass and twigs. Day and night the wells are at work, and it is very astonishing to see what considerable numbers of animals come to be watered, and to think that they have to find their daily meal in such a country. Bullocks, cows, goats, camels, and donkeys, come in, untended very often, drink their fill, and go away stolidly again into the desert to "graze" on the hideous "pasture"-ground, the very look of which would be enough to demoralize a proper-minded English cow. These wells were the only source of interest in camp, though the scene was always the same. The camel's patience under thirst was here seen to be illusory, or at any rate that if he can bear it, he does not like it. That a camel can go a long while without water is a well-established fact; but the people in this desert told me that the animals came in of their own accord somewhat as follows: Goats every day, donkeys every other day, camels the same, while cows and bullocks would go for three or four days without water. And such water as it is!—very salt, very dirty, and very warm; so salt that soap will not lather in it, and to a European stomach it is simply poison; yet both the people of the country and the cattle seem to be quite happy with it, and even prefer it to sweet water, or say they do, and the cows' milk is certainly excellent, though the yield is very small. Away from the wells the outlook is horribly monotonous, and it is difficult to repress a constant feeling of sadness that so much dry land, of which we have none too much anywhere, should be so comparatively useless and unprofitable. At the best we may regard it as a vast area where climates or "samples of weather" are made for other places, a great drying-ground for the westerly currents that sweep for more than half the

year from this corner of the peninsula over Northern and Central India, and form an important factor in the phenomenon of the monsoon.

The rainfall of the "great desert" is terribly uncertain. In Sind it may be 6 inches and is often nil, and in the Jeysulmir and Bikanir States scarcely a year passes without considerable areas suffering either from severe scarcity or even actual famine. So frequently, indeed, is the failure of the rains before the people, that it is a well-recognized custom for them to march away with their families and cattle in bodies of thirty or forty in number, into the irrigated plains of Sind. They make little or no fuss about it. Their few simple implements are shut up or buried in the floor of their huts, and putting the women and children on camels, and driving before them a few half-starved cattle, they set off in quest of harvest or other work, and await the setting-in of the next rainy season, when, as soon as the clouds begin to gather, they toil back over the burnt-up wilderness to their abandoned fields, their "wultun," to begin life again with arrears of rent to face as perhaps the sole result, save that of the preservation of their own lives, of their long journey and exile. We met many hundreds of these poor people coming from Jeysulmir and Mullani, and often as I asked them why they did not settle for good in Sind, and leave their wretched desert land, the invariable reply was that they must return to their "wultun" when better times come; and I suppose that of the thousands who go every year into Sind, not 1 per cent. remains permanently. It is impossible for any one who has not lived in India to understand how much is meant by the term "wultun" to a native, and it is difficult for any European to realize that even in this desert the force of this sentiment is unimpaired. It may mean actually no more than the recognized right to cultivate some small plat of almost uncultivable soil, a share only in a mean, but hereditary employment, or even the right to village charity; but it is none the less a "wultun"—a recognized position in

the village community, a status or a means of livelihood which, however humble, is the birthright of his family, and a position which perhaps no money can buy, while to abandon it is to make a man, according to his light, a waif and stray. To the Englishman, whose home is everywhere and anywhere, this would seem but a feeble tie; but to the native of India it means pretty nearly his only stock of sentiment or feeling.

It is curious that the accounts of the poorer people in this desert are kept in "legs" of animals. A man's property consists of so many "legs" of cattle or camels, he is indebted in "legs," and the security of money-lenders is in one or more "legs" of a herd, and a proportionate share in their offspring and produce. Most of the people are "Sodas," a race of poor degenerate Rajputs, but who in years gone by were a powerful class. They consider Omercote as the centre of the universe, and look to it mainly for their food supply. It boasts of a rather imposing mud fort, and of being the birthplace, or nearly so, of the great Akbar, who was born close by while his mother was flying from Jodhpore. The fort being built on the very edge of the desert, on the west side one looks over gardens and the irrigated plain of Sind, while on the east is sand immediately under the walls, and sand-hills are seen as far as the eye can reach. The town is an irregular mass of some 600 or 700 mud-built houses with flat roofs, hardly any of them having windows, and coolness and ventilation is obtained by huge cowls on the roofs. It is the head-quarters of a desert district which may claim, perhaps, to be the hottest and most uninteresting in British India.

On nearing Barmir, an old robber stronghold perched on a precipitous hillside, the character of the desert changes from monotonous sand-hills to low ranges of bare rock interspersed with sand-drifts, and with occasional patches of cultivation in the hollows. The rocks show basalt, or black porphyry, schists, and metamorphic sandstones, and

the crests of the hills run up to 1,300 or 1,400 feet above sea-level. Going further east, towards Jodhpore or Bikanir, the outcrops of rock are frequent, and the country generally undulating, but sand-hills show everywhere in detached masses, except near Jodhpore itself, and about Nagore, where the soil is good, and the annual rainfall reaches sometimes to 17 inches. Jodhpore itself has already a good water supply from large tanks, and this is being much improved. The town and fortress of Jodhpore make certainly one of the most picturesque and striking-looking places in India. Every house is built of stone, most of them being gems of native design, both in their outlines and in the minute and beautiful carving of the stone. The stone slabs, pierced into network screens for the balconies, are of exquisite design and workmanship, and are peculiar to this part of India, being found in Bikanir, Jeysulmir, and Jeypore.

The general aspect of nearly the whole of this country perhaps justifies its old designation of the "great desert"—at any rate for at least eight months in the year. In the rainy season, if there is rain, the fields and even the sand-hills are sparsely clothed with green, the air is cool, and the sky clouded over; but as soon as the crops are cut, say in October, the grass has withered to a dull yellow, or has been grazed down to the level of the ground; the salsifer, the camel thorn, and wild capsicum bushes, and the dwarf "ber," or jujube, are the only signs of vegetation, and these at long intervals, while all around is a glaring, undulating plain of sand or sandy earth. How cattle manage to get through the hot season in this country is a standing marvel—and, in fact, a large proportion die of what is simple starvation. But sterile and even hideous as this country is to the eye of the European, it has long been the home of the Rajputs and of the well-known "Morwari" traders, whose banking and commercial agencies are to be found in every large city in India. Marching over the country with seemingly nothing but a wilderness of desert in front,

as far as the horizon, one comes almost suddenly, in some hollow, on a little town of well-built, whitewashed houses, glistening and grilling in the sun, and with the sand-hills perhaps close up to their walls. The signs of life about such places are few indeed, even in the daytime—literal "sleepy hollows," where the sleek merchant, who has made his money in India, comes back to rest and idleness, and to "fight his battles over again" with old comrades and eager listeners. In the sanctum of one of these men whose house of business was quite a thousand miles away on the other side of India, and who had seen a good deal of "life," I was astonished to find how absolutely childish were the ornaments and pictures hung round the room, and how utterly incongruous was their mixture. I can recall that an old and nearly obliterated line engraving of St. Sebastian was cheek by jowl with a florid-coloured German picture of a young lady in very *décolleté* dress, and the central one, curiously enough, was a dauby, red-coloured print of George the Third and his Queen, on one side of which was a picture of the Virgin and child, and on the other a framed advertisement of somebody's brandy.

I am inclined to think, though I see no sign of the idea in our gazetteers, that the Rajputs are a decaying race. They have few, if any, of the difficulties about food which the Hindu has, and will eat meat freely, but excluding pork, especially that of the wild pig. They drink heavily when they get the chance, and both eat opium and smoke tobacco, and generally the better off a Rajput is the more dissipated and body-worn he looks. The difficulties that surround marriage, both on the score of expense and in the restrictions of exogamy which is rigorously adhered to, are, moreover, telling on the reproduction of the population. I estimated the average family in the villages I passed through to be less than three in number, and among the Rajputs only the average was much lower. The paucity of male heirs among the better class of them is notorious, and the system of exogamous marriage must surround it with

temptation to avoid its difficulties by recourse to female infanticide. The term "*bēti-ke-bāp*," or "father of daughters," is a well-known term of reproach in Rajputana, which has not yet lost its zest, notwithstanding the persistent efforts of our political officers to arouse a better feeling on this point. The moral decay of the Rajput is indeed acknowledged by themselves, and is, curiously enough, attributed by them to the action of the British Government. They say, "We are now all getting 'soft.' In former days we could settle our disputes with the sword, and keep our hands in, between whiles, by raiding a village or a herd of cattle; but now you won't let us do this, and we have to sit in our houses and twiddle our thumbs." This is no new story in the records of our Indian Empire. The "reign of law" spreads steadily and inexorably, and far in advance of the comprehension of its purpose and value. The great bulk of the population of the "desert" is composed of races who have been driven into it by the conquest of their former homes, and the oppression of the conquerors. What but severe pressure could induce men to come to such a country, where the soil is sand, and water, the crying need of man in a tropical climate, is hundreds of feet below the surface in wells sunk through sand and hard rocks? In the hot weather the water from good wells is sold at a high price, and all the deep ones are covered and locked at night when not in use. In other places the water that runs from the roof in the scanty showers of the monsoon is carefully led into underground cisterns, and is doled out much as we should do with a rare and costly wine. It is, in fact, the water difficulty that has, in a great degree, led to the villages and towns being placed in the lowest hollows.

The cultivating class live generally in circular "wigwam" huts, made of the branches of trees and shrubs, the sides of which are plastered inside and out with a mixture of mud and cow-dung. Round each family group is a fence of dried thorn bushes stuck in the ground, against which the

sand has generally drifted up on the windward side. In the Sind desert many of the villages get sanded up in a few years, and are moved away to windward, and even in the towns the labyrinthine tracks among the houses are full of loose sand-drifts. In Jeysulmir the sand has been blown up against the west side of the city walls to the extent that a horseman can ride over them, and everywhere it would seem to be the recognized duty of the householder to make periodical clearances of his enclosures. In the hot season, between the months of March and July, when the wind blows strongly night and day, and the air is laden with dust and fine sand, and the coarser particles are drifting along the surface, it must seem as if it were only a question of a few days to see a village entirely overwhelmed; but a good deal of what is blown in is blown out again, and it evidently takes a long time to produce any serious inconvenience. This "blowing," or drift-sand, would be the great difficulty with any railway project through this desert, as we know that three inches of sand over the rails will put an engine off the line as certainly as a log of wood, so that when it is a matter of keeping the road clear of drift night and day, the expense of constant watching and clearance, and the great risk involved in this being neglected, will certainly tend to postpone, if not prevent, railway extension through this country, unless on conditions involving unusual cost in construction and in maintenance. On a small metre gauge line in the Jodhpore State, which at one place touches the edge of the sandy tract, a train has been blocked in front by sand, and, while detained by this, blocked also behind in the same way. The expense of dealing with the drifts on a section of not more than three or four miles in length, has been indeed as serious as it was unexpected. It is almost needless to say that the camel is at present the principal means of transport and travel in the "desert," and does also a fair amount of work at ploughing and dragging water out of the deep wells. As a beast of burden I have no

allegation to make against it; but as a means of locomotion for the human body, I unhesitatingly condemn it, and I cannot suppose that an Indian camel is worse in this respect than an Egyptian one or any other. Riding day after day at a jog trot for four and five hours together on one of these animals, with an occasional spell of double this time, is eminently calculated to impress one with the wonderful adaptability of a man's "internal economy," and why the entire viscera does not become a jumbled mass under such a trial, is to me a standing testimony to the excellence of its design to meet every conceivable villainy and maltreatment. To take the front seat and drive the animal yourself, is the only possible method in going at speed. To take the hind seat means passing hours, that seem days, of unmitigated torture. The boasted excellence of the Bikanir or Jeysulmir riding camel is, in my experience, a delusive flight of the imagination. I sought such animals in vain, and the only satisfaction I could get was that such excellence is now very rare, as the "fire horse" makes them no longer asked for, and that the days when robber bands wanted them for night rides of eighty or one hundred miles, have passed away. On this latter point one old man, whom I suspected of knowing more about it than by hearsay, told me that a camel for such purposes was fed for a day with "ghee" (clarified butter), as much as could be got into him, and was then left for two or three days without any food or water. If after this ordeal he was still alive, he could be reckoned on for a night "chappar" of any distance, and was worth his weight in silver.

Beyond a small amount of sheep's wool and of oil seed ("til") the "desert" produces practically nothing for European markets, and the former is so loaded with sand and spoilt by burrs from the "burroot" grass, that it can have but little reputation with wool buyers. These burrs cover the sheep almost like a garment, and so tenacious are they that if the wool is pressed for easy transport they are extracted with the greatest

difficulty, and I suspect that the scratchy things one too often finds in one's woollen underclothing are remnants of these detestable natural plagues. Camping in the desert is, in fact, made doubly horrible by this pest. The burrs get on to one's clothes, tents, bedding, and towels, and a "real treat" is to get one on a camel saddle or to rub one's self with one on a bath towel. Oil seeds would become a considerable item of export if the cost of transit to the railways was not so heavy. For this reason the imports of English goods is very small, and both cotton, and woollen clothing is made locally from indigenous material. The woollen blankets woven by the village women are excellent samples of solid good work, and the patterns on them are singularly neat and symmetrical. The "serin," or woman's gala cloth for the head and shoulders, is, for such an out-of-the-way place an extraordinary piece of hand-work embroidery, in excellent taste both as to colour and design, and the stamped cotton cloths are equally good in this respect and in their substantial texture.

The greater portion of this immense tract of country seems doomed by its physical characteristics and by mal-administration to comparative, if not complete, isolation from the civilizing influences which are now at work in the rest of the peninsula. The schools, the metalled roads, railways, telegraphs, and, above all the enforcement of law, are slowly but surely doing their work in other parts of India, and are converting the masses from being mere cultivating machines into thinking, reasoning beings; but in this "desert" country, which is almost wholly under native rule, these changes are spreading slowly and fitfully. The upper classes and, with some exceptions, the rulers are unfortunately men but little superior in aims and culture to the smallest landholder; their lives are passed in a continued round of the lowest pleasures, and it is only by the persistent and unselfish efforts of our political officers that the administration of these States

is saved from being a scandalous contrast to that in our own territories. The construction, or even the maintenance, of existing public works of utility is carried out only under pressure, and even then more for the honour and glory of the ruler than for the benefit of the people. For a new palace money can always be found; for a bridge or a new road there is none. We consider in British India the Bengali "zemindar" to be the extreme type of the landlord incubus; but I think the normal Rajput "thakoor" would beat him easily in his absolute ignorance of the duties he owes to his cultivation, his profligacy, and his selfish, wasted life. We must, however, be prepared to excuse them to the extent that, unlike the Bengali, he has little or no chance of ever hearing of better things, and he sees little of the very few Englishmen who travel through the desert, for this influence to have any effect. The Morwari traders, the Jews of India, who are constantly going to and fro between this country and British India, might be expected to set an example and bring some better influences to bear on the ruling class. But beyond building palatial houses and spending ruinous sums on the marriage of their children (one of them lately spent over £12,000 on a marriage), they seem to be absolutely inert. The best indication of the barbarous condition of this country is in the institution of domestic slavery. Our Exeter Hall friends think that this is extinct under the British Empire. They should make some inquiries in the "desert." That the slaves are well treated as a rule, and would probably resent any proposals for emancipation, is, I believe, beyond a doubt; but the system exists all the same.

HORACE DELL.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SARACENS.

THE word Saracens was first used by Christian writers in the Middle Ages to designate the Arabs, later it was referred to all Mahomedans, then to the Turks, and generally to all enemies of the Crusaders. The word has by some been derived from *Shargiyy*, "eastern," so that *Shargiyyîn* would mean "easterlings" or Orientals.* We accept this meaning because the Arabs came from the East, like the Hebrews, or those "from beyond" the Tigris, those who, according to Genesis, "journeyed from the East and came unto Shinar." The words Hebrews and Saracens, the latter as originally referring to Arabs generally, not to a single nomadic tribe, may perhaps be considered as synonyms. To confirm this hypothesis by referring to a few leading points only, is the object of this essay.†

ETHNOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION.

What in the tenth chapter of Genesis has been related as family history is the history of tribes, with which have been connected family traditions of occasionally, perhaps, historical value. Eponymic heroes represent the personified names of peoples and localities; names of tribal fathers and their sons stand for consecutive settlements; colonial relations are described as family relations. It was usual to do this in early historical times among the peoples of

* Another authority would derive it from *sirig* and *sirigûn*, and accordingly *sirigûn* meant the robbers or plunderers who from the desert overran Syria and Palestine, inhabited by Arab-speaking races. Similarly the *Hyksos*, or shepherds, were by the Egyptians called *shasu*, "plunderers," but *Hyksos* refers to the "king of the Shus."

† For a full consideration of earliest ethnology we refer to J. G. Müller, "Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Zaphetiten und Chamiten."

the East, as among Greeks, Romans, Slaves, Germans, and Mexicans. We here consider only some of those tribal migrations which, according to this Magna Charta of ethnology, are traceable in two independent lines, both of which begin in Central Asia and end in Mesopotamia. They are the migrations of Japhetites and Hamites, of a light-coloured and a dark-coloured race, the combination of which raised to political importance the Semitic—a mixed or brown race. Cuneiform inscriptions refer to race-distinctions the same names which have been transmitted as the sons of Noah. In Assyrian, *ippat* (Japhet) means "the white race," *khammu* (Ham) means "burnt black," and *samu* (Shem) "olive-coloured" or "brown." We know that the mixture of the white and the dark-coloured race produces a brown-coloured race.

The starting-point of these ethnically and geographically explained genealogies in the Book of Genesis, Eden, must have been situated in the country surrounding the foot of the Pamir, on which highland are the sources of the four rivers, the Indus, Oxus, Jaxartes, and Tarim. For the names of these genealogies refer to consecutive settlements of emigrants from East to West, beginning in those regions. This interpretation of the tenth chapter of Genesis is confirmed by two facts. The year implied for the birth of Shem, B.C. 2458, coincides with the year of Babylon's capture by the Medes, when the Japhetic race subjected the Hamitic race; * and the tripartite division of mankind, to which the names Japhet, Ham, and Shem point, is the same as that to which the traditions of other nations refer. Like of Noah, it is said of Lamech, Thraëtona, and Hellas that each of them had three sons, the eldest of whom was connected with the white race, the second with the black, and the third, as indicated, with the mixed race.†

* "Die Ueberlieferung," i. 1-16, 65; "The Chronology of the Bible," p. 11.

† Japhet, Ham, Shem; Jubal, Jubal, Tubal-Kain (names representing two languages); Airja, Tairja, Sairma (the Semitic Saraceni); Aeolia, Dorus, Xuthus.

That the transmitted family-narrative about the sons of Noah has been ingrafted on the record of a historical tribal tradition is also confirmed by the fact that the Septuagint excludes the derivation of the name Hebrews from that of Heber. Accordingly *Shelah* or *Salah*, "arrow," referred originally to the river Tigris, which means "arrow." It follows that the name of *Heber*, literally "he who crosses the river," referred to the crossing of the Tigris by those who came from the East unto Shinar, to the Hebrews, or the people "from beyond." The years attributed to Arpachshad before the birth of Shelah, and to the latter before the birth of Heber, refer to the time which the tribes spent on the eastern shores of the Tigris, before they, as the *casdim* or "conquerors," as the Medo-Chaldæans, became possessed of lower Mesopotamia, about four hundred years before Abram was born there. Abraham spoke that language which they had introduced, and it was understood in Canaan when he entered the promised land. Before this time that same race of combined Japhetites and Hamites must have spread southwards.

Among the inhabitants of the promised land, which extended from the Euphrates to the Nile, the Amorites are mentioned. Before Abram had received the promise transmitted to us, when "Abram the Hebrew" dwelt under the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, the brother of Eshcol and Aner, these Amorites were Abram's allies. The Amorites or Eморites were "highlanders," as their name implies; and this is also the meaning of the Akkad, from whom we regard Abram as descended. It can be rendered probable that these Amorite allies of Abram were, like him, Medo-Chaldæans, that they belonged to a white race. We now know from the exact reproductions of the Amorites as represented on monuments of ancient Egypt, that the Amorites were a light-coloured race, and probably Aryans.*

* W. M. Flinders Petrie, "Ethnological Casts" ("Babylonian and Oriental Record," ii. 6, and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, July, 1888).

They were certainly cognate with the upper castes of the Akkad or Medo-Chaldeans, and, like them, distinguished from the Sumer, whom they subjugated. The Sumer stood in the same race-relation to the Akkad as the Hittite to the Amorites; for the testimony of Egyptian and Hittite monuments obliges us to regard the Hittites as Mongols. This leads to the supposition that Nimrod, "the son of Koosh"—probably the conqueror of Babylon, and first king of the Median Dynasty—at the head of allied Aryans and Mongols founded the first empire in Mesopotamia.

The Hittites have certainly in very early times inhabited the land of the Euphrates, for the civilization of Carchemish points to Babylonia, not to Assyria. Their rule extended from the Euphrates to the Lebanon, and over Asia Minor. The name Ketura may have pointed to the Chet or Hittites in Ur. It cannot be determined at what time the Hittites entered Northern Syria, where for many centuries they held a military sway. Abraham addressed the children of Chet as the people of the land, when he bought Machpela from Ephron. They were continually at war with Ramesses the Great (B.C. 1344-1278), and the Egyptian forces would probably have been annihilated by them had it not been for the famous peace. Among the honoured supporters of Israelite kings were Ahimelech and Uriah the Hittite. They became tributaries under Solomon, but even in later times the Syrians were afraid of them. Amorites and Hittites, nearly always mentioned together in Hebrew Scriptures, are represented as fighting together. They inhabited Hebron, with which city Zoan-Avaris is brought into a mysterious connection by the statement that the former was built seven years before the Hyksos fortress. In a passage of the Book of Genesis, the importance of which has been strangely overlooked,* the oppressors of Israel are called Amorites, and like the Amorites and Hittites, the Hyksos seem to have belonged to a mixed race, for their kings and chieftains are repre-

* Gen. xv. 13-17.

sented on monuments with countenances very like those of the Aryan Amorites, and like them with a wig-like hair-covering. Mr. Petrie has made this important discovery by pointing to representations on the west side of the temple at Luxor of Northern Syrians whom the king of Egypt had made prisoners in his campaign against the Cheta. Now, if we have reasons for regarding the Amorites as cognate with the Akkad or Medes, a similar connection of the Hyksos has become probable. We may venture to explain, by the connection of Amorites with Medes, the wigs of the rulers of Amorites and Hyksos, for, according to Xenophon, those Medes who belonged to the upper castes wore wigs.*

The mixed race of the Hyksos and their connection with the Medes of Mesopotamia is confirmed by the origin of their name. The Egyptians called these foreign rulers *mentiu*, "shepherds," or *sitiu*, "archers," but more often *shasu* or "plunderers." Because their chief or king was called *hiq*, the non-Egyptian name Hyksos has been explained as king of the plunderers.† As *shasu* the Egyptians have represented two essentially different races; some with the Aryan type of the Amorites, others like the Mongolian Hittites. The ethnic connection of the Hyksos with the Amorites and Hittites, so clearly indicated in Genesis, is established beyond the possibility of justifiable doubt by three historical facts. Manetho states, that after their expulsion from Avaris the Hyksos built Jerusalem; Ezekiel asserts that this city was built by Amorites and Hittites, for he says, "Thy father was the Amorite, thy mother a Hittite;" and, finally, Hyksos as well as Hittites called their deity Seth.‡

To these facts has to be added the probability that the Hyksos first imported the horse into Egypt, inasmuch as no monumental representation of earlier times exists there.

* Xenophon, "Cyrop." i. 3, 2.

† Maspero, "Histoire d'Egypte," 4th ed. p. 164.

‡ Ezek. xvi. 3; Jos. contra Ap. i. 15.

The horse was called in Akkadian "the animal of the East," and one of the Hebrew names for horse is *sûs*, pointing to *Susa*. It may therefore be assumed that the Medo-Chaldæans introduced the horse originally from Bactria into Mesopotamia, and thence, as Hyksos, into Egypt.* For the ethnical meaning of Hyksos is king of Sos, or of the Scythian Shus, which name the Scythians from the East gave to their capital Shusa. Sir Henry Rawlinson has proved that they were known to the Chinese as *Sus*; the invasion of Egypt by these Scythians or "archers," as also the Hyksos were called, and their participation in the destruction of the Greek-Bactrian kingdom, are historically testified. The *Sus*, Scythians, or Skyths can be traced as Aryans, whether mixed or not with non-Aryans, from beyond the Himalaya to the first transmitted Aryan settlement in Europe mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, to Tiras, either to the Dniester or to Thrace, and thus to the most ancient seats of the Celts known to us. This explains why the Thrakian Getae (Goths, Teutons) claimed to be descended from the Medes, once all Aryans.

The preceding sketch is intended to prove that the geographical and ethnological explanation of the tenth chapter of Genesis—as far as it could here be considered—is in general harmony with the latest researches on ethnology, and that it enables us to explain the combinations of races and traditions in Arabia.

THE SARACENS AS ANCESTORS OF MAHOMED.

In the foregoing investigation we have tried to point out that the Saracens or Orientals were cognate, if not identical, with the aboriginal Hebrews or Medo-Chaldæans who captured Babylon about four hundred years before

* The Egyptians refer to the shepherds as horsemen, and Habakkuk refers to the horses of the Chaldæans. The Arabians call the horse *faras* (Hebrew, *farâsh*); and Persia, the country from which it came, *faris*; yet the Akkadian word for horse stands in no connection with *faras*.

Abraham is said to have been born in Ur of the Chaldees, of the Casdim or conquerors. Mahomed had a perfect right to consider himself a descendant of Abraham. In the Korân Abraham and Mahomed are both called '*Hanifs*', a word of Arabian origin, which has had different meanings at different times. At present the Syrians call a heathen *chanfo*; but in the time of Mahomed a true '*Hanif*' was a man who inclined towards the Abrahamitic belief in one God, and who did not place any other by His side. As recorded in the Korân, God said to Mahomed, "Verily Abraham formed a God-fearing nation, being a '*Hanif*, and not of the idolaters; . . . then We gave unto thee of Our Spirit; follow the faith of Abraham as a '*Hanif*.'" *

It may be possible to point out the original of the monotheistic and also of the polytheistic or idolatrous faith in Arabia to which the Korân refers. In the tenth chapter of Genesis a distinction is made between a Hamitic and a Semitic Sheba in Arabia. According to our ethnical and geographical explanation, the Hamite settlement of Sheba points to an earlier Sheba, to the second settlement of Hamites transmitted to us, that is, to the so-called eldest "son" of Koosh, eldest son of Ham. Koosh we identify with the land of Koosh, watered by the Gihon-Oxus; and Chavilah, the second son of Koosh, with the land of Chavilah, watered by the Pishon-Indus. It follows that between these two countries, therefore, on the Hindu-Koosh, was a settlement Sheba, in the genealogical list called the eldest son of Koosh. With this Sheba on the Hindu-Koosh stood in ethnical connection the Hamitic Sheba in Arabia, after which the name of Sobba or Sheba was given to the capital or royal city of Ethiopia, the ruins of which are still visible a few miles from Khartum. This Sobba Josephus and Irenæus considered to be more ancient than Meroë. The Egyptians are said to have sent an army to Sobba in the time of Moses, if not under his leadership.† Seba, if

* Sura xvi. 121; iv. 124; ii. 129; iii. 60; vi. 79; x. 105.

† Josephus, "Ant." i. 6, 2; ii. 10, 2; viii. 6, 5; xii. 1; Irenæus,

read from right to left, as all Semites did, forms Abes or Abyssinia, a name not mentioned in Genesis. This is important, for it proves, what according to our explanation of the so-called genealogies we assert, that the Hamitic Sheba in Arabia refers to a pre-Semitic settlement.

It is impossible to conjecture at what remote time the Hamites from India migrated to Arabia, how many centuries before the Semitic Sheba the Hamite Sheba was founded. Between the foundations of the earlier and the later Sheba in Arabia, the settlements of Hamites in Africa—Mizraim and Punt—and those in Canaan, must have been founded, followed in course of ages by the earliest settlements in Mesopotamia, and by the building of Babylon, till the capture of this city by the Japhetic Medes led to the first Semitic settlement, that of Elam on the Persian Gulf, which sooner or later was followed by the foundation of Semitic Sheba in Arabia.

In the land of Hamitic and Semitic Sabeans and their distinct traditions; in Arabia, among the Joctanites or Kahtanites; the *musta aribah*, or "mixed Arabians;" among the descendants of Ishmael, of Ketura and Esau; in the twenty-first generation after Adnân; moreover in the family Hâshim, of the tribe Kuraish, to which tribe had been confided the care of the sanctuary at Mecca—it was here that in the year A.D. 575 (571?) the young Kahtan, son of Abdul Muttalib and Amina was born, who later called himself Ahmed, or Muhammad.

Arabian tradition connects with the eldest son of Abraham, with Ishmael, the tribe Ma'ad, and these Ma'addites are distinguished from the Kahtanites, said to be descendants of Joctan, the second son of Eber, the Medo-Chaldæan. The Ma'addites, or "great Ad," were evidently descendants of the most ancient and early lost

"Ergn." 32; Strabo, 16, 17. The Greeks knew the Sapai, Sapoioi in Thrace, the Sapoioi in Ethiopia, the Sabai in Carmania, &c. The Romans knew the Sabines. Epiphanius mentions the Samaritan Sabonaiol; these joined the Essenes, who acknowledged the Sabeian prophet Elkesti.

tribe of the Ad. We would connect the Ad, sons of Amlak, or Emleck,* with the Nish-Ad, "family of Ad," in the Himalaya, for the aborigines of Arabia came from the East, and, as we try to prove, from India. In Sanscrit *at* means "splendid," and, therefore, it has the same meaning as the Hebrew *yaphia*, which again is cognate with the Sanscrit *ar*. The Nishād of the East and the Ad of Arabia seem to have been originally Aryan high-castes among black populations. It cannot be asserted, but is possible, that Hamites were led by Japhetites from the far East to Western Asia. At all events Ad points to India, Ak to Bactria and Irak. It is conceivable that after the subjugation of the Ad from India by the Ak of Bactria (perhaps the Bak-tribes of the Chinese), the name of *Akkad*, or "highlanders," was formed by that combination of Hamite aborigines, and Japhetic conquerors, consequent on the capture of Babylon by the Medes in B.C. 2458, and by which combination of tribes we tried to explain the Shemitism of Genesis. Thus also the Chedad of Arabian tradition might point to the Chet-Ad, connecting the Hittites with the originally Indian Ad. The names of Adnān and Muḥammad obviously point to Ad.

These Adites we identify with the Bayadites or lost tribes of Arabia, who were directly connected with the Amalek whom Hebrew records regard as cognate with the Edomites. The Amalekites are by ancient Arabian tradition called the conquerors of Egypt and the possessors of Abara (Avar), or Avaris, until the time of Moses, when we know from the Elkab inscription that these foreign rulers, the Hyksos, were expelled from Egypt by Amenophis I.† Only the highcastes of the Hyksos were cognate with the Amorites and Medo-Chaldæans or Aryans, whilst the low-castes of

* Balaam called Amalek "the first of nations." They were shepherds, like the Hyksos, whom Arabian tradition identified with the Emleck, or Amaliku, whose lands are said to have once bordered on the Persian Gulf, as did the lands of the Sumer, whom we connect with India, and who became amalgamated with the Akkad, or Medo-Chaldæans.

† On the Exodus see "Die Ueberlieferung" L. 222-27, 343-48.

these nations were of the Mongolic or Hamitic race to which the Hittites belonged. Like the high-caste Amorites and low-caste Hittites, the Chedad, or Chet-Ad, may now be safely regarded as Chetas with Adites. The connection has become probable of the high-caste Japhetic Adites, or Ma'addites, with the Nish-Ad of the Himalaya, whose low-castes seem to have been Hamites like the Hittites. The Adites were cognate with the Amalekites and Edomites, and this throws light on the origin of the Ishmaelites.

The twelve tribes of Ishmael, according to Josephus, inhabited Nabathæa, and Jerome states that up to his time the Nebaioth dwelt in the country promised to Abraham, that is, between the Euphrates and the Nile. We assume, therefore, that that Nebaioth is a name derived from the Nabathæans of Arabia Petræa, the Beni Nabat of Mahomedan writers, which Nabat were cognate with the Nabat of Mesopotamia. The second son of Ishmael, Kedar, literally "the blackskinned," settled in Hejaz, between Naja and the Red Sea, and this corresponds with Biblical statements. Hejaz is the Holy Land of Islam, with the sacred cities of Mecca (Makkah, or Bekka) and Medinatten Nebl "the city of the prophet." Mahomed admitted the genealogies which showed Fihhr Kurâish (born A.D. 200) to have been the son of Malik, the son of Nadhr (born A.D. 134), whose ancestor in the seventh generation was Maad, son of Adnân, born B.C. 130.

To the race-distinction of Ma'addites and Kahtanites, must have corresponded a double tradition, such as we have traced among the Hebrews and the naturalized strangers in Israel.* The Hamitic Sabæans of Arabia will have transmitted the Indian tradition, and the Shemitic Sheba the perhaps unmixed Bactrian tradition. The former was polytheistic, the latter monotheistic. It is perhaps not too bold to connect this double tradition with the resolution of some inhabitants of Mecca, belonging to the Kurâish tribe, to protest against the idolatry practised

* *See* I. 243-62.

at the Kaaba, and to seek and promulgate the true doctrines of Abraham the Hanif, the monotheist. "Shall we surround (walk round) a stone which does not hear nor see, which does not help or harm? Let us seek a better faith." *

In the land of Abraham's birth essentially new doctrines had been introduced since the end of the apostolic age by Essenic Christians. A small number of these Christianized Sabeans has transmitted the tradition of the founder of their sect, the Essenic prophet Elkesai. They call themselves Mandéans, or Mandaites, "disciples of John," the Baptist and Essene; also Sabeans, or Sheba. They were called "Christians of the girdle," of the Persian *kosti*, and before their admission into the Church they had to abjure Zoroaster and Buddha.† Their great book, or *Sidra Rabba*, is also called *Ginsa*, "the treasure," a word which has the same meaning as the Buddhist *Vinaya*. They possess also a so-called Scripture of John the Baptist. The latter, as Essai, could in Syriac be called *ashai*, or "bather," and the disciples of John in Mesopotamia were called *mogtasilah*, or "bathers." The name Mandaites is unknown to Mahomedan writers, but Mahomedan tradition regards these Sabeans as an heretical sect of Christians, by which Essenic Christians are meant. We know that Mahomed regarded as idolatrous the Essenic doctrines which Stephen and Paul had first applied to Jesus the Messiah.‡

RESULT.

The name Saracens, or Orientals, referred originally to Indians as well as to Bactrians. The Saracens, or aboriginal Hebrews, the Medo-Chaldéans from Bactria, were in Arabia represented by the Semitic Sabeans, or Sheba, by the Joctanites, or Kahtanites, long after the Saracens from India, the Hamitic Sabeans or Sheba, the Ma'addites, had

* After Ibn Ishak, the earliest Mahomedan Church historian.

† Crwihlson, "Die Sabier und der Sabismus," l. 130, note 8.

‡ See "Christianity and Islam."

settled in that country. These "great Ad" may be traced to the Nish-Ad, or "people of Ad," in the Himalaya. The name of Mahomed's ancestor Adnân, as also the name Muhammad points to the Ma'addites, whilst the aboriginal name of Mahomed, Kahtan, points to the Kahtanites, the one to the Saracens from India, the other to the Saracens from Bactria.

As the aboriginal Hebrews or Medo-Chaldéans, the Japhetites from Bactria, were by the capture of Babylon amalgamated with the Hamitic aborigines from India in the "semitized" Mesopotamia, in like manner the Kahtanites of Arabia were combined with the Ma'addites, whom they are said to have expelled from the country. Like the Hebrews, the Saracens represented two distinct Oriental races and traditions.

ERNEST DE BUNSEN.

KARENNI AND THE RED KARENS.

For considerably more than half a century, or, to be more precise, for exactly six decades, spasmodic efforts have been made at various times to open up the Shan States and South-western China to our commerce;—in other words, to obtain the vast treasures which enthusiasts assure us are to be found by a process familiarly but somewhat vaguely termed "tapping" their resources. As far back as 1829, Lord William Bentinck, and, in 1836, Lord Auckland, interested themselves in the question; but nothing of a practical character seems to have been done till Lord Salisbury, in 1866, and again in 1874, sanctioned surveys for a railway from Rangoon to Kiang Hung on the Chinese frontier, which, however, were not carried beyond British territory. His lordship still continues in full sympathy with the idea of uniting Burma and China by railway, and lately indulged in a hope that after the Rangoon and Mandalay line has been extended to Bhamo, it will be carried on to the frontier, if the conditions of the intervening regions be favourable to the enterprise. In 1882 Mr. Colquhoun explored Southern China and Mr. Holt Hallett surveyed part of Siam and the Shan States; and having fully made up their minds that this region is a veritable *El Dorado*, have ever since persistently endeavoured to persuade their countrymen to take possession of the wealth the gods provide before it is snapped up by others. Though their dreams, as Mercurio has it, are not

"the children of an idle brain,
begotten of nothing but vain phantasy."

they resolve themselves, after all, into an allegory. Like the treasure bequeathed to his children by the man in the fable, which he declared would be found three feet below the surface of his garden, and which really consisted in the extraordinary fertility given to the soil by digging and delving it to that depth in the fruitless search for more palpable gain, so the wealth which will accrue to us by the possession of the kingdom recently ruled by his Majesty of the Golden Foot, as well as by access to the regions beyond, will probably be found to consist in their undeveloped capabilities, rather than in Burmese or Chinese treasure-trove.

Not the least of our responsibilities in connection with the annexation of Upper Burma, was the proper management not only of the Shans, who have played a prominent part in the historic field of Farther India, but also of the Karens and other races of inferior importance, generally termed wild or uncivilized, who have their habitat along the entire length of our new frontier. As on the borders of India proper and India beyond the Ganges, excepting where they are washed by the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, so on those of our new inheritance, a vast number of peoples are found of every degree of civilization except the highest, who, having somewhat vague notions as to the necessity of good government, practically set at nought what we in our philosophy define it to be. As a matter of course these border tribes are continually at issue with our frontier officers, many of whom are prone to adopt coercive measures in order to bring them to their proper bearings. The Burmese Government favoured this policy in dealing with rude peoples; but its efforts to compel the highland Karens to submit to authority were entirely abortive. On our occupation of the province of Pegu in 1853, we consequently found ourselves hampered on the Toungoo frontier with peoples declared to be so wild and so untamable that the authorities we supplanted were only able to exact

nominal tribute at irregular intervals, and never ventured into the country occupied by them excepting in armed force. Secure in the almost unassailable positions they selected on the mountain ranges between the Sittang and the Salween rivers, or in obscure gorges whose normal stillness is only broken by the rushing of perennial streams, cool, refreshing, and pure as crystal, which adds such a charm to this region, these self-reliant and indomitable Karens, aided by their reputation for turbulent and undisciplined behaviour, hurled defiance at their would-be oppressors, and achieved for themselves an unique and independent position. With few sympathies in common, with disdain and oppressive bearing on the one side, and with fear, hatred, and a desire for vengeance on the other, the Burmese and the Karens of the plains, though living together for centuries, have ever pursued parallel courses, making no attempt to bridge the gulf between them by efforts towards a better social intercourse, or the more humanizing influence of the marriage tie. Neither have they learnt the lesson that concession must precede union, and that two races are not easily welded into a single nationality unless they consent to make some advances towards being one socially. Conservation is even more pronounced among the Karen highlanders, who, in their comparatively isolated position, influence none and remain uninfluenced by others. Though strong measures seemed inevitable in the case of this troublesome people, owing to fortuitous circumstances, they were happily unnecessary, as it happened that their traditions taught them to look to the west for their deliverers in the shape of white strangers, who would bring them a book, once theirs, which would make them acquainted with the true God, and free them from their oppressors. So the simultaneous arrival of the English in right of conquest, and of the American missionaries with the Holy Bible, were accepted by these simple tribes as a literal fulfilment of this prediction, and induced them not only to receive

the Word with joy, but also to become law-abiding people.

The people of Karenni, fully impressed with what had been done for kindred tribes close to their borders, yearned for similar advantages in order to free themselves from Burmese oppression—the chiefs of the western division of the country going so far as repeatedly to express a desire to place their territory under British control; but our Government refused to accept this responsibility owing to dread of political complications with the Burmese. And now that the march of events has removed that difficulty, it is said that the latter find the little finger of their deliverers thicker than the loins of their old oppressors, and the former realize that whereas heretofore they were “only chastised with whips, they are now chastised with scorpions.”

Forty miles in a bee-line from the frontier town of Toungoo, famous in days of yore as the seat of a powerful dynasty, lies the great watershed of the Sittang and Salween valleys, dominated by Nattoung or Demon Mount, notable in mythological story as the Ararat of Karen tradition. Standing on this remarkable peak at an elevation of nearly 7,000 feet above sea-level, a bird's-eye view is obtained of Karenni, the country of the Kayas, or Red Karens, consisting of a fine table-land lying between Burma and the Shan States, contrasting not a little with the neighbouring British territory, inasmuch as the latter is for the most part covered with virgin jungle, whereas the former presents the appearance of having been occupied for many generations, as not a vestige of primeval forest remains, and great attention is paid by the people to the land, which is carefully laid out and divided by stone walls and hedges. It also compares favourably with Burma as regards climate, and there is not only corroborative evidence of the fact, but also colour given to the belief that it is admirably suited to Europeans, when we learn that hoar

frost is seen in December, that the dandelion, the violet, and the forget-me-not, as well as other flowers pertaining to temperate zones are found on the highlands, that neither fogs nor miasmatic vapours prevail, and no dense jungle exists to tarnish the air with its noxious exhalations. Karenni consists of a number of petty states, each having its particular chief; for all practical purposes, however, it may be divided into Eastern and Western Karenni, which are ruled by chiefs, known until lately by the outer world as Sawlapaw and Kephogyi respectively—or the names of the founders of their dynasties. Both were more or less independent. The former 'tis true by the annual tender of a silver flower acknowledged the King of Burma as his suzerain, but did just as he pleased; for he could well hold his own against any Burmese troops that tried to coerce him, and kept in awe the most powerful of the Shan chiefs. No wonder, then, that he defied the British when they called him to account for his alleged misdoings. Though the term "government" is a misnomer when applied to the polity that obtains among the Red Karens, and though they have no tradition of a Licurgus, they are burdened with an oral law for the regulation of society almost as cumbrous as the written law of more advanced peoples. Each village, with its scant domain, constitutes an independent state, of which the chief is the ruling prince, and only "now and then a little Napoleon arises who subdues a kingdom to himself, and builds up an empire; the dynasty, however, only lasts with the controlling mind." * This significant want of adhesion materially tends to enhance the difficulty experienced by the English Government of satisfactorily concluding any arrangement with Karens, Kakhyens, Singphos, Chins *et hoc genus omne*, simply owing to the sheer impossibility of finding responsible persons with whom to treat. Though this incoherence engenders a spirit of reciprocal hostility that

* Mason, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

prevents any political union or amalgamation of their common interests, the sense of common danger experienced when a foreign foe threatens their existence, forces them to unite for a time under the chief enjoying the greatest prestige. Their system of government, as well as their criminal code, such as it is, came down to them, they imagine, from the ancients. According to the latter, they are encouraged to avenge their own wrongs, even in cases of homicide. One of its canons, for instance, expressly lays down that the slaying of those who cause the death of relatives is a sacrifice acceptable to the shades; while another suggests that an offender should be cursed for misdemeanours which cannot be reached in any other way.* The Mosaic law which says "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is fully appreciated in this system. Their forays may be accepted as its special development. Though to persons accustomed to European procedure they are tantamount to unqualified robbery and murder, Karens look upon them as Europeans regard the execution of magistrates' judgments by sheriffs' officers. Anomalous as it may appear, the duty of living at peace is nevertheless very strictly enjoined. The lover of peace, it is said, will be blessed with numerous sons and daughters who will demean themselves with propriety; he will have no enemies to assail him—a rough paraphrase of the words of David, "Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them, they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate."†

Karen is a term we have borrowed from the Burmese, conveniently designating a people consisting of numerous clans, which may be divided into three great families, the Sgau, the Pwo, and the Bghai. The first two are meek



* To carry out this injunction the person wronged is instructed to take an expiring faggot, an addled egg, and the scrapings of the dishes usually reserved for pigs, and, anathematizing his enemy, to say, "May he die like this expiring faggot, may he be childless like this addled egg, and may his end be like this refuse!"

† Psalm cxxvii. 5.

and peaceful agricultural tribes, with many of the softer virtues, and but few flagrant vices, found in the sparsely-populated Tenasserim province, the delta of the Irawadi, and the alluvial plains of Pegu. The warlike and turbulent Bghais, on the other hand, have their chief habitat on the hills of the Toungoo district. Beyond the limits of British territory again, extending far into China, are several congeners of this family, the most prominent of whom are the Red Karens. The oral traditions of the latter, which point to Central Asia as their ancient home, and indicate the routes by which they came therefrom, by reference in doggerel rhymes to places and events of which they can furnish no particulars, but which are duly noted in contemporary Chinese and Burmese histories, have more ethnological value than the elaborate histories of the more cultured races that surround them. For in them we are reminded of an archaic civilization, characterized by distinctive social, domestic, and religious practices, whose original seat, geographical and linguistic evidence assigns to this region. Their notion that all the prominent objects of nature, and everything that is subservient to the comfort and the pleasure of man, have their presiding deities which must be kept in good humour, their custom of propitiating the ghosts of the dead by consecrating miniature houses for their habitation, and placing on graves articles for the use in the next world of the departed spirits, as well as binding thereon slaves and ponies, in lieu of the obsolete practice of human sacrifice, are among the Sythic and other branches of the Asiatic cult. Their indigenous faith, in fact, is identical with the Shamanism of the Tartars. It does not, however, rise to the level of idolatry, which, as Sir John Lubbock says, "characterizes a somewhat higher stage of human development." * Their divination by fowls' bones, again, which is invariably resorted to before they commit themselves to the most ordinary undertakings, is similar to the practices of the Miao-taze, or hill tribes found in the provinces of Kweichau,

* Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization." London, 1870.

Yunnan, Szechuen, Hünán, Quangsi, and the western parts of Quantung, whom the Chinese consider as "Children of the soil,"* or the indigenous inhabitants of the country. It may also have some affinity to the Tartar divination by twigs, and the Chinese equivalent of tossing two symmetrical pieces of wood, referred to by Colonel Yule in his "Marco Polo."† They believe, with Central Asian peoples, in wizards and necromancers possessing spiritual influence over health and life, and having the power of reanimating the dead, as was the case with the witch of Endor, who, at the bidding of Saul, caused the appearance of Samuel by her incantations. Finally, their practice of making a great ado at the funerals of ordinary folk, while a chief is buried with a great amount of secrecy and his place of sepulture hidden, follows the custom of the people of Khoten (Cotan), who, while "they honour the ashes of the common dead by

* "In the Imperial dictionary of Kanghi the sign , mian (a compound of the words 'flower' and 'meadow') signifies 'germinating seeds,' 'blades of grass springing from the seed-vessels.' The sign , tsz, on the other hand, is that usually employed to express son or descendant. In accordance with this explanation, the Chinese also seem to consider the Miao-tse as children of the soil" (See "Voyage of the *Nevara*").

† This superstition is doubtless of great antiquity, having originated probably in Central Asia; for we know that the common barn-door fowl, like the Karens themselves, came from that region. After leaving its ancient home, it passed into Persia, over which country, according to Aristophanes, it reigned supreme, prior to Darius and Megabazus. From Persia it found its way to Greece, and thence through Italy to France and Britain. It also became domiciled in India and China. In all these countries it was utilized for purposes of divination; a cock, for instance, assured Themistocles of his victory over Xerxes, influenced the decision of Romulus in choosing the site of Rome, and inspired Numa Pompilius, who was the first to make augury a profession. The Santals in Bengal, the Buddhists in Ceylon, and some of the low castes of Southern India, used to sacrifice red cocks in honour of their *Lares rurales*; there is also an instance on record in the fourteenth century of an Irishwoman having been arraigned before the Ecclesiastical Court, presided over by Richard Ledered, Bishop of Ossory, and charged with having sacrificed nine red cocks to her familiar spirit. So the Karens are not singular in the matter of having venerated the bird which is now universally used as an article of food (See "Trans. Ethn. Society," London, vol. v.; "Kilkenniensis Annales Hibernia," published for the Irish Archaeological Society, 1842; Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal").

building towers over them, when a king died they did not burn his body, but enclose it in a coffin, and carry it far off and bury it in the desert." *

The Red Karens preserve a distinctive difference in mould of form and feature compared with other tribes of Karens, or with the Burmese and Shans, whose physiognomical characteristics are more decidedly Mongolian. The appellation "Red" probably originated from the prevailing colour of their turbans and garments, and not from that of their skin, which approaches a medium copper tint. The men are, as a rule, taller and better set up than those of neighbouring tribes; while the women, who are mere drudges, exceed them in height and bulk, especially in the abnormal development of their lower limbs, caused by the pressure of heavy strings of beads below the knees, and their habit of carrying heavy burdens on their backs. The Red Karens have long had an unenviable reputation as inveterate caterans. With them, as with the Central Asian tribes, humanity has, as yet, made little or no progress. Selfishness reigns supreme, blunting natural affection for kindred, and producing indifference to human suffering and bloodshed, while tribal feuds, with their usual concomitants of rapine and murder, are the normal conditions of their society. Impulsive without reflection, they are less apathetic than the Burmese, being distinguished for admirable perseverance and indomitable self-reliance, suggesting promising material for military police under judicious handling. The accounts of those who first brought them to notice are so conflicting that it is impossible to form a just estimate of their character therefrom. Mr. O'Riley, favourably known for his intelligent and sympathetic interest in the wild tribes of this region, reported, for instance, that the Kayas, or Red Karens, were "notorious for their unrelenting cruelty and ferocity; for their savage and intractable nature; for their utter disregard of life in the absence of any controlling power—affording an instance of a society most degraded,

* Beal's "Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims."

and, with the exception of not being cannibals, not a whit more civilized than the most barbarous tribes in Africa." * Doctor Mason, equally distinguished by reason of his success in evangelizing kindred tribes in British territory, on the other hand, declared that "they have no police, no prisons, no penitentiaries, no schools for the reformation of young thieves; and yet they have no locks on their doors, no watch-dogs in their yards, no man-traps or spring guns in their gardens, and still thefts are very uncommon." † He also remarked with pleasure that they were anxious to have missionaries sent to them in order to teach them religion. Both of these gentlemen had afterwards reason to modify their opinions considerably—Mr. O'Riley, on further acquaintance, acknowledging that there was every room for hope that civilizing influences would have a most beneficial effect on the people; while Dr. Mason, alas! was subsequently forced to admit that the pleasant arcadia depicted by him existed only in his imagination. There was abundant excuse for this divergence of opinion between experts, for the characteristic differences of the various tribes of the Bghai family, to which the Red Karens are affiliated, are often very marked. The social condition of the Yindilines—or the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Red Karens in the teak forests—for example, is decidedly revolting to our sense of the fitness of things. In this tribe, parents, it is said, send their children adrift so soon as they can shift for themselves, just as birds turn their young out of their nests when they can fly. Society is consequently so mixed, that in some cases the people cannot determine whether those with whom they have social intercourse are blood relations or otherwise. The Tarus, again, though equally primitive in their habits, preserve much more decorum in their social arrangements; while their sense of shame is declared to be so acute, that accused persons commit suicide rather than pose as objects at which the finger of scorn can point—thus indicating, perhaps, a con-

* Reports on Karenni and the Red Karens. † Mason's "Burmah."

nection with China as regards the curious alternative known as the "happy despatch." The existence of slavery, however, was a tangible fact, on which all observers agreed. Subsequent experience, unfortunately, did not modify first impressions. Independent as the Karennis are, a great number of them are slaves: in fact, slavery is such an integral part of their social system that hired labour is hardly known. Slaves are of two kinds, namely, persons kidnapped or captured in actual warfare, and insolvent debtors who voluntarily accept the position, in accordance with the traditional custom of self-pawning, which has a similar development among Himalaic and Mid-Asian peoples. Their social condition, after all, is very little inferior to that of their masters; and, were it not that they are liable at a moment's notice to be torn from their families when transferred to other masters, would offer little occasion for remark.

A correspondent of the present writer, lately enumerating various attributes pertaining to the Red Karens which claim attention and sympathy, pertinently alluded to them as "a fine plucky race, which would make a good levy for us in future years." As the experiment has been successful with tribes belonging to the same family in British territory, there is every reason for believing that it would be equally so with the Karennis. During the recent revolution in Burma, the former — most of whom are Christians — were conspicuous for their loyalty under circumstances eminently conducive to disaffection; affording, at a critical period, a praiseworthy example to their disaffected neighbours, by unreservedly placing themselves at the disposal of Government for service against the disturbers of law and order. As the Burmese police were found to be utterly untrustworthy in dealing with turbulence and disorder, this duty had, in a great measure, to be relegated to Goorkhas and Sikhs, imported from India at considerable expense. By a happy inspiration, an excellent alternative was found in the enlistment of Christian Karens,

who, when Pagans, were renowned for their fighting propensities. They proved fully equal to the occasion, and acquitted themselves so admirably, especially in jungles which at certain seasons of the year are practically inaccessible to Burmans or to the fighting men drawn from India, that it has been determined to raise additional companies, to each of which a native pastor or chaplain is to be attached in order to further the spiritual welfare of the men. These very gratifying results justify the idea of trying a similar experiment with the Red Karens. It is true that the available recruiting material in Karenni lacks the Christian element which materially enhances the loyalty of the newly-raised contingent; but as there is a likelihood that the Karennis, before long, will follow the example of their congeners in British territory in the matter of adopting Christianity, this drawback is by no means insuperable. Leaving religious polemics aside, and looking at missionary work merely in the interests of political economy, the Christian propaganda in this region deserves our deep sympathy when we bear in mind that when the common weal was in danger, the Christian Karens, to a man, were most loyal to the Government. The attraction which primarily induces the ministers of various denominations who labour among the Karens, is doubtless the hope of promulgating their own views of Christian faith and hope; but fortunately for the general welfare of the people, they have also learnt the lesson that, though it is impossible to instil abstruse Christian dogmas into the mind of the untutored Karen, he can profitably be taught Christianity when reduced to its simple essence of his duty towards God and his duty towards his neighbour. While, therefore, not neglecting these essentials, they confine themselves chiefly to furthering the education and civilization of their converts, eschewing abstract doctrines as much as possible. This praiseworthy interpretation of duty has been attended with marvellous results, not the least of which was the transformation

of grossly intemperate and good-for-nothing reprobates, into sober, industrious, and estimable people. The policy of the Government of India, though paved with the best intentions, is cursed with a lack of sympathy provocative rather of profound respect than of ardent affection, which prevents it keeping touch with the people. The missionaries, however, often furnish a link between the Government and the people of great political importance. Lady Dilke, fully impressed thereby from personal experience in the North-west Provinces opines "that a day may come when the influence of their patient and self-sacrificing devotion will have created a bond of union between ruled and rulers which shall offer a stronger resistance to the advance of foreign foes than the weight of our sceptre or the sharpness of our sword." * Her conclusions are by no means fanciful; for the admirable conduct of the Christian Karens when we had to deal with foes in our own household, was mainly due to the influence brought to bear upon them by their missionaries.

The traditions of the Red Karens which refer to their crossing the "river of running sand," or the great Gobi desert, and to accompanying the Chinese when they visited Bhamo, Pugán, and other places on the Irawadi river, are fully in accord with the ethnic history of this region, from which we learn that the Chinese element has for centuries been gravitating towards the Irawadi basin, and gradually obliterating the national characteristics of the Shans, Tibetans, and other peoples whom they have encountered. This tendency was seriously checked for more than two decades by reason of the Panthay or Muhammadan revolution in Yunnan; but it seems to be reasserting itself, as Mr. Colquhoun tells us that the Chinese are streaming into that province from the overpopulated province of Szechuan; and that the current is now continually setting southward and westward, and not only occupying the rich regions desolated by rebellion,

* *Fortnightly Review* for May.

but also promising a large access of population to the fertile land of Burma and the Shan States.* The time has therefore arrived to encourage these proclivities in the interests of the congested districts of China and our sparsely-populated country, and thus further the blending into one people, of races cognate alike in descent and religion.

Baron Hübner, in his interesting work, "Through the British Empire," speaking of what he terms the breaking-down of the "Great Chinese Wall," points out with truth, that whereas the object of the war between England and France combined against China, was to open out the latter to Europeans, the result was to open out the whole world to the Chinese. He is appalled at the continual advance of the Celestial race—at the clashing of the civilizations of the West and of the East; at the meeting, at several points, of two great rivers, issuing from two enormous reservoirs, and contending for the mastery: "the white river and the yellow river—the one fertilizing the lands through which it runs with the seeds of Christian civilization, and the other threatening to destroy them. . . . With wonderful natural gifts," he goes on to say, "the Chinese competes with the white man wherever he meets him, and is checking, conquering him, and ousting him, not indeed by force, but with the weapons of labour and thrift." We need not share these forebodings when we contemplate their meeting with homogeneous peoples. In this event, they, as the more energetic and intelligent, will probably absorb the Burmese and the Shans, as they have absorbed and assimilated other peoples on their way to Farther India, and will form a mixed race, which in the interests of real progress will be an improvement on the admittedly pleasant, but equally impracticable, people which now comprises the bulk of the population. The Yunnanese seem infinitely preferable as settlers to the Cantonese and

* Colquhoun and Hallet's Report on the Railway connection of Burmah and China, London, 1888.

Fuh Kienese who crowd our Burmese seaports, for, according to Mr. Colquhoun, they "are a fine, healthy, strong-built race; industrious, enterprising; skilful agriculturists, energetic miners, good cattle-farmers, pushing merchants and traders." They are also, he says, more tractable in disposition and superior in general character to the latter, who though as traders, artizans, and in many other ways useful members of society, are not cultivators, and often give trouble, as we know from experience in the Straits settlements. Hailing as they do from a land which an eminent authority terms the "cradle of political affiliations," they are also exceedingly clannish and rebellious, requiring to be governed firmly.

The products of Karenni, both spontaneous and agricultural, are considerable, and capable of great development under a settled government. Of these teak, sticlac, and tin, are the most valuable; while live stock, in the shape of buffaloes, black cattle, and ponies, is a prominent item under the head of exports. The chronic state of warfare between Eastern and Western Karenni, the constant disputes between foresters, the local chiefs, and various speculators, and defective conservancy combined, causes any systematic working of the forests to be well-nigh impossible, and greatly affects the timber trade of the port of Maulmain, which in days of yore derived not a little of its importance from the great quantity of valuable teak timber floated down thereto by means of the Salween river and its tributaries. Sticlac, which used to be the next most important product, still finds eager purchasers on the spot or among the Shans. Tin is found as an ore, the peroxide of the metal being plentifully distributed through the course of the Khaymapiu stream, which derives its name from this circumstance. The Karen system of working it, if improved, might result—considered Mr. O'Riley thirty years ago—in an inexhaustible source of wealth to the undertakers. But judging by the present value of this commodity, its successful development nowa-

days is very doubtful. Among agricultural products, which they exchange for piece goods, areca-nuts, salt, fish-paste (*gnapt*), cotton twists, beads, &c. They have several kinds of rice and the usual variety of esculents found in Burma, including millet and a species of buck-wheat which they use in the manufacture of a fermented liquor called *Khoung*, a beverage considered by them as a veritable panacea for all the ills to which flesh is heir. Moderation in its use, according to Mr. O'Riley, used to be so exceptional that Dean Swift's fifth reason for drinking was accepted as a valid excuse for intoxication whenever opportunity offered. Chincona, tea, coffee, and potatoes, could also be as successfully produced by them as by the hill Karens in British territory. Though ignorant of many useful arts, the Karennis make their own knives, axes, swords, spears, hoes, bracelets, silver ornaments, earthenware, bridles, bits, saddles, stirrups, &c. They also manufacture gunpowder, an art they very probably acquired from the Chinese, when in ancient times they had more intimate relations with Celestials than is the case at present. The necessary saltpetre they obtain ingeniously from earth highly charged with nitric acid, which they dig out of their limestone caves; sulphur is to be had in some places, or can be procured from the Shans and Burmese; whiskey is not to be despised, say they, as a pungent ingredient; while "Perry Davis's 'Pain Killer,'" has a decided reputation with the powder-makers.

When first encountered, there was not a little difficulty in effecting commercial arrangements with the Karennis and other hill tribes, as they were wedded to a cumbrous system of exchange which found an equivalent for money in rough silver ingots containing about one-third of alloy, and in *Kyeezes* or drums, consisting of copper or spelter cylinders, rudely ornamented with figures of animals, birds, or fish, and varying in value from £5 to £50, according to size and volume of sound. Very soon, however, the Red Karens appreciated the value of the more convenient rupee

as much as the Red Indians acknowledged the potency of the "almighty dollar." The kyeezee, nevertheless, is still one of their most cherished possessions. Its music, say they, inspires them with martial ardour when ready for the fray, and soothes the savage breast when in a sentimental mood.

The amount of trade of which Karenni is capable under the most favourable conditions is, after all, comparatively insignificant, and would hardly compensate for the inevitable vexations that mercantile dealings with such a rude people must involve, were it not necessary to make them amenable in the matter of aiding the development of commerce with the Shans, whose trading proclivities are as proverbial as are the resources of the country they occupy. Mr. O'Riley fully recognized the advisability of this policy when, as representative of the British Government, he visited Karenni more than three decades ago. Finding that the Karens had established forms for making covenants of friendship and reciprocity treaties of various kinds, which savoured more of the archaic civilization to which so many of their customs belong than to the modern requirement, wherein documents must be duly sealed and signed, he accepted the invitation of Kephogyi, the then chief of Western Karenni, to enter into a treaty of friendship according to Karen fashion.* The blood of bulls and of goats, or of men, mingled with native beer or whiskey, seasoned with the filings of guns, swords, and spears, held upright in the covenant bowl by the contracting parties, is with the Karens of far more efficacy than are the matter-of-fact pens and ink, sealing-wax and paper, considered such important elements in the covenants of Western nations. A bullock was accordingly slaughtered, the chief retaining one of its horns and the British representative

* Many years afterwards the existence of this treaty saved Western Karenni from annexation on the part of the King of Burma. Though the English declined to take over the country, they would not allow the Burmese to do so—a dog-in-the-manger policy; for Burmese rule, though bad, was at any rate preferable to anarchy.

the other, both being mounted in silver with an inscription commemorative of the event. According to Karen notions this ordeal implied that "like as they had partaken of the bullock's flesh, which had entered into their bodies, so might friendship remain in their hearts, and there steadfastly abide so long as the horns remained crooked!" The Western Karenni chiefs have recently begged the English Government to fulfil its portion of the stipulations, they on their side truly submitting they have never failed in their promises through all the chequered and varying politics of the Red Karens and adjoining countries that have since intervened. Their loyalty certainly deserves more sympathetic treatment than has been accorded thereto. Owing to Burmese jealousy and intrigue, Mr. O'Riley was unable to secure the full confidence of the Eastern Karennis. He, however, secured a valuable concession from them as well as from the western brethren, by which the whole of Karenni was opened up to Shan traders. In order to attract commerce from the Shan States and the Chinese frontier province of Yunnan, he also endeavoured to establish a commercial mart on the Khaymapiu stream, the importance of whose position as a possible emporium, has since been recognized in both official and non-official projects for connecting Rangoon with China by rail. He initiated, at the same time, measures intended to promote a great immigration of Shans and cognate races into Burma. There is every reason to believe that if Mr. O'Riley had remained in touch with Karenni, his expectations would have been fully realized.

Enveloping the whole of Karenni excepting part of its western boundary which separates it from British territory, is the country occupied by the Shans, perhaps the most extensively diffused people in Farther India. The cradle of their race, according to Monsieur Terrien de Lacouperie, is in the Kinlung mountains north of Szechuen; hence their ancient history is completely woven with that of the Chinese. They constitute, as it were, a fringe to our land-

locked borders of Burma, excepting where they impinge on Bengal. Even here they predominated for centuries, but lacking the conservative proclivities that characterized them elsewhere, they adopted the language, the customs, and the religion of their Hindu subjects, and so lost their national characteristics. Early in the Christian era, and for many centuries afterwards, in the famous kingdom of Pong, they represented the dominant power in Indo China. The glories of Pong have, however, long passed away, the only semblance thereof consisting partly in the comparatively effete kingdom of Siam, and partly in a number of petty principalities, which have caused their inhabitants to become a byword for disintegration.

The Shan States proper, or that portion of this dismembered empire which influences or is influenced by Karenni, is all that concerns us in the present discussion. For the sake of convenience it may be divided into Chinese, Siamese, or Burmese Shan States respectively, according to their proximity to, or as they are influenced by, China, Siam, or Burma. The chiefs of those within squeezable distance, and too weak to resist oppression, were "squeezed" accordingly by their suzerains; while those of the more distant and more powerful principalities, were kept in good humour by being allowed to retain all the forms and paraphernalia of royalty, though not to exercise its rights. The initial want of coherence which characterizes the Shans, tempered though it be by the influence of a common language and a common religion, mark them as particularly susceptible to the control of a strong, progressive, and friendly government. The annexation of the Cis-Salween States, has been rightly cited as a remarkable specimen of what can be effected by unity, strength, influence, and prestige, as represented by a nation such as the British, when brought to bear on a disunited congeries of states such as this. The portion of debatable Shan land which we, as representatives of the deposed King Theebaw, have incorporated with Burma, bounded on

the north by the Showèli river, and on the south by Karenni, is a good slice of territory, larger than Ireland. Geographical considerations, as well as traditionary usage, seem to indicate that we have acted strictly within our rights. Whether our responsibilities will be further increased, will probably be determined by the results of the projected delimitation of the boundaries between British territory and China and Siam. When this is carried out, we shall doubtless endeavour to act in perfect accord with both these powers—with whom we are fortunately on the best of terms—and be at the same time prepared to make any reasonable concessions, when the momentous question arises as to what is to be done with the remaining states, on whose satisfactory administration, in connection with the material and moral welfare of the people, and the development of commerce, so much depends.

The probability of having to deal with France—a cloud which loomed large on our political horizon before Upper Burma became part of the British Empire—no longer exists. Though the political history of the French in this region comprises events which happened more than one hundred years ago, it is only within comparatively recent times we have had occasion to be exercised by their doings. A century ago France had reasonable hopes of being able to found an empire rivalling the British Empire in India proper. In 1774 a revolution in Cochin China deprived the reigning monarch, Gia Loung, of his throne; but in 1790, assisted by French adventurers, he not only re-established his power in Cochin China, but added Tonquin to his dominions. Three years before this event H. M., assisted by a French missionary in whom he had implicit confidence, concluded a treaty with Louis XVI., by which the French king agreed to afford military assistance in lieu of a considerable cession of territory. Several French men-of-war and a large contingent of troops were actually despatched, but only went as far as Pondicherry; had they reached their destination, a rich appanage would

undoubtedly have accrued to the French crown. On the plea of troubles in France requiring their presence at home, but really by reason of ignoble intrigues inspired by a spiteful woman, the enterprise was abandoned, and France thus lost a splendid chance of becoming a great Asiatic power like her insular rival. It was in the hope of securing to themselves the great advantages their predecessors allowed to escape them when almost within their grasp, that the French have been so active of late in Cochin China and Tonquin; have further, it is said, indulged in the hope of taking possession of Siam and the Shan States, and of assuming a protectorate over Upper Burma. Their too pronounced intrigues, however, only hastened the annexation of the latter country, while the judicious policy of the British Government in dealing with the Shan States, combined with the tendency of Siam to seek the protection of England in the event of being coerced in any way by her Gallic neighbours, have doubtless ere now convinced the French that there is little probability of their dreams being realized. With France satisfactorily disposed of, and with China and Siam friendly, we seem to be within measurable distance of the *El Dorado* quoted in my prefatory remarks. The reports of recent explorers certainly encourage the hope that the Shan States will in a few years become one of the most prosperous countries in our Indian Empire. There is every reason for believing that some three centuries ago the whole of this region was fairly, if not densely, populated. But it has never recovered the result of the internecine wars of the sixteenth century, so graphically described by Purchas in his "*Pilgrimage*," published in 1610. The effect of recent anarchy has been well-nigh appalling; but as the benefits of settled rule have already become apparent, and as the country is remarkable for its fertility and the abundance of its natural resources, it is hoped it will soon prove attractive to intending settlers and revert to its former prosperity.

The despatch of an expedition to Eastern Karenni

may be accepted as indicative of the determination of the British Government to do its duty by the neglected states from which so much is expected. Eastern Karenni for many years has been notorious as a depôt for elephants and cattle stolen from British territory, and as an asylum for outlaws and dacoits. Written remonstrances were made to Sawlapaw, the chief of the country, it is almost needless to say, without avail, for in their pursuit of knowledge the curriculum favoured by that personage and his counsellors does not include the "three Rs." But nothing more practical was done in the way of bringing the chief to his proper bearings till he had the effrontery to quarrel with a Shan chief enjoying the privilege of ruling his state under British suzerainty. The ire of the British lion was roused at the enormity, and felt it necessary, in support of its prestige, to make Sawlapaw recognize the fact that British power in these regions is irresistible, and any trifling therewith must result in retribution and condign punishment. Accordingly an *ultimatum* was sent to that worthy in the middle of October last, the conditions of which were that he should personally tender his submission to the superintendent of the Shan States, pay an indemnity of two lakhs of rupees (£1,500), and forfeit five hundred muskets; in default of which a force would be sent against him to enforce this demand, as well as a further sum of two lakhs, or the estimated expenses of the expedition. Of this Sawlapaw took no notice. Consequently a force was despatched in the beginning of January last with orders to march on Sawlon, the capital of Eastern Karenni. Suffice it to say, the purely military part of the expedition, so far as it concerned the occupation of Sawlon, was entirely successful. It says much for the pluck and determination of the Red Karens, and the practicability of our utilizing their fighting proclivities hereafter, that, armed only with spears and swords, or at best with muskets of the old Brown Bess pattern, harmful only to those who are rash enough to discharge them, they should have been able to offer resistance

to a strong force, equipped with the resources of modern warfare, sufficiently creditable to justify congratulatory notice in military orders to the troops by whose prowess they were defeated. The battle, 'tis true, had been fought and won by the British, but the avowed objects of the enterprise were not attained; Sawlapaw neither tendered his submission, nor paid the fine imposed on him. Far, moreover, from acknowledging his vassalage, or honouring the political officer's cheque, he had not even the grace to welcome the British officials at his capital; and, with equal want of consideration, decamped before their arrival, leaving behind him an empty treasury, a non-equipped arsenal, and no portable equivalent in liquidation of his indemnity, excepting a four-post bed, a cheval glass, a carved table, and some crockery, lamps, enamelled basins, and other adjuncts of Western civilization which this reputed savage found necessary to his comfort. The alternative of burning the town, in order to punish the absconder, occasionally adopted by officers in charge of punitive expeditions thus baffled, was happily not resorted to on this occasion. To have done so would, indeed, have been a barbarity, as Sawlon is described as a well-laid-out town, far superior in its buildings and surroundings to the ordinary Burmese or Shan town, the streets being well raised, straight, and running at right angles to each other, while a large stream flows through the town. Sawlapaw's "palace" is also said to be a fine building, stockaded on four sides with a teak palisade, and not far therefrom is a Buddhist monastery, declared to be a marvel of excellent carpenters' work, and of tasteful architecture.

There was no one left in the place with whom the British authorities could advantageously treat. After considerable delay, not unattended with a good deal of diplomacy, Sawnee, grand-nephew of Sawlapaw, at last was induced to have an interview with them, and reluctantly to accept the position of Chief of Eastern Karenni, *vice* Sawlapaw, deposed. In this capacity, it is said, he entered into

a treaty, binding himself to rule Eastern Karenni in accordance with established custom, to pay an annual tribute, acknowledge the Queen of England as his suzerain, and be responsible for the fines and forfeitures imposed on his great-uncle, giving certain timber traders and foresters as sureties for the fulfilment of the monetary provisos. This somewhat crude arrangement possibly suited the policy of the hour, but hardly commends itself to approval as a final settlement of the Karenni question. A far more drastic remedy is inevitable; in other words, Eastern Karenni, as well as the western division of the country, must be annexed. Were she ripe for autonomy, instead of being ignorant of the very rudiments of self-government; were she the Belgium of the continent of Farther India, instead of an Alsatia on our borders, the advisability of this course would not be the less obvious. The independent existence of this petty principality, which before very long will probably be surrounded by British territory, is as incongruous as the existence of the small plots in some of our Southern Indian cantonments, known as "French pettahs," to this day so jealously guarded as French territory. The Red Karens should be dealt with firmly, and taught that wrongdoing will be severely punished, but at the same time treated judiciously, and even generously—in short, made to understand that we are really anxious to promote their welfare. If the upshot of our little war with Eastern Karenni be its annexation, and the establishment therein of the *pax Britannica*, a brilliant future may be anticipated for this distracted country. But if, on the contrary, the people are left to seeth in the anarchy which has long been their normal portion, this prospect seems as hopeless as ever. Carrying fire and sword into Karenni, without furthering its moral and material welfare, may temporarily check the turbulence of the Red Karens, but whether it will promote their civilization, and develop among them the arts of love and peace is, to say the least, highly problematical.

A. R. MACMAHON.

PHILIP DE MELHO,

DUTCH DIVINE, TAMIL BIBLICAL TRANSLATOR AND POET,
THE FIRST NATIVE OF CEYLON WHO WAS ADMITTED
INTO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

THE name of Philip De Melho, celebrated as the first native of Ceylon who was admitted into the Christian ministry,* and as the most learned divine that India or that island has yet produced, occupies a prominent position in the literary and religious world. It stands foremost among the names of the divines and linguists, whether European or Native, who were found during the last century in Ceylon, which in his time was a Dutch, but now is happily an English, possession. As an Oriental poet he ranks high, while as a Biblical translator he had neither superior nor even an equal since the days of the celebrated Dr. Baldoeus,† who introduced Protestantism

* The first two natives of India who were ordained to the ministry, according to the rules of the Lutheran Church, were Aaron and Diego, long employed as catechists in the Tranquebar Mission. The former, a convert of Ziegenbalg, was ordained in 1733, and the latter in 1740. The next Indian minister was Satianadan, a convert of, and catechist under, the venerable Schwartz, in the service of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who similarly received Lutheran ordination in 1790. On this solemn occasion, he preached a Tamil sermon on Ezekiel xxxiii. 11, of which an English translation was published by the Society. Portraits of Aaron and Diego are given in a German work on Indian Missions, kindly shown to me by Professor Millies at Utrecht, when I visited Holland in 1868. (*Vide* Pearson's "Life of Schwartz.")

† Baldoeus accompanied, as chaplain, the Dutch expedition to Ceylon in the seventeenth century, and, on the conquest of the island, was appointed to Jaffna, the metropolis of North Ceylon, where he laboured with admirable zeal, translating St. Matthew's Gospel and several religious works into Tamil for the use of the natives. He also wrote a history of Ceylon.

into Ceylon, and who was the first to translate any portion of the Sacred Scriptures into Tamil. The Dutch Governor Falk,* himself an accomplished scholar and wise politician, out of respect for his great learning, called him "Rabbi De Melho," and the Government under which he served, in admiration of his abundant labours in the cause of education and religion, styled him "The Great Labourer."

The subject of this brief memoir was born at Colombo, the modern capital of Ceylon, on the 23rd of April, 1723—a year memorable in the annals of Eastern Christendom for the publication, for the first time, of the Tamil version of the Pentateuch, for which we are indebted to the zeal and learning of the venerable Ziegenbalg and Grundler, the first pioneers of missionary work in India. De Melho belonged to a native Tamil family, distinguished for its respectability and opulence. He was the second son of Simon De Melho, who filled the influential and important post of Chief Tamil Modliar and Interpreter of the Governor's Gate, being as such attached to his personal staff. He served under no less than ten Governors, among whom were Peter Viyst, the worst, and Baron von Imhoff, the best of the Dutch Governors. The latter afterwards became Governor-General of Netherlands India. He highly appreciated the services of his chief, and felt a lively interest in his welfare and that of the family.

De Melho commenced to study at an early age. He was placed in the Colombo Seminary,† where he obtained

* Falk, who graduated in Laws at the University of Utrecht, at the early age of twenty, was the only son of the Dessave, or chief executive officer at Matnar, in the south of Ceylon. Here the future Governor was born, and here his father died, and was buried in the Fort Church. Falk's administration was one of the best and the longest of any of the Ceylon Governors, embracing a period of twenty years. He died in Ceylon in 1785.

† This was the first Protestant Seminary established in the East; a century after, in 1800, Lord Wellesley organized the college at Fort William. In 1816 the Hindu college at Calcutta (the first national movement in the cause of education), was founded for the instruction of native youth in English and in European science. Two years after the Seram-

the highest distinctions. The Dutch Government, with its usual Christian liberality, had founded that institution, about the year 1705, for the education of young men, chiefly natives, who were destined for public employment, whether secular or religious. Though called a seminary, it was thoroughly collegiate in its character and constitution. It produced several persons, who proved exceedingly useful in their day and generation; and it is an interesting circumstance, worthy of record, that three of its students became eventually and successively its Rector, and rendered essential service to their *Alma Mater*, viz., the Rev. Dr. Meyer, the Rev. S. A. Bronsveld, and the Rev. W. J. Ondaatje, who, however, completed their studies for the sacred ministry at the celebrated universities of Utrecht and Leyden.

In the seminary De Melho was taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil. Of these languages, he had a profound knowledge. He was able to speak in Latin, in which language theology was taught to the more advanced students, while the Rector was expected to converse generally in it with them.* He also knew Singhalese.† His academical career was a brilliant one; he became the senior student before he was seventeen. At the age of

pore College was established, which was followed, in 1821, by the establishment of Bishop's College, Calcutta, with which the name of the very learned and ever memorable Bishop Middleton is so inseparably associated.

* Governor Baron Von Imhoff, speaking of the seminary in a memoir respecting the administration of public affairs, says that the Rector and his assistant taught their pupils Latin and Greek in so perfect a manner, that it was astonishing to hear the little black fellows chatter in Latin and construe Greek, when they hardly knew Dutch.

† The Singhalese and Tamil are the two vernaculars of Ceylon. Tamil is also the principal language of Southern India, and is spoken by a population exceeding seventeen millions. The area of the Tamil country is equal to that of England and Wales, being about 58,000 square miles. The Tamil is a highly cultivated and classical language. The word Tamil means sweetness, but it is not so musical as the Talingee, another South Indian language, which may be called the "Italian of the East." Dr. Trevor, in his work on India, says that the "Tamils have been called the Greeks or Scotch of the East."

twenty, he had finished the curriculum of studies in the seminary, and was more qualified than any student to be sent to the University of Leyden to complete his education for the ministry, having been destined for it. But he could not resolve on leaving his native land. He was frequently solicited, both by the Rector and the Government, to proceed to Holland, but nothing could induce him to comply with their wishes. This they very much regretted. Had he repaired to Europe, he could easily have won the first honours of the university. The talents and attainments of De Melho, while a student, having attracted the notice of Governor Baron Von Imhoff,* who was ever anxious to promote religion and education among the natives, he requested the young scholar to join in a revision of the New Testament into Tamil from the original Greek, which was commenced under his auspices in 1740. This was a circumstance which reflected no small credit on the subject of this memoir.

De Melho having refused to go to Holland, and it having been found unnecessary that he should remain any longer in the seminary, its Rector, the Rev. and learned J. P. Witzelius, suggested to the Governor the necessity of licensing him as a native proponent to do duty at Colombo, provided that, after examination by the Consistory, he was found qualified for the office, so that there might be some compensation for the trouble taken and the expense incurred by the Company on his account. The Governor and the Council approved of the suggestion by a resolution, dated the 30th of December, 1743, and directed the consistory to examine De Melho. The examination took

* Baron Von Imhoff was also an ardent promoter of Christianity. He first established a press at Colombo, in 1737, for printing the Bible and religious books in the vernacular tongues, previous to which all translations of works intended for the instruction of the natives were circulated in manuscript. Books in Latin, Dutch, and Portuguese were also published. Before his departure from Ceylon, he assembled the Tamil and Singalese Christians, distributed to them prayer-books and catechisms, exhorting them to live as became their profession.

place publicly in the Fort Church on the 18th of April, 1744. After having had to discourse on John xvii. 3, according to the rules and in the order of a sermon, he was examined in theology generally, and in Hebrew and Greek. The examination was highly satisfactory to the Consistory, and was so reported to the Governor, who at once appointed De Melho native proponent of Colombo. This was on the 16th of April, 1744. With respect to the subjects of this examination, it may be remarked that even candidates for priests' orders, though they may be graduates of the English universities, are never required to pass an examination in Hebrew. How remarkable, then, to find, in a remote dependency of Holland, in an Asiatic country, and in a less enlightened age than the present, a native competent at the age of twenty-one to undergo an examination in the original languages of the Bible, and that for the inferior office of proponent.* Immediately after De Melho's appointment as proponent, the Consistory recommended to the Government that he should be permitted to preach occasionally to the Dutch congregation—a task for which he was well qualified by his knowledge of the Dutch language. The Government replied that not only had they no objection to this, but that they would gladly see the recently-appointed native proponent, Philip De Melho, take his turn in preaching to the Dutch congregation if the Consistory considered him competent for it (Resolution of Council, April 29, 1744). Here, then, at the very outset of his ministerial career, he had to preach to an audience who were fully capable of appreciating his merits as a preacher.

On the 2nd of August, 1744, De Melho married Magdelana, a daughter of Mr. Philip Jurgen Ondaatje, translator of the "*Hoff van Justitie*," or Court of Justice

* Proponents were a class of officers in the Dutch Church who, without regular ordination, were licensed to preach. I recollect reading many years ago, in a *Life of Thomson* the poet, that his father held a similar office in the Scotch Kirk.

(the supreme tribunal in the island), and a sister of the Rev. William Jurgen Ondaatje,* of the University of Utrecht, Clergyman of Colombo, and Rector of the seminary, in which he himself had been once a student. He had several daughters, but only two sons; of the latter, one died in his youth in Ceylon of a disease brought on by intense application to his studies; and the other of a pulmonary complaint, while a student at Amsterdam, in the year 1780, at the age of nineteen.

The European congregation in the fort of Negombo, twenty-five miles from Colombo, having long been destitute of a pastor, and having heard of the abilities of De Melho as a Dutch preacher, asked the Government, in July, 1745, for his permanent appointment to Negombo as Dutch proponent. This application was refused on the ground of the Government not having any authority to appoint Dutch proponents. The inhabitants, therefore, petitioned again for his services as native proponent, as this would enable him to preach to them in Dutch also, so anxious were they to have him among them. The Government could not well refuse their request. De Melho was accordingly nominated to Negombo, and laboured there with much zeal. It does not appear, however, that he was long at that station, as we see him em-

* His elder son became a celebrated character. He was sent to Holland to be educated for the ministry, but its deplorable condition induced him to enter the arena of politics, and he eventually became a patriotic reformer, *par excellence*, defending the liberties of the country, of which he was created a citizen for his great worth, with his tongue, pen, and sword. He graduated with distinction as Master of the Liberal Arts and Doctor of Philosophy at Utrecht, and as Doctor of Civil and Common Law at Leyden. He also attended the Academical Lectures in the faculties of Theology and Medicine, but took no degree, chiefly owing to his having engaged himself on politics. It may be added he was born in 1758, when the Dutch in Ceylon commemorated the first jubilee of the conquest of the island from the Portuguese, which took place a century before. On this occasion the Emperor of Kandy, in the interior of the island, sent an embassy with costly presents, which were received with great respect, and the Ambassador sent back with a suitable return. The rejoicings were very great.

ployed again, in the following year, in Colombo, where, no doubt, his abilities found a fuller scope.

Whilst De Melho held the subordinate office of native proponent, in which capacity he had only to preach to the Tamil congregation, we find him nevertheless, on account of his superior attainments, selected for various duties, for which others of his grade were not considered eligible. Besides being frequently required, as already stated, to preach to the Dutch congregation, he was nominated an additional member of the committee appointed for revising the Tamil translation of the New Testament from the original Greek. He was also charged with the revision of the translations of religious works into Tamil before they were printed for the use of the native Christians; and when, in 1746, the Government determined on establishing a school for training Tamil and Singhalese teachers, De Melho was one of the first to be selected by the Governor and the Council to have charge of the institution, which was placed under the supervision of the clergy of Colombo, whose advice was at the same time asked respecting the choice of two other able natives to be employed conjointly with him (Resolution of Council, November 26, 1746). When, in December, 1746, the Rev. Mr. Zakens, one of the clergymen of the Colombo district, represented to the Governor the impossibility of his carrying on his clerical duties without additional aid, the Governor and Council recommended that Proponent De Melho should assist, as far as his other duties would permit, that zealous and laborious minister.

In the year 1747, there being a paucity of ordained ministers in Colombo, it was found necessary to appoint a fixed assistant preacher in the Dutch language. De Melho was selected for the post from the whole body of native proponents, and a report on the subject was made to the ecclesiastical authorities in Holland. The various extraordinary and important functions now devolving on him, his strong and active mind, his vigorous and cultivated

understanding, enabled him to perform with diligence, ability, and dispatch, while he evinced the most laudable zeal and solicitude for the spiritual welfare of his countrymen. His name was therefore mentioned with honour in the letters annually written, according to certain standing rules, by the Consistory to the Directors of the East India Company at Amsterdam, which letters had reference to the state of religion and education in the island, and to the character and behaviour of the ministers and proponents employed in the service of the Dutch Government.

De Melho had now served as native proponent for the period of five years, as also as assistant Dutch preacher. He therefore applied, in the year 1749 (a year memorable for the erection, under Governor Gollenesse, of that goodly edifice, the Wolvendhal Church at Colombo) for ordination in the island, with a view to the sphere of his usefulness being enlarged. Both Governor Gollenesse and the Consistory at once assented to his wishes, thus marking their appreciation of his efficiency and usefulness. A recommendation was accordingly made in favour of De Melho to the Supreme Government of Netherlands India. The Government sanctioned De Melho's ordination in Ceylon, his case being regarded as a special one. This took place on January 21, 1750, after previous examination by the Consistory. The members of the Consistory who assembled in the Fort Church on this interesting occasion were the six ministers resident in the capital, the only absentee being the Rev. Mr. Witzelius, and who, as stated before, was his Rector. The examination commenced with prayers, after which De Melho was desired to give an exposition on Romans v. 1. He was then examined on various important theological points. The result of the whole was most satisfactory, as we gather from the report made to the Governor by the examiners, who at the same time congratulated De Melho on his success, and prayed for the Divine blessing on his labours. De Melho was ordained according to the formula of the Church of

Holland, and appointed a minister of the Western district,* with the rank and emoluments assigned to clergymen on the establishment of the East India Company. This is the only instance of an individual being ordained, under the Dutch Government, without a previous university education, which was considered a *sine quâ non* for it. As a reward for his services in connection with the native normal school, he was, in the following March, appointed Rector of that Institution, in which, from its very commencement, he had been a teacher, and afterwards corrector, or principal assistant.

In the year in which De Melho was ordained he had the happiness of completing, as far as the Epistle to the Ephesians, the version of the New Testament in Tamil.† This was a work which had devolved on him exclusively owing to the want of zeal and co-operation on the part of his colleagues. In preparing this version he was guided by the original Greek, while he consulted various standard versions of the New Testament, as also many approved theological and philological works, with all of which he appears to have been familiar from his earliest years. In consequence, however, of a discussion which arose in regard to the merits of this version, the Governor, in Council, deferred its publication for a time, and referred the matter for decision to the Supreme Government of Netherlands India. They so highly appreciated the work as to feel it their duty to convey to De Melho their best thanks for the zeal and attention which he had evinced in carrying out this important and difficult undertaking; and they directed that the version should be

* Under the Dutch Government, Ceylon was, for ecclesiastical and educational purposes, divided into three districts, viz., the Northern, Western, and Southern districts, the capital of each respectively was Jaffna, Colombo, and Galle.

† At this time there were in Ceylon two Tamil versions of the New Testament, one made by Adrian De Mey, minister at Jaffna, who died in 1699, and the other by Ziegenbalg and Grundler, which was published at Tranquebar in 1714. De Mey's version existed only in manuscript, as it was executed long before the erection of the printing press in the island.

examined by a committee of clergymen and laymen skilled in the Tamil language, preparatory to its being printed. On the receipt of the Committee's report, the Ceylon Government ordered the version to be printed and circulated for the use of the native Christians, as well as for the conversion of the benighted heathen (Resolution of Council, September 30, 1755). But although the translation of the Holy Scriptures was a task of itself sufficient to tax all the energies of one individual, how gifted soever he might be, yet we find that this was not the only work on which this learned and laborious man was at this time engaged. Owing to a secession of several Protestants to Romanism, the Government, about this time, thought it expedient to publish, in the vernacular languages, a work containing a refutation of the principal dogmas of the Church of Rome, and a vindication of the doctrines of the Reformed Communion. For the preparation of such a work in Dutch, the Governor selected De Melho. In a few months, with his characteristic diligence and ability, he had it ready for the press; and after its approval by the Consistory, as required by the customary rules, it was rendered into the Tamil and Singhalese languages, and published by the Government at their press in 1753, with a dedication by the author in Latin, Dutch, and Tamil, to the Governor-General and the members of the Council of Netherlands India, explanatory of the circumstances under which the work was undertaken. It had a preface written in the two last-mentioned languages. The work was entitled, "The Triumph of Truth," and is the most elaborate production that has hitherto appeared on the subject in Tamil. At the conclusion of the preface, the author announced to the Christian public that he was engaged in the translation of the Liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church, and in a metrical version of some of the Psalms of David, and in that of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Songs of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Zachariah, and Simeon, as also in the preparation of a volume to be called, "A Refutation of

Hinduism," all which he hoped to be able to present to the public in a short time. The metrical version of the Psalms, &c., was published by the Government in 1755; the translation of the Liturgy was completed in 1757, and published in 1760. The Christian scholar, acquainted with Tamil, will not fail to admire his translation of the Athanasian Creed, the first that was ever made and published in that language, and which, it must be acknowledged, requires no ordinary ability for its proper execution. He also prepared, about this time, an historical and doctrinal catechism in the Portuguese language, but the date of its publication cannot be now ascertained.

De Melho continued as one of the ministers of the Western district till November, 1753, when, on the retirement of the Rev. G. Potkens, one of his examiners for Orders, he was selected by the Government to be his successor in the Northern district. He did not, however, leave Colombo for the scene of his future labours till February 28, 1754, reaching Jaffna with his family on the 12th of March following. The district to which De Melho was now appointed as resident clergyman was a very extensive and important one. It comprehended the whole of the present northern province except Nuwera Kalawya, embracing numerous churches and schools, which were all placed under his superintendence. It was also his duty to visit periodically the districts of Trincomale and Battloaca, on the east of the island, whenever they were destitute of ministers. But from a portion of these multifarious duties he was relieved in 1758 by the appointment of a colleague, the Rev. Francis Jansz, also a Tamil gentleman, who had completed his education in Holland.

In October, 1756, death deprived De Melho of his father. This event compelled him to visit Colombo on private affairs. There he remained for some time, occasionally officiating to the Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil congregations. It was during this visit to Colombo that he was called upon to engage in a work which his well-known

zeal for religion prompted him to execute with such alacrity. "Caring for the Church as a most tender and loving nursing father," and anxious to see the speedy completion of the Tamil version of the New Testament, Governor Schreider, in the very first year of his administration (1757), requested De Melho, of whose competency he had heard so much, to undertake the unfinished portion of the New Testament, viz., from Ephesians to the end of Revelation (Resolution of Council, July, 1757). He readily complied with the Governor's command, and in the year 1759 the whole of the New Testament in the Tamil language was for the first time published in Ceylon,* with a very interesting preface, giving an historical account of the work, and commending it to the Christian reader; and when copies were forwarded to the Supreme Government of Netherlands India, they increased De Melho's salary in acknowledgment of his praiseworthy labours, styling him at the same time "The Great Labourer." The despatch itself is so interesting that we trust we shall be excused for subjoining it. It is dated at Batavia, August 5, 1760, and affords indubitable evidence of the anxiety of the Dutch Government for the propagation of Christianity among the natives of Ceylon.

"To hear of the regular performance of Divine Service at Colombo by the Rev. Messrs. Bronveild, Fybrands, and Meyer; and at Wolmendhal by the Rev. Messrs. Ondaatje and Philipez; as also at Jaffna by the Rev. Messrs. De Melho and Janse; at Galle by the Rev. Messrs. Schultse and Smith; and at Trincomale by the Rev. Mr. De Silva; and that the Rev. Peter Cornelis, who has recently arrived there, is about to be employed by you to the no small benefit of the Church of God, has not been less agreeable to us, than that the Translation of the New Testament in the Tamil language has at length, by the praiseworthy labours of the Rev. Mr. De Melho, fully attained its object; as appears from the copies thereof which reached us; and this being now completed, we hope and wish that the blind heathen may be more and more enlightened and conducted to

* Copies of this Testament are in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Cambridge University Library; also in the library of the Bible Society.

the true knowledge of our Rational Religion. As the only object we have in view in this respect is the promotion of true sanctifying faith, so is it likewise to manifest to that Great Labourer our particular satisfaction that we have, at the day of our sitting, granted to his reverence an unasked extraordinary augmentation from eighty to one hundred florins per monsoon, as an evident token how readily on our part we reward faithful services, as we have, in like manner, on the same day and for the same reason, granted one hundred florins to the Rector of the Seminary, Dr. Meyer, in the hope that they would henceforth redouble their zeal."

With regard to the merits of this version of the New Testament, it may be observed that it possesses the characteristics of a standard version. It is distinguished for its fidelity, its simplicity, and the solemnity of its style; and although more than a century has elapsed since the work was first undertaken and completed, it is yet a curious circumstance that it should remain unsurpassed to the present day by any of the versions subsequently made, and those, too, by distinguished scholars and linguists, enjoying advantages superior, in many respects, to those which De Melho had during the age in which he flourished. It would, indeed, be very desirable if this excellent and admirable version could be reprinted with such alterations as may be called for. But the question may be asked, Where are the men equal to an undertaking of such acknowledged difficulty, one requiring no common ability? That the version, which was the third that was made in the order of time, is susceptible of improvement, is undeniable. The translator himself felt this, for he well observes, "No man is infallible, nor is my translation perfect." That its merits, however, are of no ordinary character, may be inferred from the fact that it bears a greater resemblance to the authorized English version (which the author never consulted, that language being at this time unknown in Ceylon) than any version since made with the help of the English itself; and in places where it departs from the English text, it generally

corresponds with the marginal readings, which every Biblical student well knows make a nearer approach to the original Greek than the text itself, and which therefore are to be regarded as preferable. This surprising and remarkable coincidence, between versions in no way connected with one another, can only be explained by the fact of the translators of the English Bible and the translator of the Tamil New Testament having both faithfully and strictly adhered to the original Greek, without a servile imitation of any existing version. This remark applies also to the Ceylon version of the Athanasian Creed and to that of the Pentateuch, of which we shall have occasion to speak in its proper place.

During De Melho's residence at Jaffna, which has been, from a remote period, the seat of Tamul learning in Ceylon, he met with many native scholars, poets, and philosophers, of great distinction, whose acquaintance he cultivated with much ardour, with a view of improving his own knowledge of Tamil literature, as well as of gaining opportunities of bringing to their notice the evidence of Christianity; while he pointed out, at the same time, the absurdities and superstitions of their own system of faith. Among his native friends was *Coolangie Tamberan*, a philosopher and philologist of great eminence, with whom he had frequent religious discussions, and who dedicated to him a poem entitled "*Joseph Puranam*," treating of the history of the Patriarch Joseph, in 1,023 stanzas, arranged in twenty cantos, as a token of respect for his great worth and learning. Whilst at Jaffna, De Melho enlarged the "*Negandu Sulamani*," or the standard lexicon of the Tamil language, by adding twenty stanzas to the second part and about one hundred to the twelfth, besides making various other additions to other portions of the work. These additions having received the approbation of the *literati* of his time, have been since incorporated into the original work, and are now to be found in all printed and manuscript copies extant of it. But these were not

his only productions as a philologist and poet. It appears that he was the author of several other works.* There exist, however, no means at present of ascertaining their names or the particular subjects on which they treated. At his death it is said that he left behind him a large number of manuscripts, besides sermons in the three different languages, Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil, in which he was so excellent a preacher. All these have been unfortunately lost with the exception of his correspondence on the subject of the versions of the Sacred Scriptures, and a corrected draft version of the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. A Tamil sermon of De Melho once came into the possession of an estimable clergyman of the Church of England, who gave it as his opinion that the discourse was a most able and excellent one—quite a model sermon, worthy of deep study.

Early in 1778, during the Government of Falek, the Rev. Mr. Klein,† who was considered the best European Tamil scholar, resident at Tranquebar at that time, visited Colombo, on which occasion he went up to Jaffna also. Here he had the opportunity of conversing with De Melho in company with the Commander of the station, who is the chief executive and administrative officer of the province. He met De Melho on several occasions also; and so much was he impressed with the extent of De Melho's attainments, that he exclaimed with astonishment, "*Quantum est, quod nescimus!*"; and he had the candour to say, when closing his personal interview, "I thought I understood the Tamil language, but I must now confess that I am yet a mere learner, and I should wish very much, if circumstances permitted it, to remain a little

* He also composed about this time an elegant poetical panegyric, called *Marudappa Kuravanche*, on a friend of his, who was a Modlear or native chief; and two years before his lamented death he wrote in Dutch an essay on the castes of the Tamil nation, a beautiful English translation of which appeared in "The Indian Antiquary" for March, 1881.

† Besides Klaine there were, at Tranquebar, Drs. John and Rottler, who visited Ceylon respectively in 1779 and 1783.

longer at Jaffna, to learn from brother De Melho something more of that language." The rev. gentleman, however, requested De Melho to give his brother missionaries and himself, by means of correspondence, instruction in the Tamil language, to correct their writings, and to point out the errors committed by them in their translation of the Scriptures. With this request De Melho cheerfully complied. (Extract of a letter from the Rev. W. J. Ondaatje, to Governor Falck, dated April 25, 1778, found in the MS. volume, containing De Melho's correspondence respecting his versions of the Holy Scriptures.)

Before closing our account of this laborious and learned man, of whom his native country and the Government under whose auspices he was educated, may well be proud, it is proper that we present the reader with a brief narrative of his version of the Pentateuch, which was the last public work in which he was engaged.

The first Tranquebar version of the Old Testament was begun in 1723 and completed and published in 1727. Copies of this version were to be found in Ceylon; but it was considered incorrect and but little adapted for general use, being the unavoidable result of the circumstances under which the version was originally made. Without any disparagement, therefore, of the labours of its venerable authors, whose memory posterity will continue to cherish with profound reverence, it was intended to prepare and publish a new version, in Tamil, of the Old Testament for the use of the Tamil Protestant congregations in Ceylon. Accordingly, in March, 1774, the Rev. Mr. Ondaatje executed a version of the Book of Genesis and presented it to Governor Falck, who directed it to be revised, according to customary rules, previous to publication. But as the Colombo Consistory thought it expedient in 1775 to have the Tranquebar version revised, in preference to commencing a new one, directions were given on the 18th of June, 1777, to the Rev. Mr. Ondaatje to undertake such a revision. The order was, however, countermanded in the

following January, as soon as it was known in Ceylon that the Tranquebar version had been revised and corrected by the rev. missionaries themselves, and that the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, had been already published. Upon the receipt of this order, Mr. Ondaatje represented to the Governor that he had, in accordance with the directions given to him, read over the Tranquebar version with great care and attention, and had found the work to be faulty, stating it, at the same time, as his opinion, that it would be preferable to translate the Old Testament anew, to any attempt at revision, which would occasion much needless trouble and cost. He moreover added, "I have received from De Melho a portion of the Old Testament rendered by him into Tamil, which appears superior to the first, as well as to the second, Tranquebar version." To this communication the Governor replied that De Melho had full permission to commence a new version, observing at the same time that his work must necessarily have superior advantages under all the circumstances of the case. In October, 1779, and February, 1780, De Melho submitted to the Governor versions of the Books of Genesis and Exodus made from the original Hebrew with the aid of the Septuagint, the Latin versions of Tremellius and of Pagninus Junius, and the Netherlands States Bible. It was, however, signified to De Melho that the Government would prefer a revision of the recently-corrected Tranquebar version. They therefore asked him to prepare such a revised edition of the work. He was also to exhibit, in a separate paper, the errors found therein with the necessary corrections. Pursuant to this command, he prepared and transmitted to Governor Falck a revised version of the Pentateuch, which was accompanied by a pertinent report on the subject and an annotation of the errors discovered in the Tranquebar version. The following passage from that report shows clearly the character of that version which, in fact, is the general character, more or less, of the Tamil translations of the

Scriptures made by Europeans for the last century and a half : *

De Melho's version of the Pentateuch and his criticisms on the Tranquebar version were sent by the Governor to the Danish missionaries. To the latter they had nothing to say ; the criticisms of De Melho were found based on unanswerable principles. With regard to the version itself, they and those whom they consulted were unanimously of opinion that the language employed was most excellent and choice ; but they raised a doubt whether it would be generally understood by the common people. To settle this most important point—one on which the value of the whole work depended—the Ceylon version was, by direction of Government, read in the presence of the Consistory, to a large number of Tamil people, both learned and unlearned, who were convened for the purpose in the Jaffna Fort Church ; and the question was put to them whether De Melho's version was intelligible to all classes

* That distinguished Tamil scholar of modern times, the learned Beschi the author of a great many valuable philological and poetical works, some of which De Melho appears to have read when he was young, although in his time they existed only in manuscript, difficult to be procured, writes in the following strain of the Tranquebar version of the Bible :—

"Can those books be fairly called the Word of God which the Tranquebarians, who do not at all know to write correctly in Tamil the name of their country, have handed down to us, pretending that they have translated the Holy Scriptures into that language, while ignorant of Tamil—they have, to the bitter paining of our ears, written them in barbarous words. By this means the truth of God's Word has been darkened, and, by depriving it of its excellence, been tarnished, even as if a costly bright gem were buried in mire, or poison mixed with ambrosial sweet, or a beautiful picture stained with ink."†

"Numerous errors have also crept into it, consisting of unnecessary additions of words, which are not in the original text, and inadmissible omissions of those which are in it ; bad and incorrect renderings and inconsistent interpretations, instead of translations (as the undersigned has noted down the same) as is to be seen in the accompanying statement of errors found in the five books of Moses alone."

† Extract from Beschi's work called "*Illustration of Religion*," written in the year 1728 at Ellucuraty, and quoted by De Melho in his apology for his version of the Pentateuch. Beschi died in 1742. His name is held in high repute in all Southern India and the Island of Ceylon.

of the people. They, *unâ voce*, replied that it was perfectly intelligible—that they, in fact, understood it better than the Tranquebar version, to which they readily preferred it; they added, also, that the language of the Tranquebar version appeared to be a corrupt dialect, abounding in barbarous terms, as well as in many grammatical inaccuracies and vulgarisms, which had the effect of rendering the whole ludicrous in the extreme; while the language used by De Melho was matchless, elegant, pathetic, and heart-cheering, worthy of Holy Writ.

De Melho's version was read in Colombo also, to the Tamil congregation assembled with a like object, who, however, preferred the language being made conformable to that used in his version of the New Testament. Reference was also made on this point to the translator himself, who stated that the words in question, remarked on as high by the Tranquebar missionaries (who certainly were not competent judges), were no other, in reality, than pure Tamil words, unintelligible only to those whose knowledge of Tamil was confined to the low and colloquial dialect, or what may be called "lame and bastard Tamil." With a view, however, of obviating all difficulty on this score, and of rendering his labours generally useful and acceptable, De Melho prepared an alphabetical glossary of the words in question, which he appended to his version of the Pentateuch. The version was then published by the Government in 1790, and was much admired by all that read it. In this very year, on the 10th of August, died the author himself, to the unspeakable loss of Christianity in the East. "In a green and intellectual old age" was he summoned to his eternal rest, ere he could complete his great work, to which the energies of his powerful and vigorous mind had been so long and so unceasingly devoted, and for which he was so pre-eminently qualified. At the time of his death he left behind him a corrected draft version of the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which is in the beautiful handwriting of his

granddaughter, pupil and amanuensis, Mrs. Schrader. This venerable woman has been deservedly styled the "Evangelist of Jaffna," from her supplying, during a long period of spiritual destitution, the wants of the people in the town of Jaffna; by the performance of religious services, in no less than three languages, for their benefit; and by the establishment of a charity school for the education of children of both sexes. She died at the great age of eighty-five, in 1850. (See Appendix.)

The widow of De Melho survived her husband fourteen years, and died at Jaffna, where she had resided for half a century, in 1804, aged 76, in which year the last Presbyterian minister of Jaffna, the Rev. Manual Morgoppa, also a native of Ceylon, but educated at the University of Leyden, departed this life.

No biography of this eminent divine, Biblical translator, and laborious Christian minister has yet been published. The archives of the late Dutch Ceylon Government and the Dutch Church, will, however, it is presumed, furnish materials for a much longer Life of De Melho, the publication of which will afford unquestionable evidence of the deep solicitude felt, and the systematic efforts employed, by the immediate predecessors of the English for raising a body of learned indigenous clergymen, as well as for the conversion and education of their subjects in Ceylon. The foregoing sketch will, in some measure, serve the same end.

M. P. J. ONDAATJE.

APPENDIX.

Letter from the Rev. Daniel Poor, of the, Jaffna American Mission, to Mr. M. P. J. Ondaatje, Colombo:—

"MANESBY, April 9, 1852.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your last letter but one was crowded out of sight by me under the impression that it did not require any particular reply, as I had already communicated to you the substance of what I had to say

respecting our mutually esteemed friend, Mrs. Schrader. Your last letter I have kept before me to be answered as soon as business more immediately pressing would allow. I will now give, in reply, a short notice of the late Mrs. Schrader.

"While in America I became in some degree acquainted with the character of our mutually esteemed friend, Mrs. Schrader, from information received from the Rev. Samuel Newell, an American missionary, who spent most of the year 1813 in this island in search of an eligible field for mission labours. It was in consequence of information obtained from Mr. Newell that an American mission was established in this province. Soon after my arrival in Jaffna, in 1816, I called on Mrs. Schrader, in company with Mrs. Poor. Though we had no language at that time in common for free communication, we were brought into close fellowship with each other, seeing and feeling that we had many and great interests in common. The acquaintance then commenced was cultivated and perpetuated with great pleasure and profit, so long as it was practicable to hold intercourse with each other on earth.

"At that time, a stated religious service was held at Mrs. Schrader's house and schoolroom in the Pettah, at which she herself officiated. This she did both in Tamil and Portuguese, by reading, in a sitting posture, a sermon, in connection with prayers and hymns appropriate to the subject-matter of the discourse. I occasionally attended her Tamil service before I could understand the language. The affectionate and solemn manner of her performance was very attractive, and the tones of her voice in the pronunciation of the Tamil language were truly melodious. I once had in my possession three large volumes of sermons, prayers, and hymns, in Tamil manuscript, which she translated from the Dutch language and transcribed with her own hands; one of these volumes she presented to me many years ago as a keepsake, expressing at the same time a wish that the sermons might hereafter be printed for permanent use; and a valuable keepsake indeed it is. I have ever regarded Mrs. Schrader as the most eminent country-born lady I have met with in the province, whether we regard her attainments in Dutch, Portuguese, Tamil, and English, her deep and unaffected piety, or her activity and usefulness of life.

"The present inhabitants of the town of Jaffna, nearly all of whom must have occasion to regard Mrs. Schrader as their *mother* and *grand-mother*, or *sister*, could not, in my judgment, do a more creditable or profitable thing of the kind, either for themselves or for their posterity, than to procure the publication, in Tamil, of some one or more of those volumes of sermons to which I have before adverted. I say, in *Tamil*, inasmuch as this highly cultivated and polished language must continue to be the classic language of the province, whatever may become of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, or the French, or any other European language. Such a publication would eminently subserve the twofold object of *perpetuating* for the use of the Tamil population the productions of some of the most eminent Dutch divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of furnishing a greatly needed attraction and incentive to the Burgher inhabitants of the province, to become familiarly acquainted with the printed Tamil. Such a publication would, I apprehend, be in increasing demand as its merits became known, and in proportion as light

and knowledge increase in the land. It would, indeed, be a pleasing *memorial*, a sacred *relic*, of the best times, the best persons, and the best things of the Dutch. It should be published in good style and sold at a cheap rate, for the sake of doing good rather than for making money. Who would not covet and purchase such a book as a remembrancer of Schrader Amma, or Lange Nona? *

"But it was Mrs. Schrader's relations to *Tillapilly* which awakened a special interest in my mind towards her. She was brought forward, I have understood, and established in the important position which she so ably maintained for nearly half a century, as a *religious teacher*, by the former Mrs. Palm, wife of the late Rev. J. D. Palm, who occupied the station at Tillapilly, in the service of the London Missionary Society, in 1804. As Mr. and Mrs. Palm were my predecessors at Tillapilly, I have had opportunity of becoming acquainted with their labours. From all I have learned of Mrs. Palm she must have been fully competent to render valuable assistance even to such a proficient as was Mrs. Schrader. These two individuals were indeed closely attached friends and *co-workers* in promoting the cause of truth and piety in their respective spheres of labour. Hence it was, in part, that she took a deep interest in the re-establishment of a mission at Tillapilly, after the station had been for many years abandoned. Her repeated visits to Tillapilly, after our settlement there, and while everything in this country was new and strange to us, were *great treats* to us, and of substantial service. The announcement that 'Lange Nona' had come and wished to speak with the native females was sufficient, even from the beginning, to induce a *few* of our personal acquaintance, and who remembered the days of Mrs. Palm, to come to the Mission House to receive instruction. Mrs. Schrader's manner of addressing and instructing even the most ignorant and bigoted was truly heart-winning and persuasive; it furnished an impressive idea of the power and influence that may be exerted by a word fitly spoken, while proceeding from a warm heart and with gentleness of manner.

"It was in part by my intercourse with Mrs. Schrader that I became more particularly interested in the Burgher population of Jaffna, and which prompted me, in connection with my associates in the Mission, to form many devices in their behalf—more, indeed, than we have been able to carry into successful operation. The foregoing suggestions for publishing a portion of Mrs. Schrader's Tamil translations is my last, though I hope not my final, device in the same direction, *i.e.*, for appropriately promoting the best interests of the Burgher population.

"(Signed) D. POOR."

Extract from Percival's "Land of the Veda," pp. 408-9.
London, 1854 :—

"Many of the Dutch ministers were men of great eminence, and equally distinguished for talent, erudition, and piety. These, no doubt, felt that the

* The pet name for Elizabeth, which was one of Mrs. Schrader's Christian names.

political influence directed to promote Christianity was attended with serious evils.

"Among the descendants of Europeans there were some bright examples of religious consistency. I knew a devoted old lady of the name of Schrader, who, for many years, in a large town in the northern province, was the sole instructress of a considerable community. She was in the habit of assembling the people in her own house for Divine worship, when she read the Scriptures and conducted Divine Service in the Portuguese language. She translated several religious books from Dutch into Tamil and Portuguese, and circulated them in manuscript written with her own hand. She also composed, in Portuguese, a metrical history of the chief parts of the Bible. After the age of fifty-five she acquired English, and translated a volume of hymns out of that language into Portuguese. She died about four years ago, at the advanced age of eighty-five. Highly intellectual, elegant in manners, and eminently distinguished for sweetness of disposition, this pious and devoted woman was one of the most influential persons in her neighbourhood. For many years she conducted a school, and was well qualified to teach Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil. Doubtless this sainted matron secured the commendation of that Saviour of whose love she was wont to discourse with so much sweetness. There was a dignity in her manner, a solemnity and a cheerfulness, that combined to make her a most remarkable person. Her form, her expression of countenance, her faltering accents of religious wonder and delight, have often cheered my mind, and she lives in my memory as a monument of the singular Providence of God in the peculiar and bereaved circumstances of a small Christian community, who were in her provided with a light that shone in a dark place, till the day of enlarged and more diffusive light dawned, under the increased and multiplied means of instruction eventually provided."

MAHOMED'S PLACE IN THE CHURCH.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS.

As was to be expected, the article of Mr. de Bunsen on "Mahomed's Place in the Church" has attracted the attention which it deserves, and of which the enclosed "Notes" by H., and the "Criticisms" by E., may be deemed to be representative of both sides of the question. It is to our Church Dignitaries and to leading Biblical Critics of the English and German Schools that we must look for a fruitful discussion as to the true historical and doctrinal relations between Islam and Christianity, a study, the practical importance of which will be obvious to any one who is watching "the signs of the times."

The learned writer may be a great authority on questions connected with Mahometanism, but when he comes to speak of Christianity, the mistakes into which he falls on *simple matters of fact* are enormous. A few of them are noted below.

Page 259. "*In the Septuagint, the fourth year after Buddha's death, that is, B.C. 473, is substituted for the fourth year after Solomon's accession when the foundation of the temple took place.*"

This sentence is an enigma which none but the writer himself could, I should think, explain. In 1 Kings vi. 1 (to which he apparently refers) the fourth year of Solomon is made to coincide with the 480th year after the Exodus, *in the HEBREW*, but the SEPTUAGINT reads 440 for 480. But, be this as it may, what in the world has this to do with the date of Buddha's death?

Page 260. "*Stephen first applied to Jesus the doctrine of the Angel-Messiah.*" Where is the evidence of this? Stephen's *speech* does not prove that he held the angel who appeared to Moses to have been Jesus. He *may* have believed it, and so may others before him, for anything that can be proved to the contrary. But many believe the Son of God to have acted the part of an angel (*i.e.*, a messenger of His Father—see Malachi iii. 1) who do not for a moment admit the doctrine which Mr. de Bunsen vainly tries to saddle upon Paul—that Jesus was simply an incarnate angel. It is strange that any one who ever read Paul's Epistles could make such a blunder as to Paul's tenets. Take one passage—Philippians ii. 6, 7: "Ο; ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἀρπάγματι ἡγήσατο το εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ. ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, μορφῇ δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος."

If Christ had been the very highest of angels before His incarnation, He could not have been said to have *humbled* Himself by "taking upon Him the form of a servant"; for the place of a *servant* is the *proper* place for every one of God's creatures, whether angel or archangel. It is a *glory* for the highest angelic being to be a servant of God; and no one knew this better than Paul.

Page 261. "*These [Paul's] doctrines were never sanctioned by Jesus or the twelve apostles.*" Paul himself tells us that he stated to Peter, James, and John, the gospel which he preached, and that *they fully agreed with his teaching*, and recognized his *Divine mission* (see Galatians ii. 1-10).

Page 264. "*The legend of the Messiah as son of a virgin, transferred to the Koran from the Gospel, and the tradition on which it is based, has originated in star-symbolism. . . . According to this star-symbolism the yearly renewal of the apparent circuit of the sun round the earth takes place at the time of his entering the winter solstice, when the sign of Virgo appears on the eastern horizon, &c.*"

Mr. de Bunsen is indeed a master in the art of jumping to conclusions. But, to begin with, his astronomy is a heap of confusion. The sign of Virgo may be seen "on the eastern horizon" *any* night from about the beginning of November till after the middle of March (the hour varying according to the date). Possibly, however, he means the time when the constellation Virgo *first* emerges from the morning twilight, which is at the former of the above-mentioned dates. But this is *fully six weeks* before the sun reaches the winter solstice; and in ancient times (owing to the "precession of the equinoxes") the interval was longer still.

Again, he says that the Virgin of the Zodiac was represented by the Egyptians as *following the sun to the hidden sphere*. It does so during certain months of the year, but during other months it comes before the sun from the hidden sphere. And this is no more than may be said of *every* sign in the Zodiac.

But it still remains to be asked, How did this star-symbolism originate? Beliefs do not originate with symbols, but symbols arise from beliefs. Take, for example, the well-known Christian symbol of the fish. Would any one in his senses maintain that the doctrine of Christ's deity *originated* with this symbol?

Certainly, if the constellation Virgo had borne some likeness to the figure of a young woman, one might imagine it thus to have acquired the name and some legend to have been built upon that basis. But (as every astronomer knows) there is nothing in the constellation more like a young woman than a horse or a cow.

To a Christian all the legends which bear a rude resemblance to the doctrine of the Incarnation are accounted for, easily and simply, by believing that the promise of the seed of the woman who should bruise the serpent's head was *really* given by God to man, and that, whilst the worshippers of the true God preserved this tradition faithfully, and at length saw the fulfilment of it, it was trans-

formed and caricatured by the nations which plunged into idolatry.

Of course this explanation involves belief in the supernatural; but those who would set it aside on this ground must call themselves atheists if they wish to be logical.

Page 266. "*Only in the Pauline Gospel is Gabriel mentioned, and the position there assigned to him is identical with that given to the Angel-Messiah whom Paul preached.*"

What are the facts? Gabriel (as the writer just before remarked) "*stands before God*"—the position of a *servant*. Paul, on the other hand, declares that Christ *sits at the right hand of God* (Colossians iii. 1)—in perfect harmony with the teaching of Christ Himself (Matthew xxii. 41-46).

Page 267. "*Jesus distinguished from Christ in the Apocalypse.*" It would be strange if Christians had studied this book attentively down to the nineteenth century, without discovering that it fundamentally contradicted their belief! And it is strange also how any one can commit himself to such an assertion as the above, when on the very first page of the Apocalypse we find these words: "*Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, and the first begotten from the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth.*"

Page 271. "*PAUL'S doctrine of Christ's return on a cloud.*" It was Christ's own doctrine (Matthew xxvi. 64).

Page 272. "*The Trinitarian doctrine introduced in the second century.*" It is, however, perfectly certain that no other doctrine can be made to harmonize either with the Gospels or the Epistles; and the proof is, that consistent Unitarians find themselves obliged to question the authority of the New Testament Scriptures.

Page 277. "*There is no need [according to the Koran] of a vicariate sacrifice to bring about a reconciliation between God and humanity.*" Consequently, whenever Christians meet at the Lord's Supper and call to remembrance the words used by Christ in instituting that ordinance (Matthew xxvi. 27, 28), they testify that faith in Christ is utterly

incompatible with faith in the *Divine mission* of Mahomed.

Christians are free to admit that Mahomed deserves praise as a moral reformer, and that his religion has done much to elevate *heathen* nations which have received it above the degraded and barbarous superstitions of Paganism (though in saying this it must not be forgotten how much he borrowed from Jews and Christians); they may admit also, if the evidence is sufficient to prove it, that Mahomed sincerely believed himself to have received from heaven a prophet's commission; but when the question is raised whether they may not admit that Mahomed was *justified* in so proclaiming himself, they must, if they would be true to their own profession, reply by an unqualified negative.

Christ and Mahomed cannot stand side by side as prophets. The former claimed to be the Son of God in a sense which is applicable to no created being, and those who have acknowledged Him as their Master, have consequently, from the beginning worshipped Him with Divine honours. If they are mistaken in so doing they have fallen into idolatry, and they should join with the Jews, not only in ceasing to worship Christ, but in regarding Him as a deceiver. If, on the other hand, they are right, then they must regard Mahomed (whatever may be said for him on other grounds) as having denied to the Son of God His indefeasible right.

A church in which there should be room both for Christ and Mahomed and their respective followers, would be like a centaur or a mermaid—a subject on which poets and painters might exercise their powers, but in matter of fact a thing no more possible than desirable.

H.

II.

CRITICISMS ON "MAHOMED'S PLACE IN
THE CHURCH."

It was to be expected that the contents of this Essay, printed in the last number of *THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, would call forth much criticism. The Korán opposes the peculiar doctrines of Paul, which are not even mentioned there; this has long been known, but it remained to be proved that by this attitude towards the Christian dogma, the doctrines of Islam approach those of pre-Paulinic Christianity. Granted that the most numerous of Christian sects in Syria at the time of Mahomed, that the anti-Pauline-Ebionites, with their one Gospel of Matthew, instructed the author of Islam, the "ignorant prophet," in that aboriginal Christian tradition, the written sources of which were not available for him since he could not read. But from the more than probable fact that Ebionites formed the link between the first and the seventh century, it does certainly not follow that their Christianity was essentially identical or even cognate with the doctrines of Jesus the Messiah. Mahomed's place in the Church depends on the relations of Paul's peculiar doctrines to those of the twelve and their Master—in fact, on Paul's place in the Church. That subject could not be treated in the Essay on Mahomed, and the author expressly warns his readers that he must there assume what is in fact the fundamental basis of his arguments. For the proofs of this position he refers in the first place to a work lately published in German, on *Tradition, its origin and development*; and in the second place to a small volume in English which appeared only a few weeks ago under the title of "*Islam and Christianity*." The criticisms hitherto made are premature and superficial, because no notice of these works is taken.

THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW cannot be expected to

enter into geographical, ethnical, astronomical or theological discussions except in so far as they help to erect the bridge between East and West, which is the greatest problem of our times. Since the beginning of this century, when philologists began to establish the fact that Indo-European languages are derived from a common central Asiatic stock, the important but extremely difficult questions have arisen about possible relations between different races in early historical times, about the earliest migrations from Central to Western Asia, to Africa and Europe, finally about the range of their knowledge.

Among the criticisms of the *Essay on Mahomed* there is one point which it is fair and justifiable to raise, and the elucidation of which will undoubtedly further the spreading of the light from the East. An anonymous writer declares that it is to him "an enigma" what the author of the *Essay* can mean by saying that in the Septuagint the fourth year after Buddha's death has been substituted for the fourth year after Solomon's accession—that is, for the foundation of the Temple. True, the periods from Adam to Solomon recorded in the Hebrew text have been modified in an essential degree and in an unexplained manner in the Greek text. But the critic asks, what this has to do with the date of Buddha's death, and how it is possible to assert that the Greek Canon denotes the intention of the Seventy mysteriously to indicate that Buddha was greater than Solomon, and that in the year *a.c.* 280 they were in possession of Indian Tradition. Let the critic consult the German work to which in this very passage the author of the *Essay* has referred, and there let him read, if he can, what is here freely translated.

THE PERIODS OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

Starting from the year of the Flood, previously proved to be *b.c.* 2360, the year of the Temple's foundation is found in the Greek text to be 502 years later than the year

which the Hebrew Canon gives to this event—that is, instead of B.C. 971, B.C. 473, the fourth year after Buddha's death, which took place in B.C. 477, according to Indian and Greek chronology.

PERIODS.	HEBREW TEXT.	GREEK TEXT.
	B.C.	B.C.
Adam, creation before the Flood, 1654 years (Sept. 2260 years)	4014	4620
Noah, the Flood	2350	2360
Abraham, Exodus from Haran after the Flood, 367 years (Sept. 1017)	1993	1343
Moses, Exodus from Egypt	1593	913
Solomon, Foundation of Temple after the Exodus, 592 years (Sept. 440)	971	473

The reason here submitted why the periods in the Hebrew Canon were changed in the Greek Canon is ingenious, and, if admissible, would settle the question. These variations respecting the periods from Adam to Solomon, like those of the generations, are admitted by Dr. Stuart Poole, in his article on Chronology in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," to be "the result of design, not of accident." Yet, according to the tradition transmitted by Irenæus, Jerome, and Augustine, the version was made by "the authority of the Holy Spirit." Accepting this view, and unless we reject the only explanation hitherto suggested of this undeniable enigma, the Seventy were moved by the Holy Spirit, mysteriously to indicate that "a greater than Solomon" was Buddha. Let competent authorities throw more light on this subject, and declare whether it is safe to build on the serious premisses which the above explanation implies.

In connection with the argument on the altered periods in the Septuagint, is the objection which has been made to the suggestion thrown out in the work on Tradition, that the name of Pythagoras, who seems to have settled in Italy about the time of Buddha's birth—that is, between B.C. 550 and 545—was a *nom de guerre*, having possibly referred originally

to Buddh-guru. This is only a suggestion, and the author submits it to the decision of philologists. These object to a possible explanation of the name Pythagoras as having ever meant in Sanscrit "the teacher of the Bodhi," or Indian Wisdom. It is true that up to the present day any learned man—therefore especially a teacher of philosophy or religion—is called "guru;" but the original meaning of this Sanscrit word is "the respected man," a title which could certainly be given to Gautama-Buddha. Professor Beal states that a title was given to Buddha of which the Hebrew Rabbân or Rabbôni is the exact translation, meaning "The Great Master," like the *Destur-Maubed* of the Magi.

Connected with the possible knowledge of Indian tradition by the Seventy in the third century before the Christian era, is the very important question whether Pythagoras was in India. It has been pointed out by Dr. von Schroeder of the Dorpat University, that only in later centuries was anything said about journeys into foreign countries made by the philosopher of Samos, and the founder of an order or mystic association in Crotona. Such journeys were indeed undertaken by him, for inner probabilities in the doctrines of Pythagoras favour this assertion. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which he certainly promulgated, cannot be proved to have been known out of India before his time; the unsubstantiated opinion of Herodotus on the Egyptian origin of this doctrine is opposed by the fact that the Egyptian monuments, much as they occupy themselves with death and what is to happen after death, do not clearly testify the Egyptian belief in transmigration of souls. On the other side, it is certain that the Indians in the sixth century believed in this doctrine, that this belief formed the basis of Buddhism, the highest aim of which was the liberation from the trammels of re-births.

Most remarkable are the arguments of the learned Sanscrit teacher on the origin of the Pythagorean Wisdom, which tend to prove that the so-called Pythagorean geometrical problem was known to the Brahmins of Vedic

times. Also the doctrine of the five elements is held to have been by him imported from India to Greece, and the probability is discussed that Pythagoras connected his philosophical system with the Indian Sāmkhya doctrine, which Weber regards as the most ancient philosophical system.*

If it may be assumed that Pythagoras was in India before, or perhaps possibly during, the earliest childhood of the Royal Prince who was to become the Buddha; if Indian tradition had been imported into Greece and into the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula later called Oenotria and Italia, into the colony founded by Achæans and Spartans in B.C. 710, where the Apennines run towards the Sicilian straits, then we can understand the pride with which the Buddhist king Asōka, "the Pious," referred in his stone inscriptions, soon after his accession in B.C. 259, to the success which had attended the propagation by his emissaries of Buddha's religion in foreign countries, on the principle of working for their own faith in order to be of use to the faith of others. Among the foreign rulers whom Asōka mentions as having favourably received his missionaries is Amtiyokena, or Antiochus II., of Syria, whom he calls "king of the Yavanas," the Yavan of Genesis, the Greek Ionians, and Turāmāye or Ptolemy Philadelphus, who ordered the Greek version of Hebrew Scriptures. In B.C. 280, the fifth year of his reign, Indian tradition was well known at Alexandria, for the Seventy brought prominently forward the fourth year after Buddha's death. About 130 years later the Essenic Therapeuts, Greek-speaking Jews or Hellenists, were provably established in Egypt, and their connection with India, especially with Buddhism, can now no longer be doubted.

In how far it can be proved that the universalist Essenes of Egypt and the separatist Essenes of Palestine expected an incarnate Angel as Messiah, that Stephen the Hellenist identified Jesus with the Angel who was with the Fathers

* "Pythagoras und die Inder," von Dr. von Schroeder, Leipz., 1884, pp. 3, 8, 11, 23, 62, 66-76.

in the wilderness, and that Paul referred to Christ as the Angel who went before and followed Israel, and whom in an allegorical passage he calls "the rock," these are questions of the highest import. They cannot be answered by any one who has not become acquainted with the results of modern scientific criticism, whereby alone the origin of the New Testament Canon can be explained. It is well known that the Malach, messenger, or angel to whom the prophet Malachi referred, can have been interpreted either as a human messenger or as a celestial angel. The Essenes, or Jewish Dissenters, if they expected an Angel-Messiah, must have accepted the latter interpretation; but the orthodox Jews, who kept firmly to Massoretic tradition, and who never recognized the theory of an incarnate angel as Messiah, certainly explained the Malach as a human messenger. This distinction, and with it two essentially different doctrines on the Holy Spirit, in the Hebrew and in the Greek Canon respectively, have to be well weighed and digested before criticizing the Essay on "*Mahomed's Place in the Church.*"

E.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIA.

THE arrival of the Shah of Persia in England revives schemes for the development of his country which were put forward with perfect confidence and some prospect of realization on the occasion of Shah Nasr Eddin's first visit to Europe sixteen years ago. Much has happened in the interval. Neither Persia nor her neighbours stand where they stood. The removal of old landmarks, however, has been the least important change that has taken place, and the increase in Russia's pressure on Northern Persia can only be measured by geometrical and not by arithmetical progression. But so far as the development of the material resources of Persia is concerned nothing has yet been done either from the north under Russian auspices or from the south under British to improve its means of communication and at the same time convince its rulers that the promotion of trade will be conducive to their interests and to the stability of Persia. Why then, it may be argued, should the Shah's second visit to Europe be productive of more practical results than the first, which was identified with the brilliant and promising Reuter concession? It will be the chief object of this paper to show that the situation now is radically different from what it was in 1873, and that there is in consequence reasonable ground for supposing that any concessions granted at the present time will bear valuable fruit for their possessors, and that the Shah and his ministers are at length persuaded that their own personal interests and the very existence of the State demand that no effort should be omitted to develop the great natural resources of Persia, and to improve the lamentably deficient means of communication possessed by that country.

History has repeated itself in this matter as in others. On the eve of the Shah's last visit to Europe the concession to Baron de Reuter was announced, and now the later sojourn of this Eastern potentate in our latitudes is heralded by the production of the Charter for an Imperial State Bank, which is also to appear under the auspices of Baron de Reuter, and which starts with a programme that is both ambitious and promising. The sceptical may doubt whether the practical result in this case will be greater than in 1872-3, but the increased willingness of the investor to embark upon projects for the development of backward or deteriorated countries affords some tangible guarantee that Persia, so long neglected by capitalists, will be brought within the sphere of modern enterprise and development. At the least it must be admitted that the present concession is given for a definite purpose, subject to certain set provisions and conditions, whereas its predecessor was indefinite and perhaps in the state of the financial world at the time unattainable. It may be safely assumed that Baron de Reuter saw his way to providing the million sterling, essential for the opening of this bank, before he put his name to a concession based on that condition. The only possible conclusion is that those most competent to know believe in the practicability of the scheme, and we cannot help regarding it as the first serious effort to effect the material development of Persia. It is therefore with greater confidence and with a full belief that we are discussing a practical and not a theoretical question that we may proceed to consider in brief detail the various schemes suggested or commenced for this purpose.

The two foremost of these are of course the Imperial State Bank itself, and the opening of the Karun river to traffic. With regard to the former it may be observed that its aims are more ambitious and comprehensive than those of an ordinary bank, and that its attention will be given as much to mining as to finance. While it will possess for sixty years "financial, industrial, and commercial" rights of

an extensive and remunerative character, it is also to enjoy for the same period the exclusive privilege of working "throughout the empire the iron, copper, lead, mercury, coal, petroleum, manganese, borax, and asbestos mines," but an important reservation is made in connection with the mines of gold, silver, and precious stones, which are strictly excluded from the Bank's operations and reserved for the State. Comparatively little is known of the mineral wealth of Persia, but, from a variety of sources, it may be gathered that it is very great. The increased production of petroleum is likely to play a prominent part in the development of the countries of Southern Asia, and the springs in the vicinity of the Karun have been pronounced "perfectly colourless and exceptionally pure" by an officer who visited them, and whose testimony is above suspicion. The Persian Government has shown a wise as well as shrewd discretion in retaining within its own hands the control of the more valuable metals which have yet to be discovered, but which, there is every probability, exist within the Shah's dominions. The mining concession promises, therefore, to be most beneficial to Persia, at the same time that it does not unfairly hypothecate her opportunities in relation to precious metals and stones.

In discussing any mining projects the situation of the districts to be worked will be a not less important factor with the British investor than the value of the ore, and the assurances of the Persian Government. English money will scarcely be forthcoming for enterprises that seem destined to become, in a very few years the possession of the Czar. Now it happens, fortunately, that the mineral wealth of Persia is by no means confined to Khorassan, and it may even be doubted whether the richest portion of the country is not that lying to the south-west in the province of Kuzistan. It is in this quarter that we must make a beginning towards developing Persia's resources, and it is scarcely too much to say that whatever operations may be undertaken in this direction they should always be subject to our political

control and secure against hostile interference. The mines, of which special mention is made in the concession referred to (*viz.*, in article xi.), are situated in this part of the country, where not merely is it believed that coal, silver, and most of the metals mentioned in that article exist, but it is also known that the deposits of petroleum are equally pure and extensive. The only limitations to the monopoly of Persian mines conferred by this charter are—(1) those mines that have been ceded to other parties, of which the Shah has given a list to Baron de Reuter; and (2) that "all mines which the Bank has not commenced working within ten years of its formation shall be deemed to have been abandoned by it." Whatever mines may have been conceded to other parties it is not probable that these include any in Southern Persia, the part with which alone we are concerned, and the convention between Russia and Persia about which there is no longer any concealment, makes special reference to railways as the subject of Russia's prior right, both for construction and administration.

The development of the mineral resources of Persia must be preceded by some increase in the commerce with its southern provinces, and for this the opening of the Karun river should have paved the way. Reference has already been made to this subject in our pages, but those desirous of mastering its details should refer to Sir R. Murdoch Smith's paper * read before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts. The principal point made clear by the lecturer and by such a high authority as Mr. T. K. Lynch, whose connection with the Persian Gulf dates from 1841, is that the opening of the Karun, if it is to effect the anticipated results, must be preceded by its improvement as a navigable stream. One thing is essential in the opinion of every one who knows the region, and that is a short canal to turn the rapids at Ahwaz, where otherwise breaking of bulk and transshipment will be necessary. When this is

* "Journal of the Society of Arts," May 10, 1889.

done, river steamers can ascend as far as Shuster, an important town situated in the midst of a district producing abundant crops of wheat, barley, and indigo. As a matter of fact, the interior of Persia would thus be brought between 200 and 300 miles nearer the sea with, as can be conceived, an immense saving in the cost of transport. An improvement in the roads is also very much needed, and Mr. George Mackenzie, who is practically interested in the question, considers that the making of a road from Ahwaz to Shuster and Burijird should even precede the construction of the canal and locks at Ahwaz.

In order that these projects may be carried out it is clear that the action of the Shah's Government will have to go considerably further than the publication of the decree opening the Karun river to foreign trade. It will have to sanction the necessary works at Ahwaz, to give facilities for improving the roads, and to take steps to increase its authority and control over the Iliat tribes between Shuster and Ispahan. The concession to Baron Reuter justifies the assumption that the Shah will be willing to take his part in these measures, and His Majesty can at once give practical proof of his intentions by reviving the *chapar* or horse-post between Ispahan and Shuster and by restoring the telegraph between Ahwaz and the other commercial centres of this region. It cannot be said that these requirements are excessive, or that they would impose too severe a strain on the resources or good disposition of the Shah. Yet that they are essential to the realization of any schemes for the development of Persia cannot be doubted, and the opening of the Karun river will be valueless without them. As Mr. Lynch said, "The Persians have given us half a loaf which is better than no bread, but then they will not allow us to eat it." But for the Reuter concession, in which prominent Englishmen are believed to be interested as much as the nominal concessionaire, it might be argued that the Shah, whether at the instigation of the Czar or from sheer apathy would never allow us to eat it, and that in the words of

Professor Vambéry, Russia had secured the oyster and left us only the shell.

It is not, however, to be credited that Shah Nasr Eddin signed that elaborate and detailed charter for a national State Bank with the deliberate intention of never allowing its stipulations to be fulfilled. Even if he did so he has virtually deprived himself of the power of rejection whatever may be left him in regard to obstruction, for the terms of the convention are explicit, and their enforcement could and would be influenced by diplomacy. Before signing it there is every reason to believe that the Shah had satisfied himself that a State Bank was necessary for his kingdom, that the concessionaires possessed the means of founding and working it with success, and that by the convention, dated 30th January in the present year, he obtained the very best possible terms. Nor is there any reason to suppose that it is vitiated by any prior right on the part of the Russian Government or its delegates. Interested as Russia is in Persia, and anxious as Russian merchants are to enjoy the monopoly of her exploitation, they are not prepared to guarantee four millions sterling, and to provide one million for even the creation of a State Bank, with what is practically the control of all financial matters in the Shah's dominions. That task has had to be taken in hand under what are virtually English auspices, and the bulk of the capital will be provided in London.

For this reason we may naturally expect that that portion of the Bank's programme which relates to industrial and commercial matters will largely deal with projects in that part of Persia which could in an emergency be brought within the range of our protecting influence. The Bank could find, for many years to come, useful and profitable employment for all its attention and resources in the provinces adjacent to the Persian Gulf. The Karun Valley affords an opening, and the navigation of that river will produce effects that will be felt throughout the whole of Southern Persia. But the construction of roads and the

canal at Ahwaz will be a beginning rather than the end of enterprise in this quarter. If there are any mines in Persia worth working they will be found in Kuzistan, which is watered by this very Karun, which enjoys the reputation of being the one navigable stream in Persia. It will thus be seen how intimate is the connection between Baron Reuter's Imperial Bank of Persia and the Karun Valley Concession, that English interests are closely bound up with the future of both schemes, and that the smaller enterprise affords a criterion as to the success of the larger, by showing the degree of energy the Persian Government can muster in carrying out its part of arrangements, intended in the first place to benefit Persia and her people. The Shah's visit, whatever else it may produce, should at least result in the carrying out of those improvements in regard to the Karun which have been specified as necessary, and upon which the whole value of the project turns.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.*

WHEN I was requested by the Council of this great Institute to read a paper before them, I was in some doubt as to what subject to select, for my official experience has mostly been drawn from regions remote from those which are ordinarily associated with Colonial interests. Yet the distinction between Colonies and dependencies of the British Crown is but a superficial one. Many of the Colonies, like Canada and the Cape, have been founded and established after much hard fighting, in precisely the same manner as the Indian Empire was formed; and if it be objected that India is not a Colony, in the sense of being a permanent home of the English race, I would reply that a wise statesmanship might make our position far more secure in India by giving it less the character of a military occupation, and attracting, as I will show to be feasible, a large resident population of English colonists. It is not inappropriate to remark that this very day on which I speak to you, on which seventy-four years ago Waterloo was fought, was the last scene of a tragedy in which India and the Colonies had been for many years intimately and equally interested. It marked the downfall of the Indian ambitions of France, as distinctly as it sounded the knell of her Colonial Empire, and the

* Read at a Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Métropole, Whitehall Place, on Tuesday, June 18th, at 8 p.m. The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B., in the chair.—
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surrender of both East and West into the victorious hands of England.

When I consented to read a paper on the native princes of India and their relations with the British Government, the subject seemed to me so familiar as to require little consideration; but when I came to place my ideas on paper, I found that it covered so large an area, and the amount of information at my disposal was so great, that I recognized that I could only, in the short space of time at your and my disposal, give you, who, I presume, are mostly unacquainted with India, a few leading ideas on the position and character of the native princes. I have, perhaps, as intimate a knowledge of them as any Englishman can hope to obtain. Many years ago I was employed by the Government of the day to write the histories of the Punjab Rajas and chiefs, which occupation, extending over several years, brought me into the closest association with every prince and noble in Northern India. Subsequently, as Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, I had for many years the control of the political relations of the Government with these princes. Since then, my official relations have been with the chiefs of the South, in Central India—Rajputs, Mahrattas, and Mahammadans, and if I have not been connected with the great Mahammadan State of Hyderabad, it is merely that I was compelled, for private reasons, to decline Lord Dufferin's kind invitation to take up that most important and interesting appointment. Under the orders of the Government, I have placed on their throne many of the most distinguished Indian princes, both in Northern and Central India; from the Amir of Afghanistan and the Maharajas Sindhia and Holkar, down to Rajput princelets, whose pride makes them consider themselves the equals of the mightiest rulers.

Those who would obtain a clear and comprehensive survey of the Native States, with their history and statistics, will find it in the admirable work of my distinguished friend, Colonel Malletson. But my aim to-night is more general

than statistical. I would first observe that the Indian princes are an enduring record of the generosity and wise policy which have dictated English administration in the East. Some of them were our friends and allies in our wars; others are the representatives of the foes whom we overcame, and whose possessions and rank were confirmed to them under more favourable conditions and better guarantees for permanence than they enjoyed previous to their fortunate conflict with ourselves.

The popular idea of Native India is a collection of States of enormous antiquity, the chiefs of which are fretting under unsympathetic English domination and are eager to reconquer the independence which they had enjoyed from immemorial ages. Nothing can be further from the truth. In India of to-day, the more important States politically, such as Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Bhopal, Indore, the powerful Sikh States on the Sutlej, and Kashmir, are more modern than the British Power. They all rose on the ruins of the great Moghul Empire, which has disappeared like a dream, leaving no disappointed and ambitious heirs to renew the struggle for the Crown. There are, it is true, many ancient principalities in Hindostan, but in these no danger to English supremacy is to be found. The unquiet spirits, the seditious intriguers, the turbulent adventurers are to be found in the new and modern principalities which have no traditions of loyalty, which were born amidst rapine and blood, and are jealous of the British Power as a successful rival who snatched from them the prize of empire which they had flattered themselves that they had themselves won. Northern India was at one time probably covered, from the Himalayas to the Nerbudda, by Rajput principalities. The Rajputs, you must understand, are a noble race and caste, from which ancient India was accustomed to draw her military and ruling class. As successive waves of invasion poured through the Khyber passes on the Punjab and the North-West Provinces of India, the Rajput princes were driven by

the advancing tide to the right hand and to the left, where they are still to be found in two well-recognized groups; one inhabiting a large portion of Central India and Rajputana, the other driven into the quiet Himalayan valleys, where, undisturbed by war or revolution, they have peacefully ruled a docile people for thousands of years.

Many of the Rajput dynasties were old at the time when the Greeks were launching their swift ships for Troy. I remember, in the beautiful Chamba Valley, in the heart of the Himalayas, when examining, in one of the temples, the family records, the high priest unrolled before me a scroll which contained the names of the house of Chamba from its foundation, and it extended across the temple, down the steps, and across the courtyard, and I counted 673 rulers in direct line of this ancient house. Even if we allow only ten years to each reign, this record, true or apocryphal, would take us, according to orthodox chronology, into the garden of Eden with Adam and Eve, who were undoubtedly Rajputs. In any case, many of these families trace their origin and derive their names from the moon and the sun, and it is impossible to claim a more illustrious ancestry.

Most of the Rajput Himalayan States are politically insignificant, but they are all well disposed and interesting to an extreme degree. In Rajputana and Central India the ancient Rajput principalities are far more powerful and important, and several of them, such as Udipur, Jeypore, Jodhpur, and Rewa, take a very high rank in the social and political hierarchy. All, I may say, without exception, are sincerely attached to the British Government. No shadow of disloyalty attaches at this moment, to my knowledge, to a single Rajput State. We saved those in the Himalayas from being overrun and crushed by the Sikhs and the Ghurkhas; in Rajputana we rescued them from destruction at the hands of the Mahrattas, who were resistlessly sweeping over the peninsula, leaving ruin behind them.

Another important group of princes comprises the Sikh

States on the Sutlej, as Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kaparthalla, and Faridkhot. With these the British Government is on the best of terms. We have never had any quarrel with them, but, on the contrary, from the early days of the century, protected them consistently against the ambition of the powerful Sikh monarchy founded by Ranjit Singh at Lahore. All these States, now rich and independent, are perfectly aware that they only exist through the generous protection, through the greater part of the century, of the British Government. In the first Sikh war, when their fidelity was exposed to an extreme trial, only one, Nabha, wavered, and was punished by a large confiscation of territory. Since that time, Nabha, with the other States, has amply proved its devotion, and it is not too much to say that the loyalty, gallantry, and steadiness of the Sikh chiefs in the Mutiny, ensured the capture of Delhi and the retention of the Punjab in English hands. They have stood by us in good report and evil report; their contingents fought and served side by side with British regiments in the last Afghan campaign, and I am perfectly convinced that, should the time come when England has, on the North-West Frontier, to fight against a more formidable foe than she has yet met in India, the Sikh States will eagerly send to the front thousands of magnificent soldiers, who, I believe, after having seen both, to be superior in intelligence and physique to the European troops who would be brought against them.

The third important group of princes are the Mahratta confederacy, now represented by the great States of Gwalior, Indore, and Baroda. The two former of these have been under my political charge for many years, and, if time permit, I may again refer to them. The Mahrattas were a wild, predatory race who rose to power in the last century, when the Mahammadan Empire was falling to pieces, and their chiefs, men of low caste, who had in troublous times developed some military genius, were probably no better or worse than other brigand leaders who have founded families

in Europe or Asia. Their ravages, followed by those of the savage Pindaris, who were their allies, and who followed on their tracks, as the jackal follows the lion, left Central India and a large part of Rajputana a desert; and fifty years of peace, under the firm rule of England, have not sufficed to restore its prosperity. My intimate knowledge of the Mahratta States does not lead me to the belief that, till within the last two years, when a change of rulers in Indore and Gwalior has allowed the more direct interference of the British Government, much improvement of their methods has taken place since the time when they triumphantly pillaged India. In no part of the continent, except perhaps Kashmir, has the peasant been more ruthlessly oppressed and overtaxed than under the administration of the late Maharajas Sindhia and Holkar.

The last group of Native States sufficiently important to demand consideration is the Mahammadan, of which may be taken as examples the premier State in India, Hyderabad in the Deccan; Bahawalpur in the Punjab, and Bhopal in Central India. There is no reason to doubt the loyalty of any of these princes, the most important of whom was merely a lieutenant-governor of the Moghul Empire, and exercised no independant authority whatever until the downfall of that dynasty. At the same time, the natural intelligence of the Mahammadans, and the living force of the creed of Islam, and their dominant position in so many parts of the world, cause the Mahammadan states and cities a far larger amount of excitement and political intrigue than elsewhere. This need be no subject of disquietude to a courageous and wise Government, who not only recognizes a traitor when it sees him, but is not afraid to punish him. The only danger to the permanence of British rule in India is the foolish and cowardly tolerance of treason.

One of the chief causes of the troubles of Hyderabad, financial scandals connected with which have lately attracted much interest in this country, is due to the fact that our

arrangements with that State do not prevent, as elsewhere, the intrigues of foreigners ; the result is, that it is overrun with European adventurers of an especially bad type, whose schemes it is difficult to counteract, and who have no other thought than of the spoil which they can extort from the Nizam and his ministers. The shameless manner in which Hyderabad and its mining concessions were thrown into the English money market the year before last will be fresh in your memory, and a careful study of that case would somewhat enlighten students as to Oriental methods of financial operations ; but it would not tell them the whole story, nor reveal the absolute and normal corruption of officials in a Native State where honesty is practically unknown ; and if a person innocent of Oriental intrigue were to believe that the Minister, Abdul Huq, who was convicted of corruption in the matter of the mining concession, and who was made the scapegoat for other more important personages, was the most guilty, he would be much mistaken. The chief culprit stood much nearer the throne of the Nizam.

The most interesting of all the Indian Principalities, from the point of view of the Royal Colonial Institute, is Kashmir, for here alone, within the temperate zone of the Himalayas, is an extensive region, fertile in soil and salubrious in climate, where Englishmen might settle in such large numbers as to found a military and industrial colony of the utmost importance to the Empire. It is true that there are other petty States among the lower Himalayas and on their southern slopes where a suitable climate for Europeans exists, but in none of them is there sufficient land for occupation or profitable cultivation. In Kashmir alone, the garden of Asia, a beautiful valley many thousand feet above the sea level, abounding with lakes, rivers, and streams, and surrounded on all sides by lofty and snow-covered mountains, there lies a veritable paradise, which is not more beautiful in the glowing descriptions of poets than it is in reality. Kashmir is one of the few places in

the world which justify the praises which have been lavished upon them. All fruits and grains of temperate climates grow in its rich soil, and for some of the most valuable productions, such as wine, silk, tea, cinchona, and hops, it is peculiarly suited; its inhabitants are intelligent and industrious workmen, and their skill in the manufacture of carpets, shawls, silver, and lacquer work, is well known to the western world.

The practical question regarding Kashmir is, whether it is possible to so encourage English immigration as to establish an English colony so numerous as to largely add to our defensive strength. I believe that such a measure, which would do more to secure the North-West Frontier than any possible series of fortifications in Afghanistan and Beluchistan, is perfectly practicable, and only requires to be taken up by the Home and Indian Governments with vigour and determination, to be successful. The Government has, it appears to me, during the last thirty years, since the great Indian Mutiny, been strangely unmindful of its duty of encouraging the British colonization of the mountain districts of India. The old East India Company, in the true spirit of monopolists, discouraged English settlement, and the most respectable colonist was liable to be deported as an adventurer. Then came the Mutiny, which was to India what the Revolution was to France, and, in spite of the unfortunate incidents that accompanied it, proved the most fortunate thing for India and its Government. It was a shock which woke the country from the sleep of ages, and placed it within the family circle of civilized nations. The policy of the Government has necessarily changed, and English settlement and English capital are recognized as valuable, and, indeed, essential to the development of the country; but the old tradition of timidity and apathy hangs heavy over the Government, and the European merchant and capitalist, who alone are able to renovate the country and fill its exhausted treasuries, are still regarded with ill-concealed dislike and suspicion.

When the Government has realized that the true barrier of India against Russian aggression is in a colony of three millions of Englishmen, liable to military duty, and settled in Kashmir and on the slopes of the Himalayas, we shall see them encourage English immigration to Kashmir with as much zeal as is now shown in excluding visitors from this Himalayan paradise. There are no difficulties of any importance; the chief of such as exist are a fear lest a quasi-British occupation of Kashmir might shake the steadiness and rouse the alarm of the princes of India; and, secondly, the supposed difficulty of providing for the existing occupiers of the land. With regard to the latter point, it is sufficient to say that the matter would speedily right itself if Europeans were freely permitted to purchase land, and if the Kashmir Government was directed to sell it under the arbitration and assessment of a board composed of English and Kashmir officials. The accompanying arrangements would be simple.

The peasants have no rights in the soil, but are mere tenants at will, and every acre of the land belongs to the Maharaja; and the people, when employed by English landholders, would be infinitely happier and more prosperous than at present, while the soil, properly cultivated and with capital expended on it, would produce threefold its present crops. As to the opposition of the Maharaja, the Government need have no concern. He is little more than an imbecile; a slave to the vilest passions, and entirely in the hands of the most degraded of his servants, who practise on his superstitious fears. He was never fit to ascend the throne, and his conduct there has been so contemptible that he has been practically set aside, and affairs are conducted by a council, which is dominated by the British Resident. I knew the father of the present Maharaja well, and he had often spoken to me of the hopeless and degraded character of his son, and how he foresaw that the kingdom which had been won by the grandfather would be lost by the grandson; for Kashmir,

as a Dogra Rajput kingdom, is of yesterday, and its first Maharaja, Gulab Singh, was a man who had risen from a menial office about the person of the great Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. When the first Sikh War arrived, it found Gulab Singh a titular Raja, and administering the Kashmir province for the Sikhs. The Governor-General of those days sold the province to Gulab Singh as a reward for abstaining from joining the Sikh army at Sobraon. Gulab Singh kept his word; abandoned his masters, who were crushed on the Sutlej, and paid us the million which was asked as the price of the province by robbing the Sikh treasury in the Lahore Fort. Maharaja Gulab Singh was an unscrupulous, blood-thirsty tyrant, but he kept his word to us, and maintained his friendship during his lifetime, and helped us materially during the Mutiny. His son, the second Maharaja, was, in outward bearing, the most picturesque and noble specimen of a Rajput prince to be seen in India; exceedingly handsome and splendidly dressed, his manners had a distinction which is rarely seen in Europe; but he was a bad and careless ruler, and his people were ground down by exactions as cruel as those which the Jews endured from the Egyptians in Egypt, or which are practised in twenty Native States to-day. The third Maharaja is a drunken debauchee, and the line which was founded in treachery and blood may well die out after as infamous a record as that of the Borgias in Italy. There have been many persons with no exact knowledge of the history of the time, who have blamed the Government for not holding Kashmir at the close of the first Sikh War. This was impossible: the Punjab was not annexed till three years later, and the Government had no reason to confiscate an outlying province in no way attached to their own possessions; besides, they knew little or nothing of its capabilities and future value; and the question of scientific frontiers and strategical positions had not then arisen to vex the minds of Indian Chancellors of the Exchequer.

Moreover, there is no reason to doubt that the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh for his desertion of his Sikh masters was a brilliant stroke of policy, which is to be praised and not blamed, for the struggle on the Sutlej was so severe, and the result at times so doubtful, that had Gulab Singh joined the Sikhs on that day, the wave of British dominion might have been beaten back for years. I mention these points to show that there is nothing in the past history of Kashmir, so long as it has been owned by the present dynasty, which entitles it to be treated by the British with any special tenderness or consideration. Nor would the native princes of India be at all alarmed by the British colonization of Kashmir; they would understand that the position is exceptional; that Kashmir is the only large State in India in which Europeans can healthily live and bring up their families, and that its strategical position on the North-West Frontier makes it not only reasonable, but an imperative duty for the Government to utilize it as it chooses in the best interests of the public safety.

Another State on which I would say a few words is Afghanistan. If it be objected that the Amir of Afghanistan cannot correctly be included among the princes of India, I would reply that the real Indian Empire stretches, under whatever name you may choose to call it, from the confines of China and Tonquin to the frontier of Persia. Some nations are very fond of hoisting their flag on every unoccupied portion of the earth's surface, while British officers, with more modesty, are often inclined to keep the Union Jack in their pockets. But to those who are acquainted with contemporary history, Beluchistan, with its democratic organizations and its varied and opposing clans, will appear as subject to the Queen's dominion as any part of Native India; while the Amir of Afghanistan is as truly a British feudatory as the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. He receives a fixed subsidy from the Indian Government, and he has engaged, in con-

sideration of our promise of assistance and protection, to regulate his foreign relations in accordance with our instructions, which is practically all that we require from the feudatory Indian princes. The more important among the latter are quite as independent in their domestic policy and rule, in many cases quite as severely, without the same excuse, as the Amir of Afghanistan.

That Amir Abdur Rahman has somewhat rough manners and treats the Indian Foreign Office with occasional rudeness, is the fault of that Department, which has not retained sufficient of the imperious spirit of Lord Dalhousie. The Amir is the creation of the British Government, and it is as unreasonable for them to allow him to treat them with the coolness which has been too much in fashion, as for the pots to be encouraged to cry out against the potter. The Amir of Kabul may, with perfect correctness, be styled the first of the feudatory princes of India; he is no more than this, and it is well that the world, and especially Russia, should remember it. The engagements by which he is bound to us and we to him were negotiated by myself in 1881, before I placed him, by the orders of the Government of India, on the throne of Kabul. Abdur Rahman was most anxious that a formal treaty, recording his obligations and duties and the kind and amount of assistance which, under certain circumstances, he was to receive, should be drawn up, and this proposal, which he constantly pressed upon me, I was disposed to support, for I considered that he was strong enough to hold his own, and that a treaty would bind him to us more closely and would more distinctly warn off trespassers on Afghan soil; while if it were torn up, in consequence of his failure to establish his government, it would be in no worse case than other famous treaties which Western nations have been more occupied in tearing up than in preserving. But Lord Ripon's Government declined to allow a formal treaty to be executed until they were assured of the Amir's strength, and the letters which I gave to him

on the part of the Viceroy are still in force, and regulate his position, and further engage us absolutely to defend him against Russian attack on condition of his following our advice and directions in his foreign policy. It is well that Englishmen should generally understand, on the authority of the person who was entrusted with the negotiations, that England is as much bound in honour to defend Herat, Maimena, Balkh, or any other portion of Afghanistan against Russia, as she is to defend the Isle of Wight against France. Viewed in this light, the defences of the North-West Frontier in the neighbourhood of Quetta, which have been most wisely carried out by Lord Dufferin and his military advisers, appear hardly adequate. What is further required is the extension of the railway, first to Kandahar and then to Herat; a scheme which the Amir might probably be induced to support. It can, however, only be constructed as a strategic line under a Government guarantee, which the Indian Exchequer, in these days of low exchange, is unable to afford. At the same time, a couple of millions now spent on this line may save the Empire a hundred millions later on.

While speaking of frontier defences, I would incidentally remark that Sir Charles Dilke's articles in *The Fortnightly Review*, on this subject, appear to me to exaggerate the strategic completeness of the Quetta position. There is still a very important gate of India, which is neither barred nor locked. This is the Ghumal route, commonly known as the Ghwalari. It passes through the country of the Mahsud Waziris, and is, next to the Bolan, the most important pass, or series of passes, on the North-West Frontier, between Hindostan and the Afghan city of Ghazni. It is the chief route used by the Powinda traders, who yearly come from Afghanistan with their camels to India; and beyond the ranges of the British frontier the passes open into an exceedingly easy country, where an army marching by the Hindu Khush, Bamian, Kabul, and Ghazni would meet no difficulties of importance, and from which

India might be attacked without going near the almost impregnable position of Quetta. Until the proposals of Sir Robert Sandeman, Agent to the Governor-General for Biluchistan, with reference to the settlement of this country and the defence of the passes are accepted, there will remain a serious breach in our defences, which at some time may give us incalculable trouble.

South of Afghanistan comes Biluchistan, over which Sir Robert Sandeman, with admirable tact and energy, has for long exercised political control. The chief of these feudatory princes is the Khan of Kelat, who, owing to the democratic constitution of Biluchistan, is not of any great importance. He and his people have, however, made considerable advances in civilization during the past few years. When Lord Lytton assembled the feudatories of the Crown at Delhi, in 1877, on the occasion of the assumption by Her Majesty the Queen of the Imperial title, the Khan of Kelat attracted as much attention as any one. His picturesque and long-haired followers were then literally savages, and I remember them contentedly feasting on the scented soap which had been supplied in the lavatories of their special train on the road to Delhi. Perhaps ere this they have discovered that civilization has intended soap for other uses than of food. They certainly had not done so in those days.

Gwalior is by far the most important of the Mahratta States, and its capital is historically and archaeologically a highly interesting place. Three years ago I had the satisfaction of making over to Maharaja Sindhia the great rock fortress of Gwalior, which had been held since the Mutiny by English troops, and which Lord Dufferin had wisely determined might be safely surrendered to its rightful master. Sindhia did not live long enough to pay a single visit to his recovered fortress, and his death removed one of the most remarkable and powerful chiefs in India, and the only one who possessed conspicuous

military ability. But under English supremacy and in peaceful days there was no place for a man like Sindhia, who required for his development a period of war and anarchy, when he doubtless would have made a great name as a military leader. As a ruler he was as bad as it was possible to be. After his death it became my duty to reorganize his administration, and no one of this audience could conceive the hideous disorder and neglect which prevailed, and the entire absence of all the most elementary aids to civilization, such as schools, hospitals, or public buildings. The Maharaja treated his subjects worse than cattle; and although I found several millions sterling hoarded in his palaces, the officials, police, and soldiery were so badly paid that they were allowed and even encouraged to rob the peasants, while in the case of the highest officials, such as Governors of districts, the Maharaja is understood to have taken his share of the spoil.

The son and successor of Sindhia is a bright, intelligent, and most charming boy of twelve, who is being carefully trained; but I regret to see in the last Indian telegrams that his immediate marriage is being discussed. I trust that the Government of India will peremptorily forbid this foolish proceeding, which native Ministers and servants always favour for their own interested purposes. If the Government tolerate it, they will be responsible for the fatal results which will inevitably follow to their most illustrious ward. It was a great misfortune for the Gwalior State that its Minister, Raja Sir Ganpat Rao, who worked loyally with me to reform the administration, and who in two years had absolutely transformed the State into the most progressive community in India, should have suddenly died, as Indian reformers, obnoxious to their conservative opponents, too frequently do. He has been succeeded by an illiterate and thoroughly incompetent person, whom the Government will soon find it necessary to set aside, when the progress of Gwalior,

now hampered and interrupted, may again rapidly proceed.

If you were to ask me to express in a few sentences the virtues and advantages of Native States, contrasted with their vices and failings, I would observe, in the first place, that they are picturesque. Their brightness and colour; the tawdry splendour of their Courts; the unimaginable inefficiency of their soldiery; their grotesque travesty of justice and administration, make a grateful change from the sober, dull monotony of British rule. The princes, with a few exceptions, are loyal, for the reason that they have nothing of which to complain. During the Mutiny they learned the lesson that loyalty was highly rewarded, and that treason was relentlessly punished; and they will not forget it. They also appreciate the fact that under no foreign Power would they be as well off as under England; and that were France or Russia mistress of India they would have to surrender half their revenues to the paramount Power. The rulers of the most important States further realize that they have, personally, no hold on the country, and are far more distasteful and alien to the people they rule than are the English. Hyderabad and Bhopal, Mahammadan families, tyrannizing over Hindoo peasants; the Maharaja of Kashmir, a Hindu prince grinding Mahammadans to the dust; Sindhia and Holkar, detested by the Rajput gentry they have overwhelmed and whom they still daily persecute—all these would vanish from the map of Hindostan if England but raised her hand. Princes and their subjects acknowledge this so fully that, in the eyes of the people, we are responsible for the misgovernment of the chiefs. This sentiment I found everywhere prevailing in Native States, from the enlightened Prime Minister, unable to control the sensual tyrant he calls his master, down to the tortured and over-taxed peasant.

This popular and correct belief in our responsibility for bad government prevents the Raja filling successfully the

humble rôle of the drunken Helot which properly belongs to him, demonstrating to the people of India by his evil example how great are the blessings of security and justice which they enjoy under British rulers. For there is no reason to conceal the truth that in the vast majority of Native States the mal-administration is phenomenal; tyranny and extortion are the rule, while the officials, from the highest to the lowest, are hopelessly corrupt. There exist well-governed States, as I have freely acknowledged, such as Nahan, in the Himalayas; Nabha, in the Punjab; Oorcha, in Central India, the chiefs of which are models of manly virtue. And I could name native officials, like Raja Sir Dinkar Rao; Raja Sir Madhava Rao, Prime Minister of Baroda; Diwan Raghonath Rao, Prime Minister of Indore; Nawab Mehdi Ali, of Hyderabad; and the Khalifa brothers, of Pattiala, whose integrity and learning would do honour to any country. But they are oases in a desert of tyranny and corruption. I once brought to Indore as Chief Justice a native gentleman of high character and culture, whom I had met as a magistrate at Agra, and who seemed inclined to adopt the platform favoured by Young India of decrying English rule and extolling the Indian capability for self-government. He joyfully arrived at Indore on double the salary he had received in a British district, and it was amusing, and at the same time pathetic, to watch the change which came over his fine theories when confronted with the grim reality. The high-handed interference of the chief with the course of justice; innocent persons ruined to gratify greedy or offended officials; the lowest menials raised to high office; the unblushing and open corruption on every side; all this so alarmed and surprised my friend that when I left India he fled to British territory, to save his honour and his liberty, which he believed, and I daresay with excellent reason, to be in imminent danger. He has since written some clever sketches of the administration of Native States, in which he has said far more severe things regarding it than will be found in this paper.

There is no particular reason that Native States should be honest and clean-handed. Injustice and oppression have come down to them by immemorial tradition. *Nemo repente fuit justus*, as *The Saturday Review* said last week, and the habit of honesty must slowly grow, like any other wholesome aptitude.

Nor do I think that the art of government is or ever has been developed in India, or indeed in any part of Asia. The elementary village community, with its tenacious life and self-government, implies no more capacity for the higher administrative arts, than do the instinctive and respectable efforts of the beaver to organize its amphibious colony. There are certainly some great names, Akbar, Shahjehan, and Baber, in Indian history, but contemporary observers have shown us that the splendour of the Court was obtained by the misery of the people. The administration was oppressive in the extreme; taxation was overwhelming, and the state of affairs similar to that in France in the days of Louis XIV., when the poverty and despair of the peasants were preparing the downfall of the monarchy. Nor are the surroundings of the princes in infancy and youth favourable to improvement.

A passage from a paper which I wrote some time ago, showing the unhappy surroundings of young Indian princes, I will read here, as I can add nothing to it with advantage:—

"Day by day, year by year, the Government painfully, anxiously, honestly labours to influence its young chiefs for good; but the seed too often falls on stony ground or among thorns. The hereditary and transmitted qualities of Indian princes are too imperious in their impulse; uncounted generations of debauchery and self-indulgence leave but poor soil in which to plant the ascetic virtues of chastity, truth, and self-sacrifice. To their growth, the gross and material surroundings of a native Court are hostile. The eternal contest between pleasure and duty, between virtue and vice, which the old poets and painters ever loved to describe or depict, is here a campaign as easy as that of Tel-el-Kebir. Pleasure triumphs without a struggle. The young prince, surrounded by fiddlers, and parasites, and courtesans, cannot hear the voice of duty for the rhythical music of the bangles of the women, and the fantastic tinkle of the Indian lute calling him to love and wine. Many of those who read this paper know,

or have seen, the end. The melancholy shores of the Indian administration are strewn with the rotting hulks of our educational failures."

You will not think that I have drawn a very pleasing picture of the Native States. But it is, unfortunately, a true one; and if you doubt my accuracy I would refer you to other authorities, Sir John Malcolm in the last generation, and Sir John Strachey of to-day. There is, however, and this is the essential point, a constant though slow advance in administration and procedure due to the example and pressure of the English Government, and to the spread of education and enlightenment, which, though they affect native India far more slowly than British territory, yet make themselves increasingly felt. Even the growing importance of the Press, by no means an unmixed benefit in a country like India, does something to temper the oppression of the Rajas. But it is the good example of British administration which must be trusted to work the most beneficial change.

To the ordinary English traveller, whether a tourist or an official from British territory, the Native States appear very picturesque and delightful places. He sees alone the splendour of the Court and the fine manners of the chief. He is delighted with the lavish hospitality, the parades, the fireworks, the shooting parties, the unaccustomed pageantry, the colour, and the life. He sees the prince on his good behaviour, anxious to make an impression on the guests of whose criticism he is afraid; but he understands and knows no more of the character of the State and the feelings of its ruler than a photographer knows of a sitter when he has placed his head in a vice and exhorted him to look pleasant. But those who, like myself, have had for years to direct and control native Courts, are wont to look beyond the idle ceremonial and the glitter and the show to the dungeons where innocent men are rotting for years without a trial, to peasants tortured to extort impossible rents, to high officials in notorious league with bandits, and to corruption on every judgment-seat. You must not be surprised if our sym-

pathies are with the people rather than with the princes. Our first duty has not been to say soft things to the chiefs and write rose-coloured reports to the Government of India, or shut our eyes to the misery that surrounds us. Our chief duty has been to stand between the tyrant and his victim, and to let the oppressed go free; and I trust that a day may come when the British Government of India will recognize, more fully than it does at present, that it has a duty as direct and imperative to the poor and weak and oppressed in Native States as to the people of its own territory, protecting them from injustice and wrong, and punishing tyrants by the deprivation of powers which they have systematically and mercilessly abused.

LEFEL GRIFFIN.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THERE has rarely been a quarter which has presented fewer incidents of interest in connection with Asia than that which has just closed. In the spheres of Russia and China as well as of England affairs have been as quiet as possible and almost torpid. This may be a satisfactory feature, but it does not afford much scope for description. In Afghanistan the continued residence of the Ameer in Turkestan must be described as at least unexpected, and hope rather than reason inspires the conclusion that it has been due solely to the desire to pacify that province and attach it firmly to his kingdom. There is unfortunately some reason to fear that the Ameer is not altogether satisfied with his financial relations with the Indian Exchequer. If this is the case it cannot be too strongly impressed on the Government of India that it is a wise policy to treat Abdurrahman in the most generous manner, and even in excess of what may seem to be the strict barter price between us judged by what he can do for us and we for him. Do not let it be supposed for one moment that we advocate giving the Ameer more lakhs of rupees without a consideration. We only say that it would be politic to increase his subsidy in proportion to his requirements and wishes, provided he gave us the improved telegraphic, postal, and railway communications within his dominions which are essential to the altered position in Central Asia. We feel convinced that the Ameer has hitherto based his policy on a close alliance and understanding with ourselves, but he is not the first Ameer who has done so. His grandfather, Dost Mahomed, and his uncle, Shere Ali, shared for many years the same sentiments, and yet they were alienated by the

bungling measures of English policy. It seems to us that the chief danger of a repetition of this failure lies in our showing a niggardly spirit, and we cannot plead as an excuse that we do not know what returns to ask for an increase of our subsidies. Our interests are so vitally connected with those of Afghanistan and with the maintenance of a stable government in that State that we could always reckon on obtaining an equivalent for any pecuniary assistance that Abdurrahman was likely to demand.

In regard to Burmah there is still every reason to prefer the official reports of Sir Charles Crosthwaite to the sensational and hostile accounts of some of the Rangoon papers. The present season is, it must be remembered, the most favourable for the dacoits and the least suited for regular soldiers; yet it would be manifestly absurd to describe their operations, reported from week to week, as constituting serious disturbances. A great improvement in every respect may be confidently expected next winter when the extension of the railway system, the operations at the Ruby and Jade Mines, and the opening up of the Chindwin valley and other outlying districts must all conduce to the prosperity of the Burmese and therefore to the tranquillity of their country. In regard to China, with whom we cannot much longer defer our arrangements regarding the frontier of Yunnan, there is nothing to report, except that a majority of the Governor-generals and governors have reported in favour of the introduction of railways, and it may therefore be expected that before long some practical step will be taken towards introducing the iron horse into the Celestial Empire.

In the dearth of matters of comment we give the following translation of some Russian articles on the scheme of diverting the Oxus into the Caspian Sea.

The following is the text of General Glukhovskoi's report on the projected diversion of the river Oxus to its old bed flowing into the Caspian: "Central Asia, placed between China, Afghanistan, Persia, and Russia, has at all

times played an important *role* in the destinies of Asia. A special signification has always been given to it by its two great rivers—the Syr Darya and the Amou Darya. The fertile banks of these rivers, forming what may be termed oases in the middle of the arid deserts which extend towards the north, south-west, and east, have always been coveted at different epochs of history. In antiquity there flourished the kingdoms of Bactriana, Sogdiana, and Khorasmia (Khwarezm). The trans-Caspian steppes were not always deserts; it was there that in ancient times existed Hyrcania, a country famous for its wealth and its commerce. In more recent days the country was watered by the Amou Darya which flowed into the Caspian Sea. Eventually, by the will of man, the river took another course. The restoration of the river to its old bed presents such advantages from a political, military, and commercial point of view, that Peter the Great organized an expedition, with the view of occupying the khanate of Khiva, and seeing if there were any means of causing the Amou to return to its earlier course. The expedition as is known was not a success. After the death of the Great Reformer the route of the Caspian and the Amou Darya was abandoned, and Russia turned towards Central Asia by way of Orenburg and Omsk. It was not until 150 years later that Russia, coming this time from Tashkent and Bokhara, established herself firmly on the banks of the Amou Darya. After the capture of Tashkent in 1865, the necessity was quickly perceived of securing a shorter and less costly line of communication with European Russia by way of the Caspian from Krasnovodsk and the Amou. Krasnovodsk was only occupied in 1869, and after that many steps were taken by the Grand Duke Michael Nikolaievitch to obtain a secure route to the Oxus. At the same time that part of the Usboi which was within Russian territory was explored, and further explorations were carried on during the Khivan expedition, and it was General Glukhovskoi himself who was charged with

the examination of the dry beds of the Dandan and Kunya Darya, whilst to another special commission was entrusted the exploration of the Uroun Darya. Then, for the first time, was the Khivan part of the old bed properly examined and a map made of it. It may be stated in the most positive manner that the old bed of the Oxus is clearly traceable as far as Lake Sary Kamish, whither the stream flowed not so very long ago. Unmistakeable traces were also found of former cultivation. Colonel Petrusevitch, chief of the Uran Darya Commission, showed the possibility of conducting the water into the Khivan channel which sloped towards the lake of Sary Kamish, and in which region a vast valley between walls as it were was discovered. One circumstance that went to prove in an indubitable manner the truth of this opinion was that when the Amou burst its banks in 1878, the water flowed into the old channel and filled up Lake Sary Kamish for an extent of about 200 versts. In consequence of that event a further expedition was sent with the object of discovering a new water route between the Aral and the Amou, in case that river should be diverted towards the Caspian, and to ascertain how the operation could be performed without injury to the economic condition of Khiva. The work of that expedition, which was entrusted to General Glukhovskoi, began in the autumn of 1879, and continued for several years. In fact, they were not concluded until 1883."

REVIEWS.

Early English Bengal.

THE three volumes which Colonel, or to give him his new and well-earned title Sir Henry, Yule has edited with much pains and research for the Hakluyt Society relate to a multiplicity of interesting topics in the early history of the English in Bengal, besides those contained in the diary of William Hedges, which supplies the name of the work. The great value of these contemporary records from a historical point of view is that they furnish evidence of the continuous efforts made by Englishmen to build up a commercial supremacy, and to establish themselves on the soil of India a century before Plassey, and the too common impression that Englishmen were only stirred into action by the old rivalry with France in the days of Dupleix and Clive will no longer pass current when the facts stored in such works as the present become generally known. The first volume contains Hedges' diary, the second notices regarding the writer and memoirs of a notable Anglo-Indian worthy named Job Charnock, and the third documentary materials for a life of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George. On each and all of these parts Colonel Yule has expended an amount of pains and research which it is not saying too much to declare that no other living editor could be found to devote to a subject most interesting and important in itself, but still of too recondite a nature to obtain the full recognition that the labour deserved. Probably the diary itself will be deemed the least interesting portion of the work, but all the editor's contributions

towards rendering it a complete chapter of Indian history must be pronounced valuable and pertinent to the subject. To the many other services Sir Henry Yule has rendered in the cause of geographical and historical research in Asiatic regions must be added his bringing into the gallery of known Anglo-Indian worthies such men as Job Charnock, Streynsham Master, Thomas Pitt, and William Hedges, all showing strongly marked if different types of character, and ranking among the humble and till now almost forgotten architects of our Indian Empire. Incidentally we may mention, in conclusion, for the benefit of those who deal in gossip, that there is a full and true history of the celebrated Pitt Diamond, which is now known in France as the Regent Diamond, and which is on show, or shortly will be, at the Paris Exhibition.

Marquis Wellesley.

COLONEL MALLESON has written for the Statesmen Series, published by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., of Waterloo Place, a very interesting and graphic account of the career of the Marquis Wellesley, whose name will always have a place among the greatest rulers England has ever given to India. Colonel Malleeson says of him and his younger brother, the great Duke, that "they were born great, and they achieved greatness." Lord Wellesley's Indian career, which forms the most attractive part of this volume and of his life, covered the ten years from 1796 to 1805. It began with the final struggle with Tippoo Sahib, ending in his overthrow and death at Seringapatam, and it concluded with the decisive victories of the Maratha war won by Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley at Laswari, Assaye, and Argaum. The period was one of almost constant warfare, and it was marked by the disappearance of three of the gravest perils that ever beset us in our Indian

history, viz., the overthrow of the Mysorean power, the breaking up of the Maratha confederacy, and the final departure of France as a competitor within the peninsula. Of the stirring military and diplomatic events that marked the whole of this critical epoch, Colonel Malleison, with his unequalled knowledge of Indian history, has given a most instructive narrative, which may be referred to with profit by the student of Anglo-Indian administration as well as by those who only expect to find in this volume the biography of a great man.

French Travellers in Turkestan.

COUNT DE CHOLET has written a very interesting book on his tour in Russian Central Asia last year ["Excursion en Turkestan et sur la Frontière Russo-Afghane." Par Le COMTE DE CHOLET. (Paris, Librairie Plon.)]. He saw a good deal of the country, including the districts immediately adjacent to the Afghan frontier, and his work is well worth perusal. We notice in particular on pp. 193-7 a detailed and animated description of the battle on the Kushk, which contains many particulars never published before, although we hesitate to accept them as being strictly accurate. If the book has a fault Count de Cholet will excuse our saying that it is in having been written too much with the view of making everything agreeable and flattering to the Russians, and to thus contribute another stone towards the erection of that unwritten alliance between France and Russia which seems to be the basis of all French policy, and which, whatever its effect as against Germany, must certainly repel if not alienate English sympathy with France by showing that France supports Russian aims and opinions in Asiatic matters.

An Atlas of India.

ALL who are acquainted with the excellent work performed by Mr. Trelawny Saunders during the many years that he served at the India Office will be glad to see and procure the Atlas of India (E. Stanford, Charing Cross) in twelve maps, which he prepared with much trouble for the last Moral and Material Decennial Report in 1885. The India Office is not responsible for the publication of this atlas, which has been produced at the risk and expense of Mr. Stanford alone, but as the atlas represents a much more convenient form than the maps did in their folded state in the Parliamentary Blue Book, it appears reasonable to suppose that there will be a remunerative and steadily increasing demand for this work. The maps themselves are admirable specimens of cartography, and are twelve in number. They are accompanied with explanatory memoirs, and are intended to be illustrative of, *inter alia*, the natural, political, administrative, strategical, linguistic, and physical divisions and distinctions of the Indian peninsula. The map of the Civil Divisions has been enlarged so as to better illustrate some of the facts referred to in the tabular matter. As the result we may fairly congratulate Mr. Trelawny Saunders in his retirement on having published something which will stand as a permanent memorial of his cartographical and geographical contributions to our knowledge of India.

Siam.

SIAM is likely to attract so much increasing attention that we will make no excuse for specially noticing a little work that has just appeared in Paris from the pen of a competent French writer who had the advantage of a long residence in the country. The Abbé Similien Chevillard

has produced in his volume ["Siam et les Siamois." (Paris: Librairie Plon.)] a work which shows intimate knowledge of both the people and the country, and which recalls the literary services rendered by former French writers towards making us better acquainted with the countries of Indo-China. English literature is strikingly deficient in instructive books on Siam. Sir John Bowring's book, interesting as it was, is obsolete, and gives but the slightest sketch of the people and the country. The true facts of the situation may indeed be gathered from consular reports and the files of Eastern papers, but not in anything like the same complete and profitable form as from Abbé Chevillard's volume, which should be widely read for the very reasons given by the author in his introduction, viz., the neighbourhood to Siam of France's young colony of Saigon, the recent war in Tonquin, the protectorate exercised by France over Cambodia and by England over Burmah. Let us add that, if these sentences cover, as they probably do, the pretension of France's equal rights in Siam with ourselves, it will be better for the harmony of both countries that this should be banished as speedily as possible. The English people will not tolerate the creation of a situation in Indo-China similar to that which has been allowed to spring up in Egypt. At the same time let it not be thought that we wish to disparage Abbé Chevillard's work, to the excellence of which we bear the fullest and freest testimony.

Kaye's Lives of Indian Officers.

THE second volume of the late Sir John Kaye's Anglo-Indian biographies is even more interesting than the first, which was noticed in our last number. Among the *Lives of Indian Officers* (W. H. Allen and Co., Waterloo Place) described therein, are to be found detailed and

animated narratives of such adventurous and brilliant careers as those of Sir Alexander Burnes, Arthur Conolly, Eldred Pottinger, D'Arcy Todd, Sir Henry Lawrence, General Neill, and General John Nicholson. It will be admitted that each of these names is deservedly among the most famous in our Indian history, and that taken together it would be difficult to name seven men more distinguished in the military annals of the East India Company. The merit of each is rendered the more conspicuous by the fact that, with the exception of Lawrence and Niell, not one reached his fortieth year. All, with the exception of Eldred Pottinger, who died of fever in China when only thirty-two, fell at the hands of the enemy in one form or other. We cannot imagine any more profitable or interesting reading than this volume of lives which owed their distinction entirely to the energy and heroism of the men themselves, and which are identified with some of the most stirring events in the modern history of the East.

Sir Edwin Arnold's Poems.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD has collected the poems which he had written to the honour of his late wife during a long period of years, and he has published them as a sacred and poetical memorial of her he has lost under the appropriate title of, "*In my Lady's Praise*" (Trübner and Co.). The idea that prompted this step must be allowed to be a pretty one, and the fair things said in melodious verse of Lady Arnold when living, indicate the magnitude of the writer's loss now she is gone. Sir Edwin's verse is always smooth and rhythmic, and many of the poems, inspired as they were by unusual feelings, are singularly sweet, and will rank among the best productions of his muse.

History of the Indian Mutiny.

THE fourth volume of Colonel Malleeson's new and cabinet edition of the "History of the Indian Mutiny" (W. H. Allen and Co.) has been published. It relates to the storming of Delhi, the relief and then the recovery of Lucknow, and to many other events of less tragic interest, but intimately connected with the suppression of the most formidable military revolt in history. Of the suppression of that revolt, Colonel Malleeson says that it was "the greatest achievement the world has ever seen," and we entirely agree with him. Colonel Malleeson gives in his Preface a curious and amusing story illustrative of the historian's difficulties. When writing the original edition of his history he met a distinguished actor in the scenes described, and he asked him to read the chapter relating to the special events in which he had taken part. After his doing so, Colonel Malleeson found, on perusing the notes which he had made in pencil, that he claimed the credit of every one of the gallant deeds recorded, placing opposite the description of each: "This is a mistake; I did this." To sustain this pretension, Colonel Malleeson caustically remarks, "he would have had to be ubiquitous." We cannot add anything to what we have repeatedly said as to the merits, literary and historical, of his standard history of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8.

A Chinese Manual.

THE name of R. K. Douglas on the title-page will be a sufficient guarantee to the reader of the thoroughness of the scholarship, the lucidity of the arrangement, and the appreciative sense of the requirements of the student that are characteristic of this the first Chinese manual ever produced by a London publisher (W. H. Allen and Co.).

Professor Douglas truly says that "the annexation of Burma has, by establishing a new point of contact with China, created a necessity for more widely extended knowledge of Chinese among our civilians and soldiers than at present exists." This manual provides an admirable text-book towards beginning to acquire that knowledge.

A Burmese Manual.

As a sign of the manner in which the great Anglo-Indian publishing firm of W. H. Allen and Co. keep abreast of the time in Oriental matters, nothing could be more conclusive than the appearance of this Burmese manual, or, to give it its full title, "Anglicised Colloquial Burmese, or how to Speak the Language in Three Months," by Lieut. F. A. L. DAVIDSON. In the way of criticism, we do not feel competent to say any more than that the vocabulary seems an exceptionally full one.

* * * Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.
ED. A. Q. R.

THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1889.

THE IMPERIAL BANK OF PERSIA.

It is not difficult to account for the exceptional interest which the Empire of Persia possesses for Englishmen, and indeed for all cultivated inhabitants of the West. The foundations of the authority of its sovereigns were laid far back in history, before the existing kingdoms of Europe had emerged from a state of barbarism. The exploits of its kings, the cities they founded, the armies they commanded, and the catastrophes which befell them, form, or are associated with, some of the most dramatic incidents both in the sacred and the profane record. Through a large cycle of the life of the ancient world Persia filled a conspicuous place in the political hierarchy, and when her power fell before that of Greece she still remained in many departments an influence of great importance; and the interest which surrounded the country seems, so far as recent events can prove it, to be unimpaired at the present day.

Especially in England, with its vast Oriental empire and its myriad interests entwined in the life and political well-being of every Asiatic race, was the Shah of Persia, during his recent visit, an object of sympathy. The acclamations with which he was received, and the welcome accorded to him by all classes of Englishmen, from the Court to the populace, were warmer and more remarkable than

would have been given to princes of far greater power, influencing more nearly the immediate destinies of England. A large part of the interest excited by the Shah may have been due to that national curiosity which has been noticed as an English characteristic by all writers on European sociology. A still larger part was due to the strange flavour of mysterious surroundings and venerable history associated with the Persian monarchy. However much the power and influence of the Shah may have declined, he was still in the eyes of Europe the descendant of the princes who disputed the empire of the world with Alexander the Great. It is true that the modern history of Persia, which hardly dates back three hundred years, is separated by a broad chasm of nearly nine centuries from the ancient empire. For many hundred years after the Arab and Muhammadan conquest of Persia the country had no independent existence and no history worthy of record, but this long and dreary blank in the national life is little regarded by those who are not historians, and it causes little diminution in the imaginative interest which surrounds the present representative of this ancient kingdom. A third and by no means unimportant cause of the sympathy shown towards the Shah in England is found in the popular appreciation of his importance to England.

The political value of the Persian alliance has long been recognized, and it has indeed formed a constant factor in English politics from the time when the first Napoleon was in all quarters of the world employing his influence to destroy the power of England. There are many Western countries to which the Persian alliance is of little or no value; but to the two great European Powers, England and Russia, who divide so large a share of Asia between them, Persia must ever remain an object of especial interest and at no time more than the present has it been the obviously wise policy of England to support the Shah of Persia in the development of his country and in his endeavours to increase its independence and augment

its prosperity. It seems to have been fully admitted by the Shah when he was in this country that the objects of England in her Persian policy were not such as need excite in his Government any sentiment of suspicion or alarm. England has in this direction no designs of conquest, and the policy which she pursued towards the present Amir of Afghanistan in placing him upon the throne and supporting him there when the whole country was at her mercy has clearly demonstrated to the Asiatic world that the interests of England do not demand the acquisition of new territory, but rather the consolidation of existing institutions and the maintenance in greater strength and security of those princes who show themselves capable of administering their ancestral possessions. There is nothing in Persia to excite the cupidity of any English Government, and as Afghanistan, so Persia will be a far more valuable ally to England, and will further her commercial interests more certainly, if she be allowed to work out her salvation by her own methods and under her own chosen dynasty. The present Shah, although he has appeared to the eyes of the Western world a somewhat strange personality, has still for many years past, and especially since his first visit to England, shown a great and increasing desire to rule his country according to a more civilized procedure, and to invoke the aid of the capital of the West to develop its great and latent resources.

The most important step which has been taken by His Majesty to carry into effect these enlightened intentions has been the concession to Baron Julius de Reuter of rights so extended as to constitute in themselves the best hope for the regeneration of the country. These concessions have, with the consent of His Majesty, been transferred to the hands of some of the most powerful financiers in London, and with the full sympathy of the Prime Minister and under a Royal Charter the Imperial Bank of Persia is now being founded, which, if successful in its operations, will altogether transform the

industrial aspects of the country, and give to it an opportunity, which it has never before obtained, of material development, and of entering the community of civilized nations.

An event of this character is of extreme importance in the eyes of those to whom the social progress of the Eastern world is a matter of interest. No one can predict with any certainty how far the operations of the Imperial Bank, with its power of issuing a paper currency and of utilizing the whole of the mineral wealth of the empire, will be successful. It may be that the *vis inertia* of the East, the traditional and hereditary apathy and disinclination to change which seem to belong to all Asiatic races, may prevent, at any rate for some time to come, the accomplishment of all that the promoters of this great undertaking propose. On the other hand, it may be observed that, with the exception of the Armenians, the Persians are perhaps the most actively intelligent of all Asiatic races, possessed of a remarkable subtlety of intellect, and of great activity in business affairs. The Parsees, who are Persian in origin, although they do not accept the teaching of the Koran, which was imposed in the seventh century on the country, form the most intelligent and industrious of the commercial communities of India; and under favourable circumstances there can be little doubt that the Persians of to-day will show to a large extent the same commercial aptitude. In any case, the experiment now being made will attract to itself much hope and sympathy. It will be the best chance that Persia has ever had of breaking through the slovenly traditions of the past and stepping forward with confidence in the road which has been shown to be that of national prosperity.

It is needless to observe that the formation of the Imperial Bank of Persia is in no way intended as an antagonistic step against Russia, whose interests in the country are large and legitimate, acquired by much per-

severance and at much cost. Political questions will be altogether apart from the consideration of the banking corporation, whose operations will be as friendly towards Russia as towards any other country, and will doubtless be productive of very large commercial advantage to Russian trade, seeing that the outlet for the northern districts of Persia must be by the Caspian and Russia, whose commerce will directly benefit by the industrial advancement of Persia. English influence, wherever it is exerted, is in favour of free trade, and it asks for itself neither protection nor any advantages which are not equally offered to all the world, and although, as we know well and see every day, the commercial policy of other nations is more or less Protectionist, and although they desire to obtain the exclusive right to all new markets which they acquire, yet it is not possible for them to say that the British commercial policy is hostile or unfriendly. In the present state of Europe, when so many markets are being closed to English trade, and when the ever-increasing pressure of population is making itself more and more felt; when our colonies are denying to us facilities for emigration and raising Protective tariffs against us on every side, it becomes of supreme importance for this country to acquire by peaceful and legitimate methods a fair field in all the new markets which enterprise and energy are opening up in Asia and Africa. We do not desire to exclude our rivals, and are content with obtaining such a position as to ensure our not being excluded by them.

The concession which was granted to Baron Julius de Reuter on the 30th of January, 1889, signed by the Shah and attested by the British Minister at Teheran, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, has been by him transferred to the founders of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and is a modification of that which was granted by His Imperial Majesty to Baron de Reuter on the 25th of July, 1872. That original concession was never carried into effect owing to various reasons which need not here be detailed, and it has now

been altogether annulled and superseded by the present concession for the Imperial Bank of Persia. The main points of the concession may conveniently be summarized.

In the first place His Imperial Majesty concedes the right for sixty years of establishing a State bank in the Persian Empire under the style and title of the Imperial Bank of Persia, the chief place of business being fixed at Teheran, with branch offices elsewhere in Persia and abroad. The capital of the bank is one hundred million francs (four million sterling), and it is considered to be formed so soon as the first series of one million sterling has been subscribed. The Imperial Bank, as a State bank, has the exclusive right of issuing notes to bearer payable at sight, these notes being accepted by all the agents and employés of the Imperial Government, and a legal tender for all transactions in Persia. It is provided that the Imperial Government shall in no way interfere in the management of the bank, which is perfectly independent so long as it fulfils the conditions under which it is formed. A high officer, who will be termed an Imperial High Commissioner, will be appointed by the Shah to exercise supervision over the bank so far as to see that it is conducted in accordance with the terms of the concession. Beyond this he will not have the right to take cognizance of the management or administration of the bank. Six per cent. of the net profits of the year will be paid to the Government of the Shah, who guarantees protection, military and police, to the head office and its branches, and facilitates its obtaining the necessary buildings and lands for its operations. The bank, its offices and branches, are exempt from every kind of taxation or duty, as also its shares, notes, receipts, cheques, and all documents emanating from the bank in its general business and transactions. Loans required by the Imperial Government may be granted to the amount of one-third of the paid-up capital of the bank on securities fully approved by the institution, the interest for such loans or advances being at the rate of

eight per cent. per annum. Careful provision has been made for arbitration in the case of differences arising between the Persian Government and the bank. Should such arise each party will name an arbitrator, and in case of difference the two arbitrators will appoint an umpire resident in Europe, and if they do not in due course agree and name an umpire, he shall, on the application of either party, be appointed by the President of the State banks of France, Germany, Austria, or Italy, or either of them. This provision, in an autocratic country such as Persia, where the independence of State officials is unknown, is a necessary provision to insure the security of the bank interests in case of any difficulty of a grave and important nature, and the clause in question will probably prevent any such difference arising.

So far as is here indicated, the operations of the bank as a financial agency will be seen to introduce into Persia an entirely new system in commercial undertakings. There has hitherto been no paper currency, and the metal currency, principally in the gold *tomán* and the silver *krán*, has been insufficient and fluctuating. The issue of banknotes will first be on the basis of the silver *krán*, taking into account the exigencies of the actual monetary situation, although the Imperial Bank accepts in principle the introduction of a single standard on the basis of the gold *tomán*. This, however, can only gradually be introduced and maintained, and will form the subject of future negotiations. The want of a paper currency and the great difficulty of the importation and transport of cash in a country like Persia where there are no communications other than horse or mule transport, and where the roads are exceedingly unsafe, have, more than anything else, checked the industrial development of the country, and the establishment of an institution such as that now proposed is an essential preliminary to the commercial undertakings which the bank proposes to inaugurate in addition to its ordinary banking business; for the concession includes the full right to carry on industrial and mining

operations throughout the empire, and it is probable that in the inauguration and control of such enterprises will be found the largest profits to be derived from the establishment of the bank. The first article of the concession allows the bank, in order to develop the commerce and increase the riches of Persia, outside any operations which appertain to it as a financial institution, to undertake all matters financial, commercial, or industrial, which it may think advantageous to this end; and further, the Persian Government grants, throughout the term of the present concession, the exclusive right of working throughout the empire the iron, copper, lead, mercury, coal, petroleum, manganese, borax, and asbestos mines which belong to the State and which have not already been conceded to others. This limitation is of little practical importance as all the mines are the property of the State, and no concessions of any serious importance are understood to have been made, except to license holders whose rights, if desired, may be easily acquired by the bank. Mines of gold, silver, and precious stones are retained by the State, should such be found. All that, at present, we know of important wealth of this character are the rich turquoise mines of Nishárpur, which produce the best turquoises in the world, certain mines of lapis lazuli in the district of Irak, and a certain proportion of silver found both in the districts of Shiraz and Kirmân, though generally in conjunction with lead.

It is not proposed that the bank shall itself carry on the mining and industrial operations to which reference has been above made, but it will be empowered to sell or concede to any concessionaires, all or any part of the privileges and powers which are conveyed to it by the concession. Thus the only direct operation of the bank in this direction would be to prospect and generally test the value of any mining property which it might desire to sell or concede. It will thus be seen that, independently of its financial operations, the Imperial Bank has, in the near future the

prospect of enormous profits from the development of commercial, industrial, and mining schemes throughout the Empire of Persia. Strong in the guarantee of his Imperial Majesty and in the support of the British Government, attested by the Royal Charter which has been granted, the Bank will in time supply those deficiencies which have hitherto retarded Persian progress, and will attract to itself European capital, and will share largely and directly in the advantages to be gained by developing the mineral and commercial wealth of the country.

It will be interesting to consider what is the character and quality of the mineral wealth of Persia. Until a short time ago very little was known of the details of the mineral productions of the country, and even so late as the publication of Sir Charles Macgregor's preliminary Gazetteer of Central Asia, the information at the disposal of the Government was very meagre. At that time, 1871 (and I am not aware that any second and corrected edition of this interesting, though most imperfect, work has been prepared), no regular search had ever been made in Persia for its mineral wealth, and Colonel Macgregor stated that his knowledge on this subject was merely picked up from the scattered notices of various writers on that country. Naphtha he mentions as being found at a spring at the foot of the Bakhtiári Mountains, between Shustar and Rám Hormaz, also near the village of Dalaki in Fárs; sulphur and saltpetre as being in the mountains north of Teherán, and the latter also in the Khalkal district of Azarbijân. Still more important than the above, he refers to the mines of copper, silver, and iron in Azarbijân, Mazándarán, and Kirmân; coal of excellent quality and in any quantity near Shahrud and near the villages of Hir, north-west of Teherán.

Since this meagre information was supplied to the British Government, very careful and elaborate surveys have been made by a distinguished officer, General Houtum Schindler, who has during the last twenty-one years held

various positions of trust under his Imperial Majesty the Shah, and who will probably enter the service of the Imperial Bank. From his reports, and from other unpublished documents, it is gathered that coal, which is the very basis of all industrial advance, and the possession or non-possession of which inevitably decides the position of a modern community in wealth and civilization, is very abundant in the country, is of a very fine quality, and is favourably situated near the principal centres of population. It is indeed near the capital alone (Teherán) that coal is at present worked to any extent, though the difficulties of carriage, the cost of extraction, and the very primitive appliances, are such as to make the price at Teherán, only thirty to fifty miles distant, prohibitive for any but the richer classes. The consequence is that the present output is no more than fifteen thousand tons per annum, although the cost of production at the mine mouth is no more than five shillings to six shillings a ton. A light railway from the mine to Teherán would reduce the present selling price by one-half or two-thirds, as the greater part of the present cost is due to transport.

In the Elburz Mountains, both on their northern and southern slopes, coal is found in considerable quantities; twenty-five mines being mentioned in the Persian Government list, of which some fifteen are now in work. The proprietors or licensees are stated to be desirous of associating themselves with European capital and would offer no objection to largely extended operations.

The principal fuel in use at Teherán at present is wood, and this is entirely due to the great cost of transport of coal from the mines. Other places which are mentioned as producing coal are the hills west of Kazvin and east of Tash; also at Firtzi, north-west of Meshed; in South-western Persia, notably in the Bakhtiári hills, not very far from Isfahán, the capital of the southern districts, and in the neighbourhood of Kirmán. General Schindler further mentions that very good coal was brought to him from the

Gisakun hills, about forty-five miles west of Bushire, where he was told it was abundant. The advantage of the mines situated in the last-named locality is that there would be a constant demand from the steamers calling at Bushire, the trade of which may be expected in the future largely to increase, while its price would be less than one-third that now paid for Welsh coal at the same place.

Iron is not, however, much worked at present, only one small mine in Mazānderān being utilized, and the operations being of the most primitive description. One specially rich in excellent ore is mentioned by General Schindler, containing 70 per cent. of metal, close to Teherān and in conjunction with extensive coal-beds which have not yet been worked. He believes that here would be a most favourable position for starting ironworks on a large scale, which would supply materials for railway construction, iron pipes for gas and waterworks, and other industries which might be expected to be profitable. It is in the Elburz Mountains that iron is chiefly found.

So far as our information at present goes, there is no mountain range which seems to possess greater or more varied mineral wealth, and General Schindler mentions a large number of places where iron of an excellent quality is found, with ore containing from 25 to 50 or even 60 per cent. of metal. Copper is found in numerous places and of excellent quality in Azarbijān, near Astrabad and Teherān, in Khorassan and in Kirmān. Indeed, this valuable metal is distributed very widely throughout the country, and is found in more or less excellence in almost every district. The demand is already a large one, but will be immensely stimulated when scientific working and the reduction in transport have lessened its present price. The smelting process is at present primitive, and the metal obtained too impure and brittle for the fine Persian work. No factories exist for copper plates, and a large quantity is annually imported from England and Russia.

Although most of the mines mentioned by General

Schindler are in the northern provinces, yet he has reason to believe that the southern districts are as rich as those of the north; while the mines are not distant from the principal centres of population. These are, doubtless, the three principal sources of mineral wealth, but lead is also exceedingly abundant. The present demand in Persia is small, estimated at not more than 1,000 tons per annum, and is chiefly for military purposes. The industrial development of the country will, however, quickly cause an increased request for this useful metal; but for some time to come the chief demand will probably be for Russia, where the annual requirements are estimated at 150,000 tons, of which only one-twentieth is supplied by her own mines. The Persian lead mines, situated on the northern slopes of the Elburz, within easy reach of the Caspian ports, could export a large quantity to Russia at most profitable rates.

A good many of the lead ores of Persia contain a profitable percentage of silver, and the most valuable mines mentioned in the official list are situated in the hills of Rey, only a few miles south of Teherán, where the ore contains 53·8 per cent of lead and two ounces of silver per hundredweight. Teherán has thus in its immediate vicinity, coal, iron, copper, and lead in abundance, and is most admirably situated for becoming the future industrial, as it is the political, capital of the country. Of other mineral wealth, mention may be made of borax, manganese, asbestos, and mercury. The last of these is probably the most important, and is principally found in the Afshar district, where, in a pure state, it has been noticed trickling out of the basalt rocks at several different sites. The borax is of excellent quality, and rich manganese ore is obtained about sixty miles from Kirmán. The naphtha is found in several places in the neighbourhood of Bushire and forty-five miles south-west of Shustar. Petroleum is reported as abundant near the coast of the Persian Gulf.

It is difficult to predict what the industrial future of Persia will be, and it cannot be denied that political con-

siderations have greater weight here than in almost any other country in the world. Persia lies between the powerful Asiatic Empires of England and of Russia, and her rulers cannot help sharing the anxiety of the earthenware jar, which floated down the river with its companions of brass. It is impossible that Persia, under such conditions, should have an independent policy; and she must look first to one side and then to the other, to gain the favour or to deprecate the wrath of her powerful neighbours. There is, however, no reason to believe that at the present time, if Persia guides her course with discretion, the Russian Government is animated by any unfriendly intentions towards her; while the peaceful and friendly disposition of the English Government is notorious, and has of late years been sufficiently demonstrated. The Shah has acknowledged it most fully by opening up to through traffic the Karun river, which is the only navigable river in the Empire of Persia, and again by the new concession under which the Imperial Bank has been founded. Unless he had been very sure of the friendly sentiments of England, he would not have placed in the hands of English capitalists such ample powers for controlling his revenues and developing his State.

Whatever the political attitude of Russia hereafter towards Persia or England, and even should our relations with Russia become strained or broken, there is no reason to conclude that the action of Russia would be necessarily hostile towards the Imperial Bank, seeing that no one will draw from it and its operations greater advantages than Russia herself will do. Apart from political considerations, and assuming that Persia will be permitted to enter on the path of commercial development unmolested by outside interference or opposition, there is every hope for the future. But there is much to be done, and the country may at the present time be said to be almost destitute of the most elementary appliances of civilization. Neither roads nor railways exist, and it has almost seemed that the

Persian Government has avoided the task of road-making with the object of making the country less open to invasion.

It will be observed that the construction of railways is not included in the present concession, or in the operations of the bank, and it is very doubtful whether for some time to come any railway in Persia will pay without a guarantee which the State is unable to afford. The population is too scanty and the trade at present too small to hold out much hope of profit on railways, the construction of which would probably be very costly, for it must be remembered that Persia is a network of mountains. Horse communication is, during many parts of the year, exceedingly difficult with some districts. Nor has the absence of artificial lines of communication been compensated for by a natural system of river communication, for Persia is almost a riverless country, and with the exception of the Karun it does not possess a single navigable stream. None of those which exist, such as the Kerkhah, Kizl, Ozan, and Zaindarúd, seem of any importance. In the Karun river, lately opened to traffic, and regarding which an interesting lecture was recently delivered by General Murdoch Smith, before the Society of Arts in London, is the only existing means of penetrating any distance into the interior of Persia with merchandise conveyed at moderate rates. This river, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated, is navigable for steamers as far as Shustar, and is a noble stream, exceeding in size the Tigris or the Euphrates. The banks are well wooded, the depth considerable, the current moderate, and is in fact equally suitable for either steam or other navigation. Already steamers have been placed upon it, and if certain navigation works and the repair of a dam, which is at present out of repair, together with the construction of a short and easy canal to escape the rapids in the higher course of the river, were undertaken, steamers might penetrate a considerable distance further than they are now able to do, and introduce British goods into the heart of the southern districts of Persia.

General Murdoch Smith was very confident that such works would pay, and looked forward to great commercial advantages as the result of the opening of the Karun river to trade. As an illustration of works which the bank might profitably encourage and support, the irrigation and the navigation works on the Karun may be taken as a fair example. Fifty miles below Shustar, the Karun river is obstructed by rocks, in connection with which, up to the thirteenth century, a masonry dam was built, which raised the level of the river, and enabled the whole of the neighbouring district of Ahwaz to be irrigated, and it was then one of the most fertile districts in Persia; it is now waterless and barren. The reconstruction of this dam, with a small canal with locks to enable boats and steamers to go round the obstructions, is estimated by the Persian Government to cost no more than £50,000, which would probably be repaid a hundredfold in the renewed prosperity of the district, which would again obtain abundant irrigation, and in the dues collected on steamers, which would be enabled to go fifty miles higher up the river, discharging their cargoes at a trade centre instead of on the river bank, far from any town. The fifty miles above Ahwaz are among the deepest and most beautiful of the whole course of the Karun river, and offer no obstruction whatever to steam navigation.

It seems impossible to over-estimate the importance which the Imperial Bank may have in the commercial development of Persia. There are no undertakings of any magnitude which it might not encourage, foster, and share. A State bank, with branches in some of the principal European cities, and in all the large towns of Persia, will make a profit on all foreign remittances hitherto laboriously transmitted in cash, and in the same way will profit by the State remittances to the Imperial Treasury from distant cities and provinces. Permitted to share in all commercial undertakings, and with a strict monopoly over the chief mining productions of the Empire, it seems certain that

the Imperial Bank must have a prosperous career before it. The difficulties are no doubt considerable, and it will be some time before so backward a country can be furnished with the appliances of civilized life and abandon the conservative habits and customs both in administration and commerce which have come down by tradition from the times of Xerxes and Darius. But the first steps have been taken, and if only the administration of the bank be conducted with energy and discretion, and if politics be altogether eliminated and disregarded, and the bank insists on being the Imperial Bank of Persia, and not a purely English institution, antagonistic to the sentiment of other countries, it will prove a great success, and to it will belong the credit of the regeneration of Persia.

The assistance and sympathy accorded to it by the English Government cannot fairly be overlooked or forgotten, and indeed to its wise, strong, and generous support is due the successful inauguration of the undertaking and the grant of the Royal Charter, which in the eyes of the world will assure its rights, and attest the friendly sympathy of the Government so far and so long as the bank honestly and faithfully maintains the conditions under which it is called into being. No one takes a greater interest in the fortunes of the Imperial Bank than the distinguished Minister, Sir Henry Drummond-Wolff, who now represents Her Majesty at Teherán, and the sympathy and interest of Englishmen everywhere will follow its efforts, and will encourage its administration to attain the brilliant success which seems, so far as we can judge the future, to lie within its reach.

DIPLOMATICUS.

THE ARMIES OF NATIVE INDIA.

ABOUT ten years ago the armies of the native semi-independent or feudatory states of India first began to attract attention as a possible source of danger and disturbance in that country. In 1878 and 1879 I discussed the subject in more than one of the leading newspapers, and an eminent critic, in describing the views which were formally embodied in a chapter of my "England and Russia in Central Asia," tersely said that the only way of dealing with these bulky and useless armies, was to "end them or mend them." In 1884 I was permitted to review the subject at length in a series of articles in *The Times*, subsequently republished as a book, and now, after ten years' deliberation, the Government of India, in the person of Lord Dufferin, has made an announcement which signifies that its decision is to "mend them." Whether this agreeable and natural solution prove as completely satisfactory to ourselves in its results as the more drastic alternative, time alone can tell; but it must be admitted that the special circumstances which led up to this decision rendered it extremely difficult and, indeed, impossible for the Government of India to do otherwise than to give a prolonged lease to the existence of the feudatory armies of British India.

For it must be noted that the Government of India has not acted in this matter because it thought that it had attained a perfect solution of a difficult problem. But for one incident it cannot be doubted that Lord Dufferin would have left the subject for his successors, just as it had been handed down to him by the viceroys from Lord Mayo; and, as temporizing is an essential element of

English policy in India, it often happens that to leave a problem untouched and ignored is wiser than to take it up and dismiss it half solved. It was the Nizam's celebrated offer, in the autumn of 1887, that brought the whole question of the feudatory armies within the range of practical politics. The Nizam and his advisers, perhaps unwittingly but none the less surely, forced the hands of the Government of India, and gave an unexpected turn to the consideration of a question which would have been continually shelved until the triumphant vindication of British power over Russia rendered any offers to share in the defence of India unimportant and unnecessary. The Nizam's gift implied as much the assertion of a right as the voluntary acceptance of a duty. It could not be ignored, especially as it found imitators throughout the whole extent of India; and the Government of India, under this compulsion, took up the subject of the armies of the Native States, sent an officer on a mission through their territories, and seriously set itself to work to devise some scheme of utilizing and improving the forces they possessed.

With so many other matters of urgent importance before it, the Government of India may not have thought the time convenient for dealing with so weighty a matter, or the matter itself quite ripe for settlement. It has, therefore, dealt with the subject in a tentative manner. Lord Dufferin neither attempted to meet the special exigencies of the case arising from the presence in India of nearly 400,000 soldiers or armed men maintained at a cost of several millions a year, nor did he acquiesce in the particular offer of pecuniary aid by the Nizam. He took a middle course, declaring that it was neither necessary, nor in all respects desirable, to accept pecuniary aid from the Native States, but that the military co-operation of the chiefs with "specially good fighting material in their armies" would be accepted. This mode of treating the subject is a compromise, no doubt, but it at least forms a beginning and a precedent for Lord Dufferin's successors.

The only matter of regret is that in the whole of the late viceroy's speech at Patiala, there is no mention by name of the Nizam, without whose offer it is not too much to say that Lord Dufferin would never have been in a position to deliver that important enunciation of British policy.

We may fairly assume that design rather than chance led to Lord Dufferin selecting the chief and most loyal of the Sikh States as the place for making his announcement on the subject of the feudatory armies in reply to the loyal offers of their leaders. Among the states with "specially good fighting material in their armies" those of the Punjab stand easily pre-eminent, if not absolutely alone. They are at once embraced in the plan of the supreme Government. The experiment of utilizing the native armies is to be commenced with them, and former experience of their co-operation in the Mutiny and during the Afghan War renders it no experiment in the strict sense of the word. To emphasize this fact, while all the selected states are to receive in due course a supply of Snider rifles sufficient for the number of men placed under special drill, the Punjab chiefs are to be presented immediately with a battery of four guns apiece. As the Sikhs are specially included in the new plan of military federation, and given a prominence which their past loyalty and military spirit fully justify, no place could be more appropriate than Patiala for the declaration of our policy. At the same time it must be remembered that this policy has to be applied throughout India, and that its merits will have to be tested in quarters where the local conditions as well as the material of the armies cannot be compared with those in the Punjab. Care will have to be taken not to give umbrage to some of the more important of the Native States which are not placed on the same footing as those of the Punjab or with the same rapidity, but which made their "sincere and generous" offers with the full expectation that they would be accepted, and that by their acceptance they would secure a recognized and honourable place in the

Imperial Defence of India. For that reason alone it would remain matter of regret that their pecuniary aid could not be accepted. It would at least have saved any invidious distinction if their offerings had been constituted a Defence Fund to which the many states not possessing "specially good fighting material" might have honourably and usefully contributed.

Before considering the subject of these armies as they present themselves under their native organization, and as they will be affected by the new policy, it will be advisable to quote the exact words in which Lord Dufferin defined and described that policy.

"And now, before I leave this assembly, I wish to say a few words regarding a subject of the utmost importance. You are all aware that three years ago, when war seemed imminent upon our North-West frontier, the Native princes of India, both in the south and in the north, both Hindus and Mahomedans, came forward in a body to place at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government all the resources of their states. Hostilities were then happily averted, but the feeling shown by the Native chiefs could not be misunderstood, and I am convinced that their attitude in this crisis of our affairs not only created a very favourable impression in England, but produced a very striking effect in other countries. Again last year, the year of the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, the rulers of many Native States seized the opportunity of offering to contribute in a very liberal manner towards the defence of the Empire, and their offers excited universal approval both at home and abroad. Prominent among the princes who came forward on both occasions were the chiefs of the Punjab (the frontier province), who had already stood by the British Government more than once in the hour of trouble, and whose brave troops had fought and bled by the side of their English fellow-subjects. . . . The Government of India has not failed to give earnest attention to the offers of Native princes, and, well knowing them to be as sincere as they were generous, has endeavoured to work out a scheme by which they might be turned to advantage in a manner both gratifying to the princes themselves, and of material value to the Empire. I believe we have succeeded in working out such a scheme, and this Durbar seems to me to afford a fitting opportunity for its public inauguration.

"The Government of India does not think it necessary, nor in all respects desirable, to accept from the Native States of India the pecuniary assistance which they have so freely tendered, but in one very important particular we wish to enlist their co-operation. The armies of the Native States are strong in numbers, but at present of various degrees of efficiency. Among many of them there exist warlike traditions and fine soldierly material, while some already contain regiments well worthy to share in any

active operations which Her Majesty's troops may be called upon to undertake. What we propose in a few words is that we should ask those chiefs who have specially good fighting material in their armies to raise a portion of those armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make them fit to go into action side by side with the Imperial troops. For this purpose some extra exertion will be necessary, as troops in the present day to be thoroughly fit for service require very complete arrangements in the way of arms, transport, equipment, and organization generally; but we shall in no case ask a Native State to maintain a larger force of this description than it can well afford to support, and we do not doubt that under these conditions the chiefs, knowing that the Government has no desire to take undue advantage of their loyalty in order to throw upon them an excessive burden, will be glad of an opportunity of making good their words by providing troops for the defence of the Empire. I trust that the chiefs selected will in any case regard the acceptance of their offers as an honourable distinction; while those whose armies it is not found possible to utilize in the same manner will understand that if they cannot usefully contribute to the fighting strength of the Empire, they can in other ways render services equally meritorious and equally sure to win the approval of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

"To help the chiefs in setting on foot and maintaining the troops selected for service, a few English officers will be appointed as advisers and inspectors. These officers will have their headquarters at some central point in British territory, and will visit the several states in turn. Capable native drill-instructors will be lent to the states from our own regiments. The selected troops will be armed with breechloading weapons presented to the several states by the British Government; these will be carbines for cavalry and Snider rifles for infantry. In addition to this each Punjab chief will receive a battery of four guns. It is hoped that in this way, while each force remains a purely state force recruited in the territories of its chief and serving within them, the troops composing it will gradually be made so efficient as to enable the Imperial Government to use a part of its available resources to meet any external danger. The principal states of the Punjab and others elsewhere have, I am happy to say, expressed their full concurrence in this scheme, and arrangements will be made to carry it into effect as far as they are concerned."

The points which it is necessary to answer, and concerning which the public will desire and need information, are as follows. Which are the states with "specially good fighting material?" How is that definition to be applied to states, such as the Nizam's territory, which have been at peace for the better part of a century? What services, described as meritorious and calculated to gain the approval of the Queen-Empress, can be rendered by those states which are incapable of giving military aid? These general

inquiries lead up to two queries of a more direct and searching character. Why was the offer of pecuniary aid from the various Native States unnecessary and, in some respects, undesirable? What will be the practical addition to our military strength in India of the scheme which has now been officially promulgated?

The nominal returns of armed men or soldiers in the services of the Native princes of India give a numerical strength of about 350,000 men and over 4,000 guns. There is no reason to dispute their accuracy as figures, only the majority of the men are untrained and primitively armed, and the bulk of the artillery is useless except for firing salutes, and dangerous at that. As the population of the Native States exceeds fifty millions, and as it is the duty of the prince to provide many of his subjects and followers with the honourable profession of arms, the total of 350,000 men seems moderate rather than exaggerated. This large, but not excessive, number shows the extent of the field upon which the supreme Government can draw for a reserve force which, if it can never attain the efficiency of the regular army, may in time bear to it some such relation as the *Landwehr* in the German army, or as the forces of the minor princes of that empire do to the Prussian Guard. The value of this source of supply consists quite as much in its magnitude as in the special and superior excellence of certain of its sections. We shall be committing a very great mistake if we think too little of the numerical strength thus added to the sources of our military power and too much of some of its component parts, possessing, like the Sikhs, a fully developed and well-exercised military instinct and spirit. The criticism should not at first be too close or exacting—that it possessed “specially good fighting material”—in arriving at a decision as to whether any state of the first or second rank voluntarily offering to take its place in the military federation of the empire should be accorded the right or not. A too close and precise application of the test would exclude states

of the importance of Mysore and Baroda, and even the powerful Nizam himself might be set aside on the ground that the best fighting material in his army is composed of foreign mercenaries. Such a mode of arguing would do incalculable harm, and would raise a bitter, or at least disappointed, feeling in the majority of the Native States that would not be atoned for by the increased military efficiency of a few whose loyalty to ourselves, moreover, has always been beyond question.

Assuming that the definition of the fighting material at the disposal of the Native States is taken in a broad sense, the chiefs who would be invited * to contribute their quotas may be ranked as follows: the Nizam; the Central Indian chiefs, Scindiah, Holkar, and Bhopal; Mysore and Travancore; the Rajputana princes, Udeypore, Jeypore, Jodpore, and Bhurtpore; the Gaekwar, and the Nawab of Bahawalpore, Cashmere, and last, the four principal Punjab States, Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kaputhalla, although to them must be added the eleven minor Sikh and Mahomedan States of the same province. It is from these states alone as possessing armed forces that may be dignified in any degree with the title of armies that the supreme Government can expect military aid, and to them must be confined the experiment of training a specified portion for the onerous task of engaging in war under modern conditions. We can safely assume that the proportion of this *corps d'elite* to the total of the men kept under arms by each chief will vary greatly as the conditions of race, wealth, and perhaps distance from the frontier support a high or a low ratio. But it must be as strenuously contended that each and all of the states named should find a place in the first ban of the Indian Empire, even though the day should never come when it would be thought prudent to send a Mysore or Travancore regiment across the Indus. The subsidiary duties,

* These lines were written before the arrangements now actually made with all the states were completed. There is no necessity to alter the form.

however meritorious, of remaining in the *arrière* ban of the empire should be left to the remainder of the 120 princes who either receive, or have at some time received, the status or honour conferred by a specified salute.

Taking the states and groups of states in this order, but placing first those of the Punjab because they have been assigned the foremost position in the project of the Indian Government, an attempt may be made to calculate with approximate accuracy what military strength each will bring to the defence of the empire. The total armed forces of the fifteen Punjab States, great and small, amounts to about 18,500 men and 200 guns. If the late Viceroy's present of a battery a state applied equally to Patiala and to Faridkot or Sirmur, it would increase the artillery force of the Punjab by 60 guns, but from the meagre official information supplied it can be gathered that this present will only be given at first to six, or at the most seven, of the principal states. Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha alone account for 11,000 men and 140 guns, and the first-named state contributes considerably more than half this total. Large contingents may fairly be claimed from this quarter, and considering the exceptional military character of the Sikhs, the long-proved loyalty of the chiefs themselves, and the proximity of their states to the frontier, it would not seem an excessive demand upon either their financial or their physical resources if all the Punjab States were together to contribute a contingent of 10,000 trained troops and 30 guns to the defence of India. The proportion in comparison with what can be expected from other states may seem large and almost excessive, but allowing for all the circumstances, the warrior states of India, composed of a race which still takes most pride in following the profession of the sword, should be able to render efficient at least one-half of the men they keep nominally under arms. The quotas placed in the field by Patiala and others during the Mutiny and the last Afghan War show that the number stated is far from being too high, and might even

be styled moderate. Finally, the Punjab contingent would be the addition of a real fighting force to our army. Our training officers will be to blame if it is not within a very few years on a par with the majority of our own Sepoy regiments.

The unqualified opinion that may be hazarded as to the value of the Punjab contingent must become much more diffident when it is a question of the early co-operation of any other state in India. None of the conditions are equally favourable. The inhabitants have not the pride and self-confidence of a semi-military, semi-religious caste; they are indirectly, rather than directly, concerned in the defence of the North-West Frontier, and the forces which they maintain are rarely efficient, and when efficient, generally alien and mercenary. But it would be a mistake to suppose that they do not possess great value, perhaps even greater—if of a different kind—than that allowed to the Punjab principalities; and the policy would be still more short-sighted which would ostentatiously tabulate these principalities as not possessing "specially good fighting material," and therefore as lying outside our plans.

Foremost among these states comes the territory of the Nizam, who is in all the attributes of power the foremost prince of India. Yet at the same time the efficiency of his own army is open to question, and it cannot be said that he controls any particularly excellent fighting material, unless it be the objectionable Arab adventurers. Yet if there is to be a scheme of military federation for India, it would be a farce if the name of the first prince of the country were conspicuous by its absence. We have to consider the general impression produced by our scheme as well as its strict intrinsic merits, and the adhesion of a great state which could not put an efficient regiment in Afghanistan might still count for far more in and out of India than the co-operation of all the Punjab States with their ten regiments of trained soldiers. It would sound

almost a platitude but for the circumlocutory way of meeting the Nizam's offer—a way which has been neither sincere nor statesmanlike—to say that in the federation of the princes of India for the defence of their country the ruler of the Deccan must be assigned the first and foremost place under the Queen-Empress.

In mere numbers the Nizam commands the largest army in India after our own. It is computed to number 8,000 cavalry, 36,000 infantry, and 725 guns. Included in this total is the Arab contingent of about 6,000 men, and all the chiefs and nobles of Hyderabad keep up in addition considerable bands of armed retainers. The problem of utilizing some portion of this large force is exceedingly difficult and complicated, and an effectual reform can only be attained by the Nizam himself deciding to reduce his army to more manageable proportions. In addition to the Nizam's own army, regular and irregular, there is the Hyderabad contingent of 7,000 men and four batteries officered by Englishmen, and paid by us out of the revenues of Berar. That force is at the disposal of the British Government for military operations outside Hyderabad territory, and has been so employed on several occasions. The participation of the Nizam in the defence of India will not be adequately expressed by the reorganization of this section of the Anglo-Indian native army. On the other hand, considering the very large sum already devoted in one form or other to the maintenance of an army from Hyderabad revenues, it would be unreasonable to expect that so far as numbers go the Nizam should provide as large a contingent as the Punjab States. Were the Nizam to be so well advised as to reduce his miscellaneous forces to half their present dimensions, and to render them efficient, he could for the same cost maintain an army that would do credit to his state, and that might provide, in addition to the contingent, a body of 5,000 trained troops towards the defence of the Empire. For doing this he might fairly be accorded in

some new form the honourable title and status of First Prince of the Empire of India.

It may be objected that a considerable number of years must elapse before these forces can be rendered efficient even under the ablest English instructors, and of course the criticism is perfectly sound. But the scheme of Imperial Federation in India must be drawn up on comprehensive and well-ordered lines long before experience will have shown which states are in a position to send disciplined and confident troops to meet an European enemy. The adhesion of each state to the plan of the Government of India should be sufficient to justify its being assigned a certain place and *rôle*, and it would become the first object of every prudent and well-meaning prince to justify the expectations formed from his accepting a responsible and honourable duty. If it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the work to be done and the honourable functions entrusted to the feudatories of the Queen-Empress with regard to those who may be termed princes of the second and third rank, the necessity is still greater in the case of those of the first rank, and particularly of the Nizam. Whether our expectations of military aid from him in the future be doomed to disappointment or not, upon which no one can form a decisive opinion, it is sound policy to accord him in the new federation of India the first and most prominent place.

Passing to the next group, the states of Central India, it is only necessary to consider the three most important of them, Gwalior, Indore, and Bhopal. The two first are Mahratta, and the last is Mahomedan. In wealth and general importance Gwalior unquestionably stands first, and under its late Maharajah it enjoyed the reputation of possessing the best trained army of Feudatory India. Although the prince, who enjoys the name of Scindiah, is a minor, the main lines of his predecessor's policy have been observed and continued in military matters as in others. By treaty stipulations the army of Gwalior should

number 6,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry, and 48 guns, with 500 gunners, but during the late Maharajah's lifetime the armed force considerably exceeded this total. Its efficiency was not the least remarkable feature about it, and Lord Napier of Magdala on inspecting it, declared that it might be favourably compared with our own native regiments. Allowance must be made for the fact that the House of Scindiah has already assigned territory for the military purposes of our government, but considering the resources of the state, its nearer proximity to the exposed frontier than Hyderabad, and that it has of late years maintained an efficient army of double the strength, it does not seem an excessive demand to fix the contingent of Gwalior at 5,000 men of all arms. The late Maharajah held the honorary rank of general in the English army. His adopted son and successor will have increased opportunities of obtaining that honour, and of showing that it has a real significance.

With regard to the second Mahratta State, Indore, which is ruled by Maharajah Holkar, our expectations of military aid must be based on reforms to be carried out under our auspices, and not upon the present condition of his forces. These number 3,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry, and 24 guns; but their efficiency is not very great, and the policy of the Durbar in military matters has long been apathetic. Although Indore is a very wealthy state, it does not seem that the contingent can at first be placed at a higher figure than 2,000 men.

The third important state of Central India is the Mahomedan territory of Bhopal, which, ruled by a princess named the Begum, is allowed to maintain an army of 700 cavalry and 2,200 infantry, besides the usual large number of guns. During the Mutiny, and on earlier occasions, this force was employed in the field on our side, and the best relations have subsisted between Bhopal and the paramount Government. Unfortunately, it is not possible to speak so favourably of Bhopal affairs at the present moment, although it may be

hoped that the cloud will soon pass away. A fair estimate for the force Bhopal should place in special training under English officers is 500 men.

The Gaekwar is a third Mahratta chief, and judged by the test of his salute, he is the first of his race. His territory is not in Central India, and his political relations are carried on through the Government of Bombay. He is a very rich prince, with nearly two million subjects. His army numbers 3,000 horse and 11,000 foot, and he is obliged by treaty to provide us with a contingent of 3,000 mounted soldiers. That provision might be waived in return for his rendering efficient a corps of 2,500 men. That number is really moderate as compared with his two neighbours of the same race, but Baroda has followed a pacific policy for the better part of a century, and has never pretended to keep up the military traditions cherished at Gwalior and Indore.

From the South Indian States, Mysore and Travancore, no important military aid can be expected; but, on account of their historical interest and antiquity, neither should be omitted from the list of federated states for Imperial defence. The former has a population of over four millions, and a revenue of more than a million, out of which it pays us a subsidy of nearly a quarter of a million. The army of the Maharajah consists of two cavalry and three infantry regiments, or under 2,000 men in all. It would probably be gratifying to him to be asked to place 500 of these troops under special training, and it would entail no serious increase of the financial liabilities of a state which is not as prosperous or as fortunately situated as many others of the Indian peninsula.

Travancore, with a population of two and a half millions, and a revenue of £600,000, sustains an armed force of 1,300 men. There is no reason why 500 of these should not also be subjected to a better organization, and the traditions of the Rajah's family are most honourable and friendly.

I may now summarize the important group of states comprised under the name of Rajputana, and the home of

the noblest race in India. The Rajputs are the Normans of India, and among them may be found the military spirit which simplifies discipline and makes an army formidable. At the present moment none of the armies of the Native States are more backward in point of efficiency; but, although their wealth is not commensurate with their pride, the Rajput princes could in the course of a few years render military aid inferior to none in the Empire of India.

The Maharana of Udeypore is allowed by right of lineage the first place among the Rajputs. His revenue is only one-sixteenth of that of the Nizam, but he disposes of an armed force of half the size. He has 6,000 cavalry, 15,000 foot, and 538 guns. The feudal system is in full force throughout Rajputana. Each baron exercises authority over his dependents, and in turn renders military service to the head of the state. The numbers given in the official returns are consequently under, instead of over, the correct total of armed men in each principality. On the other hand, it must be noted that the arms of these men are very primitive, and quite behind the requirements of the age. If the Maharana of Udeypore were to place 2,500 men under special drill, he would supply a fair quota, and at the same time be taking his proper place in the van of India's defenders, and the suggestion may be thrown out that it would be mutually beneficial if his antiquated and useless artillery of 538 guns were surrendered or destroyed in return for the present of a battery of efficient field-pieces.

The Maharajah of Jeypore is the second of the Rajput princes; but in extent of territory, number of subjects, and revenue, he is the first. His army is not so cumbrous as that of Udeypore. It numbers 3,500 cavalry and 10,500 infantry, with 312 guns. He also should contribute a corps of 2,500 men and a small but efficient artillery.

The third Rajput State, Jodhpore, is not essentially different from the two others. Its revenue is probably greater than that of Udeypore, and it maintains an army of 5,600 cavalry, 4,000 foot, and 220 guns. It also should pro-

vide a corps of 2,500 men. There are many reasons why the contingents from these three states should be fixed at the same total.

The Maharajah of Bhurtpore is a Jat rather than a Rajput, but he is in the same political division as the three states named. His army consists of 1,500 cavalry and 8,500 infantry, with 38 guns. From him also a contingent of 2,500 men might reasonably be expected. The four Rajput States should therefore provide an efficient contingent of 10,000 men, raised from the most warlike and finest race in India.

Only two states remain for consideration. One is the Mahomedan principality of Bahawalpur, situated at a point of great importance in the south of the Punjab, and ruled by a Nawab. It has cavalry of less than 400 men, and infantry of about 2,500 men. It appears that there would be little difficulty in rendering the whole of this force efficient, but a commencement might be made with half of it, or 1,500 men.

Lastly, there is Cashmere, which maintains an army of nominally 27,000 men. There is no doubt that this is in excess of what the state can bear, and the preliminary reform here should partake of the nature of a reduction. As the Maharajah controls a very considerable revenue, and as he occupies one of the salient points of the North-West Frontier, his quota should not be fixed at less than 5,000 men. Its garrison work at Gilgit, in Ladakh, and opposite Kunjut, should supply it with exceptional opportunities of acquiring experience in mountain locomotion if not in absolute warfare.

With this, the dry but necessary enumeration of the estimated forces which the chiefs of India could specially drill and bring into battle reaches a termination. The total from north to south reads at 42,500 men,* and as it is implied that they would be brought to the level of our

* The arrangements already completed only provide for 30,000 men, but several states remain for future consideration.

own native regiments, the augmentation of the Anglo-Indian army by that number would mean the substantial increase of the forces that could be arrayed in the first line against any invader of India. The addition to our strength from acquiring the control of such a body of trained soldiers would be really far greater than from our taking over, as writers in the Russian *Viedimosti*, and *Novoye Vremya* imagine we have done, the present cumbrous and undisciplined forces of the Native States, amounting to ten times the number that could or ought to be trained. The indirect advantages accruing from the existence of such a contingent would not be less than the direct. The presence of the trained regiments at the front serving under the personal command in many instances of their chiefs would be the gage of the tranquillity of the states themselves, and would provide the opportunity for, and arouse a spirit of emulation among the rest of the native armies to render those services which the late Viceroy described as not less meritorious. What those services would be is not doubtful. They would consist first in the maintenance of order, and in the evidence of perfect and unwavering loyalty to the British Crown, and secondly in the consequent release of a very large portion of the Anglo-Indian garrison from unnecessary duties, once it is established that the armies of the Native States have not to be watched, but are with us in the same camp. It was to this fact, I make no doubt, that the intelligent Russian officer, Colonel Timler, a translation of whose interesting letters on his tour in India has appeared in the *Allahabad Pioneer*, chiefly referred, when he wrote that "English rule in India has lately struck out so many deep roots, that to disturb it would be far from an easy task."

As some doubt may be felt whether the suggested levy of trained troops from the main body of the Native States is not based on our own wishes and expectations, and not on the inclinations of the chiefs themselves, it may be advisable to point out that several whom the Viceroy's

invitation apparently had not reached have come forward with offers of military aid, to be rendered in the form stipulated for by Lord Dufferin. Nor are these among the least important. They include a first-class state like Cashmere, Bhurtpore and Bahawalpur, while it is impossible to remain blind to the ostentatious review of the Nizam's own troops by the Duke of Connaught, and to his Royal Highness's emphatic declaration that they were worthy to fight beside ours in defence of the common empire. The most sceptical have no room for supposing that there is any backwardness on the part of the states in rendering this service. We have, no doubt, a difficult task before us in reconciling prejudices and removing jealousies, but it really depends on our tact and energy alone whether the military aid of the Native States becomes valuable against a European opponent. If there is failure, the blame assuredly will rest upon ourselves.

At the same time there is no possibility of denying that we have taken in hand the solution of a very difficult problem; and, as we have partly preferred of our own choice and partly been induced to select a solvent by compromise, the fact that the Government of India has added unnecessarily to the difficulty of its task becomes all the more remarkable. That it has so added by refusing the offers of substantial pecuniary aid made first by the Nizam, and afterwards by all the most important princes of India, does not require demonstration. As it has taken aid in the shape of money from the same states—for cession of territory or subsidies to pay troops under our control is the same thing—over and over again, and is doing so at the present moment, there was no reason, so far as precedent goes, why the Nizam's offer of sixty lakhs should have been declined. It becomes all the more difficult to imagine the grounds on which Lord Dufferin pronounced the pecuniary aid of the native chiefs to be "unnecessary and in some respects undesirable." Of course it has been said, and with every appearance of confidence and intimate

knowledge, that the Nizam's offer was in some sinister respect connected with commercial undertakings and the exploitation of Hyderabad. But the Government of India must have been too well-informed as to the genesis of the offer, to repose any belief in a statement which was destitute of foundation. The condition of the finances of India is a sufficient refutation of the assertion that the pecuniary aid of the Native States was unnecessary, for they can scarcely bear the burden imposed upon them at the present time, and as the burden must increase, and as the opium trade shows symptoms of continued decline, it follows that fresh sources of revenue must be found. Where, I ask, can they be discovered, except by making the chiefs of Feudatory India, with subjects of 50 millions, and revenues of certainly 15, and probably 20 millions sterling, bear a larger share in defraying the expenses of empire and security? That the offer freely made by the Nizam should in any way be described as "undesirable," almost savours of brusqueness, and seems to show an undue and excessive timidity on the part of the Indian executive lest its policy might be turned to illicit ends by individuals or administrations.

There can also be no doubt that so far as the selfish interests of the British Government are concerned the pecuniary aid of the Native States would have been more useful and attended with fewer disadvantages than their military co-operation. An addition to the funds out of which the regular garrison is paid and could be increased, strategical railways constructed and efficient schemes of frontier defence put into practical execution, would be an immediate aid. The assistance furnished by contingents that have yet to be armed and disciplined is certainly not immediate, and might even be described as remote. If the danger of foreign invasion against which they are intended to provide were to become imminent the willingness of the Native States to render military aid would count for nothing practically, as their armies are not in their present condition

suited to oppose any European troops. In taking the course that has been done we have shown considerable confidence in assuming that events will wait upon our convenience, and that time will be granted us to train and bring into line with our own troops the contingents of the feudatories or of a considerable part of them. At the least it must be urged that having deliberately chosen the slower method no delay will be shown in commencing the task of organizing these troops, and in assigning them their proper place among the defenders of India.

There is one feature of the change as affecting the Native States themselves upon which a few words may be said. We are going to provide instructors for each contingent in the shape of English officers and non-commissioned officers from our Sepoy regiments. So far as is at present arranged their services will be lent, and therefore temporary. It may be assumed that on the general inspecting each district reporting that the troops of a state have reached a certain standard, the instructors, European and native, will be withdrawn. Whether any native troops can maintain a high degree of efficiency without the permanent presence of English officers need not be discussed, but there is another question which cannot be laid on one side. Besides the small cadre of Anglo-Indian officers the bulk of the officers in these armies must be drawn from the chiefs themselves and their principal nobles or followers. The material thus offered is both excellent and abundant, but it only exists at present in the raw state. If the armies are to be made efficient, and still more if their chiefs are to take pride in them, some scheme must be devised for providing a military academy in which the aristocracy of feudatory India may obtain a military education that will render them capable leaders of trained troops. The Duke of Connaught is understood to take a great interest in this question, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to give practical effect to his idea of establishing an Indian Sandhurst. Chiefs' Colleges have already been founded and have worked with

good effect in Central India and the Punjab, although so strong a connecting link and impulse did not exist among their students as are supplied by a common military training and career. Differences of race and religion may retard, or render unadvisable, the creation of a single Sandhurst for native India, but military academies for the noble classes in the principal states are essential to the success of our schemes of reorganization.

Another point of detail is associated with the employment of foreign mercenaries, such as the Arabs at Hyderabad, and the Afghan, Belooch, and other alien adventurers to be found in every capital of India. These men undoubtedly furnish exceptional fighting material, and although they have been on several occasions a cause of turbulence and anxiety it would be a pity if we were to lose so valuable an element of military strength, provided it can be reduced to discipline and cohesion. Somewhat similar considerations are involved in regard to the greater utilization of the forces disposed of by Beloochistan and Nepaul. Beloochistan has become of late years as much a feudatory state of India as any of the territories lying east of the Indus, and the forces which the Khan and his tributaries dispose of are far from being few in number or unwarlike in spirit. The few Belooch regiments in our service have earned a good name, and Ferrier, the French traveller, who knew the Belooches and Afghans well, has expatiated with apparent justice on their military excellence. Although there is reason to believe that Beloochistan is not included within the scope of our present plans, it will be much to be regretted if steps are not taken to utilize more extensively than we do at present the valuable recruiting ground supplied by the Khan of Khelat's subjects. With regard to Nepaul we must mainly expect increased facilities in procuring recruits for our Goorkha regiments, while the knowledge of what was done by the Khatmandu Durbar in the way of active co-operation during the crisis of the Mutiny should ensure for any voluntary offer from the Nepaulese administration as cordial

a reception as if it came from Patiala or Hyderabad. It must be remembered that of all the races in India, the Sikh, the Goorkha, the Afghan, and the Belooch stand pre-eminent for military spirit and physical strength, and if authorities differ as to their order of merit none will dispute that each and all provide meritorious soldiers.

In conclusion, it only remains to summarize the advantages that accrue to us from utilizing the armies of the Native States. First of all, we attach to our side, by a stronger link than had previously existed, the chiefs of 400,000 armed men, and we associate them with us in a common task, viz., the defence of the Indian Peninsula against Russia. That may be termed a sentimental advantage, but sentiment often counts for more than is allowed to it. But we obtain more than sentimental advantages. The gradual addition of over 40,000 trained troops to the comparatively speaking small garrison of British India would be a great practical gain if it stood by itself, but its significance is immensely increased by the fact that the employment of that force at the front, and the general utilization of the remaining untrained forces of the chiefs in maintaining tranquillity, will relieve at least forty thousand Anglo-Indian troops from garrison duties which have hitherto prevented their being placed in the first line of the army defending India. The addition of that body to the Anglo-Indian army will raise the garrison of India to the very respectable total of 250,000 trained troops, English and native, independent of the reinforcements that could be sent from Europe and of any allies we might have outside India. Another advantage would arise in our own recruiting, from obtaining a hold on some of the naturally most warlike races, such as the Rajputs, who will deem our service more congenial and honourable when they see their own chiefs co-operating with us and openly taking an assigned place in the Imperial army. The contingents I have named would, with rare exceptions, be composed of men of high military spirit. We should be mainly respon-

sible for their acquiring the necessary military discipline and knowledge, but that granted, they would constitute a force which might be trusted to take a useful and honourable place beside ourselves in the defence of India.

The advantages, therefore, are twofold. We have adopted a course which promises to convert an element of danger to our rule, and of disturbance in India, into one of strength and tranquillity. It is no doubt a bold course, showing confidence in ourselves, and a conviction that the people of India who are entitled to be considered will appreciate the motives of our action, which is not dictated by fear, but solely by a desire to utilize all the resources of India for the benefit of that country. Incidentally we are contributing to the solution of another problem, viz., the providing of honourable and congenial employment for a large section of the inhabitants of India, who are brought up amid traditions of military honour and pursuits. It is well for our statesmen at home and in India to be constantly reminded that the India of the Bengalis is an unsubstantial dream raised up by our educational system, and that the real India is a congeries of warlike and ambitious states, repressed now by the *Pax Britannica*, but containing within them all the essential elements for again forming Mogul empires, Maratha and Sikh kingdoms. To enlist their warlike sympathies and their ambition in the execution of a scheme aiming at the defeat of the only possible danger which can shake our predominance would be a remarkable feat of statesmanship. We have governed India for thirty years under existing conditions without their aid, and our distribution of troops has been based on the supposition that they might even be hostile, or to put it in other words, that the native armies might refuse to obey their chiefs. In the same period the danger of a Russian attack from Central Asia, which was visionary at the time of the Mutiny, has come within the range of practical politics. No one would have been so bold as to predict that the latter event would be accompanied by the establishment of a closer bond

between the Native Courts and ourselves, and still less that the Feudatory States would show a keen desire to participate in the burden and the glory of a common patriotism. A wave of enthusiasm seems to have infected the Native States in emulation of the example set by the Nizam in the autumn of 1887, and it only remains for us to turn it into the right path, and to give useful effect to so much zeal. In comparison with the guarantee afforded by Feudatory India being at one accord with British India on the subject of a foreign invasion, the addition of 40,000 trained troops to our forces, important as it is, sinks into insignificance.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

NOT long ago a prize of fifty pounds was offered for the best essay which should be submitted on the subject of imperial federation—a premium scarcely in due proportion to the magnitude and importance of the theme propounded. An essay of any practical value on that great argument would surely be cheap at ten times the amount offered, while one which should establish the feasibility of the idea, and unfold a working scheme for its attainment, might well be considered priceless; and we venture to think that, fifty years hence, when our vast dependencies shall either be linked with ourselves in an indissoluble and impregnable union, as the pious federationist hopes, or shall have drifted away into separate greatness, men will possibly wonder that fifty pounds were once deemed an adequate reward for an essay on a topic so momentous.

For in sooth the idea of imperial federation is undoubtedly a profoundly fascinating conception to the patriotic mind. It is difficult to imagine any lover of his country dead to its glamour, and indifferent to the entrancing vision of an England permanently retaining and consolidating with herself those vast possessions which are at once the envy and the wonder of the world. Compacted together with these, say the votaries of federation, the empire could defy the world in arms; shorn of them, England would be indeed "the Niobe of nations," reft of her prestige in the councils of the world, crippled in her commerce, isolated in her position, and reduced to political insignificance. With India and our colonies at our back, we need fear no hostile combination; we need depend on no alliance; we could smile at the threat of isolation, for

how isolate a power which is everywhere, a might which is ubiquitous?

No surer proof could be found of the priceless potential results of such a consolidation than in the feelings which its very name awakens in the breasts of some of our good friends on the mainland. A recent number of a leading Parisian review contained an article on the subject, which showed how clearly the French perceive that the accomplishment of that grand idea would be the knell of all possible combination against England, would erect us into the position of the greatest Power on the globe, and secure us from every conceivable danger. The writer palpably quails at the bare idea of such a wondrous consummation, and frankly admits that if that could be effected, the British Empire, instead of verging to its close, would be but entering on a more glorious and extended career, and, for purposes, let us say, of "defence, not defiance," would be unassailable by any imaginable combination of foes.

Again, during the Russo-Afghan scare, and the troubles of the Soudan, Englishmen resident abroad were struck by the profound impression produced in foreign countries by the grand attachment of our colonies to the mother country, and the no less grand devotion of our Indian Empire. This impression, moreover, was immeasurably deepened by the fact that it was a total and startling surprise, inasmuch as the very opposite of that happy condition of things had been generally supposed to exist. Foreigners almost universally believed, and asserted their belief, that our colonies were ripe for separation, and that India was panting to be free; that at the first strain which might occur in our relations with the former, they would abandon us; and that at the first blast of a Cossack clarion on the Hindoo Khoosh, India would spring at our throats, and, leagued with Russia, shake off our hated rule—but no! to paraphrase the well-known line, one touch of danger made the empire kin; and Europe found to her amazement that there was not one England, but many Englands, and

that the isolation of Great Britain had become an impossibility and an unmeaning phrase. It would be well if England herself should duly appreciate the inestimable advantage thus so clearly discerned by the "contemporaneous posterity" of foreign countries; and, casting off her cold and clammy indifference, would do all that in her lies to secure and consolidate the unity of the empire by a sympathetic and sagacious attitude towards its distant parts.

The question, however, remains as yet unsolved—Is such a federation possible? Is it practicable to weld England and her numerous dependencies into a single mighty confederation which shall hold together durably, and successfully withstand all the shocks and strains which might be brought to bear upon it by geographical distance, conflicting interests, and the developing population and resources of its component parts?

It is a significant circumstance that even the most ardent advocates of the idea have as yet refrained from the attempt to formulate any working scheme for its attainment, or to grapple at close quarters with the many thorny difficulties which beset the question; while there are some who hold that even if these difficulties were surmounted, the result, instead of proving advantageous to Britain, would be disastrous to her, and would in fact prove a sort of *Franckenstein's monster* which would produce, not the aggrandizement of England, but her political extinction. As recently observed by a writer in the *North American Review*, "If an imperial federation were established, it would necessarily assume one of two forms; it must either resemble the original union of the thirteen American colonies prior to the adoption of the federal constitution of 1787, or it must resemble the present American union as it has existed subsequently to that period. Now the original union was a mere alliance of independent sovereign States, none of which could be constitutionally coerced, with a central apology for a government, unable to raise

men or money, and possessing no real sanction, authority, or power." Such an invertebrate and impotent organization would, in the writer's opinion, be obviously futile, and could not possibly work; while, if a true federal union were established, similar to that of the United States, the reviewer holds that the result would in time prove fatal to England herself, inasmuch as in that case one or other of the two following things would necessarily ensue—first, either England would rule the whole federal empire, and the British dog would then wag a splendid tail indeed; but this would be a state of things which the outlying parts would not long submit to, especially when they grew in population and consequent power; in which case—and this would be the sole possible alternative—a new federal government, constructed *ad hoc*, would rule the whole federal empire, including England herself. "England would thus cease to be a sovereign State, and would become but a single unit in a world-wide federal empire; and not only that, but a unit which would gradually but surely decline in relation to the other units; they must increase, she would proportionately decrease; and when the outlying parts of the empire numbered together fifty millions or a hundred millions of inhabitants, and so on, while England had but thirty millions or forty millions, she would necessarily be relegated to a subordinate position in the group;" and then the tail would wag the dog.

There are some who hold that even if the result eventually took this form, it would not do so for a long time to come, and that when it did arrive, it might possibly be better for England to be gradually overshadowed, and ultimately even absorbed by her own offspring, and so eventually attain to a sort of political *Nirvana* in the bosom of the Anglo-Saxon stock, than swiftly to sink into comparative insignificance apart from it; while in the meantime she might, by a sagacious and conciliatory attitude now, secure for herself at once the hegemony and the material support of her political children, and, flanked by

a powerful and enlightened India of her own creation, might defy all possible hostile combinations.

However these things may be, and leaving it for the present to political specialists to puzzle out the possibilities of the future, even if a true and strict federation be unattainable or undesirable, there remains to be considered the possibility of accomplishing that moral federation, that welding together of the aims and interests of England and her dependencies, which would for all practical purposes make them and keep them an undivided empire—at least, for a long time to come. As Turgot said, "Wise and happy will be that nation which shall know how to bend to circumstances, and shall consent to see in its colonies allies and not subjects;" so, if we cannot get imperial federation strictly and properly so called, let us at least try to get the next best thing to it, whatever that may be. If it be feasible and desirable to establish some sort of *Zollverein* in conjunction with our various dependencies, as is held by some intelligent thinkers, let us aim at that; and if that be not feasible or desirable, let us at least endeavour to establish some sort of *Schutzverein* in connection with them, some friendly and durable alliance with them, so that they may be, and continue to be, not only our friends, but the friends of our friends and the foes of our foes, for many a day to come; and the best way to help towards the attainment of this result is to wish for it, and to tell our colonial brethren that we wish for it, not to fold our hands in a flabby indifference to the matter, still less to sneer it down as an impracticable chimera.

One of the first things which we have to do towards this end is to get rid of our Olympian self-satisfaction, and to bear in mind that we have quite as much to gain from union with our colonies as they have; nay, that in another generation it might be ours to sue, and possibly sue in vain, for this connection. We ought to cultivate the wholesome habit of regarding these magnificent dependen-

cies as being just about the thing which we have most reason to be proud of, as indeed the other nations of the world actually do regard them; and we should study to secure and to retain their affection and good-will by all the means at our command. At present they may be, as regards resources and population, "small and of no reputation;" but they will not long be so. At present their auxiliary war contingents may be slender, and significant solely as symbolical of a friendly sentiment; but in the brief course of another generation these dependencies will be populous and powerful, and their military and naval co-operation will be decisive of the gravest issues. Our travellers must cease their supercilious sneers, and our novelists must forego the satisfaction of drawing their types of vulgarity or "bad form" from Australia and Canada. We must cultivate habitual respect for communities which so well deserve it; and, in fine, we must endeavour to form the habit so wisely recommended by Professor Seeley, of regarding our trans-oceanic possessions as part and parcel of our empire just as much as Devonshire or Caithness, and our brethren across the sea as our countrymen just as much as the men of Kent or Cornwall.

Then again—for there is much in names, despite the adage—we should adopt the statesmanlike suggestion of Sir Henry Parkes, that the patronizing and unpalatable designation of "colonies" should no longer be applied to our vast Australasian possessions, and that they should henceforth be known as "the British States of Australasia," unless they shortly erect themselves, after the example of Canada, into an Australasian Dominion. Rightly or wrongly, reasonably or the reverse, the term "colony" has come to be disliked; and in truth it has about it a certain smack of inferiority which the peoples of those great regions are not unnaturally averse to. It is becoming too infantile and pupillary to be suitable to their vast area and growing development; and they are undoubtedly entitled to a designation at once more dig-

nified and more expressive of political equality with the parent country, if not, indeed, political identity with it.*

The only fault of Sir Henry's suggestion is that it does not go far enough, inasmuch as several of the component territories of the group have been from the first peculiarly unfortunate in their baptism, and the present would be a very good time for revising the whole subject. The inconvenience involved in change of name is one which increases enormously the longer the change is deferred, and therefore the sooner Australasia reforms her nomenclature the better. Van Dieman's Land wisely became Tasmania at an early stage of her career. It took some time to familiarize the new and tasteful designation, but now it sits naturally and gracefully upon her.

To take first New South Wales. This is surely no suitable appellation for a vast region which at no distant time will be a great and powerful State. Why should such a tract bear for all time the name of an insignificant section of Great Britain, with which, moreover, it has absolutely nothing in common, whether as regards extent, or climate, or physical configuration? Surely a better title could be found for it; and the sooner it is found the better. The very fact of its consisting of three separate words, and of its forming almost a sentence in itself, is sufficient to condemn it.

Similarly, South Australia and Western Australia are but feeble designations, while one of them is an absolute misnomer; and they should forthwith be improved upon. In the case of the former of these two, the designation is positively inaccurate and absurd, since that great colony extends to the extreme north of the island-continent, and therefore it is in point of fact no more correct to call it South Australia than it would be to call it North Australia; while a great portion of the adjoining colony of Victoria

* "Πᾶσα Ἀνατολή ἐστὶ μὲν μετὰ τὴν γῆν περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀδικουμένη δὲ ἀλλοτριότητι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τῆς ὁμοῦ τοῖς λαοποιήσεσσι ὡς αἰσχροπύρου" (*Thucydides, "Pelop. War,"* l. 34).

actually lies considerably to the south of the most southern part of that misnamed South Australia! But independently of this geographical anomaly, these names are at the best but poor and colourless as titles for great political divisions of territory. It is precisely as if Italy had no more expressive name than that of South Europe, and France possessed no more distinctive title than that of Western Europe.

But of all the infelicitous designations of the group the worst is that of New Zealand. What a name for that great country to go down into the future with! When, at no remote time, the splendid islands which now bear that poor and unsuitable designation shall be occupied by a great population of British blood, and shall form a great and powerful portion, or offshoot, of the British Empire, how incongruous would their present name appear! Why New Zealand? Why should the land for ever bear the memory of its Dutch discovery? What is Old Zealand? An obscure corner of an obscure foreign country in Europe. If it be thought desirable to retain the word Zealand—and its etymology is not inappropriate, the ocean-land—call the group Zealandia; call it Great Zealand; call it anything but New Zealand. There is much to be said in favour of the classic forms ending in "a," which lend themselves with a peculiar grace to the nomenclature of countries. Already we have Tasmania, Victoria, Australia itself, to say nothing of America, Austria, and many more; so Zealandia might do. But, better still, these islands are nearly antipodal to Great Britain; they are almost identical with Britain in their area; their climate is a British climate glorified; every product of Britain there flourishes exuberantly; they are obviously destined to be occupied by a people of essentially British race and type. Why, not, then, call the group New Britain, or even South Britain? It is true that by a strange blunder, or, as it were, by the irony of chance, the name New Britain is already appropriated, and most inappropriately so, by an insignificant spot in the Pacific; but surely it would not be difficult to change the

name of this latter, and confer its present glorious name on that great and interesting group which is so eminently fitted for it by position, by climate, by population, and by the great and important future which unquestionably awaits it ; while if it be true that the present New Britain is likely to be included, or actually has been included, among the recent colonial acquisitions of a certain foreign Power, surely this should constitute an additional and cogent reason for securing for New Zealand that cherished name, or perhaps even the fuller form of New Great Britain.*

So long as these splendid jewels adorn the British crown, surely the style and title of the Sovereign ought to mention them expressly among the regions ruled by England. There seems a sort of impertinence in our omission of those vast territories from all notice in the designation of the empire, while their explicit inclusion therein might possibly contribute in no inconsiderable degree to the growth of that sentiment of unity which Professor Seeley has so emphatically enjoined upon us ; and seeing that India has, and most properly, been included by name in the title of our Sovereign, the same should undoubtedly be done for our still greater possessions in America and Australasia, to say nothing of Africa.

As to the flag, surely it ought to be superfluous to urge that the banner of all parts of the empire should be the brave old flag of England.

Every exertion should be made to induce our outlying States to contribute towards the defence of the common empire, or rather to encourage and develop the efforts which they have already initiated in that direction. Canadian and Australian youths should not only be qualified to hold commissions in the imperial army and navy, but a certain number of appointments should be expressly reserved for their acceptance, and every reason-

* These suggestions on colonial nomenclature are for the most part reproduced from a letter which appeared not long ago in the *London Times* from the pen of the present writer.

able effort should be made to encourage them to enter these services, and to facilitate their doing so.

It might also be at once graceful and easy to devise some complimentary acknowledgment of the military ardour of Australia on a late occasion, by the formation of a force in that country, to be permanently incorporated in the armies of the empire, under some such commemorative title as the "Loyal Australians," in the same manner as, some years ago, the body of men which now forms the first battalion of the Leinster Regiment, or "Royal Canadians," was raised in Canada.

Lastly, titles, orders, and decorations might probably be with advantage conferred much more freely than it has hitherto been the practice to do on eminent and meritorious inhabitants of our distant States. We learn from Lecky that shortly after the Restoration Charles the Second created no less than thirteen baronets among the leading men of the single island of Barbadoes; yet it is questionable if in our time we have up to the present moment created more than half that number from among the inhabitants of all our colonies put together. Surely some increased liberality in this respect might wisely be adopted; while with a view to fostering the sentiment of community of empire, all such honorary distinctions should be essentially British or imperial in their character, since no policy could well be worse than that of instituting separate and local decorations, orders, badges, or flags, for use in our trans-oceanic States, unless our aim be, as indeed it too often seems to have been, to pave the way for separation.

Austere philosophers, contemplating all things human and divine by the *siccum lumen* of pure reason, may flout all these things as trifles, but trifles rule mankind; and it is possible to be too wise. A coronet has attractions even for the poet and the sage, and a ribbon is dear to the warrior.

The above are but a few considerations of some of the things, in themselves trivial in appearance, but likely to

be potent in operation, all of them just, and all of them easy and inexpensive, which might be thought of as aids to imperial consolidation. If nothing else, they would be proofs that we desire that grand consummation; and the mere desire might form a step towards its attainment. For heaven's sake let us do something; let us remember two things: first, that by our folly in the past we have already lost one vast colonial empire; and secondly, that if, by fresh folly or culpable apathy, now or in the future, we lose that which still remains to us, this planet does not afford the means of replacing it, and we should lament its loss vainly and too late.

No aspirations for the consolidation of our imperial power, no speculations on this great and complex subject, could be complete which should omit the consideration of India. The difficulties which beset the problem are in this quarter undoubtedly far greater than they are with reference to our colonies; nevertheless, to overlook India in our visions of imperial consolidation is impossible. Without her colonies England might doubtless exist after a fashion; shorn of her magnificent empire in the East, her glory would be virtually extinguished.

It would seem that comparatively few Englishmen realize the extent to which our position as a power in the world is bound up in the possession of that vast and brilliant dependency; fewer still seem capable of imagining what the retention of it may raise us to in the future if only we act well our part. For one thing, and without advertng here to countless other advantages direct and indirect too obvious to require specification, India is unquestionably capable of lifting us into the position almost of a first-class military Power; and she will assuredly do so ere long if we administer her affairs with ordinary wisdom and generosity.

That great region, with its numerous hardy and warlike races, affords us a practically inexhaustible recruiting field, whence we can at pleasure draw soldiers of varied nation-

ality and of proved bravery, who, adequately officered and properly armed, are capable of encountering any enemy, as indeed they have already, and often with at least temporary success encountered our own battalions, before we effected their subjugation, and when they had not, as now they have, the tremendous advantage of being led by British officers, armed with British rifles, trained by British discipline, and flanked by British troops.

For the benefit of inaccurate or forgetful observers of history, as well as in order to confront any possible scepticism as to the mettle of our Indian soldiery, it may be convenient here to cite one or two authentic examples of it, culled from comparatively recent records. At Ferozeshah and Sobraon and Chillianwalla, battles, two of them at least, more sanguinary than any which occurred in the Crimean War, the Sikhs, untrained, unarmed, unled by us, and not greatly more numerous than ourselves, very nearly defeated us; nay, at Chillianwalla they did virtually defeat us, for after inflicting upon us an appalling slaughter, and capturing some of our guns and standards, they occupied in the night the position on which we had fought during the engagement, and fired a royal salute in honour of their success, while in that desperate battle the Khalsa horse in their tempestuous onset temporarily overthrew some of our most renowned English squadrons.

So in the great Mutiny in 1857-58, and in the prolonged and arduous operations which succeeded it, the revolted Sepoys, though demoralized by military crime, bereft of British officers, and destitute of leaders worthy of the name, kept the field against us for the better part of two years, and on many occasions offered a desperate resistance to the flower of the English army. If these troops, labouring under all these disadvantages, could offer such resistance to ourselves, why should any person for a moment doubt their capacity to confront Cossacks or Russians, or any other foe, when disciplined and armed and led by us, and cheered by the animating knowledge

that they are fighting by the side of our own battalions?

Then again, as Professor Seeley has so well reminded us, the Mutiny itself was not suppressed by us alone, but by us largely aided by faithful native troops. In our high and mighty Olympian way we always talk and write of that terrific insurrection as having been quelled by us, that is to say by the unaided prowess of the few British soldiers who were then in India; and yet, in point of fact, there was scarcely an action of any importance fought in that protracted and stubborn contest in which our forces were not largely, if not mainly, composed of natives, and in which we could possibly have succeeded without that support.

At the siege of Delhi, of the gallant men who for three months besieged and ultimately stormed the place, it is believed that considerably more than half were natives. Native soldiers occupied some of the foremost posts of danger and of honour in the arduous and memorable siege; as witness the Goorkhas at the deadly position known as Hindoo Rao's House, which they are said to have insisted on maintaining to the last, scorning all relief, and amid the battered ruins of which at the close of the operations but a gallant remnant of them were found surviving. What soldier for a moment supposes that the place could have been taken without the loyal co-operation of those brave native soldiers, Sikhs, Punjaubees, Goorkhas, and Pathans? Even at Lucknow we were assisted by a brave and faithful remnant of the Sepoys, who, undeterred by the threats, and unmoved by the taunts, of their guilty comrades within hearing in the hostile position, stood staunchly by us throughout the dreadful defence, and held the "Baillie Guard" in the teeth of countless assaults, under their leader, the gallant Aitken.

In the earlier days of the great struggle the "Guide Corps"—now most fitly honoured by the proud title of "the Queen's Own"—under its dashing leader, Major, now

Sir Henry, Daly, marched from Murdan in the far North-West six hours after receipt of the order to move, and next morning was at Attock, thirty miles away. It reached Delhi, five hundred and eighty miles from Murdan, or fifty days of ordinary marching, in twenty-one daily marches—thus accomplishing over twenty-seven miles a day every day for three weeks in the hottest season of the year. On the day of its arrival at Delhi, having that very morning marched thirty miles, it at once went into action, and engaged the enemy hand to hand, every one of its British officers being on that occasion wounded, and Lieutenant Quintin Battye killed, cheerfully exclaiming with his dying lips, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*"* Out of its six hundred men, the corps had three hundred and fifty killed and wounded in the siege, of whom a hundred and twenty were killed. More than once during the investment *every* British officer of the regiment was laid up wounded, and an entirely new set had to be for the time appointed. Well might Sir John Lawrence express the joy he felt when, after the termination of the siege, he once more saw the "gallant rugged faces" of the remnant of his much-loved "Guides."

During the same memorable war the 4th Punjaub Infantry especially covered itself with glory. Marching with extraordinary celerity over a thousand miles from its distant quarter on the frontier to Delhi, it shared in the assault of that place, also in the relief and capture of Lucknow, and in eleven separate engagements, besides numerous severe skirmishes. In April, 1858, after nine months' continuous fighting, and when reduced to one hundred and fifty-five men of all ranks, it took a prominent part in the battle of Royah, there losing fifty-one of that poor remnant. In May, 1858, it returned to the Punjaub with only two British officers, five native officers, and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and men, having lost in about ten months thirteen out of fifteen

* Literal fact.

British officers, and over three hundred and seventy native officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.*

So much for the exploits of some of our Indian troops during the great days of the Mutiny. As to more recent operations, the Gordon and the Seaforth Highlanders can tell how their native comrades behaved by their side in Afghanistan; while still fresher fields, and fields still nearer home, have illustrated anew the mettle of our Eastern soldiers.

Such, then, is the material, diversified in race and creed, but alike conspicuous for soldierly qualities, which England can at will command, in numbers practically unlimited, to swell her all too slender ranks. If she will rule them firmly, treat them justly, and trust them fearlessly, these warlike races will not disappoint her. But, does England so trust them? There is too much reason to fear that she is not quite sure about it, and that the great Mutiny has unhappily left behind it, as its by no means least noxious result, a certain *damnosa hereditas* of distrust, some lingering dregs of doubt as to the fidelity of our Indian troops. If this be indeed so, it is profoundly to be regretted, and the sooner we get rid of that accursed bequest of 1857, the better it will be for us.

That mysterious paroxysm of insanity—for it was nothing less—which suddenly seized on the ignorant and petted "Pandy" † of a generation ago, is little likely to be reproduced in his more intelligent and more highly disciplined successors of to-day; while there is absolutely no possibility of a recurrence of the varied and peculiar conjunction of circumstances which led to and fed that fatal

* These facts regarding the Guide Corps and the 4th Punjab Infantry are taken from an official Report by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

† Pandy, as is perhaps now pretty generally known, was the term applied, half in joke, half in hate, to the whole class of revolted Sepoys of the late Bengal Army in 1857, being taken from Mungul Pandey, the name of the Sepoy who fired the first hostile shot in that unhappy movement. The word itself is the title of a numerous class of Brahmins, and it frequently occurred in the names of Sepoys drawn from that caste, who, as is well known, formed a fatal preponderance in that army.

delusion, and which alone rendered possible that formidable combination which itself in the end proved so destructive, not to us, but to the misguided promoters of the revolt. No puppet emperor now sits in Delhi on a shadowy Mogul throne to delude the imaginations of the ignorant, and to form a rallying centre of insurrection. No discontented aspirants for power now hatch rebellion in the land. No pampered Pretorians of a single and dominating caste now practically monopolize the arms of England in India. No numerous and formidable native artillery now hold our cannon. No slender band of European soldiers scattered over vast and roadless tracts now guard our interests in the great peninsula. The British Empire is now consolidated throughout the length and breadth of the country. Its most distant points are now knit together by a great and growing network of railways. Our native forces are composed of varied elements which, while they vie with each other in courage and devotion under British leading, yet happily counterbalance each other in creed and sentiment, and are incapable of hostile combination. Our position is secured by a formidable European force. Our artillery, without which powerful arm no hostile movement against ourselves could for a single moment be dreamt of, is, with trivial exceptions, in the hands of our countrymen; while the dark and dangerous clouds of ignorance and superstition are fast melting away before the manifold civilizing influences of British rule. Let us, then, as well as we may, lay aside all groundless distrust, unworthy of ourselves, unjust towards its objects, and disastrous in its effects, and let us address ourselves with manly confidence to the task of promoting the efficiency of our Indian troops, and extending their utility, by judicious organization, by arming them properly, and above all by officering them adequately.

It has always been an enigma to plain men on what principle European troops, whom we consider superior to native ones, should be led in battle by twice as many Euro-

pean officers as are allotted to the latter. In war, officers must be either useful or not useful, valuable or the reverse; if they are useful, why are they denied in sufficient numbers to the troops who are supposed to need them most; if they are of no value, or of little value, why are they supplied so freely to our European troops? In point of fact, while we assert that Indian troops, like others, require numerous leaders in war, we give them hardly any leaders, at least of the European class; and then with strange inconsistency we wonder if perhaps once in a way a native battalion, suddenly swept off its legs by a surging baggage train in the wild confusion of an Arab "rush," bereft of its few European officers, and hopelessly entangled in a stampede of panic-stricken animals, is thrown into temporary confusion. But surely this is most unjust. If such a rash experiment were tried with any troops, the result would be inevitably the same.

In this connection it may not be out of place to observe that our war correspondents and other writers on military events are at times somewhat too prone to blurt out reckless assertions affecting the proceedings and character of native troops, whenever the contingencies of battle may produce, however excusably, anything resembling temporary disorder or even positive disaster. The best of troops may at times, and from no fault of their own, be thrown into temporary confusion, or may actually succumb to overwhelming superiority of numbers, or other trying circumstances. The history of the British army itself abounds with examples of this truth; and even in our Indian wars our European soldiers have on many occasions experienced this misfortune at the hands of native foes. If any person should happen to doubt the accuracy of this statement, the present writer will be happy to supply at least a dozen examples of the fact, culled from comparatively recent history, and in which the circumstance was not palliated by any particular disparity, in the respective numbers of the combatants. But when such things occur to the British

soldier, the facts are always, and perhaps very properly, conveniently cloaked, or decently wrapped up in some delicate euphemism, to spare our national susceptibilities and shield the honour of our arms. If, however, any unfortunate native regiment happens, no matter how unavoidably or excusably, to experience a check, we straightway indulge in the most charming frankness, and openly proclaim to the world that it ran away. This, too, is neither charitable nor politic. It is indeed to be feared that there is a growing tendency, when disaster overtakes a force composed partly of Europeans and partly of Indian troops, to cast the blame of such disaster on the native portion of the force engaged. We extolled the unavailing bravery of the 66th at Maiwand, and rightly so; but it was not right to try to throw the blame of that disaster on the Bombay native troops who fought along with them, who behaved just as well as the 66th, and some of whom—we refer to the 1st Bombay Grenadiers—were more exposed than were their British comrades to the terrible and prolonged cannonade of the Afghans, and lost more men on the position than any other portion of the force.

We ought always to remember that these things are read and discussed not only in England and in India, but also on the continent of Europe, where jealous and unfriendly eyes are ever on the watch to spy out chinks in our armour. We ought to remember that with a great Indian Empire, mainly protected by a large force of Indian troops, the security of that empire must ever depend, to no inconsiderable extent, not only on the efficiency of those troops, but also on the estimation for efficiency in which they are held by the world at large; but if some among ourselves thoughtlessly decry them, how can we expect our enemies to esteem them? We ought to bear in mind that we may at no distant day have to defend that empire against possible European encroachment, and that its defence must be effected largely by Indian troops. We ought further to reflect that these troops may possibly

come to be employed more frequently than they have yet been in wars nearer home; but if writers and talkers of our own nation are so thoughtless as to cry down their credit, how can we expect our foes to fear them? The far-seeing imagination of Lord Beaconsfield discerned the potential importance of our Indian troops as a possible factor in European politics, and he signified the sentiment to Europe by the summons of seven thousand of these troops to Malta at a critical juncture in Eastern affairs. This measure was intended as a hint to the world that we had at command other military resources besides our slender English army; that we could also at need summon to our side the warlike and practically innumerable races of the East—

"Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma;" *

but the significance of such a hint would be entirely frustrated if thoughtless writers and irresponsible chatters among ourselves deliberately make light of the efficiency of those troops. And it is therefore obviously our interest to maintain by every means in our power, not only the efficiency, but also the reputation for efficiency, of an element already so important in our military organization, and in all probability destined to exercise an increasing influence in the politics of the world.

Then again, and to the same end, our young officers of British regiments must discontinue their assumed scorn for native soldiers, and try to enjoy life without calling them, with a splendid inaccuracy, "confounded niggers," and the like—a practice at once vulgar, ignorant, and mischievous. Its vulgarity ought to be self-evident; it is ignorant and inaccurate inasmuch as these men have absolutely nothing in common with the negro, but belong to the same great Aryan stock as ourselves; and it is simply absurd to apply such terms to soldiers regarding whom recent observers of unquestionable competency to judge, and

* Virgil, "*Æneid*," l. 489.

entirely free from local bias, have put on record expressions of enthusiastic admiration. The special correspondent of a leading London journal, who witnessed the great military display at Delhi three years ago, thus wrote of some of the Indian troops there assembled: "Then came the infantry; the Highlanders marching splendidly through mud ankle-deep, and loudly cheered as they passed; the little Goorkhas, all muscle and sinew, and almost as broad as they were long; last the Sikhs, looking each man a gentleman and a soldier, swinging past with firm elastic tread." Again: "The next regiment is a Sikh one; and the sons of the Khalsa, *perhaps the handsomest race in the world*, march in as if they never knew what it was to be tired. They are soldiers bred and born; and one cannot but admit that no other Presidency can show such splendid material as these Sikh and Punjaub regiments are composed of." And before leaving the subject of that imposing assemblage of troops, we may observe that it is an open secret that the foreign officers who witnessed it were simply amazed at the magnificent appearance of our Indian battalions; while they pronounced the native cavalry to be almost the type of what that arm should be.

This part of the subject may fitly be closed with the recent testimony of Sir Charles Dilke, who, far from being a partial observer of these troops, had not long previously published opinions regarding them of a somewhat despondent if not distinctly pessimistic character. This keen and competent critic has lately returned from a prolonged visit to India, during which he would seem to have examined our military position on the new North-West Frontier with searching attention; and an article from his pen in the *Fortnightly Review* for April abounds in the warmest commendations of those of our native troops who came under his observation. From these we shall select but one, where, alluding to the mounted troops which he saw assembled at one of the points visited by him, he writes as follows:

"The cavalry consisted of four magnificent regiments, the King's Dragoon Guards, the 1st and 12th Bengal Cavalry, and the 18th Bengal Lancers. This last regiment is, beyond all question, the finest-looking regiment of cavalry that I have ever seen; and, besides our own Household Cavalry, I know the Austrian cavalry, and the Prussian and Russian Guards. The 18th Bengal Lancers wear long full coats of a splendid deep red, not scarlet, which goes wonderfully well with their turbans of strong blue. Their lances have red and white pennons, and the dress is completed of course by white breeches and black boots. 'I thought them more effective than the 'Cent Gardes' of the Second Empire, and of more noble aspect than the Chevalier Guard of Russia. The body of native officers consisted exclusively of men of magnificent physique and perfect features."

In the face of such testimony as this—if, indeed, such were needed—it is, we repeat, simply absurd in a parcel of raw young gentlemen not long emancipated from school to assume a contemptuous bearing towards those troops, or to indulge in opprobrious language regarding them. But unfortunately it is not only absurd, it is also mischievous in a high degree, inasmuch as the loose chatter of the mess-room and the bungalow is but too well understood by the native followers of British regiments in India; and we may be very sure that it is retailed without abatement in the bazars, and in the "Lines" of the native troops, and it cannot tend to develop affection or loyalty in the breasts of those who are the objects of it. It would be well if all English officers would remember that all who fight for England and beneath the British flag are British soldiers; and if they are not all our countrymen, all the more credit is due to them for being on our side, and all the more need there is to avoid conduct calculated to alienate their goodwill. It is much to be regretted that this mischievous folly is not always confined to the younger English officers; too often is it indulged in even by those who are older and ought to know better; but it is always confined to those who have not served in the field along with Indian troops; so much so that when a man is heard running down these latter, it may be very safely assumed that he is a carpet soldier, or at all events that he has never been in action in India. All who have served in war side by side with

Indian troops are ever ready to acknowledge their sterling qualities ; and it is to be observed that the more experience an officer has of these men in the stern realities of war, the higher his opinion of them invariably grows. It is not in the mouths of men like Sir Frederick Roberts that we hear these silly speeches.

Seeing that seeming trifles are often really important, and that there is frequently much in names, it would be very desirable to abolish altogether the term "Native Infantry." There is in it something uncouth and depreciatory, something suggestive of barbarism and savagery, something which smacks of inferiority ; and it is, moreover, absolutely unnecessary. The term Bengal, Madras, or Bombay Infantry is amply sufficient for purposes of distinction ; it has a better sound, it is shorter, and it would get rid of an unnecessary pleonasm. Many years ago the adjective "native" disappeared from the titles of the Indian cavalry regiments, which are now known both officially and conventionally simply as Bengal, Madras, or Bombay Cavalry, without any resultant confusion of ideas, and with a distinct gain in dignity and euphoniousness. It is difficult to imagine how or why the ugly adjective was retained for the infantry when it was abolished for the cavalry ; and now the sooner it is entirely discarded the better. We do not talk of German or French native infantry, or even of West Indian native infantry, and it is equally unnecessary to talk of Bengal native infantry. For analogous reasons all such antiquated and semi-barbarous terms as "*Naick*," "*Havildar*," "*Sowar*," and such like—terms, moreover, which convey no meaning to the general English reader, and which it requires an expert to understand—should be abolished, and the corresponding English names of "corporal," "sergeant," "trooper," &c., should be used to denote these and other regimental grades of our native army. The Indian forms were all very well in the days of Clive and Coote, when our power in India was in swaddling clothes, when our whole position was professedly founded

on native authority, and when, consequently, everything Anglo-Indian bore an essentially Asiatic type. In the early days of our power, and even in comparatively recent times, it was perhaps excusable in us to use a sort of piebald jargon in our nomenclature of Indian things; but the day for all that is now past; we no longer call our Indian Supreme Court the "*Suddur Adawlut*," and it is now time to lay aside all Indian terminology in describing the various grades of our Indian army.

In the bestowal of honorary distinctions of every kind on the Indian troops every effort should be made to foster the sentiment of loyalty to England; and, as has already been observed with reference to the colonies, all such distinctions should be essentially British or imperial in character, since no system could be more mischievous than that of instituting separate and local distinctions and decorations, unless indeed we desire to foster divergent ideas and separate standards of ambition among our Indian forces. The Victoria Cross ought to be open to every man who wears the British uniform, and every possible expedient should be adopted to produce in the minds of our Indian soldiers the sentiment of community of empire, and of identity of aims and interests with their British comrades. For the same reason the long-established and highly coveted "*Order of British India*," with its accompanying pecuniary advantages, which has hitherto been unwisely restricted to Indian soldiers, should be thrown open for the future to British soldiers as well, in the same manner as the *Star of India* is conferred alike on natives and Europeans; and we may be very sure that the native soldier would esteem that distinction all the more highly when he saw that it was eagerly desired and proudly worn by his British comrade; while the bestowal of it alike on both branches of the service would act as a fresh link of union between them.

The occasional bestowal on distinguished Indian regiments of the privilege of bearing the name of the

Sovereign, or that of some member of the royal family, a practice which has lately been adopted, is a most statesman-like and happy idea, and it is known to have had the best possible effect. Similarly it was a wise and graceful thing to constitute certain members of the royal house honorary colonels of certain distinguished native corps. All these things are intelligent departures in a new and wholesome direction, and they cannot fail to produce salutary results. Such cheap but potent incentives to loyalty and good conduct should never be overlooked; and every measure, however trivial in appearance, which may tend to habituate the natives to the sentiment of union with England, and to induce them to regard the British throne as the fountain alike of honour and reward, is unquestionably calculated to produce the most valuable and substantial fruits.

Another inexpensive compliment could easily be paid to the Indian army, while at the same time we should thereby put it duly in evidence before the nations, and that is by publishing its details, if only in a condensed form, in the imperial Army List. We are assuredly the only people in the world who would deliberately omit from the catalogue of its military forces all mention of a numerous army which constitutes nearly one-half of the entire land forces of the empire. It matters not that that army is maintained mainly and specially for use in India—India is a part of the empire, a vast part of it, and forms, or ought to form, a great part of its warlike strength; and if we wish the matter to be so regarded by the world, we ought to exhibit its military resources in the list of the armaments of the British Crown. It is surprising that this should so long have been omitted, and the sooner the omission is rectified the better. It might perhaps be inconvenient to publish such particulars, at least in any fulness of detail, in the small monthly Army List, which is already somewhat too bulky for convenience; but they ought assuredly to be comprised in the large annual Army List, which could most easily afford space for the purpose.

Whilst on the subject of what may be called important trifles, it may be well to cite another illustration of the torpor of our national imagination and our unimperial habit of viewing things, which is to be found in the fact that on the various occasions when the fighting forces of the empire are alluded to, as, for example, when the toast of the Army and Navy is proposed, no sort of allusion is ever made to those great and important Indian forces than which assuredly no branch of Britain's various services has more freely bled on her behalf; while it might well have been supposed that if the soldiers of our own nation are entitled to credit for bravery and fidelity in our service, *a fortiori*, would credit and gratitude be due to our Indian soldiers for the exhibition of those qualities? Yet on such occasions he who proposes the sentiment, as well as he who acknowledges it, seems ever carefully to shun that part of the subject, and keep it out of sight as if it were a thing to be ashamed of. But all this is bad and mistaken. If the sailors and soldiers of England appreciate such kindly notices, as undoubtedly they do, are we to suppose that our Indian soldiers, and their officers, would not equally appreciate them, and that they do not, at all events the officers, deeply feel their habitual omission from them. Considering the magnitude and splendour of our Indian Empire, so nobly won and so well defended by these men in conjunction with the other branches of the service; considering also the fact that our Indian forces have begun to participate in Western wars, and are likely to do so in the future on an increasing scale, it seems certainly most ungracious habitually to omit all allusion to them in our complimentary references to the forces of the empire. It is, however, more than ungracious; it is eminently impolitic, being a deliberate neglect to use one of the many minute but potent levers which are within our reach for securing the loyalty of an important service, and for establishing the sentiment of union between England and India.

It might have been expected that recent events in

Egypt would have led to some slight departure from this habitual silence as to India—but no; even when in a memorable utterance, pronounced soon after his return from that country, our premier General enumerated and specified the various branches of the services which had co-operated under him on that theatre, he omitted all reference to the Indian troops, who, as admitted in his own despatches, had there served so well. He carefully mentioned every other conceivable element of his forces, and dwelt emphatically on the Australian Contingent; but he had never a word for the Contingent of India. Now the Australian Contingent was truly a great and moving historical fact, and one pregnant with political significance; but was it not also a striking historical phenomenon, and one fraught with potential significance of the deepest moment, that Sikhs and Hindoos and Mahomedans—those “*τηλεκλειστοί ἐπικούροι*”—drawn from the distant East, and from races but lately ranged in deadly strife against us, were by our side on those Egyptian sands, fighting bravely for our cause? Philosophically viewed, this was surely a far greater marvel than that our kinsmen should come from Australia to help us; and whatever Lord Wolseley may have thought of the matter, we may be very sure that continental observers were profoundly impressed by it, and that the historian in the future will dwell on it with wonder.

It is the opinion of many sound thinkers that small parties of Indian troops should occasionally be brought to England, there to see and to be seen—

“*Spectatum veniant—veniant spectentur ut ipsi.*”

An Indian team might shoot at Wimbledon, or its successor. Indian horsemen, themselves our instructors in polo, tent-pegging, and other warlike sports, might exhibit their feats in our military tournaments. An Indian military band should undoubtedly have attended the Indian Exhibition,*

* The present writer ventured to suggest this course at the time to the proper authorities; but in reply he was courteously informed that the

and in a word every convenient occasion should be seized to let these men see our power and resources, as well, perhaps, as to show to the foreigners who visit London these significant symbolical types of our world-wide empire. It has even been suggested—and the idea would have long since occurred to a more imaginative people—that a small representative body of Indian horse and foot should at all times be attached to the bodyguard of the Sovereign, and be permanently in evidence in the capital. Such an element, selected for stature, appearance, bravery, and good conduct, would be an imposing and picturesque addition to the pageantry of the Court and the metropolis. It would provide an honourable reward for meritorious Indian soldiers, and a powerful incentive to good conduct in our native forces. It should be constantly but gradually changed by the operation of periodical relief, not of the entire body, but of individual members of it. It would thus prove an educational engine of incalculable value, continually sending back to India men who had beheld the resources of this country, and each one of whom would form a sort of centre whence true notions on that subject would radiate among the people of India with the most wholesome political results. The great Mutiny, like many another Indian war, had its roots in ignorance; if the Sepoys had known our power, they would not have mutinied. Finally, the measure in question would provide in the metropolis a perpetual sign and symbol of our empire in the East.

In conclusion of this part of the subject it should be observed that if there be any law which prohibits the employment of Indian troops out of India, the sooner such a law is abrogated the better. It can be no law of nature, fixed and immutable; and the power which made it can unmake it. Here again we are assuredly the only people

available funds were insufficient to defray the expense of such a step. Yet funds were found to import to the Exhibition a band of negroes from the West Indies!

in the world who would deliberately tie up and place beyond its reach a powerful instrument of warfare. Rather ought we definitely to calculate on that practically unlimited source of strength, for employment wherever it may be required, and wherever it is willing to be employed; and we have seen that that is practically everywhere. Properly managed, India ought to be, and may be, a second right arm to England; and, as before said, she is capable of raising us to a high position as a military Power; but if that is to be so, there must be no mawkish prudery and self-imposed abstinence on our part as to using her military resources. We do not hear that Russia has forbidden herself to make use of her Cossacks, or that France has passed a law to prevent her from enjoying the services of her Spahis or Turcos; why then should we deny ourselves the full benefit of our excellent Indian military material? Nay, the more we disperse it, and the more we employ its members on scenes remote from their homes, the more likely are they to prove faithful and efficient; and in this matter we ought to follow the astute example of Hannibal, who habitually employed his levies on foreign and distant theatres of war, "*Ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispani, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati, stipendia facerent.*" *

The questions touching the troops maintained by the various Indian feudatory Princes lie somewhat outside the scope of these reflections. These questions are complex and important, and will have to come up one day for solution. Recent inquiries have resulted in estimating these troops at something like 300,000 men, with 4,000 cannon of sorts; and in view of this fact we might well say of India, as Herodotus said of the Thracians, that if it were ruled by one sovereign and animated by one mind, it ought to be invincible.† The question will probably be whether to aim at the abolition of these forces, or at improving and utilizing them; and it is likely that in time

* Livy, xxi. 21.

† Herodotus, Terpsichore, 3.

they will be reduced in number, improved in efficiency, and utilized in aid of our own more regular troops. It is assuredly a stupendous proof of our confidence in our own strength, and of our reliance on the loyalty of those Princes, that we should without uneasiness permit them to maintain forces so greatly outnumbering our own; and this, too, in face of the fact that two-thirds of our own troops are themselves natives of the country, and compatriots of the soldiers of these feudatory potentates—a phenomenon this which is regarded by the European Powers with the greatest amazement, as well it may be. It is unquestionable, however, that during the war of the Mutiny, and perhaps still more during the last Afghan war, the troops of some of the native States, notwithstanding their imperfect organization, rendered us important assistance, both morally and physically; and if properly organized, such troops might be of great value to us under very conceivable circumstances.

Although perhaps the finances of India do not at present admit of her maintaining any separate navy of her own, as she once did, yet it will be a good day for the empire at large when she is able to keep up a naval force at least sufficient for the protection of her own shores and harbours, and thus liberate a corresponding portion of the imperial navy for the general service of the State; and there is no reason to doubt that she will one day be in a position to do this. The navy of Great Britain, swelled by powerful contingents from her colonies and from India, would be once more unquestionable mistress of the seas; and our naval supremacy, now, to say the least, somewhat doubtful, would be re-established beyond dispute.

With a "scientific frontier" properly fortified, and with our Indian army, European and native, sufficiently numerous and efficiently armed and organized, we may have an easy mind as to Russian or any other "scares," always provided that India itself is with us; and that it is already with us the last Russo-Afghan alarm very plainly proved. There may be some who choose to doubt the sincerity of those

loyal professions which went forth to us from every part of India at the time when war seemed imminent—there are always some people who refuse to be comforted—but even if any reasonable doubt could be entertained as to the absolute sincerity of some of our professed well-wishers; if some persons may think that it was to some extent a manufactured article, due, at least in part, to skilful manipulation on the part of astute political agents, there was one feature of the time which could not possibly have been due to such causes, and which thus served as a political barometer of assured independence of action, and absolutely removed from the possibility of any tampering. This was the attitude assumed during the crisis by what may be called the radical section of the vernacular press, the organs of “young Bengal,” and of the “educated Baboo.” These journals, which in peaceful times had been revelling in the most advanced anti-British utterances, and filling the air with the stage thunder of a factitious discontent, at the first note of danger from the side of Russia were forthwith sobered into loyalty, and joined the universal strain of fealty to England. This at all events was a genuine and spontaneous phenomenon; and it proved beyond the possibility of doubt that, with all our faults—faults which we must address ourselves to cure—India’s peoples love us still, or at least prefer us to any other possible masters.

A letter recently received by the present writer from an educated native of the Punjaub, that manliest of Indian provinces, contains many striking expressions of an intelligent loyalty. As Histæus the Milesian, in the conference of the Ionians, fully recognized the benefits arising from the overshadowing power of Darius,* so our Punjaub correspondent frankly appreciates the inestimable blessings of the “*pax Britannica*,” and freely acknowledges that India cannot, at least for the present, dispense with the salutary control and guidance of some powerful and enlightened foreign nation; and then he adds these pleasant

* Herodotus, *Melpomene*, 137.

words: "Our rulers may have faults; but India knows well, and assuredly the Punjaub does, that there is no other nation in the world which would or could govern her with such benevolent aims and generous intentions as the English do; and they who doubt the sincerity of the loyal expressions lately made by the peoples of India, know very little of her." No, India is not so simple as to wish to exchange the mild and beneficial tutelage of England, with all its shortcomings, for the domination of a Power whose foremost propagandist hesitated not with cynical Chauvinism to publish to the world that it was her mission "to overspread the plains of India with rapine and bloodshed, and bring back the days of Tamerlane." At the same time, the writer of the letter just referred to laments that the good effects of English rule are sometimes partially undone, and often seriously retarded, by the coldness and the arrogant demeanour of some individual Englishman, and that the admission of qualified Indians to a share in the administration of their country is still too grudgingly conceded. Let the English in India amend these and other faults, and strain every nerve to win the affections of the natives, and we may smile at all possible foes. If we treat India well and wisely, the world in arms could not disturb our rule; if we should treat her badly, we should lose her, and should deserve to do so.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the advocates of imperial federation may succeed in solving the great and interesting problem as to the possibility or otherwise of carrying out that grand and fascinating conception; but, as already said, if we cannot get federation, let us at least try to get some sort of effectual consolidation; and let Great Britain and her dependencies if possible be linked together in bonds of amity and unity which shall not easily be sundered. Great Britain, supported by India, Canada, and Australasia, would then resemble the majestic banian tree of Hindostan, whose tendrils, descending to the soil, take root afresh, and rise around the parent tree—so many new and massive columns uprearing and sustaining its hale and venerable pile.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR TROPICAL CLIMATES.

WHEN those chronic perplexities—children—like accommodation bills that have matured unawares, arrive at the bumptious age, what to do with our sons and daughters becomes a burning question in our hitherto peaceful life. We have probably worked hard for our children, but we now realize that it is *worry*, not *work*, which kills men. Therefore the majority of us are rather glad when we find some berth for a youth, or some one disinterested enough to take upon himself the charge of another man's daughter. When having, by dint of persistence, secured an appointment abroad for a son, or married a daughter to some one going out to the tropics, *mater* and *paterfamilias* opine they have done a good stroke of business. And, having supplied the voyagers with the hundred and one unnecessary articles advised by outfitters, and having given the young couple a blessing, *mater* and *pater* sleep the sleep of the just, in the firm belief that, like true Britons, they have done their duty. Having thus despatched the freight, like good Christians they place their trust in Providence, and hope never to be troubled any more—except perhaps by those minor worries, such as the loss of a collar button, or a tight shoe, incidental to the barbarous civilization in which we exist. But unexpected contingencies are apt to overturn, as if in sport, the most carefully-laid plans. Sending our belongings off to the tropics in a haphazard way, like most infatuations, often ends in bitterness and disappointment. As often as not a great mistake is made when people are despatched to the

tropics without that attentive consideration which every case individually demands. Everybody is most certainly *not* fitted for life in a tropical climate, and as certainly a great number are perfectly unfitted. This, however, seems to weigh but little when the question what to do with our sons and daughters matures, especially when the parents themselves have been in the tropics. Yet it does not follow that because parents have done well there that their progeny should do well there also; for it is a fact that certain hereditary maladies may avoid one generation and attack the next, and that this predisposition to *atavism* may be especially excited by the adverse influences of tropical climates. Man is found fitted to many climates, to lofty mountains and to tropical swamps, to burning deserts and to moist sea coasts. But as his fitness to one set of conditions, so usually his unfitness for the opposite set.

The Anglo-Saxon race is, fortunately perhaps, above all others, naturally endowed with a resistant power against the evil effects of adverse climatic influences. But the tribute we pay to tropical countries, and especially to India, in the lives of so many of our people sufficiently demonstrates that tropical climates are inimical even to the Anglo-Saxon. During the first half of the present century the death-ratio among European soldiers in India was as high as 69 per 1,000. And although it has been gradually reduced, and is now recorded at less than a fourth of that figure, under the influence of better sanitary measures and of improved habits of life, still it must be recollected that as the death-rate has fallen the invaliding list has risen. For men are not now kept in a tropical country until their disease advances to a hopeless stage. However fond of his children *paterfamilias* may be, it is to be presumed that he does not desire to see his son or his daughter back from the tropics this time next year, nor even this time two years, if they reappear as confirmed or yet temporary invalids. Therefore, to avoid such a contingency, he should take many things into consideration which are not usually taken

into account before consigning his belongings to a tropical career.

It is to be supposed that if a medical man were consulted regarding the advisability or otherwise of an individual proceeding to a tropical climate, the consultant would make himself acquainted both with the peculiarities of the climate and also with the constitution of the person desiring an opinion. A personal experience of certain maladies should most certainly unfit an individual for tropical life, and most medical men are fully able to say what these diseases are. It is not therefore my intention to trench on the purely medical aspects of the question, especially as there are so many other important points which, perhaps, the father of a family is better able to appreciate than even a medical man, especially if a stranger. Such points are mainly, *idiosyncrasy, age, temperament, and constitutional or hereditary tendency to disease.*

Before touching on these matters it will be well to recall briefly what tropical residence involves. The native of the British Isles is now translated by quick ocean-going steamers from this land of frequent rain, fogs, east winds and little sun, into a climate where the sun's rays are almost vertical, where rain is violent and periodical, and where the mean temperature is 20° higher than that of Great Britain. Such a change of environment cannot be made without potent result. But this is not all; for although the above are the general characteristics of a tropical climate, there are quite different local characteristics which may have to be faced. For example, the difference between the lowlands and the Blue Mountains of Jamaica is great indeed, although the climate of either is essentially generally tropical. It is, however, in the extensive Indian Empire that the greatest variation of climate occurs. Thus, while the three great divisions of the year into hot, cold, and wet seasons, are correct throughout the peninsula of India, the southerly parts and the coasts have so moist an atmosphere that little or no evaporation takes place from the skin, while

the northerly parts have so dry an atmosphere that little or no moisture remains on the skin. Again, while the cold weather of Southern India is only called cold complimentary and comparatively with the hot season, the cold weather of Northern India is often bitterly felt by the European, whose skin is debilitated by the excessive action caused by the foregoing hot months. Then there are more purely local climates depending upon local geographical features, soil, neighbourhood of rivers, trees, cultivation, drainage, &c. But if we merely take raised temperature alone it will be sufficient to show that changes immediately occur in the system of the native of a temperate climate when introduced into the tropics. There is an optimum of heat which is most favourable to the well-being of both animals and vegetables, and which stimulates the vital functions. But if the heat rises above the optimum the reverse is the case: vitality is reduced, appetite fails, food is loathed, sleep deserts the couch, strength leaves the muscles, and, as a certain prelate expressed it, "one feels like a boiled cabbage." But there is more than this temporary *malaise*.

Air expanded by heat contains a lesser proportion of oxygen in a given bulk than colder air, and hence a smaller quantity of oxygen is taken into the lungs with each inspiration; and, owing to the lassitude produced by heat and the small quantity of cool, suitable time available, less exercise is probably taken, the breathing is not much accelerated by motion, also resulting in lesser oxygen being taken into the system. Although this diminution of oxygen may be minute it must be recollected that it is continuous. Then the heat causes so much perspiration that there is less fluid left in the system for the kidneys to secrete—often not enough to hold in solution all the effete material which should be "passed off by those organs. As a result, and especially so if people eat and drink as they have been accustomed to do in a cold climate, effete matters which should be expelled remain in the blood, causing anæmia and predisposition to various ailments. It is true that the

liver may take on compensating action, and so dispose of more effete matters than previously in the bile. But this is not an unmixed good, for increased action or strain of any internal organ eventually results in decreased action or torpor, so that at length "the liver very rarely" executes its function." Persons thus suffering from a torpid liver get into a "hyped" condition. Like Hamlet they find the world out of joint, and they are unable to bear the bumps and bruises of every-day life with that Spartan fortitude which is so becoming. Neither can the debilitated state of the skin, consequent on excessive action from heat, be ignored. This is a potent cause of ailments, as it renders the person so very liable to *chill* (which I have elsewhere termed "the king of causes of disease") from those diurnal and seasonal vicissitudes of temperature, which often exceed 50° and have been known to attain 80° in India.

Persons are very different as regards their capability of sustaining continued heat. There are some people of sanguine temperament, who suffer greatly from that degree of heat in which others feel cool and comfortable. A true anecdote is told of a gentleman thus affected, who found the top of Arthur's seat a refreshing cool place on a severe winter morning. In the tropics a person thus unable to bear heat is a nuisance both to himself and to his neighbours. He is always requiring to mop himself with his pocket-handkerchief; he wants windows and doors open during that brief period of the year when others wish them shut, and he puffs and blows and rails at the heat, until he may end in fussing himself into a fever. A person with such a disposition had best keep away from the tropics, for his life will be unpleasant, and he will probably become diseased.

This great incapacity of sustaining heat may be classed as an *idiosyncrasy*, and there are other idiosyncrasies which unfit for tropical life. For instance, some persons cannot take even half a grain of quinine without suffering so much from nettle-rash, sore-throat, and other ailments,

as practically to prohibit the use of this medicine. But as every one in a tropical climate will most probably, at some time or other, require to take quinine, an inability to do so is a sufficient reason why the person should not embark on a tropical career. Again, some persons are peculiarly subject to bowel complaints from mental causes, of which we have examples in the boy dreading the rod, in the soldier falling out on the near prospect of battle, and in the person who receives anxiously-expected news. I believe one of the worst idiosyncrasies a person can take with them to the tropics is liability to looseness from slight mental causes, for such an one is more liable to the cholera and bowel complaints of tropical climates than others not so predisposed. Intense fear of disease should also be a disqualification. When epidemics, as cholera, "rush as a storm o'er the astonished earth, and strew with sudden carcases the land," the individual fearing disease, especially cholera, will be much more likely than others to contract it, or to think that he has it, a condition termed "choleraphobia." Yet this intense fear is unreasonable, for even in the worst epidemics the rule is immunity, and attack the exception. Fear of snakes, again, is sometimes so intense as to unfit a person for residence in snake-land. Ere now fatal syncope has occurred, not from injury but from fright, caused by snakes. I have known the ungrounded fear of a snake being in the bedroom cause a person to sit up all night on the watch. At the same time it must be confessed that a snake does sometimes visit an Eastern tropical bedroom. Next, a person "fond of physic" had better keep away from the tropics. A constant habit of dosing for imaginary complaints is liable to bring on real ones, especially the cholera and bowel affections of the East. Lastly, I have known persons who "cannot bear" natives, have an unconquerable objection to a dark-coloured skin, who live in fear of another mutiny. Now, in my opinion, many Indians are just as good as we are; and although, doubtless, some would naturally like to

kick us out of India to-morrow, the majority are quite content to bear the ills they have than fly to others which they know not of. Nothing irritated me more in India than senseless wholesale disparagement of the natives, and those fearing them had better stay away. Seneca tells us how Demosthenes deplored that he passed this life without misfortune or misery. Persons with the peculiar idiosyncrasies sketched above certainly will not, if they go to the tropics, be free from misery. They will be well able to appreciate Dante's terrors in the haunted wood, or the dread of a child when introduced to the supernatural, or the fear with which most of us start for the country from whence no one returns, when our friends escape the use of a little four-lettered word by the periphrasis "all over."

Age is a most important consideration for tropical life. It may be stated as an axiom that neither very young persons nor elderly persons should embark on a tropical career. It is laid down in the Queen's Regulations for the Army, that no soldier should be sent to the tropics until he has been thoroughly drilled and has attained the age of twenty. It was advised by the Army Sanitary Commission that the age should be twenty-five; but as a matter of fact, owing to the exigencies of the service, many are sent out before attaining even regulation age. Now young persons in India are especially liable to enteric fever, and if they escape this they do not always mature into strong people as they most probably would do in a temperate climate; they remain weak and weedy as a consequence of exposure to continued heat, and they are therefore less able to withstand disease. Women especially should not face a tropical climate too early—not until their growth has matured and special functions become established. Females break down in the tropics sooner than males, and this is in a great measure attributable to a too early introduction into a hot climate. It would be well if no one went to the tropics until twenty-three years of age at least, for their growth will then be more finished,

the textures firmer, and they should be better able to take care of themselves.

According to the regulations of the public services men are required to vacate executive offices at the age of fifty: for Government appears to think with Shakespeare—at least so far as the tropics are concerned—that age is superfluous. There is no doubt that between the ages of fifty and sixty a good deal of the elasticity of life departs, and that various maladies, belonging to this period of life, are more prone to develop. Moreover, after fifty or so a man is not ardently hopeful—he has found out that this is a world in which merit is not always rewarded, and he does not work *con amore* as he did when twenty-five. But some men are as young, mentally and physically, at sixty as others are at fifty. Such persons are, however, in tropical service, the survival of the fittest, men who have mellowed by age like good wine, who have borne the burden and heat of the day under which so many succumbed, and who, therefore, may be credited with more than the average *vis vite*, with prudence of life, and with fitting constitution for the tropics. Such men are not yet disposed to regard the work of the world as a matter to be carried on entirely by their sons. But, as a rule, Government is right in limiting the age of service, for many are then quite ready to seek such *otium*, as they may find; and others, if not ready, would do the State more service by getting ready than by posing as the veteran lagging superfluous on the stage.

It will not often happen that advice is asked regarding the propriety or otherwise of an elderly person taking up a tropical career. Yet this may occur with reference to high State appointments. Then complete freedom from visceral disease, and from gout, or from urinary affection, should be considered a *sine qua non*. If an elderly man in good health can go to the tropics in the cold weather with ability to spend the most trying season of the year in the hills, he might safely embark. If he has to face the

hot weather or to remain on the plains the advice should be certainly not to go. The capability afforded to certain Government servants of spending the hot season on the Indian hill ranges should never be lightly interfered with, for the power of doing so renders persons eminent in their particular line able to take office which they could not otherwise do with safety, and so their services would be lost to the State.

Temperament is a very important subject to take into consideration. Of late years there has been a tendency to ignore temperament. Mr. Hutchinson, in his work, the "Pedigree of Disease," is not much disposed to place reliance on temperament, regarding the different characteristics by which temperament is defined as rather indications of race, of youth and age, of health or disease and its effects, of past anxiety and trouble, and of freedom from them. But Mr. A. Stewart, in his recent book on "Our Temperaments," pertinently observes: "No boy, sanguine, fair, and impulsive, has ever become in manhood bilious, dark, and calculating; or lymphatic, heavy, and slow, if in boyhood he was nervous, slim, and rapid." In former days much more importance was attached to temperament than at present. Melancholic persons were supposed to be best qualified for kings, ministers, and councillors. Choleric men were looked upon as best fitted to be ambassadors, generals, and orators; while phlegmatic people were regarded as best placed when labourers. The truth, of course, lies in the medium between this ancient appreciation of temperament and the modern ignoring thereof.

Types of temperament are best divided into four, viz., the *sanguine*, the *nervous*, the *bilious*, and the *lymphatic*, between which, however, there are many compound temperaments. The *sanguine* temperament is marked by ruddy, fair, or bright complexion, fair hair, strong muscles, small head, large chest, and often, as age advances, plethoric habit. The thoughts are rapid, the imagination vivid, and the animal courage high; but there is frequently

want of depth and persistence in the character. There is a general tendency to congestive affections, and diseases develop rapidly. The *nervous* temperament is marked by rather dark skin and hair, large head, spare muscles, and a generally thin and wiry habit. Frequently the chest is narrow and the circulation languid. The movements are hasty, with alternations of languor. Sensitiveness and irritability are very marked, but there is much energy, great mental power, and capacity of enduring fatigue. Maladies of the nervous system are common; also hepatic and intestinal obstructions. The *bilious* temperament, characterized by dark features, square build, and predominance of bone and muscle, is associated with the greatest endurance and the least sensibility to external impressions, and also to morbid disturbances. The name suggests a diseased tendency, or habit of the liver, but this is not the case. The term *bilious* is a misnomer, and has arisen from the European of this temperament participating to some degree in the cutaneous deposition of carbon marking the coloured races of mankind, and so assuming a more or less dark or bilious aspect — an appearance, however, which is quite different from that consequent on liver derangement. The bilious temperament may be looked upon as the nervous without its irritability, and as in some measure approaching the sanguine, without its high susceptibility to external impressions. The *lymphatic* temperament is marked by more or less ungainly form, large joints, bulky head, awkward movements, light hair, tendency to flabbiness, with languor of bodily functions. The disposition is unexcitable, and with probably good judgment there is little energy. There is tendency to disorders of the glandular system, to maladies of the liver, and of the digestive organs.

Some writers have endeavoured to define the difference between temperament and constitution, but this, even if practicable, is unnecessary, for certain constitutions are found with certain temperaments, and the reverse.

Whatever opinion may be held as to the origin of man, his environments of climate, food, and general circumstances of life must be regarded as instrumental in producing his modifications. In the orthodox view, as originating from a single pair, no other conclusion can be drawn. It seems pretty well proved by the science of language that the remote ancestors of both Anglo-Saxons and Hindus were once one people in Northern Asia; and it seems equally well proved, from the Vedas, that when the Aryan Hindoos descended into India they were fair in colour. The Aryan Western offshoot, which afterwards became the Germanic stock, were certainly white, or they have since become so. But the influence of hot climates impresses greater peculiarities on those inhabiting them than do temperate climates. Accordingly, at the present time, as a consequence of centuries of environment, there is great similarity of temperament among all the races of India. There is the dark complexion and skin, the dark hair, and the spare habit, associated with quick intellect and irritable disposition, alternating with indolence and apathy, yet with great powers of endurance. The system is alternately easily excited or depressed, while the functions of the skin and liver are peculiarly active.

Now, theoretically it would seem that the European, who in type and temperament most closely resembles the condition to which climate and mode of life has converted the native of India, would be best fitted to encounter the adverse influence of a tropical climate; and practically this appears the case. I have usually noticed that the Europeans marked by the characteristics of the *bilious* temperament, or, still better, of a bilio-sanguine temperament, have ordinarily enjoyed the best health in India. But there must be no predominance of the nervous temperament, which has long been regarded as the basis of nervousness, hypochondriasis, and hysteria. A sensitive and sympathetic nature is not most conducive to health and happiness when submitted to the daily, and even hourly, ills and irritations

inseparable from life in the tropics. A French physiologist said, "If you want long life, you must possess a bad heart and a good stomach." Without endorsing this assertion, it may with certainty be stated that a highly nervous organization, especially if, as is often the case, associated with feeble digestion, is not fitted for prolonged tropical residence.

There is the irritation caused by prickly heat and the noise made by cawing crows, cooing pigeons, chirping sparrows, squeaking squirrels, and creaking wells about the house in the day-time. At night there are animals gambolling in the roof, barking pariah dogs, bleating goats, more creaking wells, native tom-toms, singing, "lights and country music." Had Byron been of a nervous temperament, and long in India, and been kept awake night after night by the howl of the pariah dog, he never would have written, except by poet's license, of the "watch-dog's honest bark"; and had Sir Edwin Arnold been of a nervous temperament, and long in India, he never would have written, except by poet's license, of the village well creaking "not unmelodiously without the gate." Then there are irritating things which do not make a noise—the mosquito in battalions, the ubiquitous fly at some seasons in legions; in the rains hosts of various other winged insects, frogs, rats, scorpions, centipedes, and snakes. If in camp, there is probably the roaring of the camels, the howling of jackals, and the clapper of irrigation wells. If a dust storm blows, ink-pot and ears are filled with sand, every object in the room or tent is covered with it, and food is rendered gritty by it. Then there is the frequently irritating conduct of native *employés*, more often than not, however, arising from mistake or ignorance, and not intentional. Now, all such matters may be regarded as minor ills, and not worthy serious attention; but by their very perpetuity they rarely fail to make an impression on the typical nervous temperament. Work is performed with difficulty by the nervous man when he is subjected to

the periodical bite of a mosquito on his finger, the frequent visit of a fly to his nose, the harsh and sudden caw of a crow looking in at his window, and a couple of sparrows chirping and fluttering over his head in the persistent endeavour to find a hole in the ceiling wherein to build a nest. Then, worse still, owing to the nuisances mentioned, the typical nervous individual passes sleepless nights; and not to sleep well in the tropics is to prepare the system for disease. In short, the numerous disagreeables of tropical life act as a metaphorical shirt of Nessus over the whole moral epidermis of the nervous temperament, which is least of all unfitted for a hot climate.

It has already been remarked that a compound of the bilious and sanguine temperament is the best fitted for tropical life, but only partaking to a slight degree of the latter. The sanguine temperament is not, however, altogether unfitted, for the person answering to the sanguine description will usually escape blood degeneration and anæmia from heat longer than those of other temperaments. This seems to arise from the vitality of persons of a sanguine temperament who are so constantly in motion, and therefore consume more air and oxygen. There is also a high animal courage and a tendency to look on the bright side of matters. But the sanguine are far more apt to suffer from head affections, and, as Mackinson long since remarked, those of fair complexion and lax fibre are most liable to hepatic abscess. Moreover, the sanguine temperament endures only for a period, and may rapidly or suddenly give way. The lymphatic temperament must be regarded as the least fitted for tropical life.

It is not supposed that the question of temperament will be considered of sufficient importance of itself to regulate service in the tropics. But I think the sickness and mortality of Europeans in hot climates would be materially lessened if the question of temperament were taken into prominent consideration when deciding on fit-

ness for the tropics—not as the main determining factor, but as one turning the balance in cases of doubt; for it must not be forgotten that different temperaments are associated with a constitutional condition, or *diathesis*, rendering persons more or less prone than others in any climate to certain diseases.

Constitutional tendency and hereditary predisposition to disease should always be fully investigated before assent is given to embarkation for the tropics. Unfortunately many persons attempt to conceal such family weaknesses. But it has been said with truth that nothing should be concealed from the lawyer or the doctor. Certainly nothing of the kind should be hidden from a doctor if he is asked to form an opinion. When it is considered that a man, to go no further than his great-great-grandfather, has no less than thirty direct progenitors, it can be conceived that he may have many direct taints. Peculiarities of form and feature of even remote ancestors often reappear in modern descendants, and so do diseases. The cells of which our bodies are composed are so infinitesimally minute as to require a powerful microscope to distinguish them. And Dr. Harry Campbell, in his recent learned work, "The Causation of Disease," tells us that the atomic particles of a cell may be as small in comparison with the cell as the latter is in comparison with the earth. There is equal reason to believe that a disease cell and its atomic particles may be as minute as any other cell. When all this is considered, the transmission of diseased protoplasm from parent to offspring will not create surprise. But all germs or cells do not develop into activity. For this certain environments must be required. Judging from what occurs such environments are, in certain cases, most potent in the tropics. As it is asserted that every man does not know who was his own father, it can scarcely be expected that every man shall be able to trace his progenitors, so as to say what they suffered from and died from, even no further back than the great-great-grand-

parents. Neither is this necessary. By a perverse train of reasoning common to mankind descent is the more valued the further off it is from an illustrious ancestor, and consequently the less there is of his blood in the veins of his posterity. For practical purposes, however, it is sufficient to trace back to the grandparents, about whom many of us are able to say something. Now if *paterfamilias* and his father were, for instance, decided sufferers from gout, that would be an additional reason, in a doubtful case, why young Hopeful should not go to the tropics, for gout develops earlier and in a more irregular manner in hot climates than in temperate ones. Again, no person in whose family there is an insane tendency is fit for a tropical climate. Heat alone tends to excite the mind, and the accident of a sunstroke would be still more likely to arouse the latent diathesis. Similar remarks apply to "fits," or epilepsy, also to hysteria. An hereditary history of diabetes should also be esteemed a disqualification, especially when combined with any other objection. Diabetes, formerly thought rare in the tropics, is now known as one of the most common diseases of Indian communities. Asthma should also prevent a person going to the East, for there is reason to believe that any tendency to asthma may be excited by the malarious influences which so much prevail in hot climates. Insomnia, or habitual sleeplessness, should also be a bar. The sleepless or disturbed nights which so many Europeans experience in India has more deleterious effect on the constitution than is generally supposed. An occasional sleepless night would not much signify to the average robust person, but when the sleep "that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care" is disturbed night after night, there is another potent factor in the induction of debility and anæmia. Other maladies, a tendency to which is decidedly adverse to tropical residence, are drink-craving, albuminuria, goitre, hæmorrhoids, hæmophilia, &c.

It will thus be seen that if *paterfamilias*, when con-

signing his belongings to the tropics, desires to secure that peace of mind which arises from well-doing, he will have plenty of serious occupation. Good advice, however, is not always taken. Few, indeed, take it unless it agrees with their own preconceived ideas. Nevertheless, the more *paterfamilias* turns his attention to the subject before despatching his son or daughter to a hot climate, the more likely will his son or his daughter be to stay there, to succeed in their purpose of life, and to leave *paterfamilias* in the enjoyment of, it is to be hoped, well-earned *otium cum dignitate*. As a crumb of comfort it may be mentioned that there are several hereditary maladies which do not seem to be adversely influenced by a tropical climate. The principal of these are cancer, struma, and the very early stage of phthisis or consumption.

WILLIAM MOORE.

HINDU HYGIENE IN THE SHASTRAS CONTRASTED WITH MODERN LIFE.

THE Army Sanitary Commission having expressed their strong conviction on the urgent need of sanitation for villages in Bengal, it is very desirable to see whether any reasonable efforts can be made to give some effect, however partial, to the wishes and recommendations of that body. A good beginning has been made in the Central Provinces, where village conservancy and water supply are being regulated by a few simple rules to the benefit of the people. I will advocate similar rough rules for the guidance of the Bengal villages. But before doing so I must show that the desire for cleanliness and sanitation is latent and inherent in the Hindus, and only requires to be evoked. This will probably involve some benevolent pressure in the beginning, and it may be objected that no people can be made cleanly and sanitary by external forces. But if it could be shown that such force was latent in the people, and required to be merely evoked, no objection could be taken.

The people of Bengal, and Hindus in general, are essentially a clean race; it is a part and parcel of their religion to live cleanly and to avoid all defilement and impurity. The sage old lawgivers of the Arian Hindus, soon after their migration to a hot country like India, at once perceived the urgent need of hygienic and sanitary measures for the preservation of health, and accordingly prescribed rigid and stringent rules on all matters connected with living, such as food, drinks, and all personal habits and domestic and social customs. To make these rules binding on the consciences of the people the wise lawgivers gave

the impress and sanction of religion to them, so that any violation would be punished by social ruin and degradation here and loss of parakal, or future bliss, hereafter.

Hinduism, like the old Mosaic Dispensation, is chiefly made up of sanitary measures and ceremonials, and their resemblance in many points is most striking. The Jews, though scattered, still preserve many of their old habits and customs, and in proportion, they enjoy considerable immunity from several infectious and hereditary diseases which afflict the other races. The Hindus would have been equally fortunate if they had strictly adhered to all their old habits and customs as enjoined and recommended by Manu and others. But, alas! they have departed from them, and, in consequence, degenerated. If Manu and other law-givers could rise from their ashes and behold the modern Hindus, how would they frown and be angry and altogether fail to recognize the fine old race in the present degenerate people.

DAILY LIFE OF A GOOD HINDU.

As enjoined in the Shastras, he is to rise betimes, go out to the outskirt of his village, armed with bow and arrow, and shoot leeward with all his might. Wherever the arrow would alight he was to go, dig a hole, perform the call of nature, and then cover the place with earth. He then considers himself and his clothes defiled, and will not enter his dwelling-room or touch anything till he has performed his morning ablution and said his prayers. If a celibate he would cook his own food and see everything was clean—he would not drink any water fetched by the unclean hands of lower caste men, or allow his cooked food to be touched by anybody. If he is a married man with family, his wife would sweep the house and its yard and *lepos* the kitchen with cow-dung, which is considered a rough sort of antiseptic and disinfectant. She would then bathe, and afterwards cook and serve out meals to her lord and children. The place where meals are

served is sprinkled with clean water, and the plantain or other leaf, or stone, or metallic plate are scrupulously cleaned before eating off them, and they are *lepoed* with cow-dung and washed with clean water respectively after meals. The food and drinks are regulated by Shastric injunctions, and everything has to be done with scrupulous cleanliness which underlies all that a good Hindu ought to do. The Shastras prescribe rules not only for food and drinks, but for all personal habits, domestic and social customs, such as feasts and fasts, wedding and death, cremation and mourning, &c. And here I would just transcribe a few rules of Manu from his *Samhita* bearing on health. Manu *Samhita* is divided into twelve chapters.

The first chapter treats of the creation of the world. Chapter ii. treats of the ceremony at the birth of a child before cutting the cord. A sweet and easily uttered name is to be given to a child on the eleventh or twelfth day, and it is to be taken out of the house at the fourth month to see the sun, and to be fed with rice and milk at the sixth month. The *Upanoun ceremony* (investing with the sacred thread) is performed at eight years for Brahmins, ten for Kshetrias, and twelve for Vaisyas. They ought then to begin the study of the sacred Vedas and Shastras, when they leave home and resort to the *Asram* of a *Guru* (Preceptor), where they continue for several years. After having finished their studies they return home, marry and become householders.

Chapter iii. treats of different kinds of marriage prevalent among the Aryans and of five *Jags* and of daily duties.

Chapter iv. treats of various professions and means of livelihood open to different castes, and also of householders' duties as to personal and domestic hygiene.

Chapter v. treats of food and drinks, of uncleanness after births and deaths, and of washing and cleansing of various articles with water.

The following rules refer to the offices and calls of nature :—

Chapter iv., line 45.—Do not perform offices of nature on the highway ; nor on ashes, nor where kine are grazing.

Chapter iv., line 46.—Nor on tilled ground, nor in water, nor on wood raised for burning, nor, unless he is in great need, on a mountain, nor on the ruins of a temple, nor at any time on a nest of white ants.

Chapter iv., line 47.—Nor in ditches with living creatures in them, nor walking, nor standing, nor on the bank of a river, nor on the summit of a mountain.

Chapter iv., line 48.—Nor let him eject them looking at things moved

by the wind, or at fire, or at a priest, or at the sun, or at water, or at cattle.

Chapter iv., line 49.—But let him avoid his excrement, having covered the earth, wood, potsherd, dry leaves and grass or the like, carefully suppressing his utterance, wrapping up his breast and his head.

Chapter iv., line 50.—By day let him void them with his face to the north; by night with his face to the south; at sunrise and sunset in the same manner as by day.

Chapter iv., line 51.—In the shed or in darkness, whether by day or by night, let a Brahmin ease nature with his face turned as he pleases, and in places where he fears injury to life for wild beasts or for reptiles.

Chapter iv., line 56.—Let him not cast into the water either urine or ordure; nor saliva, nor cloth, nor any other thing soiled with impurity, nor blood, nor any other kinds of poison.

The following rules regarding eating and drinking are worth extracting:—

Chapter ii., line 53.—Let the student, having performed his ablution, always eat his food without distraction of mind; and, having eaten, let him thrice wash his mouth, completely sprinkling with water the six hollow parts of his head, or his eyes, ears, and nostrils.

Chapter ii., line 55.—Food eaten constantly with respect gives muscular force and generative power, but eaten irreverently destroys them both.

Chapter ii., line 56.—He must be aware of giving any man what he leaves; and also beware of eating too much, and of going anywhere with a remnant of his food unswallowed.

Chapter ii., line 57.—Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to future bliss in Heaven. It is injurious to virtue, and odious among men; he must for these reasons by all means avoid it.

Chapter iii., lines 238 and 239.—Brahmins are not to eat with head covered or feet shod, or in presence of any dirty man or animal exciting disgust.

Chapter iv., line 45.—Never eat meals in ordinary clothes.

Chapter iv., line 62.—Let him eat no vegetable, from which the oil has been extracted; nor indulge his appetite to satiety, nor eat either too late or too early, nor take any food in the evening if he have eaten to fulness in the morning.

Chapter iv., line 63.—Let him make no vain corporeal exertion; let him not sip water taken up with his closed fingers; let him eat nothing placed in his lap.

Chapter iv., line 64.—Never eat off any broken plate or vessels exciting disgust.

Chapter iv., line 76.—Let him take his food having sprinkled his feet with water (i.e., after refreshing and rest). He who takes his food with his feet sprinkled will attain long life.

Chapter v., line 5.—Garlic, onions, leeks, and mushrooms (which no twice-born must eat) and all vegetables raised in dung.

Chapter v., line 6.—Fresh milk from a cow whose ten days are not

passed, the milk of a camel, or any quadruped with a hoof not cloven, that of an ewe, and that of cow in heat, or whose calf is dead—must be avoided.

Chapter v., line 9.—The milk of any forest beast, except the buffalo, the milk of a woman, and anything naturally sweet but acidulated, must all be carefully shunned.

Chapter v., line 10.—But among such acids, buttermilk may be swallowed and every preparation of buttermilk and all acids extracted from flowers, roots, or fruit, not cut with iron.

Chapter v., line 11.—Let every twice-born man avoid carnivorous birds, and such as live in towns and quadrupeds with uncloven hoof.

Chapter v., line 17.—Let him not eat the flesh of any solitary animals, nor of unknown beasts or birds, though by general words declared eatable, nor of any creatures with five claws.

Chapter v., line 22.—Beasts and birds of excellent sorts may be slain by Brahmins for sacrifice or for the sustenance of those whom they are bound to support.

Chapter v., line 27.—All animals killed in sacrifice may be eaten. Eat meat once a day; also at Shrads and in the absence of other food.

Chapter v., line 28.—Brahmā has appointed both animals and vegetables as food, but expects thanksgiving and sacrifice for every food used.

Chapter iv., line 70.—Do not eat when you have indigestion.

Rules as regards clothes and personal cleanliness :—

Chapter iv., line 235.—Soiled nails and hairs are to be cut and clean clothes are to be worn.

Chapter iv., line 69.—Avoid the morning sun, the smoke of a burning corpse, a broken seat. Never cut nails, hairs, &c., unless grown, and never bite your nails.

Chapter iv., line 70.—Do not break or rub mud or clay unnecessarily—nor cut grass with your nails.

Chapter iv., line 71.—He who thus idly breaks clay or cuts grass or bites his nails will speedily sink to ruin, and so shall a detractor and an unclean person.

Chapter iv., line 52.—At the beginning of each day let every man perform offices of nature, bathe, rub his teeth, apply a collyrium to his eyes, adjust his dress, and adore the god.

Chapter iv., line 66.—Let him not use either slippers or clothes or a sacerdotal string or a garland, or a water-pot, which before have been used by another.

Rules as to baths and cleansing and purification :—

Chapter iv., line 129.—Do not bathe having just eaten, nor when afflicted with disease; nor in the middle of the night; nor with many clothes; nor in a pool of water imperfectly known.

Chapter v., line 62.—Uncleanliness on account of the dead is ordained

for all ; but on the birth of a child for the mother and father, impurity, for ten days after childbirth affects the mother only ; but the father having bathed becomes pure.

Chapter v., line 83.—In uncleanness after death a man of the sacerdotal caste becomes pure (by bathing and ceremonies) in ten days, of the warlike in twelve, of the commercial in fifteen ; of the Sudra in a month.

Chapter v., line 85.—He who has touched a Chundala, a woman at her period, an outcast for deadly sin, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse is made pure by bathing.

Chapter v., line 109.—Bodies are cleansed by water, the mind is purified by truth, the vital spirit by theology and devotion, the understanding by clear knowledge.

Modes of restoring purity to inanimate things :—

Chapter v., line 111.—Of brilliant metals, of gems, and of everything made with stone, the purification ordained by the wise is with ashes, water, and earth.

Chapter v., line 114.—Vessels of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin and lead may be fitly cleansed with ashes, with acids, and with water.

Chapter v., line 115.—The purification ordained for all sorts of liquids is by stirring them with *Cuso* grass ; for clothes folded by sprinkling them with hallowed water ; for wooden vessels by plaining them.

Chapter v., line 117.—All implements are purified by hot water.

Chapter v., line 118.—The purification by sprinkling is ordained for grains and clothes in large quantities ; but to purify them in small parcels, which a man may easily carry, they must be washed.

Chapter v., line 119.—Leathern utensils and such as are made with cane must generally be purified in the same manner as clothes ; green vegetables, roots, and fruits in the same manner with grain.

Chapter v., line 120.—Silk and woollen stuffs with saline earth, blankets from Nepal with pounded *Arishtas* or *Nimbu* fruit ; vests and long drawers with the fruit of the *Bilva* ; mantles of *Cshuma* with white mustard seeds.

Chapter v., line 121.—Utensils made of shells or horns, of bones or of ivory, must be cleansed like mantles with the addition of cow's urine or water.

Chapter v., line 122.—Grass, firewood, and straw are purified by sprinkling them with water ; a house by rubbing, brushing, and smearing with cow-dung ; an earthen pot by second burning.

Chapter v., line 123.—But an earthen pot which has been touched with any spirituous liquor, with urine, with ordure, with spittle, with pus or with blood, cannot even by another burning be rendered pure.

Chapter v., line 124.—Land is cleansed by five modes : by sweeping, by smearing with cow-dung, by sprinkling with cow's urine, by scraping, or by letting a cow pass a day and a night on it.

Chapter v., line 134.—For the cleansing of vessels which have held ordure or urine, earth and water must be used, as long as they are needful.

Rules as regards journey and places of residence :—

Chapter iv., line 60.—Let him not inhabit a town in which civil and religious duties are neglected ; nor for a long time one in which diseases are frequent ; let him not begin a journey alone ; let him not reside long on a mountain.

Chapter iv., line 61.—Let him not dwell in a city governed by a *Sutrá* king, nor in one surrounded by men unobservant of their duties, nor in one abounding with professed heretics, nor in one swarming with low-born outcastes.

Chapter v., line 140.—Let him not journey too early in the morning, or too late in the evening, nor too near the midday, nor with an unknown companion, nor alone, nor with men of the servile class.

Rules regarding the choice of a wife, and marriage and position of women :—

A twice-born man having completed his studies at the preceptor's house, or *āśram*, may return home, and with the consent of his venerable guide espouse a wife of the same class as himself.

Chapter iii., line 5.—She, who is not descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors, within the sixth degree, and who is not known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father or mother, is eligible for nuptial and holy union.

Chapter iii., line 6.—In connecting himself with a wife, let him studiously avoid ten following families, be they ever so great, or ever so rich in kine, goats and sheep, gold and grain.

Chapter iii., line 7.—The family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion ; that which has produced no male children ; that in which the Veda has not been read ; that which has thick hair on the body ; and those which have been subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy, and elephantiasis.

Chapter iii., line 8.—Let him not marry a girl, with reddish hair, nor with any deformed limb ; nor one troubled with habitual sickness ; nor with no hair or too much ; nor one immoderately talkative ; nor one with inflamed eyes.

Chapter iii., line 10.—Let him choose for his wife a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks gracefully like a young elephant ; whose teeth and hair are moderate respectively in quality and in size, and whose body has exquisite softness.

Chapter iii., line 20.—Now learn compendiously the eight forms of nuptial ceremony, used by the four classes, some good and some bad in this world and in the next.

Chapter iii., line 21.—The ceremony of Brahmá, of the Devás, of the Ráhis, of the Prajápatis, of the Asuras, of the Gundhurvas, and of the Ráchasas, the eighth and basest is that of Pisichas.

Chapter iii., line 55.—Married women must be honoured by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands and their brethren, if they seek abundant prosperity.

Chapter iii., line 56.—Where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased, but where they are dishonoured there all religious acts become fruitless.

Chapter iii., line 57.—Where female relatives are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so very soon wholly perishes; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases.

Chapter iii., line 60.—In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.

I forbear further quotation for fear of inordinate length. The above will suffice to show the excellent hygienic and sanitary measures enjoined by Manu, and which, if thoroughly carried out, would have made every village and hamlet in Bengal a veritable hygieopolis of Dr. B. W. Richardson. But as a matter of fact and actual observation what do we find in Hindu society and in every Bengal village?

The people, though nominally Hindus, have forgotten the Shastras and changed their modes of life and conduct. They do not take meat and nourishing food regularly, and have, in consequence, become physically weak. Again, they have abandoned marriage by choice and selection at a mature age, and taken to child and infant marriages, which form another powerful factor in the degeneracy of the present race. Hindu women are not so much honoured and respected as the Shastras enjoin, and hence the moral degeneracy of the people. As regards external cleanliness, we find that the people of Bengal generally keep their houses or dwellings with their yard clean—swept and *lepoed*—the exceptions being Domes and Harees, and other low castes, who keep pigs. Surgeon F. French Mullen, who officiated for me as Deputy Sanitary Commissioner in 1885-86, thus reported on Hindu houses in his annual report of that year: "The fact is that the natives of Bengal are not naturally dirty, but on the contrary their habits are essentially clean. Each villager keeps his *bari* and its immediate surroundings clean and tidy."

But when we leave the house and go out to its sur-

roundings and the village, we invariably find every insanitary condition powerfully and conspicuously present, and all Manu's laws disregarded and transgressed. In every rural and agricultural village we notice heaps of cow-dung, and house-sweepings, and refuse left to putrefy for manure and other purposes, cesspools and cesspits more or less abominable, jungle or noxious vegetation covering the vacant spaces affording cover for the commission of nuisances, and shelter to snakes and venomous reptiles, and breeding fever and ague during the rains by rotting. We find people performing calls of nature just outside and close to dwellings, and on road and tank and river-sides; holes and excavations more or less full of filthy fluid during the rains and impeding and obstructing drainage, and dirty ponds and tanks choked with weeds and rank vegetation which supply drinking water, or wells which are never cleaned, and near whose mouth people bathe and wash dirty clothes, the dirty water trickling or percolating back into the well. In non-agricultural villages the very same things are found, with the exception of manure heaps and pits. In short, we find in a village every cause present, and in full and active operation, to taint and poison the soil, air, and water, thus to breed much sickness and cause many deaths. As a rule there are no roads, no sufficient drainage, no good drinking water, and no conservancy of any kind. On the contrary, the people polluting the soil, air, and water, by easing on road, tank, and river-sides, and violating all the laws of Manu through ignorance or laziness, and supineness. As Dr. Mullen remarked in his report already quoted: "But why the villagers, as a body, fail to combine in order to keep the spaces not occupied by *barees* (houses) free of superfluous vegetation, the village paths and drains in good order, and, above all, why they fail to take the necessary means to preserve their drinking-water from contamination, is a racial defect, which it is unnecessary to dwell on here, but which is certainly not due to their being, as is asserted, addicted to filthy habits."

The consequence of this utter neglect of sanitation is that sickness and disease prevail in the villages to a fearful extent and cause large mortalities. In the districts of Hugly, Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad, Nuddea, Jesson, and twenty-four pergunnahs, ague and malarious fever from excessive dampness of soil and from drinking marshy water of choked tanks and beels, and of stagnant khals and streams, have prevailed for years, and caused heavy mortality. In Nuddea alone, in one year, more than a *lak* of people died of fever. North Bengal is notoriously feverish—where ague and its sequelæ, enlarged spleen and liver, are very common, and are jocosely said to extend to crows and lower animals.

Owing to the pollution of drinking-water and the want of conservancy, diarrhœa, dysentery, and cholera occur periodically and epidemically, carrying off large numbers. Vital statistics are very backward in Bengal, though I am glad to say that a perceptible improvement is noticeable of late. All the deaths are not reported, and some would go so far as to assert that one-fourth or one-third of the deaths escape registration. The latest report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, viz., for 1887, shows the mortality as follows: out of a population of 66,163,884 in Bengal, there were 172,578 deaths from cholera, 3,846 from smallpox, 1,087,768 from fever, 56,893 from bowel complaints, 26,630 from injury, including suicides, and 14,997 from other causes; and giving the following ratios per 1,000 of population: cholera, 2.60; smallpox, .08; fever, 16.44; bowel complaints, .85; injury, .40; and other causes, 3.09. The total deaths registered last year in Bengal amounted to 1,552,528, or 23.46 per 1,000. The mean of previous five years is 20.96, or equal to the death-rate of London, one of the best-cared-for and healthiest cities in the world. This is absurdly low—the death-rate of Calcutta during the healthiest months varies from 25 to 35, or more, and Calcutta, with its drainage, sewerage,

and waterworks, is now regarded by the Mofussil and village people as much more healthy, and where they actually come for a change of air. Comparing one district with another, we find Monghyr and Bhagulpur registered, last year, 26·87 and 21·83 per 1,000 respectively as death-rates for fever. If Monghyr and Bhagulpur, which are regarded as sanatoria by the Bengalis, show 26 and 21 respectively as death-rates from fever, the feverish districts of Bengal ought to show double or treble, which is not the case. Monghyr stands third as regards fever, and first in the total mortality, viz., 35·31, *i.e.*, Monghyr appears to be the most unhealthy district in Bengal. This is due to the energy of its police superintendent, Col. Ramsay, who improves death registration wherever he goes. The general mortality from fever in Bengal must be much higher than 16·44 per 1,000.

When sanitation is much neglected in villages, thereby giving rise to fearful sickness and mortality, what should be done? According to some, *Laissez faire*, or let alone, till the people improve in education and learn to appreciate the value of sanitation and to practise it of their own accord. They think that no pressure should be used.

Now towns and cities are admitted by all to be more advanced than villages, and yet we do not leave citizens and townspeople alone to do as they like as regards sanitation. We pass municipal laws and acts, and thus compel them to remove all nuisances, and to introduce sanitary improvements, as efficient drainage and sewerage, thorough conservancy, and good drinking-water, and all other requirements. Is not this using pressure and compulsion? On what ground is it justified? If enlightened townsmen and citizens require pressure or compulsion, how much more would villagers who are ill-educated and unenlightened. It is the duty of the State to regulate and direct village sanitation as much, if not more, than towns and cities. And here it should be clearly stated that the pressure will not be repugnant to the people whose "habits are essentially

clean," and who simply require to be reminded of the good old laws of Manu when their sympathy and co-operation will be enlisted towards the good cause. The need of some State pressure being thus demonstrated, let us proceed and see what is required to improve village sanitation.

The first and prime requirement of all villages is a supply of good drinking-water. Those villages that stand on flowing streams and rivers of sweet water draw their supply therefrom, but all inland villages depend on tanks, beels, and wells. Tanks were originally the gift of some Rajah, Zemindar, or well-to-do man, who gave them from a sense of piety and duty—such virtues have now almost disappeared with the spread of English education and Western ideas among the people. The consequence is that new tanks are rarely dug nowadays, and old tanks are not renovated from poverty and family disputes among owners; so they naturally became silted and choked with decomposing weeds and rank vegetation. This is, as I take it, one of the chief causes of ague and fever in many districts of Lower Bengal. One great factor in the causation of silted and choked tanks in some districts like Hugly, Burdwan, Midnapur, &c., is the cessation of floods from the Damuda, Selye, and Cossye, and other clear and crystal mountain streams due to embankments. The floods, though attended with some loss of property and temporary inconvenience, did much good by flushing tanks and filling them with fresh water, and by leaving on land silt and fertility behind. From the various causes enumerated above, tanks everywhere and in every district have become bad, and therefore the first thing needed to improve village sanitation is a better supply of drinking-water, by digging new tanks or clearing and re-excavating old ones. To do this last properly, a tank should be dewatered, and the black deposit and humus carefully removed, all trees on its bank cut down, and its bank raised if necessary, and all precautions taken against contamination by filthy surface drainage and washing of dirty clothes. All drinking-water

tanks ought to be reserved—bathing and washing being strictly prohibited with the general consent of the people. After having reserved tanks for drinking-water, attention should be directed to the condition of other tanks used for bathing and washing and cooking.

When the supply is drawn from beels, khals, and rivers, every care should be taken to avoid all sources of contamination, such as putting *komars*, or bundles of fresh twigs, for catching fish, jute-steeping, throwing of corpses and carcases, or of refuse from factories and distilleries.

In places where wells constitute the principal or sole supply of water, care should be taken to see that every well has a masonry parapet-wall, and an area or circumference of at least six feet in diameter, cemented with Portland cement, to prevent surface drainage and percolation into it. No bathing or washing of clothes is to be permitted near the mouths of wells, which should be cleaned periodically. No manure heaps or cesspools, or any offensive trade likely to contaminate the soil, should be permitted within the percolation area.

In villages without good tanks it would be better and cheaper to dig wells—either pottery or masonry, according to funds, for drinking-water—and in case of mixed populations there should be separate wells for the Hindus and Mahomedans. Wells are preferable to tanks for drinking purposes, being less liable to contamination by filthy surface drainage, or bathing and washing, or throwing of rubbish and dirt.

The second requisite for the improvement of village sanitation is the introduction of a system of rough conservancy, under which the people will not be allowed to contaminate the soil, air, and water of villages by easing near dwellings, or road, tank, or river-sides, which pernicious practice is as much opposed to the laws of *Manu* as of good hygiene. A cordon should be fixed, not less than one hundred yards from the outskirts of a village, beyond which all except the very old and infirm and young children are

to go for the call of nature. For the use of *Pardanashin* females and children and all old and sick persons, a hole or trench should be dug at the farthest corner of the garden or back yard, and used as latrine till nearly full, when it should be covered with dry earth. This should be the general practice for all villages not surrounded by fields and waste lands, or when such lands are under water as during the rains. The idea of covering filth with earth, though repugnant to the modern Hindu, is what was especially enjoined by Manu centuries ago, and long before the dry earth system of conservancy was ever thought of in Europe. People that can afford Purka privies or Kurha latrines, should construct them at the farthest corner of the garden or back yard. As aid to better conservancy, all superfluous jungle within a village should be cut, thereby removing all cover for committing nuisance. Manu's laws about conservancy are very strict and particular, as has been shown before.

Manure Heaps and Refuse Piles.—Bengal, nay all India, being an agricultural country, the farmer or cultivator must have his manure, which constitutes his wealth and without which he cannot do. But from ignorance of agricultural chemistry his method of making manure is the reverse of what it should be. Cow-dung and urine form his chief source of manure—the urine especially—and when they are exposed to the sun and air, all the ammonia escapes, leaving only useless rubbish behind. The farmer's practice is to pile up cow-dung with urine and all sorts of refuse, and to expose them to sun and air for weeks and months—to be carted and removed once in six months, *i.e.*, before the spring and autumn cultivations. Such long exposure deprives the poor and ignorant farmer of good manure and leaves useless rubbish behind. The manure, if immediately buried under earth, decomposes slowly and retains all its fertilizing elements; it can be exhumed and spread out when the time for cultivation arrives. The farmer should therefore remove cow-dung and refuse daily if his field is

close by, or as soon as there was enough to fill a cart if the field happens to be distant: it should be buried in different parts for thorough decomposition, and afterwards taken up for use and application. If this were done it would prevent all piling of manure and refuse within a village, and at the same time greatly augment the efficacy of the manure. And when once buried manure cannot be stolen, which farmers apprehend so much and urge as an argument against its removal to the fields before it is required for cultivation. In non-agricultural villages all sweepings and refuse should be buried in the garden, or carted away and utilized in filling up holes and excavations which abound everywhere, and impede and obstruct drainage.

Roads and Drains are generally conspicuous by their absence, and drainage is consequently defective in all flat villages. People should unite and make their own roads and drains. Every house may be drained to the nearest tank or pond by shallow surface drains, and the general drainage of the village may be directed to the fields, khals, or streams, by deep and proper drains according to the level—which level may be found out by observing the course of water during the rains. There is a tendency nowadays to make roads and paths sufficiently high to enable people to walk dry-shod or dry-foot without any attention to the drainage obstructed thereby. This tendency to keeping insufficient or no waterways is not confined to villages only, but extends to towns, cities, and even to railroads and embankments. The presence of holes and excavations in villages and towns impedes and obstructs drainage, and they should therefore be filled up. For thorough and effective drainage of villages sufficient waterways will be needed, and to secure them disputes as to right of waterways are sure to arise—these should be peaceably and amicably settled by the agency to be indicated further on.

Fresh Air and Ventilation.—When the dirty tanks and ponds of villages are cleaned, when the commission of nuisances on road, tank, and river-sides is suppressed,

and when all manure and refuse are removed more frequently and before putrefaction has set in or much advanced, the air would be rendered more fresh and pure. To promote free ventilation and perfusion of air, any obstacles caused by thick bamboo topes and dense jungle should be removed. The presence of large trees is beneficial for cool shade and for intercepting malaria, and therefore their growth should be encouraged. The best time for cutting jungle and brushwood is in the dry season—*i.e.*, before and after the rains are on—but if the jungle is cut during the rains, it is sure to rot and do more harm than good. Cut jungle may be utilized in filling up pits and holes along with sweepings, but over all should be put a layer of dry earth. The perfusion of air and ventilation are also influenced by the site of villages and the construction and arrangement of houses, which will be pointed out under the proper headings.

Site of Villages.—The people of existing villages have had no control over the choice of their sites. If such opportunity occur to any people, they should select a high and dry site away from marshes or sources of nuisance and disease, and, in case of hills and mountains, it should be protected and sheltered from sharp, cold winds. The sites of existing villages might be rendered more dry by thorough drainage and better exposure to sun and light, and free ventilation obtained by the removal of any thick bamboo clumps and dense jungle surrounding them.

Site and Construction of Houses and Dwellings.—A high and dry site should be always preferred if available. The floor of mud huts and houses might be rendered dry by cutting shallow surface drains all round, by putting a lot of ashes, cinders, and broken pots and pans underneath. In brick and masonry houses the same measure might be used if the floor was not to be arched. For proper ventilation there should be in mud houses a window, if not a door, corresponding to the front door and two corresponding side windows. In brick-built houses more doors and windows

are required for sufficient ventilation than in mud houses, whose eaves and porous thatch roof allow of free perflation of air.

No cesspools or pits should be kept in the yard, and all kitchen and other refuse to be removed outside and deposited in a pit dug for the purpose in the farthest corner of the back yard or garden.

Cow and cattle shed should be as far away from the dwelling and sleeping-rooms as possible, and all refuse removed and buried outside if not disposed of as cow-dung cakes for fuel.

When the householder can afford a privy, it should be at the farthest corner, where the nuisance would be least felt. Well privies are an abomination, and should never be permitted. Ordinary above-ground privies only are to be thought of and constructed, and kept as clean as possible, the night-soil being removed and buried in some place assigned for the purpose. Night-soil should never be thrown into water.

Disposal of the Dead—Cremation and Burial.—The Hindus, as a rule, cremate their dead (which is the best method of all from a sanitary point of view), the only exception being very young infants and vaisnaubs and paupers, who are buried on river-banks. Cremation is generally performed on the bank of a flowing stream, and, failing that, at the side of a tank or beel or in the fields. The body is supposed to be thoroughly cremated and reduced to ashes, which are consigned into water. This is not always done, and bodies partially burnt or only singed are thrown into the water. The practice of throwing corpses into rivers is gradually diminishing. Dead bodies are often transported from a long distance to the bank of the sacred Ganges or Bhagiruthi, being wrapped in a piece of mat and slung on a bamboo pole. If the death had occurred from any infectious disease, such as smallpox, this practice is often said to be attended with some risks to the persons carrying the corpse and the

people and places through which it is carried. Some precautions are necessary to minimize the evil—such as disinfecting the body and not allowing its passage through crowded places and thoroughfares.

Burials.—Mahomedans bury their dead. As a rule there are no fixed burial-grounds in villages. Many bury within private enclosures, and close to their habitations. This practice should be discouraged and gradually suppressed. Special places, either outside or in uninhabited parts or mohullas of villages may be fixed and assigned by general consent. Graves should be sufficiently deep to prevent exhumation by dogs and jackals.

Mourning and Uncleaness after death last among the Hindus from ten to thirty days, during which period no shaving by the village barber is allowed, beggars are not admitted for alms and charity, and dirty clothes are not sent to the village washerman for washing, and no intimate connection or association is allowed with the neighbours, such as eating and drinking together. All these are very sensible restrictions imposed to prevent the spread of any infection or contagion. The Mahomedans also observe some mourning which terminates in Futwa, or feast—just like the Hindus.

Agency.—Having stated the requirements of a village, it becomes necessary to indicate how these requirements could be met and fulfilled, and by what agency. Here a little digression may be permitted in order to notice a vital and most important resolution lately passed by the Government of India as regards sanitation in villages. It says plainly that hitherto sanitation had been left to the people of rural tracts, under the belief that no external pressure or interference was right or proper. It then goes on to say that the time has come for a more advanced policy, and for the cautious introduction of some sanitary provisions for villages. Under the Local Government Act, Local Boards and Unions have sprung up all over the country, and they should be charged with the sanitation of the rural tracts,

the necessary funds being provided for them either by the Local Government or powers given them to raise money by loans or taxation. As just remarked, this is a most vital and important resolution, and if Lord Dufferin had done nothing else, he would have laid the people of India, and especially of malarious Bengal, under the deepest and greatest obligation. His Excellency will be gratefully remembered if the efforts which he commenced in this direction are crowned with practical success.

Now as to agency for village sanitation. Though Local Boards and Unions might direct and control sanitary measures for villages, and raise and provide money for the purpose, still each village will require an agency on the spot to carry out their orders and be responsible to them. Such an agency could be obtained by forming a Committee of Health, in every village, consisting of five or six leading and influential men. The appointment of a local Committee of Health for the purpose of carrying out all measures to be devised by the Sanitary Board of the province will disarm all opposition, and enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the people. If this were done, Lord Dufferin's resolution on village sanitation would bear fruit before long, and all difficulties would gradually disappear.

Difficulties which are likely to be encountered in carrying out sanitary improvements may be divided under the following heads :—

1st. Those due to apathy and indifference to, and ignorance of, the laws of health or hygiene.

2nd. Those arising from extreme conservative habits and great reluctance to any changes or innovations.

3rd. Those due to want of unity and concerted action and power of combination among the people.

4th. Real and physical difficulties, such as crowded houses and villages, making ventilation defective ; low sites, rendering good drainage impracticable ; brackish and contaminated soil, rendering the water of tanks and

wells impure and unwholesome ; the absence of any waste land or jungle around a village for calls of nature ; the presence and proximity of marshes and beels, stagnant khals and streams, and silted and choked tanks or drinking-water wells near possible sources of contamination, like well privies, fresh burial-grounds, and cesspools, &c.

I will briefly indicate the best methods of overcoming the difficulties enumerated above :—

1st. Difficulties due to apathy and ignorance might be got over by reminding the people of the good old sanitary laws of Manu, and by teaching and instructing them in the benefits of hygiene, and by which disease and epidemics might be warded off and the duration of human life securely lengthened. The good old Rishis and Munis and their contemporaries enjoyed longevity. This is a fact which could be demonstrated. The Europeans generally live longer and enjoy better health than the natives of India ; and why ? Because the former live more carefully and agreeably to Nature's laws. Sanitary instructions are being imparted in primary schools, but the text-books, like Dr. J. M. Cunningham's primer and others, are ill suited, being full of technical names and phrases which are beyond juvenile comprehension. A suitable primer, teaching the first lessons in hygiene in simple language which a child may understand, is very much needed, and the want ought to be supplied by some officer of the Bengal Sanitary Department. The officers of the medical, sanitary, and educational departments might do much in removing ignorance and instructing the people on sanitary matters in the course of their official duties.

In cases of infringement of the rules regarding reserved tanks and conservancy, the first offence is to be punished by warning before the Health Committee and Panchayet ; the second offence by severe censure and measurement of the offender's nose against the ground for the space of seven cubits ; and if the offence is repeated after that, small fines of a few shells or pice, according to the

offender's position in life. Such fines will go to the credit of the fund at the disposal of the Health Committee.

2nd. Difficulties arising from extreme conservatism might be gradually overcome by practical appeals to the sensible people among the masses. Changes and improvements are the order of the day. The people now freely resort to railroads for travelling, and to the electric telegraph for trade and other urgent messages. People are now extensively patronizing English cotton goods, because they are cheaper than the old cotton fabrics of our Indian weavers, whose occupation is nearly gone, and who, as a class, are reduced to extreme poverty. From these facts it would appear that conservatism yields when the people find it to their interest and advantage to do so. That attention to sanitation would lead to comfort, better and improved health, and greater immunity from sickness and epidemic disease could be demonstrated, and when the people come to see for themselves the benefits and advantages, they would give up their conservative habits and hail changes and innovations.

3rd. Difficulties due to the want of unity and power of combination among the people have arisen from faction and party spirit of modern times. The village communities and panchayets and other local self-governing bodies have existed in India from time immemorial, and if these were revived under the Local Self-Government Act, the people would regain and recover the spirit of unity and power of combination.

4th. Real and physical difficulties, such as crowded houses and villages, making ventilation defective, low site, rendering drainage difficult, must be overcome by attention to the principles of hygiene. Crowding of houses and villages must be gradually removed by rearrangement and rebuilding as opportunities offer. Low sites may be gradually raised or drained from underneath; contaminated soil rendering the water of wells and tanks impure might be rendered more innocuous by stopping and preventing

all sources of impurity and contamination. The want of waste and jungle land around a village may be met by having trenches in the background or garden. The presence or proximity of marshes and beels might be rendered less potent for evil by thorough drainage of them, or if that is not practicable, by planting a belt of trees between the village and the marshes to intercept all malaria.

Ways and Means.—The real difficulty to village sanitation is the want of sufficient funds, but even this might be overcome if the money raised from villages on account of roads and public works were more judiciously expended. The road cess is levied for making district and village roads and opening communication, and if roads are properly constructed, with proper drains and sufficient waterways, the drainage of villages and rural tracts would be greatly improved. A part of the road cess can be legally used for the improvement of water supply, and if a fixed rate, say a tithe or tenth part of the cess, were set apart for the purpose, much good might be done. The road cess is at present wasted in keeping up costly establishments of district executive engineers. To construct roads and culverts no great engineering skill is required. A competent overseer on fifty rupees a month can do the needful. A part of the public work cess should be set apart for village sanitation. And as all villages contribute to the land revenue, a small part may be allowed out of it towards sanitation. With the above contributions and judicious expenditure of the road and public work cesses, much good might be done and great improvement effected in the course of a few years. His Excellency Lord Dufferin gauged the real wants of rural tracts, and passed a vitally important resolution for the improvement of village sanitation. For this the people will remember his rule and administration most gratefully and bless his name. Provincial Sanitary Boards might be formed and a number of measures devised for the improvement of water supply, drainage, and conservancy. The Board will

communicate the sanitary measures to the District and Local Boards for them to carry out; and as the village Health Committee will form the link of communication between the people and the authorities, they will be able to carry the people with them, and to enlist their sympathy and co-operation, and thus to overcome opposition.

District and Local Boards established under the Local Self-Government Act cannot have a better opportunity of showing their usefulness and capacity for self-government than by successfully introducing sanitary measures for villages and rural tracts. This, and nothing short of this, will satisfy the public and justify the wisdom of Lord Dufferin's vital resolution on the sanitation of villages. Sanitation and the India Sanitary Department owe much to Lord Dufferin's liberal and statesmanlike policy. For the sake of very doubtful economy the Sanitary Department of India was very nearly sacrificed, and none raised their voice against it; but when the matter came before His Excellency for final orders, he said that the abolition of the Sanitary Department would be a most retrograde course while every civilized country was perfecting its sanitary department. India, the home of cholera, ague, and dysentery, and other fearful plagues and pestilences, should never abolish its Sanitary Department. And after having saved the department, Lord Dufferin gave fresh proofs of his interest in the cause of sanitation by publishing a most important resolution, which, if acted on and carried out, will gradually improve the health and sanitation of villages and remove the sources of fever, ague, dysentery, and cholera, by thorough drainage and conservancy and a supply of pure drinking-water. The people of India, and especially of Bengal, the home of ague and cholera, will gratefully remember Lord Dufferin's name for the untold benefits likely to arise from his policy in sanitary matters.

K. P. GUPTA.

MORAL TRAINING OF HINDOOS.

IN 1858, when the Sepoy mutinies were nearly over, Megasthenes entered the Presidency College at Madras as Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic. Like his namesake of old, the Greek ambassador at Patna, he knew something of Europe, but little or nothing of India. During the four years that followed he discoursed daily with successive classes of Hindoo students of different races, tongues, and castes. They had nothing European about them except bright and intelligent faces and polite and prepossessing ways. They were unmixed Hindoos, for no Mohammedan entered the College. They wore cottons in light and graceful fashion, with imposing sashes. Their feet were bare, for they left their shoes at the College doors. They had voluminous turbans on their heads, with mystic marks on their foreheads, which referred to religion or caste; and they showed slight distinctions of dress or mode of wearing it, which indicated sect or tribe. Some wore necklaces like rosaries, or a small ruby or some such gem fixed in the side of the lower nostril or in the lobe of the ear. They all spoke English, and were all anxious to qualify themselves for the Government service. They were Hindoo in all their thoughts and ways—amenable to kindness, but liable to gusts of temper, which, however, were generally kept under by a forced calm. Thus the College was a museum of Hindoo humanity, and Megasthenes was teaching morals and logic whilst dripping in experiences at the fountain-head.

Teaching morality to Hindoos was a new experience to a European. The mere teaching was easy enough. Hindoos can be brought to understand rights and wrongs,

obligation and duty, virtue and vice, impulse and deliberation, as thoroughly as Englishmen. Moreover, they have a taste for metaphysics which helps them to distinguish between the different systems of moral philosophy. Their memory is marvellous, a gift which they seem to have inherited from their forefathers, who had but few books, and learned by heart what they wanted to remember. But their knowledge of morals was intellectual and confined to the class-room. It would not always fit in with Hindoo customs and caste rules. Much of it was familiar to them, as virtue and vice are nearly the same in all countries. Moral training, as involved in the practice of virtue, the striving against temptation, the habitual struggle to do what is right, depended more on the companionship of the students outside the College than on the abstract teaching inside. The main object of every student was to pass examinations, and to obtain a place which would secure official employment and lead to further promotion. Under such circumstances, definitions of a supreme rule of human action, or the greatest happiness of the greatest number, would no more touch the heart, and were as little likely to modify the conduct, as the problems of Euclid or arithmetic of Colenso.

Caste interferes with moral training whether in Europe or in India. Hindoo students sit side by side, and to outward appearance on equal terms, but they will not eat together, and every caste makes its own arrangements for the mid-day meal. No Hindoo of any caste will openly laugh or jeer at a Brahman, and every one of the recognized castes shrinks from a Pariah. But caste in India is not an unmixed evil. A man of caste is careful in his private life, and is anxious to be respectable. Caste may enslave the mind and interfere with freedom of action, but it promotes morality. Pariahs, or outcasts, have the worst character for getting drunk and general recklessness in vice; but they mostly follow the caste instinct, and form themselves into little castes, which are governed by caste rules, and they are regarded as respectable amongst themselves so long as they

conform to those rules. The Abbé Dubois, who dwelt amongst the Hindoos of Southern India for seventeen years, wore their costume, and lived as they did, expressed his deliberate conviction that without caste the Hindoos would soon be as immoral and shameless as Pariahs. To this day the Hindoos who have thrown off the restraints of caste are not always the most moral of the community.

Education, railway travelling, and voyages to Europe and back, are removing much that is objectionable in caste. But in 1858 the work had not begun. Caste feelings were as strong as ever, especially in the presence of other Hindoos. They were all proud of caste, although they had no sympathy with the Sepoys who had mutinied in Northern India against the greased cartridges, but regarded them as mad and wicked.

Hindoos of good caste have a morality of their own, the outcome of ancient usages clenched by custom until they have become a part of their nature. In benevolence, loving-kindness, and family affections—the relics of Buddhist morality—they are superior to the people of Europe. They have no poor laws, for every family is bound separately and jointly to support its aged or afflicted members. The lucky youth who gets a situation and salary is often saddled with the responsibility of maintaining grandfathers and grandmothers, uncles and aunts, brothers, nephews, and widows in the family homestead. They have no divorce courts, for no Hindoo wife of any caste would dare to be unfaithful to her husband, and no one, except amongst the lower classes, would have the opportunity. They have no temperance societies, for all respectable Hindoos are teetotallers, except perhaps the Rajpoots, or hereditary warriors, and the Pariahs, or hereditary outcasts. These last may intoxicate themselves with drugs or strong liquors without incurring the blame or disgrace which would fall on Brahmans, Vaisyas, or Sudras.

The Hindoos are separated into four castes, which have existed from the remotest antiquity, namely, the

Brahmans, or sages, the Kshatriyas, or royal warriors, the Vaisyas, or merchants, and the Sudras, or servile. In the present day the Sudras are the most important of all. They form five-sixths of the population. They are of all occupations—some are merchants, some are rajas, and some are serving as priests. The bulk are agriculturists and traders, and every trade or occupation is a separate caste. They are all proud of being Sudras, and lord it over the Pariahs. They crowd the Government schools and colleges. They are the main strength of India—industrious, progressive, and influential. Educated Sudras are said to imbibe European tastes for meats and wines, but this is a question of social liberty, and has nothing to do with public morals.

Most Englishmen pass through a training in games and sports which would be heart-breaking to Hindoos. Cricket, football, rowing, sailing, and single-stick involve both physical and moral training. The competitors are equal; there is no rank or caste in games or sports, but unfair play is regarded as mean and dishonest. Hindoos have no such training; they could find no pleasure in muscular exercise beneath the hot sun of India. They can ride, and the Kshatriyas or Rajpoots are fond of sport, but they would all think it beneath their dignity to sail a boat, pull an oar, or play at football or rackets. None but Kshatriyas or Pariahs would angle for fish or shoot at birds or deer.

The Hindoo boy and man are thus different beings from the English boy and man. Competitive examinations will not settle the question of superiority; they are no test of excellence between rival races. The competition between nations cannot be decided by bookwork. A Greek would have outvied a Roman in the academy, but Rome founded the greatest empire and civilized the western world. No Asiatic ruler could compete with a Cæsar; no Asiatic army could have stood against the men who fought at Balaklava and Inkermann.

All Hindoos are married or betrothed for life before they are ten or twelve to girls of seven or eight. So far

the marriage is a matter of form, but it is indissoluble. At eleven or twelve the girl reaches maturity, and is brought away from her parents by her bridegroom, and henceforth lives with him under his father's roof. These early marriages are necessary to the maintenance of the caste system. Were the boy and girl not bound together for life before they knew what marriage meant, love would play the mischief with caste, as it sometimes does with rank and wealth in England. Many Hindoo students at the Madras College were husbands and fathers, and working hard for their examinations whilst oppressed with the weight of family affairs. These matters were kept a profound secret from Megasthenes, and it was not until years afterwards that he was assured that his favourite pupils at the Madras College were married men.

The first moral duty of every Hindoo graduate is to obtain a post and a salary. If he continued his studies, as he is often advised to do by his European mentors, learning for learning's sake, he would be scolded by his parents, rated by his wife's relations, and scoffed at by kinsfolk and acquaintance. The women would be the last to sympathize in his thirst for profane knowledge. They had stimulated him to work for his degree, and having got a post and a salary he must seek further promotion in other ways. Learning is thus a stepping-stone to a livelihood and nothing more. Every year there is an increase to his family cares. His father may die, and an elder brother become the head of the house; or the family may be divided, and he may have to find a new home. Children grow around him, and wives must be provided for the boys, and husbands for the girls. The arrangements of these child marriages press heavily on every Hindoo father. There is no way of escape. He must institute inquiries for a suitable match within the circle of families in which inter-marriages are allowable. He must institute comparisons of horoscopes to ascertain compatibility of fortunes and characters. Finally,

he must provide for the expenses of the ceremony and the necessary presents and feastings, which last for many days, and often incur liabilities with money-lenders which embitter the remainder of his life.

In the British Isles no boy is married until he has finished his education and secured some means of livelihood. He then lives in a house or chambers of his own, separated from his parents. His wife is a woman grown, and the marriage is assumed to be one of mutual affection. When a Hindoo is married his wife is a girl living with him in the house of his father and mother. She is domineered over by her mother-in-law, plagued by the wives of her husband's brothers, scarcely able to speak to her own husband in the daytime, and never at any time to any other man except from behind a veil. There is no intermingling at meals. The women provide the dishes, but never eat with the men. They must wait until the men have finished, and then may only eat what is left. They may be the superiors in virtue, but they are always the inferiors in position. A Hindoo mother is a good mistress of a household, but the household is her world.

Chivalry and self-reliance are the backbone of British morality. When boys and girls are awakening out of the innocence of childhood, and conscious of a new life, the youth is eager to fight his way in the world in order to maintain a wife, and the maiden is yearning for a lover and protector. Both are dreaming of a future which is to be a paradise on earth. Should a young man fall in love he throws off his boyish ideas, repents of youthful indiscretions, and resolves to lead a higher and useful life. Tennyson tells how love steals into a young man's heart. Thackeray describes the wild passion of Arthur Pendennis for the Fotheringay, and the repentance of Harry Foker over his follies and weaknesses when he falls in love with Blanche Amory. But neither poet nor novelist could reveal the secrets of the hearts of the daughters of England, the sacred confidence between a maiden and her

mother, or the sweet and bitter emotions which are the joys and sorrows of womanhood.

In India there is neither chivalry nor independence. Boys and girls submit to their fate like automata. Love has no spiritual influence on either side; no divine impulse to become worthier of the other. The Hindoo boy sees no young beauty outside his father's household, except perhaps widows or dancing girls, with whom marriage is out of the question. Some day he is brought away from his schoolfellows, and wedded for life to a little maiden of whom he probably knows nothing, excepting that the parents of both have agreed to marry them to each other. Then follows a blank of two or three years. From time to time the boy sees his future wife and the girl her future husband. Thus from blind obedience and sheer necessity they accept their destiny. Rivalries or jealousies are impossible. They see no one else to love; they have become friends and sweethearts; and nature herself would make them bridegroom and bride, if no one else was standing by.

At last the day approaches of wedding festivity; the day of real marriage, when the bride is brought away to gladden the life of the bridegroom. In the pride of his heart, a Mahratta stripling, more independent than Hindoos in general, confided his tender secret to Megasthenes. In spite of his youth, he spoke more like a man than a lover. The European could utter nothing but empty congratulations. He wished the bridegroom joy, and asked if the bride could read or write. The reply might have been anticipated: "Hindoo maidens are not educated to please strange men!" This, however, was thirty years ago, and since then female education has begun to recommend itself to the wealthier classes.

The personal influence of Europeans will do more for moral training than all the books and systems in the world. Mr. Eyre B. Powell, the Principal of the College, was an enthusiast for the regeneration of Hindoos. For

many years he took Hindoo boys into his own house at night-time, and familiarized them with "Pickwick" and "Waverley," or opened out the wonders of the stars from his own observatory. He was merciless in his discipline, but insubordination was unknown. Sir Madhava Rao was one of his pupils; so was a distinguished Hindoo lawyer, who wrote and spoke English better than many Englishmen, and eventually was Judge in the High Court. Mr. Powell often had to mourn over weaknesses in the moral character; but that was because his ideal was too high. He sought to transform a Hindoo into a European, when he ought to have been content with training the Hindoo. As it was his success was marvellous. His pupils were marked men throughout the Madras Presidency. Nearly every Hindoo official who became distinguished for efficiency and honest dealing was found to be one of "Powell's boys." Twenty years afterwards, when the Vernacular Press Act was passed at Calcutta with all its extreme penalties, the Madras Government claimed to be exempted from its operation, as nothing of the kind was wanted in Southern India.

Social intercourse between Europeans and Hindoos is hedged round with difficulties which are ignored in the British Isles. There the main obstacle is ascribed to caste ideas about eating or drinking together, or to the conflicting notions of Europeans and Asiatics as regards the intermingling of gentlemen and ladies in ball-rooms and other places of amusement. But the question turns upon the degree of friendship which may exist between European and Asiatic gentlemen. It is possible between a College Professor and his pupils. It is also possible between English officials and Asiatic subordinates, especially if they have grown old together in the service. It is impossible between an English judge and suitors in his court. Megasthenes was bantered for sending his Hindoo landlord with a letter of introduction to the judge of the district. The judge read the letter, ascertained that

the native gentleman had a case coming before him, and very properly declined to see the visitor. The Hindoo, however, was far too polite to reproach Megasthenes. On the contrary, he thanked Megasthenes for his kind offices, and added that the judge was extremely pleasant, and talked to him for more than an hour. Henceforth Megasthenes was always glad to see his pupils, or indeed any other Hindoo gentleman, but he was chary of giving introductions.

Sometimes Europeans find a difficulty in knowing what to talk about. Megasthenes got over this obstacle by inducing Hindoo visitors to talk about themselves or their concerns. Sometimes the conversation was wearisome, but it enabled him to collect a vast stock of facts and experiences. He found that educated Hindoos, especially Brahmans, were always ready to respond. Indeed, native gentlemen of this class will often take much trouble to explain any peculiarity in their religion or usages, provided the inquirer does not carp ungenerously, but takes a liberal and intelligent view of their institutions.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

ON "MAHOMED'S PLACE IN THE CHURCH."

IN Germany the theory which connects the doctrines of the Korân, through the tradition of the Ebionites, with pre-Paulinic Christianity, has been received with interest, connected as the essay on this subject is with Mr. de Bunsen's work on Tradition. What in the latter I regard of indubitable and enduring value is the chronology and ethnology therein propounded, and also the far-reaching theory on the dualism of tradition in Israel, based on the ethnic dualism represented by the Hebrew and "the stranger within the gate." From this new position many startling assumptions have been derived, which will not be regarded as sufficiently established till after having been subjected to that scientific criticism which is evidently the author's earnest wish to call forth. The very strongest opposition will—rightly or wrongly—be made to the more or less problematical combinations brought forward.

It is an entirely new synthesis that Mahomed's place in the Church depends on that of Paul, to whose doctrines the Korân refers only indirectly and for the purpose of opposing them, as was done by the most numerous Christian sect in Syria, the Ebionites. Baur, the representative of the most radical views, regarded the four first Epistles of Paul as the most ancient and trustworthy exponents of aboriginal Christianity. But now reasons are suggested for distinguishing the doctrines of Jesus from those of Paul. The doctrines of Paul are now supposed to have been connected with the tradition of Jewish dissenters, of the Essenic Therapeuts and Hellenists of Alexandria, which originated in India, especially in

Buddhism, and were applied to Jesus first by Stephen and then by Paul.

Before assuming that in Stephen's speech the angel who appeared to the fathers in the wilderness may not have been identified with Jesus, it is necessary to take into consideration, that the Therapeuts, whose doctrines must have been known to Stephen, as they certainly were to Philo, expected an Angel-Messiah, and this seems now to have been conclusively established in the work on Tradition. How the incarnation of Christ was by Paul supposed to have been accomplished, is not explained by the apostle, who in the Epistle to the Romans does not connect the Divine sonship of Jesus Christ either with His birth or with baptism, but with the resurrection on the third day according to the Scripture, a theory of fulfilled prophecy which is absolutely excluded by the Apostolic Tradition recorded in the first three Gospels. This new explanation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is derived from Gospel statements, and with which is connected the doctrine on the atonement by blood, proves, in my opinion, beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt an essential difference between the doctrines of the twelve apostles and those of Paul.*

It is a simple matter of fact, as testified in the second chapter of Galatians and in the Acts, that during the first fourteen years after Paul's commencing to preach his gospel to the Gentiles, the apostles at Jerusalem were afraid of him, did not believe that he was a disciple, and did not give him the right hand of fellowship. It was not till after this long interval that Paul went for the second time to Jerusalem, where eleven years before he had spent fifteen days with Peter, and had also seen James. He now laid before the apostles the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, of which he declares that it was the gospel which should afterward be revealed; thus

* "Islam, or True Christianity," by Ernest de Bunsen, pp. 96-112, Trübner and Co., 1889.

indirectly implying, what later was actually asserted by Origen, that of this gospel, revealed to Paul, the Twelve had known nothing. When, therefore, Paul adds that the apostles told him nothing new, we are sufficiently justified in assuming that Paul's gospel was something quite new to the apostles whom Jesus had chosen.

At this apostolic meeting it was agreed that Paul was not to preach among the circumcision—a task entrusted to Peter—and that Paul was to send money to Jerusalem for the poor. Already at the time of his first journey to Jerusalem there were churches or congregations in Judæa which belonged, as seems to be implied, to the uncircumcision, being Gentile Christians and, according to the theory we are here considering, Essenic or dissenting Christians. Paul writes of them that they were "in Christ," though he was still unknown to them by face. But they had heard about him, that he, the commissioner for Stephen's execution, the persecutor of those who had accepted the doctrines of this Jewish and Christian dissenter, now preached "the faith which once he destroyed." Whether or not the plausible and, as I think, sufficiently substantiated theory is accepted, according to which Paul had suddenly been converted to the faith of Stephen, not recognized at Jerusalem, the entire epistle breathes a spirit of Paul's absolute independence from those who had been apostles before him, who did not believe in his discipleship, and who for fourteen years refused to acknowledge him. In spite of this Biblical evidence, an anonymous English critic of the essay ventures on this assertion: "Paul himself tells us that he stated to Peter, James, and John the gospel which he preached, and that *they fully agreed with his teaching*, and recognized his Divine mission." This we should in Germany regard hardly as criticism.

To refer to another objection by the same critic, the doctrine of Christ's return on a cloud was certainly taught by Paul, and this apparition was by him wrongly expected during the generation to which he belonged. He connects

that doctrine with "the word of the Lord," probably with a recorded saying of Christ, and—as the author of the essay is the first to suggest—with the words recorded in Matt. xxiii. 37-39. Christ referred to a future time when Israel's house would no longer be desolate, and when He would be seen, spiritually discerned by Israel. According to a general expectation, the promised coming of "Elijah the prophet" was to precede the final fulfilment of Messianic times. John the Baptist did not regard himself as this prophet in the spirit and power of Elijah, the recognition by Jesus of John as Elijah cannot be asserted, Jesus has certainly not regarded Himself as Elijah, and no words of Paul have been transmitted which can be interpreted to express his belief that this promised prophet had already come. But Paul believed in the glorious future of Israel, and it is not improbable that he regarded himself as the prophet who was to turn the heart of the fathers to the children, of the Israelites to the Gentiles, and the heart of the children to their fathers. If indeed Paul was to fulfil this mission of Elijah, then Israel would welcome him in the words which Jesus cited from the 118th Psalm, and which he directly connected with Israel's seeing him: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." For in that name or spirit every prophet was believed to come. According to the ingenious suggestion of the above cited essay's author, this train of thought may have led Paul to interpret the word of the Lord about his future apparition in the way he did in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians. The words attributed to Jesus in Matt. xxvi. 64 can be referred to Daniel's vision of the Son of Man's ascent on the clouds, with which a descent of the risen Christ was connected, whether by Jesus Himself or not it is impossible to assert. Yet we are told that the return on a cloud "*was Christ's own doctrine*"!

The doctrine of Christ's second coming is not referred to at all by any of the apostolic fathers, if we except a few doubtful passages in Ignatian epistles. Justin Martyr

does not establish this doctrine by words of Christ or of the apostles, but only develops it by figurative interpretations of Old Testament passages. Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria are absolutely silent on the subject. In the Gospel after John, no distinction is made between the coming of Christ in a low estate and one in glory.

Some Biblical scholars may perhaps agree with the English critic of "Mahomed's place in the Church," that no other doctrine than that of three eternal persons and one God "can be made to harmonize either with the Gospels or the Epistles"; that the Trinitarian doctrine seems to be implied by the New Testament Scriptures, although for some mysterious reason they do not refer to it in clear words. But this argument, unsatisfactory as it is, falls utterly to the ground if it can now be proved that Paul's doctrine of Christ is essentially different from the christology of the twelve apostles, and that even Paul's doctrine of an Angel-Messiah implies a distinction between God and the highest among the angels. Of the latter, who stands before God, Paul could say that being in a "Divine form." He humbled Himself by accepting "the form of a servant," the fashion of a man, being sent "in the likeness of sinful flesh," as "the Man of heaven." Even were we to suppose, for the sake of argument, that Paul regarded Christ as an eternal person, in no wise distinguished from God, it would be impossible to assert that Paul regarded the Holy Spirit as an eternal person, the third person in the Divine Trinity. We cannot make Paul responsible for the Trinitarian doctrine, but even assuming it to have been a Paulinic doctrine, it was certainly not sanctioned by the apostles at Jerusalem and their Divine Master.

In the German work on "Tradition, its Origin and Development," an entirely new theory has been set forth on the doctrine of the Trinity, as originally developed from the solar symbolism of the two golden cherubs, and the Divine presence above and in the midst of them. Philo is shown to have mystically explained, by this symbolism in the Holy

of Holies, Abraham's vision of the three strangers, as having referred to God accompanied by two angels. It must here suffice to say that as yet no criticism of this theory has appeared in Germany, and that in my opinion, as in that of men of science whom I have consulted, this all-important and intricate question of the Trinity might have been treated in a less incomplete manner, although the author has not been wanting in ingenuity nor in the deep respect due to the subject. In the form published, this great problem is not yet ripe for scientific criticism.

The astronomical symbolism of the Cherubim and Seraphim is a discovery of great import. Nor is it a mere theory that the principal divinities of the East and of the West, including Jehovah and Christ, were connected with the spring-equinox, their adversaries with the autumnal equinox, symbolized by the constellations of the Scorpion and Serpentarius. By the precession of the equinoxes, the place of Taurus was taken by Aries and that of Aries by Pisces. The latter change had taken place when, in the catacombs, the Christian symbol of the fish was represented.* Astrological mythology is much more ancient than the references in Genesis and the Apocalypse to the woman and the serpent, of which the Ebionite tradition of aboriginal Christianity recorded in the Korán has of course taken no notice. The assertion by the English critic, that the promise of the seed of the woman who should bruise (aim at) the serpent's head was *really* given by God to man, although in harmony with so-called orthodox Christian dogma, takes no notice of the fact that the sun in the sign of Virgo finally extinguishes the light of the stars of Hydra, and that the "great

* Already before the Christian era the Jews expected the advent of the Messiah when the Sun should stand before the constellation of Pisces, and the latter stepped into the place of Aries not long after Christ's death (Wolfgang Menzel, "Christliche Symbolik," p. 214). The derivation of "ichthys" from the initials of *Jesus Christus Theus huius soter* was an afterthought.—To accept "supernatural" interventions as the solution of a problematical question, is a step which hardly any German critic would venture upon.

sign in heaven" of a woman persecuted by "the old serpent" also refers to astral symbolism. By consulting Dupuis' remarkable work, "*L'Origine de tous les Cultes ou la Religion Universelle*," any reader will convince himself that we are here in presence of very ancient mythology.

The strong opposition in the Korán to the Trinitarian doctrine of the Catholic Church becomes an important element for the Church historian, if it may be reasonably assumed that it was caused by Ebionite tradition which asserted, up to and beyond the time of Mahomed, that it transmitted aboriginal and pre-Paulinic Christianity. If so, and as regards the all-important conception of the Deity and the Messiah, the Korán would be a truer record of the doctrines of Jesus than the Gospels, in which specifically Paulinic doctrines have been—for obvious reasons—mixed up in such a manner with the doctrines of Jesus and the Twelve, as to suggest that there never was any essential difference between them. Nevertheless, the treasures contained in the four Gospels have an historical interest superior to the records of Ebionite tradition through which Mahomed seems to have received his religious instruction. Only in so far as Ebionite tradition may be assumed to have been in harmony with the doctrines of Jesus, can it be said that Islam is in some essential points cognate to true Christianity. Again, only in so far as in the four Gospels the real doctrines of Jesus have been expressed, can the Gospels of our canon be regarded as the exponents of aboriginal Christianity. Its sublimest, because unadulterated, record is the Epistle of James, the brother of Jesus. That Epistle is the best commentary of the Gospels in the form transmitted to us.

The question whether without the Gospels it would have been possible through the Korán alone to become acquainted with the person and doctrines of Jesus, must be answered by a decided negative. The Korán certainly insists on Jesus having been the announced Messiah, but it does not say why He was the at least partial fulfiller of Old

Testament prophecies. We find nowhere in the teachings of Islam a trace of the connection of Jesus and of His doctrines on the kingdom of heaven with the promised new and spiritual covenant, with the law written on the heart by the Holy Spirit. Still less does the Korân shed any light on the mysterious relations between Jesus, as the Messenger or Angel of the new covenant, and the promised prophet in the spirit and power of Elijah, whose coming the Jews rightly still expect. The New Testament Scriptures and the Korân leave that great prophecy unanswered.

In what sense and for what reason Jesus is the Christ, to prove this convincingly to the consciences of mankind, has remained the highest problem for interpreters of the Bible. From its solution must necessarily depend the fulfilment of the promised outpouring of the Spirit of God on all flesh. The solution of this problem has, in my opinion, been brought nearer by the essentially new and incontrovertible doctrine on Christ which has been developed by the author of the essay on "Mahomed's place in the Church," in his German work on tradition. The centre of this christology, solely derived from the Bible, lies in the interpretation of the kingdom of heaven as the rule of the Spirit in the hearts of men. The indwelling of that Spirit had not been acknowledged by the law and prophets until John; the consciousness of that immanent power of God was first called forth by the words and works of Jesus, who thus became in fact the human messenger of the promised and expected new spiritual covenant. This doctrine of the Spirit, of Oriental origin, has been kept in silence since the days of Moses; it was a doctrine the promulgation of which was forbidden, a hidden wisdom, for which reason Jesus was obliged to whisper into the ear of His chosen disciples "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." Judas, the man of Kerioth in Judah, betrayed to the spiritual rulers of Israel the secret doctrine of Jesus, who was for this reason crucified, the Sadducees and Pharisees fearing that, if this doctrine became popular, people would no longer worship in the

temple—which Jesus had never done—but would flock to the synagogues.

According to this doctrine on Christ, His Divine nature, His Divine sonship centres in the indwelling Spirit through which He became anointed, in consequence of His perfect obedience to its promptings, of His consequent absolute holiness. Through that Spirit, which is in all men, Jesus communed with the Father and was at one with Him. The Christian religion is the religion of spiritual communion, a worship in spirit and in truth. The Holy Spirit is in God, in Christ, and in humanity. Only in this sense can Jesus have acknowledged a Divine Trinity in Unity, only on this basis will there be in future one flock and one Shepherd.

A pamphlet just published at Hamburg, under the title, "*Mohammed und der Korân*," by the great Arabian scholar, Dr. A. Sprenger, confirms to a certain extent the surmises of the author of "*Mahomed's Place in the Church*," by deriving many of Mahomed's religious notions from his intercourse with a Jewish Christian from Abyssinia. The forms of worship adopted by Mahomed, Dr. Sprenger traces, on the other hand, to the Askete Bahira, dwelling near the present Boraira, on the Dead-Sea. How many people in Germany consider a reformation of our Christian dogmas necessary may be concluded from the reception Dreyer's late pamphlet on "*Christianity without Dogma*"* has met with, even on the part of such orthodox writers as Professor J. Kaftan,† of the Berlin University. The latter is hardly less zealous for Church reform, by going back to original Christianity and by dropping the articles of creed that have sprung up since the Crucifixion, than the learned author of "*Islam, or True Christianity*" himself.

A GERMAN CRITIC.

* Otto Dreyer, "*Undogmatisches Christentum.*" *Betrachtungen einer deutschen Idealisten*, Braunschweig, 1883.

† D. Julius Kaftan, "*Glaube und Dogma.*" Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1889.

"THE FRIEND OF LONDON;" OR, THE RAJPUTS OF MEYWAR.

DOST-I-LONDON or the "Friend of London," such is the quaint superscription upon the coinage of the Maharana of Oodeypore, the chief of the oldest, as it was formerly the most powerful, of the Rajput States of India. This coinage itself was struck at the time that the power of the Mahrattas, the hereditary foes of the Rajputs, was at its zenith, and that, steadily advancing in overwhelming numbers, they had driven the gallant Rajputs, of Meywar, of which country Oodeypore is now the capital town, who had already been broken by centuries of uncompromising struggles with the Mahommedans, into the fastnesses of the Aravalli mountains, which were their last retreat. There is little doubt that they would have eventually succeeded in utterly crushing them had it not been for the interposition of the British Government, which in the beginning of this century rescued the Maharana of Oodeypore from their clutches and restored to him the fragments of the dominions of his ancestors which the greed of Mahommedan invaders and of his own rebellious nobles had spared him, but which the merciless hordes of Mahratta and Pindaree banditti had all but succeeded in wresting from his rule. It was to commemorate this timely deliverance, and to mark their appreciation of the service thus rendered them by the British Government, that the Rajputs of Meywar caused the quaint superscription which has been given above to be engraved upon the current coinage of the day.

There is much to interest one about this race of Rajputs, for their position in India is perfectly unique. Amongst all the heterogeneous races which surround them they alone

can be said to be of absolutely pure descent—if one excepts the aborigines of the country, whose origin dates from far beyond any records of modern times—but, while the latter constitute races of irreclaimable savages whose condition has never altered, and indeed appears incapable of amelioration, the Rajput race from the earliest records of its appearance in India down to the present day has ever been marked as the most gallant and highly-civilized people of the continent. Let it be noted, however, that in applying thus to these Rajput races the term of 'civilization,' I do not make use of it in the conventional sense in which the term is ordinarily applied by the Anglo-Indian administrator of the present day, to the dull intellects of certain of whom it seems to mean nothing less than the extirpation from every race with which they are brought in contact of all their national characteristics, except such as are of a business nature, and the reduction of the whole to the same sordid level of tradesmen and clerks. No, the civilization to which I refer is rather such as may be compared to that of our own in the Middle Ages, when business and commerce were left to the Jews and the trading classes, while the nobles and the yeomen, despising these, as they deemed them, unworthy pursuits, considered the profession of arms the noblest to which a man could be born; when chivalry was yet abroad and a gentle and gallant demeanour towards the weaker sex was considered as much the duty of a "preux chevalier" as the prompt revenge of an insult, or the staunch support of his liege lord in any cause which the latter might take in hand. Such has been the civilization of the Rajputs from the earliest times of which we have any trace.

Not that, any more than in our own case, literature or the arts and sciences were neglected, for, as in Europe, the old cathedrals and palaces and castles are still living evidences of the degree of material civilization to which our own populations had attained centuries and centuries ago, in times that we have, according to our modern ideas,

accustomed ourselves to look upon as plunged in the depths of barbarism ; so there is not a capital or large town in Rajputana which does not in a similar way, with the simple substitution of temples for cathedrals, amply demonstrate that the civilization of this people was one that, at any rate, had existed centuries before that of our own, and rivalled ours, if it did not surpass it, at similar epochs of our comparative histories. The only fault we can have to find with them is that they have not made the same headlong forward rush as we have done within the last one hundred years. Again, in the cultivation of literature and the arts and sciences they were by no means behind us. Their productions in this line may not indeed commend themselves to our European tastes any more than the conditions of climate and social life of their native country ; but who is to say that they are intrinsically the inferior on that account ? There is no trace of their ever having existed in a state of barbarism, their present condition of civilization appears to be the same now as it was centuries ago ; and if they have not progressed towards our conventional standard of modern days and thrown away their swords to take up the pen or razed their ancestral castles to the ground to build up rows of shops in their place, at any rate they have not retrograded from that of their own.

There is no stranger experience or one that impresses one more overpoweringly with a sense of the superficiality of the veneer of our own peculiar Anglo-Indian civilization which we have spread over such parts of the continent of India as are in the neighbourhood of our high-roads of communication, and the principal seats of our rule, than to travel from Bombay up to Ajmere and thence to plunge into the interior of a Rajput State ; the railway has hardly been left a mile or two behind before one finds oneself carried back at least one hundred years in the history of the country. It is as though one were to get out at a station on the Metropolitan Railway in London and find the old city, as one sees it in pictures, still standing, with its narrow streets

and overhanging stories, and the curious old-fashioned costumes of its inhabitants. Just so, no sooner has the station, at which one has alighted from one or other of the railways which traverse Rajputana, disappeared from one's sight, than the whole fabric of our presence in India appears to melt away like a dream, and it seems almost impossible to realize that it can be a fact; the farther one wanders on, too, the more this feeling strengthens. Were it not for the swarthy skins and the Oriental costumes of the people whom one encounters one might almost imagine oneself back in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Every town is surrounded by lofty walls and deep moats, while the stronger positions upon the hills or rising ground are crowned with the castles of the nobles and feudatory chiefs; splendid indeed, too, are some of these, and such as would fairly vie in grandeur of conception and elaborateness of execution with many of the old castles of which we are so proud in England. One almost expects to see the castle gates thrown open and troops of mail-clad knights and their retainers issue forth with spears and banners and shields and all the appurtenances of mediæval chivalry; and such indeed would be the case did occasion require it, but the chivalry would be Rajput armed and equipped in the same old-fashioned way as their ancestors were when they preferred to be decimated in repeated contests with the Mahomedans to surrendering their independence, or making a peace on such terms as their pride rebelled against their accepting. The whole social hierarchy, indeed, in Rajputana is of precisely the same old feudal type as existed amongst ourselves in what are termed the Middle Ages—that is, those intervening between the period of our own emerging from barbarism and our present state of high-pressure civilization. There is the sovereign, whose power varies according to his personal influence and the terms he is on with his principal barons; if weak or unpopular, he may be little more than a mere puppet in their hands; if a man of determination and one who can command their respect, his position may be one

of as absolute monarchy as the nature of the constitution admits of. Then there are the nobles and feudatory chiefs whose degrees vary according to the extent of their feudal estates and the number of armed men which they are bound to supply the sovereign with in time of need. Again, there are the yeomen attached to the various nobles or else to the sovereign direct—all these are Rajput, and correspond in their position in the country to that of the Normans in England after the Conquest. Lastly, comes the mass of the people—the *base herd* as they would have been termed amongst us in olden days—the peasants or serfs, the shopkeepers—Bunniahs as they are called, or Jews as they would correspond to according to our ideas—and the clerks, &c.

Each nobleman lives in his own castle, which is situated in a central or otherwise convenient position on his own feudal estate; and there, surrounded by his retainers, he maintains a little Court of his own on the pattern of that kept up by his sovereign, just as did our own great barons of the Middle Ages; the only claims which the latter has upon him is for a specified quota of warriors on such occasions as he may require his assistance for the expulsion of a common foe or the promotion of some enterprise of common interest, and his personal attendance at the capital for certain fixed periods in the year during which he remains in attendance at the Court, in token of the feudal claim which his sovereign has upon him; beyond this, he is as free and independent as the monarch himself; indeed, more so, for while he possesses himself all the rights of absolute sovereignty within the extent of his feudal domains, with the interior administration of which there is none that would dare interfere, the latter merely occupies the position as it were of the representative of the entire community. He is indeed the fountain of all honour, and a sacredness attaches to his person which raises him far above the level of all others of the same descent; but he cannot transact any business affecting the general interests of the State without submitting it first for the approval of his council of nobles, amongst

whom he merely occupies, as it were, the position of president, with, of course, proportional influence.

Such is, theoretically, the system of administration amongst Rajput States, and such would be what it would revert to were the British Government to withdraw from the country ; but, in practice, it is of course subject to many modifications now-a-days. Our presence in India has been nothing but beneficial to the various populations with which we have been brought in contact—whether directly under our own rule, as in British India, or indirectly, as in the case of the Protected States—but it has involved a considerable departure from the old and national ideas of administration. In the case of the former it has almost entirely taken it out of the hands of the priestly and warrior classes, whose hereditary right it had formerly been ; and where it has been entrusted to natives of the country, it is to the lower or trading and clerkly classes that it has been committed ; such as who, in former days, would never have occupied any but a very subordinate position in the official scale ; and this, though for many reasons it may be an undesirable one, is, as far as we can judge, almost an unavoidable result of our system, at any rate within our own territories ; and, whether unavoidable or no, it has been the natural consequence of our connection with many of the Native States, though of course to a very much modified extent. The Maharana of Oodeypore is still almost supreme within his own territories, at least, as far as the nationally devised constitution allows him to be so, and his feudatory nobles still exercise almost all their traditional privileges. I qualify my statement advisedly, for in neither case is their position *absolutely* such as it used to be before our advent into the country, for there is a British official present at the Court of every State. To those who do not understand the importance of this reservation I will explain the nature of the connection which exists between the British Government and the various Tributary or Protected States of India.

One of the necessary consequences of the acceptance of

our protection, as has been the case with some ; or the compulsory recognition of their dependence upon ourselves, as has been the case with others, has been the location at the Court of each of the independent princes of India of an officer termed, according to Anglo-Indian official jargon, "a Resident," that is, of a representative of the British Government, whose duty it is to be the medium of communication between the State and the British Government, and *vice versa* ; to see that the provisions of the mutual engagements were duly carried out on the part of the State, and to put a stop to any intrigues likely to be injurious in their effects to British interests. Such duties have themselves necessitated no interference on the part of this official with the interior administration of the State ; whatever representations he found it his duty to make, he made direct to the sovereign, and these were strictly limited to such matters as directly affected the special interests which he was placed where he was to protect. But imagine an energetic and highly-trained Englishman, relegated to a life of complete seclusion in a spot distant by march days and days—may be weeks—from any society of his fellow-countrymen ; such duties as I have described it may be easily supposed were by no means sufficient to fill up his time or satisfy his restless desire for active employment ; he naturally turned his eyes towards the condition of things which existed around him, and plunged into projects for the general amelioration of the country and the reformation of the numerous abuses and disorders which were continually coming under his notice ; and, as he was willing to suggest improvements, so did he find in general the people of the country eager to consult him on such subjects, and ready to place themselves almost unreservedly in his hands as regards their execution ; for there can be no greater compliment to our national character than to perceive the absolute confidence which the natives of India mostly have in the general honesty of our intentions and the absolute impartiality of our conduct.

An Oriental Court is a very hot-bed of intrigue and every sort of rascality wherever it may be ; and the Courts of the Rajput princes are no exception to this rule. When no foreign foe has existed whose presence or designs would constitute a sufficient incentive to induce them to sink their own petty jealousies and differences in the protection of the common interests, the Rajput princes and nobles have ever passed their time engaged in labyrinths of intrigues against one another. Under such circumstances, and actuated as they were by feelings of the most profound distrust and suspicion towards one another, it is easy to understand how willing they must have been to submit the settlement of their differences to a person whom they knew to be absolutely disinterested, and whom they believed to be guided in his conduct by principles which were completely above the level of their own comprehension. The result has been that the British Resident has become a person who is consulted by almost all alike, high and low, in their own private concerns, and by the sovereign himself in the general administration of his State ; so much so that his position has become, in the case of those whose peculiarities of disposition and character have more particularly fitted them for such a sphere, one of almost unlimited influence ; all the more so that it has been exercised without any exhibition of authority on their part ; and every one has been satisfied to bow to their wills and accept their decisions in nearly every contingency that could arise. The British Government, too, has been glad to accept the position and to recognize the influence for good which its representatives at the Courts of the various Native States may exercise in the internal affairs of the country, so long as it is done so indirectly and without any such authoritative interference as might suggest to the minds of the people doubts regarding the honesty of our motives, or any suspicion that we might be harbouring intentions upon the independence in which they have been guaranteed according to the terms of our mutual engagements.

The next step in the general modification of the original relations of the feudal hierarchy in a Rajput State has been the exaltation of the position of the Minister of the State, as he is now called, and the augmentation of his influence as such. In many cases it has farther involved the transference of this post from its hereditary holders to others of suppler minds, though of lower origin.

Although the very essence of Oriental rule is the free and unrestricted intercourse between the sovereign and every class of his subjects—so much so that on the days on which the former holds open Court for the purpose of receiving all who may wish to approach him, the meanest may come near him and fearlessly make known his petition on any subject, however trivial—still, the post of Diwan, which is the title which we have tried to render by Minister, has generally existed in every Native Court, whether that of the Emperor himself at Delhi or the smaller independent states and kingdoms. The occupants of these posts now-a-days delight to be styled by the grandiloquent European designation of "Prime Minister," but neither does their position nor its duties at all correspond to the impressions which would be conveyed to European minds by the use of such a title. In former days the Diwan was generally a noble of considerable influence, and always the personal friend of the sovereign—the title is even now retained in some families as a sort of patent of noble descent—he was, indeed, the sovereign's deputy, and as such signed and sealed and exercised general supervision, but merely by his authority and in his name. The exercise of these functions, regarded in this light, is, of course, very much opposed to the ideas conveyed by the use of such a title as Minister, which suggests the position of a person placed by the voice of the public, and merely with the approval of the sovereigns, under a constitutional Government, to advise the latter and generally transact the national business.

The Resident, in his schemes for the moral and material amelioration of the populations amongst which his lot has

cast him, has found it easier to deal with a Minister chosen from the commercial or clerkly classes of society than to consult the wishes and encounter the prejudices of the dominant race of the country by a resort on every occasion to the national mode of procedure, with its annoying but inseparable attributes of procrastination and half measures; and the natural indolence of the Rajput, as of other warrior classes, has prompted him only too willingly to recede from his administrative rights and yield them to others of readier and subtler intellects than his own. Despising, as he has been taught to do for generations, the effeminate accomplishments of reading and writing, he feels himself utterly helpless amidst all the complicated machinery of our modern administration—with its jails and its schools, and its reports and statistics of rainfall and grain crops and crime and vaccination, &c., &c.—and has cheerfully given place to admit the lower or trading classes to the positions of trust which it had been formerly his pride, as it was his privilege, to enjoy.

Our connection with the various Native States has been productive of the greatest possible benefit generally to the population which they respectively comprise. Unsatisfactory as must still appear the condition of some of them in our eyes, we have yet succeeded in evolving some signs of order out of the chaos of intrigue and mismanagement in which we originally found them; but it has had its defects, and the principal one has been the demoralizing influence which it has had upon the higher and warlike classes. As has been said before, the common result of our administration throughout India has been a bringing forward and corresponding exaltation of the lower or mercantile and clerkly classes of society, with an equivalent throwing into the background and corresponding depreciation of the noble or warrior classes. This is the natural consequence of our rule, and it is difficult to see how it could have been avoided; it remains, therefore, only to recognize the evil, and to consider how its injurious effects upon the latter can be best remedied.

There is but little field now-a-days in India for such of her sons as are of high birth and yet men of action, for now that the *pax Britannica* is amply guaranteed throughout our possessions by our own forces, both British and Native, while the sword is rusting in its sheath, it is men of the pen who are in universal request. At the same time, it seems a pity that no opening can be found to a more active life for some of the gallant and manly specimens which one repeatedly comes across of Rajput nobility, whose tastes and pursuits are such as could not but commend them to the good opinion of the corresponding members of our own upper classes in England. Sport of all kinds they are devoted to and excel in, while the science of arms they consider their own special hereditary profession, but condemned as they are now-a-days to lead a life of inaction, they are gradually deteriorating, and more and more giving themselves up to habits of vice and self-indulgence; and yet, were the occasion to arise in which their services would be required, with what joy it would be that every Rajput chief would sally forth with his following of retainers to place their swords at the disposal of their feudal suzerain; and whatever the occasion might be, we might have implicit confidence that it is not against ourselves that such swords would ever be turned. It seems indeed a pity that these rough levies of men, who are a nation of soldiers alike by instinct and training, cannot be adapted in some way to the requisitions of modern warfare. But dashing and fearless as is his nature, unlike the Sikh, whose docility and soldier-like qualities make him peculiarly amenable to our military organization, the Rajput is insusceptible of discipline; his independent habits cannot bear the restraints of a soldier's life according to our system of military organization, and his proud and fiery temper forbids his submission to an order from any but his feudal chief, whose will is his law. It is possible that some scheme might be evolved by which this valuable material might be improved upon by the issuing to them through their feudal chiefs of arms of

better precision than the miserable matchlocks or Brown Besses with which they are at present armed, and their semi-organization under the same into corps modelled upon the lines of the famous Jezailchees of the Khyber Pass. We should thus give both chiefs and retainers some congenial employment, and obtain for ourselves the assistance of valuable corps of irregular cavalry and marksmen available for guerilla warfare; while, armed as they are at present, they would only be able with all their daring to offer the feeblest opposition to well-armed troops of infinitely inferior morale and physique.

The essential, however, for such a scheme of organization amongst the Rajput population of Meywar would be that, for the reasons I have given, each body of retainers should be under the sole control of officers of the family of their respective chiefs, for they will serve no other, though they will be glad or even proud to carry out the slightest wish of these at the certain sacrifice of their lives, so strongly is the feudal feeling implanted in their breasts. Of such material, in the State of Meywar alone, the Maharana would, on an emergency requiring it, be capable of rallying round his standard an army of 40,000 or 50,000 Rajput warriors.

The Rajputs of Rajputana—I make use of this restriction purposely; for there are Rajputs of all denominations scattered throughout almost every Hindoo village in India; these latter however are, in spite of their claims to the title, in few cases of genuine Rajput blood, though they constitute the warrior caste, and share generally in the attributes of the ancestry from which they are more or less indirectly sprung, for they are the offspring of the intercourse of the Rajput conquerors many centuries ago with the women of the various nationalities with which their conquests brought them in contact—the Rajputs, then, of Rajputana, as distinguished from these, are the direct lineal descendants of the original Aryan stock, which somewhere about two thousand years before the Christian era im-

migrated into the continent of Hindostan from their previous abodes in Central Asia. The earliest settlements of their race in India were in the districts stretching from Lahore to the neighbourhood of Allahabad; and it is there that are yet to be seen the remains of their cities and temples, which show how advanced must have been the degree of civilization which they brought with them at a time that almost every other people in the world except the Egyptians were buried in the deepest ignorance and barbarism. This, too, is the district round which all their religious traditions centre; for as the Holy Land with its hallowing associations is sacred to the imagination of every Christian, whether of the old or new world, so it may be said without profanity that the city of Muttra, in the centre of this district, with the neighbouring mountain of Brindaban, where Krishna's incarnation took place, is surrounded with a halo of sanctity by the traditions attaching to it, which makes it a household word in every Hindoo home.

From thence the Rajputs spread north and south, and east and west, driving before them into the depths of the forests and the recesses of the mountains the various aboriginal races which they encountered in their progress, till they had penetrated to Nepaul on the north, to the Deccan on the south, to Assam on the one side, and to Sinde upon the other—in all of which countries we find them to have erected separate independent kingdoms. In many of these parts they appear in course of time to have become absorbed amongst the local populations, to whom they imparted their customs and religion with its accompanying social distinctions and divisions into caste. The latter would seem to have been innovations introduced subsequent to their appearance in India, and were probably formulated for political purposes in order to emphasize their claims to superiority above the people of the country and the descendants of their own intercourse with the same; for the Brahmin and the Rajput ever remained the ruling castes, while the others were taught as a religious dogma

that it was their duty to be subservient to them both, and that any attempt to modify their relative positions would be nothing short of the grossest sacrilege. In the district, however, which I have mentioned as the site of the first settlement of the Rajput race, they remained the same distinct people, neither marrying nor giving in marriage with the people of the country or the neighbouring populations, and thus they continued for centuries, until the period arrived of the Mahomedan invasions. To these they offered from the very outset a stout and uncompromising resistance, till at length, about the tenth century, A.D., worn out with the apparent hopelessness of the attempt to maintain their independence in such open country, they rallied round the regions thence known as Rajputana, where they succeeded in protracting the struggle for many centuries, and in the case of the Rânās of Oodeypore—or Chittore as is their more ancient title—whose boast it is that they never yielded to a foreign foe, indefinitely, till the Mahomedan empire, whose claim to sovereignty they had so often and so gallantly contested, had fallen to the ground and a new power had arisen from its ruins which threatened to strangle them in its grasp—namely, that of the Mahrattas. From such a fate it was, as has been said, only the intervention of the British Government which relieved them.

During all these times the famous fortress of Chittore had been the capital of the Rajput State of Meywar, and as it was the point round which the various Rajput clans again and again rallied for a combined resistance to the hated invader; so no less was it that by the reduction of which the latter hoped to succeed in completely crushing the resistance thus offered. But its natural position and its fortifications were as stout as were the hearts of its defenders, and many a time was it besieged by countless hosts, who were compelled eventually to withdraw in despair without accomplishing their object, and decimated by slaughter and famine and disease. Thrice, indeed, it was taken in the course of about five hundred years of constant

fighting, but never by a capitulation of the garrison; the sword and famine and disease might do their work, but the Rajput garrison knew not how to surrender themselves, whatever might be their own lot or that of those dear to them, to a foreign foe. When all further resistance seemed hopeless, they performed the ceremony locally known as *johâr*; their women they collected—on one occasion it is said to the number of as many as 13,000—in a subterranean passage, and there smothered them by fires lighted at the orifices, to prevent the possibility of such a dishonour as their falling into the hands of the conquerors; then the men, frenzied with fury and fanaticism, dashed out into the centre of the enemy and perished to a man upon the point of the sword. Then again, beaten but not conquered, they determined to transfer their capital from the more exposed position of Chittore seventy miles further west to the outer ranges of the Aravalli mountains, amidst the recesses of which they hoped that they should ever be able to find a refuge such as would secure their independence from its most powerful and persevering enemy. There they founded the present capital of Oodeypore, so called after the Rana of the time, whose name was Ooday.

The Aravalli Mountains are the most curious portion, if not the most interesting, of this very curious and interesting portion of India, both on account of the wildness of the scenery which they offer, and the strangeness of the population which is found amongst them; these are both alike the most peculiar of their kind. The extent of these mountains is by no means great, for it barely extends over one hundred miles in length by about sixty miles at its broadest point; there is nothing of the grandeur of the Himalayan ranges, moreover, about the spectacle presented by them, for but few of their summits rise to a greater altitude than that of about four thousand feet, but there are few views which can rival those found amongst them, in the wildness and ruggedness of the scenes which they present. They stretch in a series of broken but parallel ranges, which

rise abruptly from the narrow and deep valleys dividing them, and thus present an inextricable labyrinth of rocky and winding ravines buried amidst the densest jungle, which render them almost inaccessible to the outside world, while constituting fitting homes for the wild races that dwell amongst them.

As, on entering Rajputana, by leaving the beaten track, one seems, as has been said, to go back one hundred years in the history of the country, so, no sooner has one left Oodeypore a few miles behind, and penetrated a corresponding distance into the mountains on the verge of which the city is built, than another still greater change comes over the scene. Instead of imagining oneself back in mediæval times, one might almost fancy oneself plunged into some of the forests of Central Africa or South America at the time that they were first visited by their European invaders. The mountains are covered on all sides with deep forests or the closest undergrowth, except in the patches where it has been cleared here and there to give room for the sites of the villages of the Bheels, the aboriginal inhabitants of these secluded recesses. These villages consist of miserable little grass huts planted at intervals round the edge of the clearing, so that their occupants may have timely intimation of the approach of an enemy, and ample facilities to escape into the jungle should expediency recommend such a proceeding. Each village lives on terms of distrust and suspicion of its neighbour, never knowing when it may not be liable to a raid from either side to obtain possession of its poor belongings, which are only a few cattle and a scanty supply of grain. For, as among all savage peoples, human life is absolutely without any account amongst this population, and they are always ready and eager to risk their lives for what would appear to us the paltriest objects of contention. Their very appearance and bearing stamp them as the most irreclaimable savages; their dark skins and scanty clothing, their eyes as wild as those of a hawk's, and their free and independent yet distrustful manners, all

savour of the wild animal rather than of the human being.

Thus have they existed century after century from dates that precede our earliest records. The more open and exposed parts of the continent may have passed under the successive rules of the Hindoos, Mahommedans, Mahrattas, and the English, but all dynasties and empires have been the same to them, they have remained the same, as wild and independent as ever, and knowing no master in the midst of their mountain fastnesses, the possession of which no conqueror has thought it worth his while to dispute with them. There they still wander, with no arms but the bow or the spear, extracting a miserable existence from the produce of the chase, or the scanty sustenance which is all that their intolerable idleness will allow them to derive from the cultivation of the soil. When able to afford the luxury, they barter their proceeds with the natives of the plains for liquor of any description, and live in a state of drunken revelry till it is consumed; when no other mode of diversion presents itself, they amuse themselves by murdering one another, or combine for some common enterprise of peculiar atrocity. Unlike the ordinary native of India, who delights in travelling, the world is bounded to them by the narrow limits of their native mountains, beyond which they never venture except to bring into the neighbouring villages the grass and wood and other simple products of their forests for sale or barter; and into these mountains equally would no other native of India dare to venture, except at the certain risk of his life, for short indeed would be the shrift he would meet with at the hands of any Bheel that came across him—a twang of the bow, a hurtle of an arrow, and all would be over with the enterprising traveller, while his clothing and ornaments, however poor, would probably be the occasion of numerous jealousies and heart-burnings amongst the beaux of the tribe.

The Bheels, in common with the Santhals, Mhairs, Goonds, and other aboriginal races, are gradually decreas-

ing in numbers, and will in course of time doubtless completely disappear, for it seems a law of nature that the savage should give place to the more cultured races, and a necessary consequence of the progress of civilization that no room should be left for those that absolutely refuse to adapt themselves to the altered conditions of existence which it brings with it; but it is a consequence that one cannot regret the less for the fact that it seems inevitable, for there is something about the fearless bearing and the frank and light-hearted demeanour of these savage races, when they have overcome their first sense of timidity at one's intercourse with them, which is peculiarly attractive to Europeans, especially to such as have had much experience of the cringing manners and sordid habits of the majority of the lower classes in India with whom his official duties more generally bring him in contact.

The Bheels of the Aravalli Mountains have always been on terms of the friendliest relationship with the Rajputs of Meywar, and more than once have the latter, when hard pressed by the enemy, been glad to take refuge amongst these mountains, where they have met with the kindest treatment from their wild inhabitants. This friendship appears to have existed during the lapse of many centuries, for it is related that as early as the commencement of the sixth century A.D. an ancestor of the present ruling house of Meywar was driven to take refuge amongst these savage allies, and that when he had recovered his throne from the usurper who had expelled him from it, it was with blood drawn from the hands of one of his faithful Bheel attendants that he preferred to have the *tekkā*, or royal mark of sovereignty, attached to his brow to any other mode of performing the ceremony, since which date this custom has on the accession of each fresh Maharana been perpetuated to this present day.

As has been said, the Rajputs in Meywar occupy a position amongst the general population of the State very similar to that of the Normans in England for a long

period after the Conquest—that is, that they constitute the dominant race in the country, and represent the aristocratic and landed classes of the community in their various degrees, such as, according to our ideas, would be described by their classification into the grades of barons, esquires, yeomen, and retainers; the remainder of the population, which, moreover, is very much in excess of that of Rajput descent—being of completely alien origin and of comparatively recent appearance in the country—are accordingly looked upon with feelings of considerable contempt by the latter. This analogy, however, though representing fairly enough the actual position in which the Rajputs are now found, as compared with other races of alien origin which have spread themselves over the more fertile and accessible portions of the State, does not hold good as representing the circumstances owing to which they have arrived at the same; for they are themselves undoubtedly, at any rate in the case of the Meywar State, the older inhabitants of the country, whilst these races of alien descent are the result of emigrations of the populations to the north and west in search of fresh lands to settle upon.

The cause of these successive influxes of agricultural races, such as the Jāts and Gūjars, into the portions of Meywar in which they are now found, from their former homes in the Punjab and Oudh, has been the depopulation of the original Rajput inhabitants of these districts in the course of their struggles with the Mahommedan and other invaders. It is to the wholesale slaughter of the Rajputs which was the consequence of the desperateness of the resistance they offered to these during the course of many centuries of warfare, that the scantiness of the present Rajput population may be attributed. It is not known with any accuracy what their numbers amount to, as the greater part of them reside on the lands of the various feudal chiefs, from whom no statistics on the subject are procurable, but it would appear that they could not amount

to much more than about one-fifth of the gross population of the State.

The Rajputs of Meywar, however, though universally acknowledged to be the noblest and most important, constitute one only out of many amongst the Rajput tribes, just as the State of Meywar itself is only the most ancient and the largest amongst the various Rajput States constituting the region now known as Rajputana.

These States extend over an area reaching from about 70° to 79° E. long., and 21° to 31° N. lat., and containing about 150,000 square miles; that is, they are about equal to the area of Great Britain and Ireland. They vary in every degree, both of extent and natural resources, from the comparatively fertile districts bordering upon the former site of the Mahommedan kingdom of Malwa and the present territory of the Mahratta chief of Indore, to the arid plains and deserts of Jesulmeer and Beekaneer, abutting respectively towards the north and west upon Sind and the Punjab. The general character of the country is wild and sterile in the extreme; where the landscape is not broken up by endless series of mountain ranges, the bare monotony of the plains and deserts is only relieved by the appearance of a few rocky hills absolutely destitute of any apparent sign of vegetation. So much was one of the Mahommedan invaders struck with the desolateness of the appearance presented by the country, that after a desperate, though indecisive, engagement with its inhabitants, he is reported to have exclaimed that he had very nearly lost his empire for nothing but a pile of stones and dust. But these very circumstances of their barrenness and inaccessibility are those that have for centuries made these regions an acceptable retreat to the Rajput races in their obstinate determination to maintain their independence, and equally rendered fruitless, on the part of successive invaders, all attempts, however persistent, at their subjugation.

It is worthy of mention that Akbar, the greatest and most sagacious of the Moghul emperors—profiting by

the experience of his predecessors, and convinced of the futility of all attempts to reduce by force these hardy warriors—initiated a complete departure from all previous traditional rules of policy regarding their treatment, and endeavoured by a more conciliatory demeanour to gain their confidence, and attach them to his rule by convincing them that it was by a personal loyalty to his dynasty that their individual independence would be best secured. With this object in view, he guaranteed the various Rajput States in the exercise of all their respective rights and privileges, whether national or religious in their character; and from motives of policy, as well as to demonstrate to their satisfaction the completeness of his freedom from the narrow-minded scruples and religious fanaticism of his predecessors, he even sought to bind the more influential of them to himself by the closer ties of matrimonial alliances with various members of his house.

This policy was followed with the most complete success, and the more exposed States, gradually overcoming their first feelings of distrust, gladly availed themselves of his overtures; so much so, that both his own armies and those of his immediate successors became largely recruited from their forces, and the most trusted and successful generals of the imperial forces were frequently of Rajput blood. The Rajputs of Meywar alone held aloof from their countrymen in these friendly relations, and maintained an unvarying attitude of uncompromising indifference, if not of actual hostility, towards the advances of the Moghuls. It is still the special boast of the reigning family of Meywar that, however reduced their circumstances or eagerly sought after such an alliance might have been, they alone of all the Rajput States have never compromised their national pride by giving a daughter of their family in marriage even to the imperial house of Delhi.

By thus gaining their confidence and providing for chiefs and retainers alike a congenial field of action in his own service, Akbar accomplished a two-fold object—he

removed all source of danger from what had been an element of weakness and chronic uneasiness in the most central and vital portion of his dominions, and he acquired for himself the support of large bodies of brave and devoted troops, who were ready to turn their swords to any cause in his service, whether it were the suppression of internal disturbances, or the prosecution of external schemes of conquest.

It remained for the bigotry and short-sighted policy of Aurangzeb to alienate from himself the confidence and esteem of this people, which it had cost his predecessors so much labour and diplomacy to secure, and to convert into the bitterest enemies those who would have remained otherwise amongst the most devoted adherents of his rule. But this was only one amongst his various ill-advised measures, the result of which was to raise the whole of Hindostan in hostility against himself during his life, and after his death to culminate in the gradual collapse of the Moghul supremacy.

From the ruins of the Moghul Empire arose that of the Mahrattas; and as the power of the Moghuls decayed, that of the Mahrattas gained fresh vigour, until about the commencement of the eighteenth century they extended their conquests as far north as Chittore, and later on proceeded to beat up the Rajputs of Meywar in their retreat at Oodeypore. The armies of the Mahrattas were admirably suited to their system of warfare. They consisted originally of thousands of indifferently armed men mounted on hardy ponies, which conveyed them—absolutely destitute as they were of any species of baggage, except the plunder which they amassed upon the way—with extraordinary rapidity from point to point; for it was not till a later period, when their contests with the British showed the invincible superiority of trained troops over such rough militia, that their chiefs modified their national tactics by the introduction of bodies of troops organized under European supervision, and accompanied by artillery and similar

equipage. The adoption of these improvements, while enabling them to offer a more sustained resistance to opposition in the field than it had been either their policy or practice to offer under their former organization, impeded the celerity of their movements and diminished the terror occasioned by their raids.

The ill-fated country of Meywar, which had for centuries formed the centre of the national opposition to the Mahomedans, thus again became the scene of the ravages of these merciless freebooters. The recurrence of these inroads, too, sad to say, was encouraged by the petty jealousies and internecine quarrels of the Rajput princes, who alternately invited these mercenaries to assist them in the prosecution of their private feuds. This, of course, the latter were only too pleased to do, and over and over again were the plains of Meywar harried by their bands. More than once, even penetrating the outer ranges of the hills, they drove the unfortunate Rajputs from their retreat to seek for further refuge in their deepest recesses amongst the friendly aborigines of the Aravalli Mountains.

The result of these continued misfortunes was that the Maharana of Oodeypore, whose ancestors had exercised suzerainty over the greater portion of Rajputana, found his territories reduced by repeated cessions and encroachments to little more than the hilly tracts, with the plains in their immediate neighbourhood; while even the possession of these was disputed with him by his own unruly nobles.

Since the period of his alliance with the British Government he has succeeded in reasserting to a great extent his position of supremacy over the latter, but Meywar still retains little but the shadow of its former glory, while the Prince himself, no longer able to maintain amongst his contemporaries the position to which his high and ancient descent entitles him, has only the memory of former days of grandeur to fall back upon for consolation. The country is, however, gradually recovering from the series of shocks which it has received, and encouraged

by continued peace and more careful government, its population is rapidly increasing, and commerce and agriculture are gaining ground on every side.

During the period intervening between the cessation of the Mahratta inroads and the days of the Mutiny, nothing appears to have occurred connected with the history of this State which would be worthy of record, but the occurrence of the Mutiny gave the Maharana his first opportunity of giving a practical proof of the friendliness of his feelings towards us. When the garrison at the neighbouring cantonment of Neemuch mutinied, he caused a number of English refugees, who had taken shelter in his territories, to be conveyed to Oodeypore, and placed them there in a position of security in a palace upon an island in the adjacent lake, where the rooms that they then occupied are still pointed out.

There is little doubt that, had it not been for the mercenary troops which many of the Rajput chiefs maintain merely for purposes of police, there would have been no consequences felt of the Mutiny throughout Rajputana, beyond the insurrections of our native troops in the various cantonments in which they were stationed; but the mercenaries of the Rajput chiefs were recruited from the same localities as our own native soldiers, the Rajputs themselves being unwilling to accept service of this nature, and thus all their sympathies were with these. Had the chiefs been invited to call out their feudal levies, it is probable that we might thus have had the benefit of something more than the mere moral support of the indigenous population.

Since then the history of the State has been only that of petty internal disputes amongst the various nobles, or between them and the State, varied by a considerable rising of the Bheels, which occurred in the year 1881, and occasioned some anxiety at the time. Its occasion was that, during the census in India, some officious employés of the State, which had consented to its introduction within its own territories, endeavoured to extend it

amongst the savage tribes, over whom the State itself exercises little more than a nominal control. The advent of these emissaries had been preceded by the most ridiculous reports as to the object of the measure which they were supposed to be commissioned to introduce, which of course gained a ready credence amongst this ignorant population. Not the least alarming of these tales was one to the effect that the British Government had ordered the Bheels to be counted, with a view to ascertaining the respective numbers of the men and women amongst them, and that whichever sex should be in the excess were then to be removed to a distant part of India. The consequence was that no sooner did the agents of the State appear for the purpose of carrying out their instructions, than the Bheels took immediate and effectual measures to prevent their ever proceeding with the work. Their suspicions being then fully aroused, they proceeded to massacre all the strangers they could come across, and collected in such vast numbers in the neighbourhood of Oodeypore, that at one time it was almost feared that, in spite of the primitiveness of the weapons with which they were armed—which were only bows and arrows and spears—they might succeed in overwhelming all resistance that could be offered them by sheer force of numbers. A body of the Maharana's troops was sent against them. This the Bheels allowed to proceed many miles into the interior of their hills; then, cutting off its retreat, and surrounding it on all sides under the shelter of the jungle, they obliged it to capitulate on the most humiliating terms, which not only involved a complete repudiation on the part of the State of any design of proceeding with the objectionable measures, but procured the immediate redress by the latter of many long outstanding grievances.

The city of Oodeypore, which is the present capital of the Meywar State, is situated most picturesquely upon the banks of a large artificial lake, which measures about seven miles in circuit. On the opposite side of this rise, tier after

tier, the ranges of the Aravalli Mountains, which, by the wildness of their aspect and the ruggedness of the outline which they present, give a most romantic effect to the general landscape. Its position and the beauty of its palaces are, however, its only claims to consideration, for it is, as has been explained, of comparatively modern origin, and contains but few objects of interest in itself or within its immediate neighbourhood. Its secluded position, for it is situated at a distance of seventy miles from the nearest point of railway communication, and in a complete *cul-de-sac*—the mountains to the west constituting from their inaccessibility and the nature of the populations which reside amongst them a complete bar to all communication in that direction, except through one or two circuitous passes—has prevented its being much affected by the spurious growth of European civilization which has sprung up within more recent years in most of the more busy centres of India, and it still retains in consequence, to a refreshing extent, a considerable amount of its natural primitive simplicity.

From their national pride, and the traditions of their descent which leads them to look upon themselves as the hereditary guardians of the ancient usages of their race and religion, the Rajputs of Rajputana are, as may be imagined, a people that is conservative in the extreme, especially as regards the attitude which they have adopted towards the innovations of our Anglo-Indian schemes of civilization; and in this they offer a marked contrast to the commercial or other unwarlike or subject castes of the Hindoo community, who, it would almost appear, are filled with the conviction that an extreme eagerness on their part to adapt themselves to the more superficial but least essential characteristics of our European theories of civilization must necessarily constitute an overwhelming proof of their own intellectual superiority and natural though hitherto unappreciated talent for administration.

We have, it is to be feared, been deceived by the

readiness with which European theories have been absorbed by the latter into imagining that we are leading the whole population of India with us in our schemes for administrative and social reforms; but those who have been the loudest advocates of schemes far in advance even of any which we have contemplated, are the very classes who would, in the event of their adoption, carry least weight amongst the general community in the work of execution. Their only claim to attention is the noisiness with which they have advanced their own personal pretensions. The mistake they have fallen into is the result of our own training, for we ourselves have, by forcing our European theories upon all indiscriminately whose ears we could gain, fired the hearts of the erst peaceable and submissive Bengali and other subject races with a delusive ambition, and led them to completely misappreciate the nature of their relative positions as regards the various warlike races by which they are surrounded.

As opposed to the self-asserting demeanour of these, the Rajputs—in common with other similar ruling races who alone form the bar to which, in the case of our absence from the country, such questions would be referred for decision—while full of good feeling towards ourselves, and thoroughly appreciating the benefits which they have derived from their connection with the British Government, have quietly but firmly shown that they have no wish to exchange their own traditional civilization for any such newfangled ideas, and it would be more than dangerous to attempt to force such upon them, for the least of its consequences would be to estrange from ourselves a brave and loyal people whose pride it would be, as it would be their interest, to support us in all emergencies. Least of all should we attempt to meddle, either directly or indirectly, with such of their institutions as partake of a religious character, however much we may feel convinced of the field for improvement which they may present.

The Rajput race is peculiar for its sensitive pride—not

only in its relations with strange and foreign races, but in its internal ones between tribes of collateral origin—and there is no more delicate subject to be approached than any one relating to that of matrimonial alliances. The Rajput, unlike most other Orientals, is refined to the extreme in all matters connected with the treatment of the female sex, and more than one deadly war or bitter feud has been provoked by some fancied slight or unbecoming treatment of a subject regarding which it is the characteristic of his race to be almost morbidly sensitive.

In former days female infanticide was, for this reason, prevalent in Rajputana, for, though by no means deficient in natural affection, it was a matter of pride with a Rajput father to ally his daughter with a family of equal descent, and to carry out the nuptials in a manner becoming to his social position. If from poverty or other reasons it appeared that there was the certainty or the probability of his not being able to accomplish this object, he preferred that the child should die; but even now-a-days that this practice has to a great extent become extinct, better a thousand times would he deem it that the child should have perished than that the marriage ceremonies should not be carried out in a manner becoming his position, or that he should be subjected to the humiliating reproach that he could, if he had chosen, have afforded to support the family honour in a more becoming manner.

It is one of our national characteristics to be so convinced of the sincerity of our purpose and the advantages of the innovations which we seek to introduce that we are too much inclined to treat the natives of India either as we would children or other irresponsible beings, who must be taught what is good for them, whether they like it or no; or else to take it for granted that it requires but to point out to them the merits of the course which we are pursuing, or which we wish them to pursue, to make its advantages apparent to them and ensure their eagerness in assenting

to our views. But in the natives of most parts of India—for the populations of the large cities from whom we judge the mass are but a minute percentage of the whole, and even amongst these our ideas have in reality only spread to a very superficial extent—we have the most conservative people in the world to deal with, and one which clings with the most persistent tenacity to old customs, admitting with the greatest reluctance the merits of our schemes for their advantage, even when these affect matters of only trifling importance, their only reason for attachment to which would appear to us to be that they for centuries have been in the habit of performing a certain routine, and are too indolent or listless to wish to change it. But matters in any way connected with the subject of their religion are very delicate ones indeed to approach; so much so, that more than once, though we have been so convinced of the utter absence of any ulterior motive from our minds that it has never occurred to us that our actions could be misinterpreted, has the mere suspicion of an intention on our part to meddle in these subjects provoked the most violent outbursts of fanaticism on their part.

There is no question, of course, that the marriage ceremonies amongst the Hindoos are a very great tax upon the resources of persons of whatever rank, and that if the Rajputs of Rajputana could be persuaded to take the lead in a movement for the reduction of the expenses attendant upon these, it would be a measure which would be one not only very much for their own material advantage, but which would have a tremendous influence generally upon the whole Hindoo population of India in inclining them to follow their example. But the Rajput is the most conservative of conservatives even amongst Hindoos; and though, if pressure be brought to bear upon him, he may, out of the friendliness of his feelings and the wish to show his appreciation of the sincerity of our motives, make a demonstration of falling in with our views, his pride and religious prejudices would alike forbid his carrying them

out, and to press them^a upon him would be impolitic in the extreme. So long as we content ourselves with interfering in their internal affairs only on occasions of political emergency, and restrain ourselves from meddling in their private concerns, or treading upon such dangerous ground as that of their religious and social prejudices, the Rajput population of Rajputana will ever remain the most loyal supporters of our rule; and foremost among all we may rely upon the Maharana of Oodeypore, "The Friend of London."

C. E. BIDDULPH.

THE TURKISH ARMY OF THE OLDEN TIME.

FROM the earliest dawn of History the nations of the border-lands of South-eastern Europe and South-western Asia have been engaged in a continuous warfare with each other, waged for conquest and supremacy with varying success and alternate fortune. The contact of two opposing systems of civilization and the rivalry of two hostile religious creeds have in turn intensified the conflict, and the concentrated but isolated strength of Eastern monocracy has been opposed by the aristocratic or democratic forces of Western monarchies and republics.

In the mythic ages we find the kings of Aryan Greece uniting against Phrygian Troy, and the Cretan or Carian Philistines warring against the circumcised dwellers in tents of the Semitic races. Five hundred years later the Grecian republics by their combined efforts hardly stem the swelling flood of Persian empire, till a sudden turn of the tide carries Grecian conquest and culture to the confines of India.

The endless strife is renewed between Parthian and Roman, between Cæsar and Sassanide: till the rise of Islam again changes the fortune of the fray, and rolls back the border-line from the banks of the Euphrates to the far shores of Spain and Sicily. The steeds of the Arabian desert drink the waters of the Tagus and the Loire, and Saracen Amirs hold their court in Candia and Cordova. Again the Crusades precipitate armed Europe upon Asia, and for three centuries the champions of the Crescent defend themselves with difficulty in Damascus and Dami-

etta. Now the Mogul deluge rolls over Russia and sweeps away the barrier interposed in vain by the steel-clad chivalry of Europe on the fatal field of Liegnitz. The Ottoman vulture flies from conquest to conquest, from the domes of Constantinople to the steeples of Buda, from Rhodes and Cyprus to Candia and Kaminiek. The horse-tails are even planted in the trenches before Vienna, in the very centre of Christian Europe : and then the tide of victory turns again, and once more flows eastward ; and has for the last two hundred years continued so to flow with increasing celerity, nor is there any sign yet of its turning back towards the setting sun.

During the whole course of this changing panorama of conquest and defeat, no scene is more striking or more brilliant than that of the rapid advance of the Ottoman armies from triumph to triumph, and the sudden and surprising growth of the newly-fledged empire whose limits and boundaries accompanied their victorious march. In A.D. 1300 the empire of the House of Othmán was confined to the rule of a nomad tribe of a few hundred Turkish horsemen with their families : in little more than two centuries from that time it extended from the Euphrates to the Danube, from Baghdad in the East to Belgrade in the West, from the frozen steppes of Muscovy to the burning sands of Libya, from Azoph on the Don to Algiers on the Mediterranean. The Roman Empire of the East, the kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Hungary, the military monarchy of the Mamelukes and the Moorish States of Barbary, besides innumerable petty principalities of Greece and Asia Minor, had all become its undistinguished prey. The Knights of St. John, the last remnant of the Crusaders, had been chased from Rhodes, and threatened in Malta : the Emperor of Germany, the King of Poland, the Republic of Venice and the Shah of Persia all had been forced to purchase peace by the cession of territory and the promise of tribute.

These extensive and permanent conquests were entirely

due to military supremacy. The Ottoman yoke was dreaded and resisted by every nation that succumbed to it. Only in the case of the Moorish States of Barbary were the Turks welcomed as allies against the all-powerful and infidel Spaniards. This military supremacy was ensured partly by the martial spirit and character of the nation, but chiefly by the system of army organization commenced by Sultan Orkhan the son of Othmán, and his brother and Vazir Ala ud Deen, and perfected by successive Sultans: an army system the like of which has never been seen in any other Oriental state or nation; and the chief principles of which have long since been recognized in the civilized countries of Europe as the only secure basis of military efficiency. These principles were the maintenance of a permanent standing army of regular soldiers, paid and rationed by the State, along with universal liability to military service.

The earliest organization of the armed nation of the Ottomans was on the decimal system practised in the Mogul armies of Changhiz Khan and his successors; and probably from time immemorial in all the military nations of Asia. In the Mogul organization every ten men formed a squad under the command of an Onbashi (decurion); ten of these squads formed a company under a Yuz-bashi (captain of a hundred); ten companies formed a regiment under the command of a Min-bashi (captain of a thousand); ten regiments formed a division of ten thousand (Tomán) under a Tomán-bashi; ten Tománs formed an Army Corps (Urdu: *horde*), under the command of an Orlok or marshal; there were nine of these Orloks with their commands under Changhiz Khan's orders. Thus from highest to lowest there were only five grades of officers; the orders of the Great Khan had only to pass through five stages to reach the private soldier; and no officer had to pass on the order to more than ten men at a time. Each officer was wholly responsible to the one next above him. It would be difficult to imagine or invent a military system

more simple than this, or better suited to the genius of a rude and pastoral people.

The armies of Timur and of Nadir Shah were organized on this system; and the indomitable spirit and inflexible will of the Commander-in-chief made itself felt through all the links of the chain. But the system was wanting in permanence; it was well enough for a summer campaign conducted like a gigantic cavalry raid, but it was unsuited for protracted wars, renewed campaigns of sieges and blockades, and standing garrisons. The walled cities of Germany had turned back the hordes of Batu Khán's horsemen, and the stream of the Hellespont had stayed the progress of the Tartar squadrons of Amir Timur's victorious army. The Ottoman Sultans and their advisers perceived that a more stable force must be provided to render their conquests effectual and lasting; and they established a standing army which was the first example of the kind in Europe, and which acted as a nucleus to the rest of the military forces of the nation. To this standing army the completeness and permanence of the Ottoman conquests is to be chiefly ascribed. It was the pride of the Sultans of the House of Othmán, and the bulwark of their throne, until the criminal indulgence and weakness of their unworthy successors truckled to its turbulence by relaxing its discipline and increasing its pay and privileges so that its soldiery became the tyrants of their sovereigns, and the oppressors instead of the defenders of the empire which, at the commencement of the present century, they had brought to the very verge of ruin.

It is our purpose to describe the Ottoman army system of organization as it existed at the time of its greatest perfection and fullest development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. No other than a very general notice of these matters is to be found, to the best of our knowledge, in any English author; Sir Edward Creasy and other historians have only briefly summarized the chief facts regarding them; and the fuller and more detailed

accounts given by Von Hammer and Mouradjia d'Ohsson remain untranslated. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in his brilliant story of Turkey (Story of the Nations Series) has unaccountably omitted to give us a chapter on the Turkish military system, which was at once the origin, the method, and the object of their government. Though conscious of our inability to supply his deficiency, we will endeavour to give the details of the composition and distribution of the ancient forces of the military empire of the Ottoman Turks, as we have gathered them from the above-mentioned sources.

The whole armed nation of the Ottoman Turks constituted the national army of which the Sultan was *ex-officio* Commander-in-chief. The Grand Vazir, or Prime Minister, was his deputy in that office, and also discharged the duties of Secretary of State for War. The civil administration of the empire was included in the military. The Pashas of three tails who, with the rank of Vazir, governed the great provinces of Rumelia, Anatolia, Bosnia, Hungary, Syria, Egypt, and Irak were Beglerbegs of the provincial militia, and responsible for their musters and their efficiency, and commanded them in the field. Under them were the Pashas of two tails, who governed the smaller provinces into which the large ones were divided, and who answered to the generals of division and brigade in modern armies. Last came the Sanjak Begs, or lords of the standard, chiefs of the military districts into which the whole land of the empire was divided, and in whose office every Musalman inhabitant was registered as a soldier or camp-follower. The Ottoman army was divided into two great branches; the standing army called the "Kápu Kuli," or "Slaves of the Porte," and the provincial troops or militia. The former were paid, and the greater part of them also rationed, clothed, and lodged by the State, and were under the immediate orders of the Porte, or central government. The latter either served as a feudal obligation, or were paid from provincial funds; and received their

orders from the Pashas direct, or from the Sanjak Begs of their districts.

The Sultan's Household troops formed a class apart; for though connected with the standing army, they were looked on more as a department of the Court than a division of the army. A troop of horsemen picked from among the military fief-holders of the different provinces of the empire (whence they were called the *Mutafarrika*, "various") formed the personal escort of the Sultan in time of war. In time of peace they were employed as *aides-de-camp* and messengers. The Imperial *Cháwushes* (sergeants) were a similar body, four or five hundred strong. In time of war they acted as guides to the army, *marechaux-de-camp*, provosts and gallopers; in time of peace as messengers and ushers of the Court. The Household troops consisted of three different bodies: the Body-guards, the Palace Guards, and the *Bostánjis*, or Park Rangers.

The Body-guards consisted of one company of *Paiks* (couriers), 150 strong; and four companies of *Solaks* (sinistrals) each company being 100 strong. The company of *Paiks* wore bronze helmets with gilt ornaments and black plumes. They carried gilt halberts or pole-axes, and some of them carried fasces with axes in imitation of the old Roman lictors. They are believed to have been intended to perpetuate the body-guard of the old Byzantine emperors. They followed the Sultan's horse on foot in State processions. The *Solaks* were men picked for their height and appearance from the recruits for the Janissaries, to which corps they belonged. The four companies formed part of the division (*Jamá'at*) of the *Yáyás*, and were numbered from the 60th to the 63rd inclusive in the *Ortas* of that division. Each company of a hundred men was officered by a commander, *Solak Báshi*, and by two lieutenants, *Rickáb Solaki*; they wore green caftans trimmed with fur, and gilt helmets with a large crest of white feathers in the shape of a fan. The

men were armed with bows and arrows, the ancient favourite weapons of the Turks; and those who marched on the right hand of the Sultan drew their bows with the left hand—hence their name of Solak or Sinistral. When the Sultan rode in state, the Solaks of the company on duty marched on each side of his horse in single file, their tall crests of plumes almost concealing him from sight. The Solak Bâshi marched on foot by the Imperial stirrup. The Solaks were lodged in the city, in barracks with the rest of the Janissaries, and only mounted guard at the Seraglio, their guard being relieved every twenty-four hours.

The Palace Guards were three corps: the Khâsekis (royals), the Bâltajis (halberdiers), and the Zulfî Bâltajis (tressed halberdiers). The Khâsekis were 300 strong; they were picked men from the Bostânjis, and wore the high red caps and scarlet dress of that corps, and carried firearms and sabres. Baron de Tott calls them the grenadiers of the Bostânjis. Their duty was to guard the royal apartments. They had been originally taken from the 14th Orta, or regiment of the Jamâ'at of Janissaries, which had also the title of Khâseki or Royal. The Bâltajis were 400 men, armed with halberts, and wearing a conical cap of yellow felt. They guarded the approaches to the apartments of the women, and their tents and equipages when the harem was travelling. The Zulfî Bâltajis were a corps of halberdiers, 120 strong, who acted as yeomen and orderlies to the first or royal chamber of pages of the Imperial Court, in which the Sultan himself was enrolled. They wore two ringlets of false hair, fastened inside their caps at the temples and hanging down to their shoulders, whence they were called the tressed halberdlers.

The Bostânjis (gardeners) were the cultivators, rangers, and keepers employed on the royal demesnes, amounting to three or four thousand men. They were organized in companies, and when the Sultan took the field they

formed a corps of Foot-guards. When Sultan Mustafa the Second took the field against the Germans, in 1695, he took 3,000 Bostánjis with him, whom he formed into three battalions, the first dressed in red coats and blue trousers, the second in blue coats and red trousers, the third in green coats and blue trousers. The Bostánjis underwent their baptism of fire in the same campaign, when Augustus the Strong, the Elector of Saxony, who commanded the Imperial army, attacked the Sultan's camp; and they distinguished themselves by the valour with which they repelled the attack. The state dress of the Bostánjis was scarlet from head to foot; with a high cylindrical scarlet kalpák, or cap, with a hanging top like a busby bag falling to the shoulder. Those of them who rowed the Sultan's pinnace were dressed in white, with red caps and sashes. The corps was commanded by the Bostánji Báshi, who held the Sultan's stirrup when he rode out, and steered his caique when he went on the water. The post was an influential and a coveted one, from the opportunities that it afforded for confidential intercourse with the Sovereign. The Bostánjis were recruited like the Janissaries, by the methods which will be described when we come to treat of the latter; and they were reckoned as forming part of the Ojá, or Army Corps, of the Janissaries. But they never took the field except with the Sultan, and their duties in times of peace were entirely confined to the guard of the royal palaces and demesnes at Constantinople, Adrianople, and Broussa. They afterwards became the infantry of the Imperial Guard of the new army which replaced the ancient military forces of the Ottoman Empire.

The paid or standing army was composed of six regiments of cavalry; the corps of Janissaries (infantry) comprising close on two hundred regiments; the corps of Jebejis (armourers), and the corps of Topjis (artillery), also divided into regiments; the corps of Toparábajis (artillery drivers); the corps of Khumparájis (bombar-

diers); and the corps of Laghúmjis (sappers). These two last bodies were raised about the commencement of the eighteenth century.

The six regiments of cavalry were all generically included under the designation of "Sipáhi," which in Turkish means a horse-soldier, and is employed much as the term "dragoon" is in English, either to signify a particular description of cavalry, or any cavalry soldier. Thus in Turkish authors we find the term often used in speaking of the feudal horsemen (Zaims and Timariots), and at other times used to particularize the paid cavalry, and this last is its most common use. One of these regiments of paid cavalry was also officially known by this designation. The six regiments were the Sipáhis, distinguished by a red standard; the Siláhdárs (gensd'armes), with a yellow standard; the Ságh 'Ulúfaji (right *soldati*), standard red and white; the Sol 'Ulúfaji (left *soldati*), standard yellow and white; the Ságh Ghurebá (right foreigners), standard green; the Sol Ghurabá (left foreigners), standard white. The Sipáhis of the red standard, one regiment of the Ulúfaji, and one of the Ghurebá, were always posted on the right wing of the army in battle array; the Siláhdárs, also called the Sipáhis of the yellow standard, and the other two regiments, on the left wing. The four regiments of Ulúfaji and Ghurebá were the earliest raised, and they furnished the escort for the sacred standard of the Prophet, when it was carried with the army on a campaign. When first raised the Sipáhis and Siláhdárs consisted of 1,000 troopers each, and each regiment of the Ulúfaji and Ghurebá of 500 men each; 4,000 men in all. Every augmentation was made by adding fresh squadrons to the cadres of these six regiments, and no new regiments were ever embodied. After the taking of Constantinople the muster rolls show, in round numbers, 7,000 Sipáhis, 6,000 Siláhdárs, 1,800 in each regiment of Ulúfaji, and 900 in each regiment of Ghurebá, a total of more than 17,000 men. Their total number never exceeded 20,000. In A.D. 1645, 14,000

Sipáhis were embarked for the conquest of Candia. In A.D. 1687, after the disastrous campaigns in Hungary, the muster-rolls of Sultan Muhammad the Fourth's army show only 4,557 of the paid cavalry on their lists. At the commencement of the present century the numbers of the "Alti Buluk" (six squadrons) were estimated at 10,000, of whom nearly all were Sipáhis and Siláhdárs, the Ulúfajis and Ghurabá being reduced to a few hundreds. Mouradjia d'Ohsson says that the reason of this inequality was that the four regiments of the latter (Bulukiát i Arbia), priding themselves on their distinction of being the first-raised and most ancient corps of the standing army, were more turbulent and insubordinate than all the others, and always took the lead in the many military *émeutes* and mutinies that continually took place among them; for which reason their numbers were not increased, as were those of the Sipáhis and Siláhdárs.

The regiments were divided into troops, called Buluk, and each commanded by a Buluk Bashi. The regimental staff were an Agha in command, who was called Sipáhi Ághási, Siláhdár Ághási, Ulúfajiyán-i-yamín Ághási, and so on. These six Aghas ranked among the Agháyán-i-Berín (Masters of the Outside), or military chief officers of the Porte. Next to the Ághá, or Colonel, was the Básh Kiáyá (Ketkhudá, or Major); then the Kiáyá Yeri (Ketkhudá Yerligh?), or Adjutant; the Básh Cháush, Provost-Marshal or Sergeant-Major; and the Básh Buluk Báshi, or Senior Captain. This was a small staff for a regiment of five thousand men, and the insufficient supply of officers was a serious evil in the organization of the Sipáhis, and from this cause they were much less efficient and less trustworthy than the Janissaries. The officers of the Sipáhis were called collectively the Buluk Ághálarí, or Lords of the Squadrons.

The Sipáhis were recruited partly among the Turkish population, their own children being given the preference; and partly from the pages of the seraglio. These latter

were Christian tribute children, or boys taken captive in war; Greeks, Italians, Hungarians, Poles, and other Europeans, who were circumcised and trained up as Musalmans in the seraglio. When grown men, if they had not been provided with any permanent employment at Court, they were transferred to the ranks of the Sipáhis. These paid horsemen were all entertained on the system known in our Indian army as *Siláhdári*; that is, the men received a lump sum as pay, and found their own horses, arms, and equipment. For distinguished and meritorious service they were rewarded by grants of land (*Timárs*) in the conquered provinces, when they left their regiments, and were registered in the registry of their province as *fief-holders*. The Sipáhis appear to have worn a distinctive dress. In the narrative of *Gulábi Aghá*, in the "*Travels of Awliya Effendi*," the narrator says that the prophet *Khizr* (*Elias*) appeared to him as "a tall handsome man, in the dress of a Sipáhi." Pictures generally represent Sipáhis as wearing long red robes, with white or yellow tall cylindrical turbans. Their clothes were probably all of one cut, which seems to have been the utmost of Turkish efforts in the direction of uniform. One of *Amir Timur's* Begs dressed the squadrons of his command in different colours; one all in white, another in red, another in green, and so on, with standards and horse-trappings to match; and *Timur* is said to have highly praised the appearance of these troops when they passed before him in review. In the standards of the six regiments of Sipáhis, and in the caps of the *Janissaries*, we see the first inchoate ideas of military uniform, which were afterwards adapted with such success in the European standing armies.

The *Janissaries*, as the earliest raised, ranked the first of the six corps of dismounted troops of the standing army. The infantry soldiers of the Turks were at first called *Yáyás*; perhaps a corruption of *Piyáda*, a foot-soldier. The origin of the *Janissaries* is well known. A thousand captive Christian boys fur-

nished the nucleus of the new corps; and the saint, Haji Bektash, in consecrating them to the service of Islam, said, "Let them be called *Yangi Chari*" (New Militia), which has in English been corrupted into Janissary, coming to us through the Germans, who use the J to express the sound of Y. The Janissaries ever after went by the name of Haji Bektash's soldiery, and dervishes of his order often accompanied their regiments. The white felt cap which was given to them on their first embodiment, and which continued to be their military head-dress till the dissolution of their corps five hundred years afterwards, is believed to have been copied from the cap worn by the Mevlevi dervishes, to which order Haji Bektash belonged; and the strip of white felt hanging down behind is said to have been added to represent the sleeve of the saint, as he extended his arm over the heads of the front rank in the act of blessing them.

The first Janissaries were Armenian, Greek, Slavonian, or Albanian boys either taken captive in forays, or levied as tribute from the Christian families subject to the Sultan. They were taken at the age of from ten to fifteen, were circumcised, and instructed in the rites of Islam; and were exercised in gymnastics, and trained to arms. Condemned to celibacy, and subjected to strict discipline, they became the most formidable body of infantry in the world; and were so valued by their masters that their number was rapidly augmented. At the conquest of Constantinople it had risen to 12,000: under Suliman the Magnificent it was at first 20,000, and soon after reached 40,000; at the end of the seventeenth century the muster rolls of Sultan Muhammad the Fourth showed 38,000 Janissaries in garrison at Constantinople, and 32,000 on the frontiers. At the commencement of the present century the number of Janissaries on the rolls was 113,000. The corps was commonly known by the nickname of the "*Kirk bin Kúl*," or "forty thousand slaves:" referring probably to the number usually quartered at Constantinople, where were

the head-quarters of the corps, which was known by the name of the *Oják* or kitchen range; for the free rations given by the Sultan were looked on as the keystone of the Janissary organization, and an affectation of culinary terms ran through all their nomenclature.

The corps was divided into three divisions, the difference between which is not apparent, but probably only consisted in their origin. The first division comprised one hundred *Ortas* or regiments, numbered from one to a hundred and one, but there was no sixty-fifth. That regiment was broken up by Sultan Murad the Fourth, and declared for ever infamous because it had taken a leading part in the dethronement of his brother and predecessor, Sultan Othmán the Second, and because one of its soldiers had been his actual murderer. The solemn curse pronounced upon it was ever after read out twice a month at the head of each regiment of Janissaries, at the fortnightly distribution of candles for the barracks. The regiments were called *Odas* (a corruption of the Turkish "*Otak*," a chamber), from their barrack-rooms; or more commonly *Ortas*, probably a mis-pronunciation of the same word. We shall use the word regiment for *Orta*, and colonel to designate their chiefs, as these are the terms most commonly put for them by European writers, and the *Orta* was tactically and administratively a separate unit, though its strength was usually far below that of a regiment in European armies. The first division was called the *Jamá'at* (congregation) of *Yáyás*: probably its regiments were embodied from the original Turkish irregular infantry, when the experiment of the Janissary organization was found to answer so well. Some privileges which they enjoyed above the other two divisions seem also to indicate that they were originally Turks by birth.

The second division consisted of sixty-one *Ortas*, also called *Buluk* (company). These were probably the original Janissaries raised from the *Ajam Oghláns* (foreign boys) who were Christians forcibly converted. They had

no special designation except Buluklis (company men). The third division had thirty-four Ortas of Sagbáns, also called Seymans, the only explanation of the latter term being that it is a corruption of the former. Sagbán means dog-keeper; and this division dates from the time of Sultan Muhammad the Second, the Conqueror, who raised fresh regiments of Janissaries from his own Sagbáns and falconers. The Turks were passionately addicted to the chase: and the Sultans and Beys employed men indiscriminately for war and for the chase, who were called Sagbáns. So that the transformation of a chasseur into a Janissary was an easy one. There were also thirty-four Ortas of Ajam Oghláns (recruits), which were training schools for the boys destined to become soldiers, and depôts of men for the force. The dress, pay, and regulations of the Janissaries of the three divisions of Yáyás, Buluklis, and Sagbáns were the same, and there was no more distinction between them than between the different Ortas of the same division. Only the officers of the Jamá'at of Yáyás wore yellow boots; and their colonels were allowed to ride in the presence of an Agha of the corps: while those of the Buluklis and Sagbáns wore red boots; and their colonels were always dismounted on parade and duty. Thus in the three divisions there were at one time 195 Ortas, besides the thirty-four depôt Ortas. This was the establishment of the corps all through the eighteenth century, after the Turks had ceased to make any fresh territorial acquisitions, and after Hungary had been lost to the empire.

Prince Cantemir speaks of an 111th regiment of Janissaries: probably the regiments numbered above one hundred and one might have been those stationed in the Hungarian and Croatian garrisons, as it is on record that some regiments were reduced after the loss of those provinces. The Ortas were localized in their garrisons, which they only quitted for a campaign. Forty-three Ortas were permanently quartered at the capital, and

152 were in the provinces, mostly on the frontiers, and in the large fortresses.

There were twelve Ortas in garrison at Belgrade, sixteen at Widdin, fourteen at Choczim, twenty at Baghdad. The thirty-four Ortas of Ajam Oghlans never quitted Constantinople. Of the hundred Ortas of Yáyás, there were only eleven stationed in the capital, including the four which furnished the Solaks or Body-guards of the Sultan. The other seven were the 39th, 59th, 64th, 71st, 73rd, 94th, and 101st Ortas. Of the sixty-one Ortas of the Buluklis, thirty were stationed at Constantinople, and thirty-one in the provinces. The 1st, 5th, and 6th, were at the capital, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, on the frontiers, and so on. The division of Sagbáns had only one of its thirty-four Ortas quartered at Constantinople. This was the 33rd, which in the summer garrisoned the castles at the entrance to the Black Sea, and in winter came into barracks in the city.

The strength of the Ortas differed much, like that of battalions in our own army, ranging from one hundred men on a peace footing to five hundred men on a war footing. The first Orta of the Buluklis, in which the Sultan's own name was enrolled, was permanently kept at a strength of five hundred. The Ortas called the Zagharjis (pointer-men), Samsunjis (mastiff-men), and Turnajis (crane-men, falconers), had a minimum strength of three hundred, two hundred, and one hundred and fifty men respectively: the other Ortas stationed at the capital generally mustered a hundred men with the kettles; those in the frontier fortresses had from two to three hundred men. When an Orta took the field it was raised to war strength by drafts from the Ajam Oghláns, and by calling up men from the Reserves.

These last appear to have had no fixed number. Colonels were allowed to inscribe as many names as they pleased upon their regimental rolls as Reserve or Volunteer Janissaries: and thus the favourite Ortas could

show a nominal strength of thousands. Each Orta had a fixed establishment of nine officers, which was the same for peace and for war, as follows:—The Chorbaji (Soup-man) or Colonel; the Oda bāshi or Captain—this officer lived in the Oda or barrack, with the men; the Vakil i Kharchi, Pay-master and Quarter-master; the Bairak-dār, or Ensign; the Bāsh Eski, or Ancient; the Ashji (Cook) also called the Usta (Instructor); the Bāsh Karakullukji (Head Scullion); the Sakka (Water Carrier); the Karakullukji (Scullion). The 1st and 5th Ortas of the Buluklis had each an extra officer below the Sakka, called the Zembilji.

There was no distinction between commissioned and non-commissioned officers—all promotion was from the ranks—by selection from the privates, and afterwards by regular gradation through all the ranks in the same regiment to Oda Bāshi. A vacancy in the rank of Chorbaji was filled by a selection from the Oda Bāshis, so that a colonel seldom commanded the regiment in which he rose. The Chorbajis were promoted or exchanged indiscriminately between the Ortas of the three divisions. They generally commenced their career as Chorbaji of an Orta on the frontiers, and were transferred to a command at the capital as vacancies occurred. The Chorbajis were also called Yáyá Bāshis; those who were Kapú Yáyá Bāshis, or colonels of line regiments, ranking above those who were Ajami Yáyá Bāshis, or colonels of depôt regiments, according to the dates of their commissions. The following colonels took precedence of all others, whatever the date of their promotion. The Awji Bāshi, colonel of the 33rd Orta of Sagbāns; the Assás Bāshi and the Chardak Chorbajis, who were chiefs of Ortas of the division Buluk, and who had charge of police duties in quarters of the capital; the Ta'alim Khanaji, or chief director of gymnastics, colonel of an Orta of Buluklis; the Kiaya Yeri, colonel of the 32nd Orta of Buluklis, who acted as adjutant-general of the corps, and signed the orders. His regiment acted as

body-guard to the Janissary Agha, and furnished the guards for the head-quarters. Next above him ranked the Mushir Ághá and the Básh Cháush—the former commanded a regiment of Buluklis selected by the Grand Vazir for the time being as his guard, and executed his orders; the latter was the colonel of the 5th Regiment of Buluklis, and had a picked body of three hundred Cháushes or Provosts under his orders; the colonel of the 101st Orta of the Jamá'at was always Beit ul Má'ji, or treasurer of the corps; the colonel of the 48th Orta of the same division was Ojak Imám, or chaplain to the corps; next above him ranked the four Solak Báshis according to the dates of their appointment as such; the colonel of the 34th Orta of Ajam Oghláns ranked with the lieutenant-general (Kul Kiáyá), and commanded the whole division of depôt Ortas with the title of Istambol Ághási.

The head-quarter staff of the corps was composed of six officers. The Yangichari Ághási, or Janissary Agha, was colonel-general of the whole corps. His lieutenant-general, the Kul Kiáyá, was also colonel of the 1st Orta of the Bulukli in which the Sultan was enrolled. These two officers were not promoted from the corps, and need not even be Janissaries. They were appointed direct by the Sultan. There were four major-generals—the Sagbán Báshi, who was titular chief of the division of Sagbáns, the Zagharji Báshi, the Samsunji Báshi, and the Turnaji Báshi, who were all colonels of Ortas of the division of Yáyás. These six senior officers formed the military council or divan of the corps, and all bore the title of Agha. There were thirty-two brigadier-generals, called Sarhad Ághás, who commanded the Janissaries on the frontiers. These and the major-generals were promoted by seniority from the colonels, or were sometimes selected from among them by the Agha of the corps. The Sarhad Ághás ranked according to date of promotion, except that the Sarhad Ághá of Widdin always took precedence of all the others, according to an old custom which dated from the time of Sultan Selim

the First, when the Turnaji Báshi had commanded the garrison of that fortress. These general officers of the corps were collectively known by the titles of Ojákh Ághálari, or lords of the kitchen-range.

In order to keep up the flow of promotion there were forty fiefs or estates of considerable value allotted to the corps, which were in the gift of the Janissary Agha, and which he granted to the Aghas and Chorbajis at his discretion. The officer accepting one of these fiefs vacated his post in the corps, and received the title of Yáyá Beg, and the right to carry a horse-tail standard. The Janissary Agha was generally a Pasha of two tails, and had a seat in the Imperial divan. There were also several independent companies formed by volunteers or men selected from the Ortas, whose names were borne on the muster-rolls of their respective Ortas in which they were returned as on command. One of these was the company of Yázijis or writers employed at headquarters under their chief the Yangichari Kátibi; a second was that of the Oda Yázijis or regimental clerks, under a chief called the Básh Yáziji; a third was the Kárkhána or workshop company of seven hundred artizans and craftsmen, divided into thirty-four sections, each commanded by an Usta. These were capmakers, armourers, tailors, boot-makers, &c., and provided everything necessary for the corps. The Tulumbajis or firemen were three hundred picked men, who had no sinecure in Constantinople. They wore copper helmets, and their chief the Tulumbaji Báshi wore a silver helmet, and ranked as a Chorbaji. The Cháushes (provost-marshals) formed a company of three hundred men, attached to the 5th Buluk under the Básh Cháush. They all ranked as sub-officers. The Mumjis were a company of forty-eight sub-officers, who acted as orderlies. The Kápukiâyá were sixty picked Janissaries, formed into a company attached to the Orta of the Mushir Aghá for service of the Grand Vazir's Court. The Harbajis were sixty men, dressed in scarlet, with leopard

skins on their shoulders, and armed with javelins (*harba*), who acted as body-guards to the Grand Vazir. The *Hu-kasháns* were dervishes attached to the corps, who derived their name from their shouting "*Hu*" (*Allah hu! God is!*). They were all enrolled in the 99th *Orta* of the *Jama'at*. Each *Orta* had a distinguishing badge, as well as a number; generally the figure of some animal, bird, or plant. The 1st *Orta* of *Buluklis* had the crescent for a badge. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th *Ortas* of *Yáyás* were called *Dawajís* (camel men), because they were originally the guards of the Sultan's baggage-train, and their chiefs were called *Dawají Báshi*. The 14th *Orta* were the *Khásekis* (royals), and the 28th the *Okjis* or archers. Another *Orta* was called the *Zumburukjis* (arquebusiers); the 29th *Buluklis* were the *Bekjis* (scouts); and the 33rd *Sagbáns* were the *Awjis* (marksmen?). The 31st *Orta*, raised originally for service on ship-board, had an anchor for their badge. The badge or *Nishán* of the *Orta* was tattooed on the arm of the recruit on his admission, and could never be effaced. When the corps was proscribed and suppressed by Sultan Mahmúd in 1826 many of the soldiers, in their eagerness to get rid of this convincing proof of their having been Janissaries, used a violent chemical preparation, which, producing mortification, cost them their lives. The badge was painted over the barrack doors, on the lanterns, and on all the appointments; embroidered on the flag, and stamped on the canvas of the tents. An intense *esprit de corps* existed both in the whole corps, and in the different *Ortas*; fully justified by the age and the fame of their institution. At the time of the suppression of the corps, the oldest Janissary regiments could show an unbroken record of service as a military body for five centuries—the oldest regiment in the British army is not yet three hundred years old—and there is no military corps in Europe existing, or which ever existed, which could compare in antiquity with the "*Altí Buluk*" of Turkish *Sipáhis*, and the earliest raised *Ortas* of Janissaries.

It is impossible not to regret that the corps with such glorious traditions, and whose existence was inseparably entwined with the military instinct and genius of the Ottoman nation, should fail to be represented in the modern Turkish army. The manner of recruiting the Janissaries was as follows: Every five or seven years a pressgang was despatched from the head-quarters at Constantinople under the command of a major-general or senior colonel to collect boys from the families of the Ráyás (Christian subjects). This human tribute was calculated at every tenth male child, and the selection was made of the finest and stoutest boys. Some thousands of boys were driven like sheep to Constantinople, where they were turned into Musalmans offhand, and were clothed in red pointed caps and red jackets with a cleft in the shoulder, and distributed among the Ortas of Ajam Oghláns. They were then made use of as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the seraglio of the Sultan till they were old enough for military service, when they were drafted into the army. The Bostánjis got the first pick of them; the Jebejis and Topjis had next choice; all that remained were enrolled in the Ortas of the Janissaries.

It may be imagined that the chief of a Janissary pressgang on whom the selection of the children of Christian parents entirely depended had a good opportunity for lining his own purse; and these opportunities were not neglected. The last of these levies that is on record was made in 1638 by Dervish Ághá, the Turnaji Báshi, in Rumelia and Albania; and such complaints reached the Porte of his scandalous extortion and oppression that, on his return to Constantinople, he was summoned before the Sultan, Murad the Terrible, and had his head taken off for his pains. It is hardly to be wondered at that we read of the despatch of no more pressgangs after this. From casual observations in Turkish histories, however, it would seem that the enlistment of Christian boys went on for some time longer.

One of the scenes in the play of "Kara Gaz" (the Turkish Punchinello) represented Hájí Aivád, a Colonel of Ajam Oghláns, with his boys. The colonel rates the boys in Turkish, and each answers him in his own patois—Greek, Bulgarian, Albanese, &c., which puts the colonel into a furious rage, to the great amusement of the spectators.

The thirty-four regiments of Ajam Oghláns were divided into brigades of seventeen Ortas each, commanded by two brigadiers called Rumili Ághá and Anatoli Ághá. All the boys from the European provinces were put into the Ortas of the first brigade, and all the boys from Anatolia and Armenia into the brigade commanded by the second. The whole division of the Ajam Oghláns was commanded by the Istambol Ághá, who ranked as a lieutenant-general. Turks were also enlisted directly into the line Ortas. The ceremony of admission consisted in investing the recruit with the coat and cap of a Janissary, reading out to him the statutes of the corps, and administering the oath of fidelity. The Oda Báshi then saluted the recruit as "Yoldash" (comrade), and at the same time administered the *accolade* of a sound cuff, as a practical illustration of the fact that *camaraderie* was not to interfere with the exigencies of discipline.

In the seventeenth century, the practice commenced in the reign of Murad III. of enlisting Yamak or reserve Janissaries, men who were allowed to live out of barracks, and practise trades, foregoing their claim to pay and rations except when called up for service. Turks enlisted in the Janissaries under three conditions—to avoid the payment of taxes and the rendering of other service, and to escape from civil jurisdiction, for no Janissary could be punished except by his own officers. Afterwards when a Janissary on the establishment married, he got permission to live out of barracks on condition that he would continue his contribution to the mess, and probably a percentage of his pay to his officer, so that from half to two-thirds

of the men who should have been living in barracks were carrying on some trade in the town, and were soldiers only in name. Such numbers of civilians became enrolled in the corps to share in the privileges of it, and to obtain the powerful protection of its members, that it was calculated that there were one hundred and fifty thousand Janissaries on the rolls at the time of the dissolution of the corps, not one quarter of whom lived in barracks.

The superior officers of the Janissaries were well paid. The actual pay of their rank was small, but they received handsome additions to it as Arpalik or forage allowance. The Agha of the corps received a fee on every promotion made, calculated at a fixed percentage on the pay of the officer promoted. The estate of every Janissary dying unmarried went to the Agha in Constantinople, to the Sarhad Agha in the provinces, minus a commission to the colonel of the Orta. But in some particular Ortas it went by custom to the regimental chest. The estate of a Janissary leaving a family behind him was charged with fees which were disposed of in the same way. These were known and sanctioned methods of adding to the emoluments of the officers, but there were many others which were both unjust and illegal which were freely availed of. The children of Janissaries were enrolled, and pay was drawn for them as soldiers; the deaths in an Orta were not reported, and pay was drawn for the men as living. In A.D. 1778 the Grand Vazir, who had been Janissary Agha, being deposed and executed, his effects were seized, and "mamhurs" or Janissary pay bills were found among his papers to the amount of 12,000 aspers a day, on which he had been realizing for years. The peculation and corruption which has for centuries made good government in Turkey impossible had infected the whole military system from one end to the other. The Janissaries were paid quarterly. They could only draw pay at the headquarters of their Orta, which sometimes led to great inconvenience to the men when on service. When a European

ambassador had an audience of the Sultan it was always arranged to issue the pay of the Sipáhis and the Janissaries in his presence, to duly impress the infidel with the spectacle of the wealth and military resources of the Ottoman Empire. The amount of pay for each Orta and Buluk was put up in red leather sacks. The Buluk Báshi or Chorbaji stepped out and salaamed down to the ground before the Grand Vazir, and his men shouldered and carried away the sacks. The amount of a Janissary's pay was called his Assámi, a term which is also in use in our Indian cavalry regiments.

The pay of a private Janissary varied greatly in amount. On first enlistment it was only one asper a day, and it rose to from thirty to forty aspers for a veteran of distinguished service. In English money we might say from a farthing a day to sixpence or eightpence. The soldiers were divided into three classes for their pay—newly joined, old soldiers, and veterans. The last were called Oturak or sedentary, and in each of the three classes there were grades with differing rates, much like the system of good conduct pay in our native Indian army. The Oturaks or Veterans were excused all service after from twenty to thirty years in the ranks. When Sultan Murad the Terrible marched against Persia, old Janissaries who had served under Sulimán the Great at the siege of Sigeth were carried in litters at the head of the troops to animate them by their recollections. The deputation of grey-bearded Janissaries sent by the troops at Bender to wait upon Charles XII., and who were so rudely received by the mad monarch, were Oturaks. General Warnery, writing towards the close of the last century, says that there is no soldier in Europe so happy as the veteran Janissary, who is treated with honour, and assured of his pay and provision while he lives; whereas in the armies of Christian kings the old soldier is discharged when unfit for further work, and left to die in a ditch in spite of his services and his wounds.

The Janissaries at Constantinople were lodged in two ranges of barracks, the Eski Odalar or old barracks and

the Yangi Odalar or new barracks. The Ajam Oghlân were lodged in a third range called the Ajam Oghlân Kishlasi (recruits' winter quarters). There were also quarters for officers and men at the Ághá Kapúsi, or headquarters of the corps where were the Agha's residence and the offices and record rooms. The barracks were long wooden sheds, with a raised shelf of planks running down one side, on which the men sat and spread their sleeping rugs. The barracks in all the garrison towns were of the same kind.

When the Janissaries took the field tents were issued to them from the arsenal; one tent for every ten men, with a packhorse to carry it, and a slave Lascar to look after the tent and horse. Rations of mutton, bread, butter, and rice were issued to the Ajam Oghlân and Janissaries daily. Besides, each Janissary had to make a contribution to the mess. Warnery says this was $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his pay in quarters, and 7 per cent. on a campaign. The rations for the Orta were handed over to the cook, who provided and superintended the common meals. Awliya Effendi says that one of the sights of Constantinople was the race of the cooks of the running companies of the Janissaries for the carcasses of the sheep killed for their rations. The master cooks in their gold caps (Zarkulah) and black leather gowns mustered the running cooks, and started them from the other end of the exercise ground; whoever reached the carcasses first laid hold of whichever he pleased, and kept it, "even should he be a recruit just joined." The staple of the meals of the Janissary, as of the French soldier, was soup. Two huge soup-kettles were kept by each Orta, and were regarded with superstitious veneration. If a regiment lost its kettles in action all its officers were cashiered, and it was formally broken up, and re-formed with a fresh set of officers. When the Janissaries intended to mutiny they began by overturning their kettles in the Atmaidan or parade-ground, as a sign that they would no longer accept soup from the

Sultan. The Janissaries who mounted guard at the Porte were supplied with their soup from the Sultan's kitchen, and when word was brought to the Divan that the Janissaries refused to eat their soup every one trembled. The Janissary Agha had a seat in the Divan or Council of Ministers to the intent that the wishes of this formidable body of troops might be known and provided for in due time. Awliya Effendi narrates how on one occasion the guards at the Porte refused their soup, to the alarm of the Sultan, but Abaza Pasha, who was present, said, "Let me go out to them, your Majesty, and I will make them eat not only their soup, but the dishes too." The Sultan gave him leave, and Abaza appeared in the Divan, on which a murmur was heard from the ranks of the Janissaries, and they began swallowing their soup with such avidity that they seemed as if they would eat the dishes also.

The wooden spoon with which the Janissaries ate their soup was worn by them stuck into the copper plume-case which decorated the front of their white felt caps. These felt caps were of different shapes, to distinguish the different ranks. At the time of the first institution of the Janissaries the cap, or kalpak, was the ordinary head-dress of all the Turks; and the Ottomans wore white caps, to distinguish themselves from the Turkomans and Persian Turks, who wore black or red caps. They did not adopt the turban as an ordinary head-dress till the epoch of the taking of Constantinople. A rare German book of illustrations of costume, published at Nuremberg in 1572, shows us a Janissary on the war path. He wears the high white cap, with the strip of felt hanging down behind; the skirts of his long blue coat are drawn through his kamarbund to kilt them; his blue breeches reach scarcely below his knee; his legs are bare, and his feet in red leather shoes; on his left shoulder he carries his arquebus at the slope, and in his right hand its burning match; and his sabre hangs at his side. The ordinary Janissary cap was high and round, with the crown rising into a horn on each side;

another shape resembled the sugarloaf cap first worn by the grenadiers of European armies, which was probably copied from it. Evelyn, speaking of it in his "Diary," says, "caps with coped crowns like Janissaries;" and the hood hanging down behind it was evidently an imitation of the hanging strip of felt. The caps of the Janissary officers were trimmed with gold lace, and the story goes that a Janissary, having hidden a golden bowl in his cap after the sack of Apollonia, was going off with it, when Sultan Murád spied the bowl showing beneath the edge of his cap, and liking the look of it, gave orders for the caps to be bound with gold lace for the future. The officers wore plumes of black heron's feathers, arranged like a fan, in their caps and turbans; the Agha and Kul Kiáyá wore theirs on the left side; the major-generals on the right side; and the colonels wore theirs in front. All the different kinds of caps had different names, as uskuf, kuka, burk, &c.; and the plumes also, as sorghúj, supargeh, &c. The different ranks were also distinguished by the cut of their coats. The cloth was supplied to them, as well as the white felt cap and a pair of red shoes. Awliya Effendi says:

"The inspector of the cloth magazines has the inspection of the cloth, and he has a company of Janissaries at his command. The blue cloth for the eighty thousand Janissaries of the Ottoman Empire, which comes from Salonica, is deposited in the magazine, which is opened once a year, on the holy night Shab-i-Kadr. On this night the first lieutenant-general of Janissaries, the Kul Kiáyá Aghássi, attended by the Aghas of the corps, the inspector of the magazine, and its colonel, receive the officers of the sixty-two regiments of Janissaries, with their men, who each get, according to the Constitution of Sultan Sulímán, ten yards of blue cloth, a piece for the turban, and a piece of cotton for the shirt. This distribution lasts three days and three nights."

The proper regulation dress of the Janissaries was a long and loose blue coat, a dolman or vest underneath it, a striped girdle, or kamarband, of silk or linen, with fringed ends, wide blue trousers, and red leather shoes. But the cloth issued to them being insufficient, only their trousers were made from it; and they wore coats of any colour,

according to Baron de Tott. They only put on their caps and their uniform trousers and red shoes on occasions of State parade or ceremony, at other times wearing turbans of coarse white linen twisted on their heads like those of the French Zouaves. The officers wore tall cylindrical white turbans, with a flat top. In the field their uniform was conspicuous by its absence. The officers wore high boots, the men generally went barefoot, on a campaign. Metal badges and medallions were also worn to distinguish ranks and grades; and a strip of facing cloth sewn on the coat was a distinctive mark of every Janissary, and was always cut off when its wearer was degraded or expelled from the corps. Warnery calls it "*un petit collet cousu à l'habit*," but does not say what was its colour.

The cooks of the Janissaries wore black leather gowns studded with knobs of silver, with silver knives and chains in their girdles. The head-quarters cook, or Segirdum Ashji Bashi, was on the staff of the Janissary Agha. On occasions of State parades and processions he marched on foot in front of the horse of the Agha, with his girdle stuck full of gigantic knives and cutlasses, the handles of which concealed his face from view; his long black leather gown was covered with *plaques* of silver, and he was hung about with silver pots and pans, so that he had to be supported by a Janissary on each side to enable him to stagger along under his load.

The last time the Janissary dress and insignia were seen in battle was in the ranks of the defenders of Akhalzik, when that fortress was stormed by Paskiewitsch and his Russians. Their corps had been dissolved and their dress proscribed in all the cities of the empire; and this remote frontier fortress saw the last of the Janissaries fall in an heroic and hopeless struggle against the advancing armies of the conquering Giaour—a type of the fall of the system of which they formed the last bulwark under the insidious assaults of Christian civilization.

The armament of the Janissaries consisted of a long-

barrelled musket, a short and heavy scimitar, and a yataghan, or long knife. Their ammunition was carried in a ball-bag and powder-horn slung across the shoulder by leathern belts. The scimitar was also suspended from the shoulder. The knife was stuck in the girdle. It was used for cutting off the heads of fallen enemies, for which a money reward was given to the soldier. It had a crutched handle, which was used as a rest in firing; the Janissary squatting down, and planting his knife in the ground in front of him, rested his musket-barrel on the crutch. This knife was the only weapon allowed to be kept with him by the soldier in quarters. The other arms and the ammunition were kept locked [up in places of arms, and issued when required for service or practice. When unarmed, the Janissaries carried long white staves, and their patrols, which acted as police in their garrisons, had no other weapons.

Baron de Tott tells the following story in his "Memoirs":

"A drunken Janissary, pursued by the guard, who commonly have no other arms but large sticks, availed himself of the superiority which his yataghan gave him over them to defend himself like a lion. He had already driven several of his enemies from the field, and, fatigued by his exertions, prepared for a new engagement by resting on the steps of a khân (inn), whilst the guard converted the attack into a blockade. The Grand Signior [Sultan Othman III.], who frequently went about the city in a disguise which conceals him from nobody, happening to be on the spot, approached the offender, and told him to lay down his weapon and surrender himself prisoner; but nothing could move our hero, who, carelessly regarding his sovereign, threatened the first who should dare to approach. The Sultan then asked him of what Order he was, and on his answer, sent for his Kara Kulukchi, who presently arrived. 'Disarm that man,' said the Grand Signior, 'and conduct him to the castle.' The officer immediately takes off his girdle, and advances towards the rebel with it in his right hand, while he held out to him his left, saying: 'Fellow-soldier, give me your weapon and follow me;' which he immediately did, without any reply, and with an air of the most humble submission. Prejudice^b (sententiously observes the Baron) "will always have more influence than fear, and more power than despotism."

And he goes on to explain:

"The girdle of copper worn by the Kara Kulukchis weighs fifteen

pounds, and with it these officers may knock down and kill any Janissary. The soldiers extremely respect this sign of rank in those who wear it; for though of an inferior degree, they have great authority."

The discipline of the Janissaries was enforced by the following punishments: Imprisonment in barracks for several days, awardable by any officer; thirty-nine strokes with a stick, awarded by a superior regimental officer, and inflicted by the Oda Báshi in person; seventy-nine lashes, ordered by an Agha, and inflicted by Cháushes; imprisonment for a long period, or for life, in a castle used as the Janissary prison; and death by strangling or decapitation. These last two punishments could only be awarded by order of the Janissary Agha, and in the case of the death penalty the law required the sentence to be confirmed by the Kadi Asker, or military judge. The execution took place privately in the castle, and a gun was fired to announce the death of a Sipáhi or Janissary. The Sipáhis were punished for minor offences with the bastinado; but as the Janissaries were foot soldiers, flogging was substituted for the bastinado in their case.

The corps of Jebejis (armourers) had charge of the Jeba Khana (arsenal) at the capital and in the great fortresses. In A.D. 1687 they numbered twelve thousand men, and at the commencement of the present century they stood at about the same strength. They consisted of two divisions, called respectively Jamá'at and Buluk, like the first two divisions of Janissaries; and they were further divided into Ortas. Their Ághá was called the Jebeji Báshi. Their organization, pay, and discipline were similar to the Janissaries, of whom they were close allies. After the Janissaries were destroyed by Sultan Mahmud, the Jebejis were all banished from Constantinople and their corps dissolved.

The Topjis were the first corps of artillery soldiers ever raised. They were instituted in the Turkish army as soon as cannon had been introduced. Their number was gradually increased until it reached seven thousand in the muster rolls

of Muhamad the Fourth's army (1687), and at the end of the eighteenth century it was fifteen thousand. The Topjis were organized in Ortas like the Janissaries, and were commanded by the Topji Báshi. They were always distinguished among the regular troops by their loyalty and good conduct, and there was a rivalry between them and the Janissaries. However, when the latter mutinied in 1807, and attacked the reforming Sultan Selim the Third and his Nizám Jadid (new regulars), the doubtful conflict was only decided by the Topjis going over to the side of the Janissaries. In 1826, under Sultan Mahmud, they atoned for this defection by taking the leading part in the massacre of the Janissaries; and the murderous salvos which mowed down the mutineers gained for the Topji Báshi the sobriquet of Kara Jahannum Ibráhim Ághá (Black Hell Ibráhim). They were the first Turkish troops to put on the new uniform, and they were incorporated in the Askar i Jadid i Mansúria, or New Victorious Army, raised to replace the old military forces of the Ottoman Empire; so that the Turkish Artillery Corps may fairly claim to be the oldest military body in the world. The Top Arábajis, or artillery drivers, were a separate corps of a few hundred men, and were raised at the same time, or very soon after, the Topjis. The Khumpárajis (bombardiers) and Laghumjis (sappers) were of much more recent date, being both raised towards the end of the seventeenth century. They at first consisted of a few hundred men each; in 1798 the number of the Khumpárajis was two thousand. The Khumpárají Báshi and the Laghúmji Báshi were included in the military chiefs of the Porte, along with the Ághás of the six regiments of cavalry, the Janissary Ághá, the Azab Ághá, the Bostánji, Topji, Toparábaji, and Jebeji Báshis, the Mihtar Báshi, or Quartermaster-General, the Mir i 'A'lam, or Sultan's Standard-bearer, and the two Mir A'khors, or Masters of the Horse.

The irregular or provincial troops who formed the greater part of the national forces were composed chiefly

of the fief-holding horsemen (Zaims and Timariots) with their retainers; and some bodies of horsemen enlisted by the Pashas, and paid out of the revenues of their provinces. The Akinji were horsemen who served without fiefs or pay, solely for the plunder they could gain. The infantry consisted of Azab, the poorest class of Turks, who served chiefly as pioneers; and Levends (marines), who served on board the fleet: also Sagbáns, who acted as foot-guards of the Pashas and revenue soldiers.

All countries conquered by the Ottoman arms were immediately on annexation parcelled out into Ziámats (large fiefs), and Timárs (small fiefs), among the chosen soldiers of the victorious army. The Christian owners or occupiers were not disturbed; but they tilled the soil for the future for the benefit of the Sipáhi, who was their feudal lord. The Turk, however, was in no sense an owner, nor even an occupier; the land was theoretically the property of the Sultan, who disposed of it as he pleased; and the Sipáhi seldom lived on his estate, but generally resided in the nearest town or Turkish village. He had a fixed sum from the revenue of the land which was his Ziámat or Timár, which was generally paid to him in produce at a valuation, and certain dues were also collected by him from his Ráyás: thus every Christian married couple were mulcted in a fixed sum for their infraction of the inherent right of their Musalman master to the services of the daughters of the infidel. Lands with a revenue of over 20,000 aspers were classed as Ziámat fiefs; estates producing less were Timárs. A Zaim or Timárli had, besides serving in person, to furnish an armed horseman (Jebeli) for every 5,000 aspers of revenue. Thus a Ziámat of 100,000 aspers revenue furnished twenty-one horsemen. All the fiefs of the same locality were grouped in districts called Sanjaks (standards), presided over by a Sanjak Beg. These were under the orders of the Pasha of their province, subject to the control of the Beglerbeg of the Wiláyat (country). Thus, for example, in Turkish Hungary

there were five provinces: Buda, under the immediate government of the Beglerbeg of Hungary, a Pasha of three tails with the title of Vazir; it was divided into eight Sanjaks. The other four provinces were governed by Pashas of two horse-tails: Temesvar had seven Sanjaks, Kanisa four, Varasdin four, and Neuhausel, called Kiskuivar by the Turks, had five; in all, twenty-eight Sanjaks, mustering from ten to twelve thousand horsemen. According to the statistical account of the Ottoman Empire given by Awluja Effendi in the seventeenth century, there were 151 Sanjaks, 1,571 Ziámats, and 41,286 Timár fiefs in Europe and Asia. In 1798 the total number of these feudal horsemen was estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand.

The office of Sanjak Beg, and the tenure of the fiefs was hereditary, subject to the confirmation of the succession by the Sultan. Every Sanjak had an office in which a register of the fiefs and of the horsemen they furnished was kept; and copies of these registers were deposited in the head office, at the Beglerbeg's head-quarters. When war had been determined upon, early information was given to the Beglerbeg, who thereupon issued orders for the mobilization of the provincial forces, and named a rendezvous, according to the direction of the march. All the Sanjak Beks called up their Zaims and Timariots with their contingents of horsemen, and proceeded to the rendezvous fixed by the Beglerbeg. Here they were mustered and inspected, and brigaded for the campaign, and officers appointed, called Alai Beks, Binbáshis, and Subáshis. They then marched to the general rendezvous for the grand army, or to the most convenient point for joining it on its line of march.

When the army was drawn up in battle array, all the Asiatic cavalry were formed up in the right wing, and the cavalry from the European provinces in the left wing. These troops were only under obligation to serve for six months in the year, and never remained with the standards during the winter. They hastened home as soon as orders

were given for the army to go into winter quarters. They found their own arms and equipment, camp equipage, horses, and forage. A protracted war exhausted their resources, and made them unwilling, if not altogether unable, to take the field with their full quota of men. They were the best behaved and most respectable class of Turkish soldiery. Some hundreds of horsemen selected from among them remained at the Sublime Porte permanently, and furnished a personal escort for the Sultan on a campaign under the designation of *Mutafarrika*.

The *Akinji* were irregular horse, answering to the modern *Bashibuzuks*. They had neither fiefs nor pay, and served only for plunder. The Turkish cavalry were at first all *Akinji*, and the infantry *Yaya*, until the *Sipahis* and *Janissaries* were enrolled, and conquered lands supplied the victors with fiefs. At the time of the taking of Constantinople, the *Akinji* mustered forty thousand. They formed the vanguard of the Ottoman armies, and were intended to forage for it. They were called by the Germans "Sackmen," from the sack which they carried to receive their plunder. They committed frightful ravages in the countries that they overran, and often ventured to great distances from the main army, not unfrequently paying dearly for their temerity. The whole body of them were cut off and nearly destroyed in Styria on one occasion by the Germans, and the name of the Turks' Fall commemorates a place where a number of them were forced over a precipice by their pursuers. They were commanded by a hereditary *Akinji Bashi*, and the helmet of their chief slain in Styria, adorned with vulture's wings, is now shown in a museum in Vienna. In the old book of Turkish costumes, printed at Nuremberg in 1572, the sackman is shown wearing a winged helmet. After the sixteenth century we hear little of the *Akinji*. They ceased to form one body in a campaign, their place being taken by the contingent of Tartar horse furnished by the Crimea.

The horsemen entertained by the Pashas for the

revenue and police duties of their Pashaliks were paid by them a fixed stipend, and mounted, equipped, and found themselves. They were called *Sárij* (expeditious?). The Pashas and Vazirs had body-guards of horse called *Delis* (madcaps) and *Gunalis* (bravos). The former were distinguished by the extravagant height of their tall cylindrical caps, called *Tartúra* in Egypt; and the witty Arabs made a sly allusion to the braggart character of the *Delis* in their proverb, "It takes but a slight push to make a *Tartúra* fall." Another proverbial expression of their feeling towards the Turkish soldiery is found in—"Dirt fell on dirt and said, *Marhabá, Kardásh* ('Hail, brother!')"—the greeting used by the *Osmánli* soldiers among themselves. Prince *Cantemir* says that the *Gunalis* were Turkish hussars, and that they wore the Hungarian dress. The braided dolman, the *kalpak* with its stiff, upright plume, and the curved sabre were common to both *Magyars* and *Osmánlis*, and the hanging top to the cap which is perpetuated in the Hungarian busby-bag, is seen in old Turkish military head-dresses, notably in that of the *Bostánjis*.

The Grand Vazir had five hundred *Delis* and five hundred *Gunalis* for his body-guards. When *Khurshid Pasha*, the Vazir of Bosnia, invited the Servian rebel, *Milosh*, to a conference, the Vazir's *Delibáshi*, *Ali Ágha Sarchashma*, pledged his word to the Christian chief for his safety: "Fear not, *Milosh*," said he, "as long as I and my thousand *Delis* are alive." And when his master wished to detain *Milosh*, he refused to allow him, and escorted the Servian chief safely beyond the limits of the camp. This chivalrous conduct deserves to be recorded, for, unfortunately, such instances are rare in Turkish military annals.

The irregular infantry were *Azabs* and *Levends*, *Arnauts*, and *Yuruks*, and the *Sagbans* of the Pashas. The word "*Azab*" means a bachelor, a man without home-
stead or family. These formed the "ruck" of the Turkish

foot. At the siege of Constantinople they mustered thirty thousand, and thirty thousand of them were embarked for the conquest of Crete in A.D. 1645. They were a multitude without discipline, without organization, and almost without arms; and they were chiefly employed as camp-followers and pioneers. Sometimes they were pushed forward to weary out the resistance of a besieged garrison before the Janissaries were led to the assault. They always excavated the trenches and raised the batteries at a siege, while the Janissaries smoked and watched against a sortie. The Azabs received pay only when employed, and were not called out for more than six months at a time. They were commanded by an Ághá, who was one of the military chiefs of the Porte, and resided at Constantinople. The Levends served as marines on board the fleet, and were recruited from the sea-coasts and islands of the Archipelago, which formed the government of the Kapudán Páshá (Lord High Admiral and Minister of Marine). These were divided into districts (Sanjaks) under maritime Begs, who furnished ships and galleys instead of squadrons of horse. The Levends were under similar conditions of service to the Azabs, but being called out regularly every year (at least a portion of them) to man the vessels for the summer cruises of the fleet, they were always in good training. They served only as marines, the ships being worked and sailed by Greek Christians, who were better mariners than the Turks, or by Moors and Arabs. In time of war the Levends were supplemented by Janissaries and Topjis on board of the ships. The number of the Levends was estimated at fifty thousand at the beginning of this century. The Arnauts were the Musalmans of Albania and Bosnia, who served on foot under their Sanjak Begs, and were collected into one body for a campaign. As they spoke only their Greek and Slavonic dialects they could not be mingled with the Turks. They were highly esteemed for their soldierly qualities, and were looked on as only second to the Janissaries. The Yuruks were the

contingents of infantry furnished by nomad tribes such as the Kurds, Zebeks, &c.

The province of Egypt was under a different military constitution to the rest of the empire. The Pasha of Cairo (al Káhira) was Vazir and Beglerbeg, and the Mameluke Beks took the place of the Sanjak Beks in Europe and Asia, and each furnished a contingent of Mameluke horsemen. Cairo and Alexandria were garrisoned by regiments of Janissaries. The old custom of detailing a guard of Turkish soldiers for the protection of a foreign ambassador is still recalled to memory in Egypt by the appellation of Janissary applied to the orderly of a European consul.

The regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers were at one time Turkish Pashaliks; but the Janissaries stationed in garrison in those cities uniting with the corsairs who had colonized them, elected from among themselves a chief whom they styled Dái (Dey), and drifted away from their allegiance to the Porte. The old English historian, Knolles, whose history of the Turks is a marvel of industry and research, says, in relating the story of the murder of Ramadán Pasha of Tripoli by the mutinous Janissaries :

"At which their insolencie if Amurath" (the Sultan Murad III.) "did winke, and suffer it to pass unpunished, let no man marvell; for why, the auncient character of these martiall men is not now as it formerly was, when they were with a more severe discipline governed: but now, being grown proud and lasie (according to the manner of men living in continuall pay) they with armes in their hands doubt not to do whatsoever unto themselves seemeth best, be it never so foule or unreasonable."

The Janissaries of Algiers, though they ceased to have any connection with the Ojak at Constantinople, yet retained the name and many of the regulations of the corps up to the time of their expulsion by the French in 1830. Their General was called the Agha, and under him were thirty Yáyá Báshis or Colonels, and beneath them Buluk Báshis, and Oda Báshis. Promotion was by seniority, but the officer who was entitled to the step might sell his right to

it to another—a kind of purchase system. Pay and rations were allowed to the troops, and the former was issued regularly every two months.

These Barbary States, though virtually independent of the Sultan, always acknowledged his sovereignty, and were theoretically bound to render feudal service to him; and they did often assist him in his wars. They furnished contingents of Moorish Sipáhis, called by the Turks Maghrabis or Westerlings.

The total muster of the land and sea forces of the Ottoman Empire, as taken from the official records in the middle of the seventeenth century in the reign of Sultan Muhammad the Fourth, is set down by Awliya Effendi as five hundred and sixty-six thousand men. The Tartar Khan of the Crimea acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan, and furnished the Turkish army with a large body of Tartar cavalry. During the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these Tartar auxiliaries played an important part in the operations of the Ottoman armies, until the annexation of the Crimea by Russia.

The Turks made great account of standards and banners which they used to denote rank and office, as well as to serve for rallying points for the troops. The original Turkish ensign was the flowing tail of the Yak or *Bos grumiens*, but when their tribe had left its native seats in Central Asia these could no longer be procured, and horse-tails were commonly substituted. The Sultan had seven horse-tails, the Vazirs had three, the Pashas two, and Sanják Begs one. The horse-tail was called Togh, the gilt crescent on a pole was 'Alam, the flags of different kinds were Livá, Sanják, Bairak, &c. The Livá was the banner flown by a Pasha; the Bairak a corps or regimental flag. Every grade of Vazir, Pasha, and Beg had its distinguishing ensign; every fortress had its banner. The colours were usually red or green, with sometimes transverse bands of contrasting colours, and devices of suns, crescents, stars, globes, and texts of the Korán. We have seen that the six

regiments of Sipáhis were distinguished by the colours of their standards. The grand banner of the corps of Janissaries was white, with the device of a crescent and a double-pointed scimitar embroidered in gold; the flag of each Orta was red, with the same device. Among the irregular troops a great number of flags were carried, as among the Afghans at the present day. Many of these banners and ensigns may now be seen in the arsenals and museums of Venice, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, whither they have been carried by the fortune of war. The Grand Standard of the Prophet, called the Sanják Sharíf, was carried with the army when the Sultan or the Grand Vazir was in command. It was always cased, and was committed to the guard of the "*Bulukiat i Arbia*," or four regiments of Ulúfaji and Ghurebá Sipáhis. It never fell into the hands of the Christians, though the banners of the Kapudán Páshá Ali, captured by Don John of Austria at Lepanto, and of the Grand Vazir Kara Mustafá, taken by Sobieski at Vienna, have both been mistaken for it. Drums and kettle drums furnished the chief part of the military music of the Turks. Trumpets seem to have been but little used by them, and the only record we can find of military music being maintained in their corps is in the lists of drums said to belong to the Janissaries captured in battle by the Germans and Russians.

The military band or Tabal Khána seems to have been the appanage of state of the commander of an army. It was stationed near his post in the centre, and continued to play during a battle. When Mustafá Pasha Kúprili, the Grand Vazir, was killed by an Austrian bullet at Salanka-man, the Tabal Khána ceased to play, and the troops were at once dispirited and began to waver and fall back. The Grand Vazir's Tabal Khána contained nine drums, nine fifes, seven trumpets, and four pairs of cymbals—not at all a strong band, but it was no doubt supplemented on occasion. When Sultan Othman the Second marched against Poland he had a hundred and fifty pairs of kettle drums

carried on camels, and larger drums carried on elephants, which had been sent as presents from India by the Grand Mogul. Evliya Effendi speaks of State processions being accompanied by "the eightfold Turkish music."

When war was declared against any Power, its ambassador resident at Constantinople was imprisoned in the Seven Towers; and a grand fête was held at Constantinople with processions, illuminations, and mummeries of all kinds to celebrate the departure of the troops for the seat of war. When this was in Europe the general rendezvous was fixed at Adrianople, whither all the levies from Asia and Africa were directed to repair. The horse-tails were pitched to the north of the Sultan's tent if the campaign was to be against Poland or Russia; to the west if against Austria. The Agha of the Janissaries accompanied the army if it was led by the Sultan or the Grand Vazir in person; if not, the command of the Ortas destined for the campaign was entrusted to one of the inferior Aghas of the corps. As the Beglerbegs and Pashas arrived at the rendezvous, the Janissaries whom they had led from the provinces joined the camp of their own corps. Each body of troops encamped and marched separately, in the order fixed by the Commander-in-chief. When the Grand Vazir Kara Mustafá Páshá led an army into the Ukraine against the Russians in 1669, the Tartars formed the advance guard; the Janissaries led the van; then followed four Pashas with their household troops; then the Grand Vazir with the rest of the army.

For every campaign a forlorn hope was formed from the Sipáhis and Janissaries by enrolling volunteers, who were called *Serdengichdi*, with the pay of ten aspers a day. Any survivor of them who volunteered for the forlorn hope in a second campaign received the pay of twenty aspers, and if he again escaped with life, his pay was permanently increased.

Prince Cantemir thus describes the battle array of the Ottoman army:—

"The whole army is divided into five parts, namely, *Sâgh-kol*, the right hand; *Sol-kol*, the left hand; *Dib Alai*, the main body of the army; *Charkaji*, the fore-runners or vanguard; and *Domdar*, the bringers back or rear, who are commanded to force those that run away or give ground to renew the battle. In front are the *Serdengichdi*, who are followed by the Janissaries led by their Agha. After these are drawn the great guns, guarded by the *Topjis* and the *Jebejis*, who are the keepers of the artillery. Then comes the Prime Vizier, with his court and *Segbani* (body-guards). On his right stand the Asiatic horse, on his left the European. After the Vizier comes the Emperor, if he be present, surrounded with his courtiers and *Bostanji*. On his right hand are the *Spahi* of the red standard, and on his left the *Spahi* of the yellow, who are also called *Silahdars*. After the Emperor are carried the money coffers, with innumerable waggons, and camels laden with provisions and other necessities. Last of all are the above-mentioned *Domdar*. Much the same order is observed in the heat of a battle. The *Serdengichdi* charge first, then the Janissaries and the rest of the foot. Meanwhile the horse endeavour to attack the enemy in flank, and if repulsed, are seconded by the *Spahis* of both wings. Then succeeds the Vizier with his horse. The Agha of the Janissaries takes notice of the weak part of the foot, and supports them with new supplies. The Emperor, at a little distance from the battle with his men, has an equal eye to the whole army, and if any part is pressed by the enemy sends aid from his own and other regiments."

But a detailed description of the tactics of the Turks, and of their methods of fighting might be easily made to fill a volume. The study of their wars with their northern and western neighbours is interesting from the collision of the two opposite systems of European and Asiatic warfare.

Into the causes which led to the decay of the Turkish system of army organization it is not our purpose now to enter; they were many and various, and the mere enumeration of them would be a serious task. The military and Oriental antiquary will find plenty of material for interesting research in the annals of the Turkish army in days gone by, when Islâm and Christendom were still fairly matched foes, and the Crescent shed its beams throughout Eastern Europe—

"Like some pale disastrous planet
O'er the purple tide of war."

FRANK H. TYRRELL.

BRITISH AND RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL COMPETITION IN CENTRAL ASIA.*

It is supposed to be the peculiar prerogative of the Englishman in this quarter of the nineteenth century to croak over the alleged decline of his country ; and of the travelling Englishman in particular to dilate upon its loss of supremacy in the markets of the world. The average Englishman is perhaps somewhat hypersensitive of foreign rivalry, while the traveller is apt to jump at hasty conclusions, or to be caught by one-sided tales. These admissions may readily be made, and will justify the deduction of a modest discount from the Jeremiads of the normal wanderer returning from foreign parts. But, whilst making this concession, I must also point out that there are quarters of the globe where the process of commercial competition may be going on, and assuming a form positively hostile to the interests of this country, unknown to, because far removed from the ken of, those at home ; and that even the unprofessional traveller may have it in his power to render a humble service by drawing the attention of his countrymen to fields of action where those interests may be actually at stake. To one such arena I propose to invite your notice this afternoon, supporting my conclusions by personal observation in the course of a Central Asian journey last year, by unimpeachable, and in some cases hitherto unpublished, figures, and by quotations from official reports.

The subject of my paper is British and Russian Commercial Competition in Central Asia ; and its object is to show that within the expanse of territory commonly so

* Read before the British Association at Newcastle, on Sept. 13, 1889.

described, and which may be defined as extending from the Caspian on the west, to Chinese Turkestan or Kashgaria on the east, and from the Persian Gulf and India on the south, to the Aral Sea and Siberia on the north, the existing trade routes, many of them of immemorial antiquity, are, in the main, passing from British under Russian control, or are being superseded by new routes, favourably aligned to Russian, and unfavourably disposed for British commerce; that markets are every year being shut to the British and opened to the Russian merchant; that money, in fine, is being taken from the pockets of Bombay and Manchester, and transferred to the pockets of Nijni Novgorod and Moscow. I have purposely excluded Eastern or Chinese Turkestan from the area of my observation, because the problem of commercial competition across the Chinese border is on a somewhat different footing, and because I understand that that branch of the subject is in the infinitely more capable hands of Colonel Mark Bell.

When I speak of the rivalry of Russia, and when presently I shall discuss the methods by which it may be met and possibly counteracted, I hope that no one will either suspect me of political bias, or accuse me of resenting fair competition. There ought to be no politics in the market-place; and that patriotism need have no partisan colour that is begotten in the Exchange or the bazaar. I shall say nothing that the most bigoted Russophile can justly interpret as anti-Russian in complexion; and imperial politics may with safety be altogether eliminated from this discussion. Nor to the give and take which is the normal condition of commercial life, and particularly of an acute commercial struggle, can any fair-minded man find reason to object. Great Britain early obtained and has long enjoyed a practical monopoly of some of the most lucrative markets in the world. She must expect and she can afford to witness the entry of other candidates into the same arena. But when we are

confronted with a rival who aims not at partnership, but at exclusion, who retorts to Free Trade by uncompromising Protection, whose motto is War to the knife, and whose smallest success is a measurable loss to ourselves, no misplaced scruples should deter us from realizing the danger, or from taking every possible means to render it unavailing. Russia is entirely within her rights and is probably wise in pursuing so selfish a policy. An Englishman is not less within his rights in combating it, and would be worse than foolish if he refrained from doing so.

An economic policy of strict protection for native produce and manufactures, and cumulative burdens upon foreign trade, has for some time been a cardinal principle of Russian statesmanship, and has reached its highest point under the administration of the present Czar. The English Consuls stationed at the various trade centres and ports are continually reporting to the Home Government a further revision of the Customs-Tariff of Russia, and this revision, it is needless to say, is invariably in one direction. Quite lately the Russian Imperial Ministry of Finance has announced that a further general readjustment is contemplated and has invited suggestions for its determination. That England is the special object of many of these dispensations might be inferred from the commercial hegemony at present enjoyed by her in the markets of the world, and may be illustrated among many other examples, by an order, recently issued, prohibiting Englishmen from engaging in future in the coasting trade in Russian waters.

For the execution of this policy on a large scale, the Central Asian conquests of Russia, which have been comprised within a period of little more than twenty years, have lately suggested to her an unequalled and long-desired opportunity. Whatever may have been the primary motives which impelled her to these regions, and of whatever character be her sway over the conquered

territories, she has never lost sight of the possibility that, limited on the European side by land, and handicapped by sea, the opening of which she stood in such sore need might be found in the boundless steppes and almost untapped resources of Central Asia. Russian writers of fifty years ago, at the time when, immediately before the outbreak of the first Afghan War, England was exhibiting great activity among the Khanates, based their appeals for prompt and energetic action on the part of their government, not so much upon the danger to Russia of British political ascendancy in Central Asia, as upon the prospective loss of those markets of which Peter the Great had dreamed, for which the Empress Anne had plotted, which a series of futile embassies and missions had hitherto failed to secure, but which must at all hazards be rescued from the omnivorous clutch of the British Lion. The extraordinarily rapid conquest of the disputed regions, their even more rapid consolidation in the *corpus* of the Muscovite Empire, and finally the easy intercommunication achieved by means of the Transcaspian Railway, built for strategical objects, but serving at the present a commercial purpose of unsuspected magnitude—have within the last few years placed within the hands of Russia the power of gratifying these long-cherished ambitions, have given her the industrial command of a new continent, and have established her in a position where she has only one rival, the old enemy, Great Britain, and where she can confront that rival, not, as hitherto, at a loss, but at a positive advantage. The Russians have awakened to the fact that the trade of India and the surrounding countries, which has enriched those who had control of it from the days of the Phœnicians and of Solomon, which made Alexandria, which sustained Genoa and Venice, and which has magnified the British Empire, is within measurable distance of their fingers, and may perhaps be partly won to their grasp. At the same time, they have realized that the conquered steppes, though surrounded by and often merged

in deserts, are capable of resuming the fertility which once made them the site of populous empires; and that from their own provinces in Central Asia they may expect before long to derive the whole of their cotton, a good deal of their silk, and a considerable portion of their wool.

Upon the development, however, of the strictly Russian possessions, whether in Transcaspia or Turkestan I do not now propose to enter, preferring to confine my observations to such regions as may fairly be considered middle ground between Russia and Great Britain, and afford in consequence a reasonable criterion for an estimate of their respective measures of success. These regions may roughly be divided into three: (1) The Khanates, (2) Afghanistan, and (3) Persia. I shall endeavour to show that the foreign trade of each of these regions is becoming increasingly Russian and diminishingly British; that the arteries through which commerce shows a tendency to percolate are in danger of being finally absorbed by Russia; and that strenuous and immediate efforts are required to retain for this country not her supremacy—for that is gone—but at least her share in the profits of Central Asian trade.

First, let me premise that the pivot upon which my whole argument hangs, and upon which the newly-achieved superiority of Russia in the main depends, is the now completed Transcaspian Railway, which runs for a distance of nearly 900 miles from Uzun Ada, on the east shore of the Caspian Sea, to Samarkand, in the heart of Central Asia. Its bearing upon the problem as stated above may at once be demonstrated by a glance at its alignment upon the map. It will there be seen, shortly after leaving the Caspian littoral, to run for a distance of nearly 300 miles parallel to and at the base of the mountains which constitute the northern border of the rich Persian province of Khorasan. Next it follows a direction, also parallel to, but at a greater distance, viz., from 100 to

200 miles from, a second foreign frontier, that of Afghanistan. Finally it crosses the Oxus, and plunges into the most fertile portion of the Khanate of Bokhara. In other words, between start and finish, it runs in immediate contiguity to, where it does not actually traverse, the very regions of which we are speaking, and of which it therefore becomes at once the natural conduit either for export or for import. General Annenkoff, who designed and built this railway, and is now its Director-General, had the wisdom to foresee and to work for these results. In a pamphlet, published in 1887, in which he recommended and vindicated the undertaking to the public, he claimed for the railway that it would ensure to Russia a monopoly of the trade of Khorasan and Bokhara, and that the only produce which it might not be expected to import into those countries would be green tea. That his anticipations were entirely justified in the two specified cases I shall now proceed to show. That in the third case, viz., that of Afghanistan, they have been absolutely surpassed, figures will also be forthcoming to demonstrate.

I. The first region of influence to which I alluded was the Transoxian Khanates; but these may practically be restricted to a single Khanate, viz., that of Bokhara. The only other still existing Khanate, that of Khiva, is too far removed, both from India and from the sea, to render commercial competition on the part of Great Britain possible. Khiva is commercially what she is politically, a Russian helot. There is a nominally independent Khan; but he has about as much power as the Governor of the Isle of Wight, and may accordingly be dismissed from consideration. There remains Bokhara, still under the rule of a native sovereign, and retaining some pretence of autonomy. The city of Bokhara has for centuries been the great trading emporium of this part of Central Asia; and the privilege of supplying its foreign custom has been the object of the ambition of both Russia and England for a period of over half a century. The far superior com-

mercial resources and experience of England enabled her to get the start; and the few visitors to the city during the middle and even later years of the period named reported its bazaars as being well stocked with English manufactures, imported *via* Kurrachi or Bombay, India and Afghanistan. As late even as 1883 a Russian merchant, sent by a large mercantile company to investigate the opening of a new trade route to Bokhara, reported the bazaars of that place to contain an immense amount of English goods, *i.e.*, prints, muslins, handkerchiefs, dyes, sugar, and green tea, imported from India *via* Afghanistan.

I was in Bokhara last autumn, and though I spent many hours each day in the Bazaar, I only on one occasion saw English goods offered for sale: and they were cotton prints bearing the stamp of a Bombay firm. Birmingham and Manchester formerly did a considerable trade with Bokhara. I believe that that trade is absolutely extinguished.

In 1887, before the Transcaspian Railway had yet approached the city, the Russian Resident reported that "English goods are not able to compete with Russian products, and English prints are rarely to be met with in Bokhara." *

Since the advent of the line, the process of exclusion has become complete; and this year the Journal of the Russian Ministry of Finance reported not merely that "the import trade from Russia into Bokhara had made enormous progress," but also that "it had visibly driven out goods of English origin from the Bokharan market, whither manufactured goods from India are *never* sent, with the exception, perhaps, of English muslin."

Simultaneously I find corroborative evidence from the opposite quarter, in the annual report of the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat, on the Indian frontier, who records his opinion that "*No* British cottons from the Punjab now cross the Oxus." It must be remembered that British

* *File No. 447 of the Annual Series of Foreign Office Trade Reports.*

goods suffer from a terrible handicap as compared with those of Russian origin in the Khanate of Bokhara, owing to the exorbitant transit-dues exacted by the Amir of Afghanistan (to whose illiberal fiscal policy I shall presently again draw attention); while Russian imports, though under the terms of the treaty of 1873 they are subject to an *ad valorem* duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on crossing the Bokharan frontier, yet have no other custom house to pass *in transitu*, and can therefore be deposited at a very reasonable price in the Bokharan bazaars. The magnitude of the loss to British commerce was probably not exaggerated by the *Turkestan Gazette* when it boasted, a few years ago, of having destroyed foreign—*i.e.*, English—trade to the annual value of £750,000 with Bokhara alone.

I spoke just now of the immense increase of Russian imports into Bokhara. When I was there the shops appeared to be flooded with cheap Russian wares. Russian prints, calicoes, and cottons, Russian iron, hardware, and crockery, even sewing-machines and kerosine lamps—every one of them imported by the railway which runs within ten miles of the native town—were to be seen exposed for sale. The latest statistics of Russo-Bokharan trade show the exports from Bokhara to have reached the considerable annual figure of £1,250,000, while the Russian imports into Bokhara are not much less, *viz.*, £1,060,000: and these figures will in a very short time be doubled.

A further sign of Russian ascendancy is supplied by the extent to which this trade is now in Russian, instead of native hands. When Dr. Schuyler visited Bokhara in 1873, he related that there was only one Russian merchant in Bokhara. As late as 1885, the only Russian representatives were the agents of a single company, who were reported to be living, almost as prisoners, in a caravanserai. There are now in Bokhara representatives or branch houses of at least a dozen Russian firms of first-class importance, as well as a branch of the Imperial Russian Bank.

Bokhara has, in fact, dropped like a ripe pear into Russia's lap, and will never again be gathered into the British garner. A commercial treaty with the Amir of Afghanistan might enable Anglo-Indian trade to compete in the markets of the Khanate, though even so a more than equivalent penalty would certainly be imposed by Russia; but it is to be feared that Russian ascendancy will soon have been too firmly established ever to be seriously shaken.

II. From Bokhara I pass to the second area of Russo-British competition, viz., Afghanistan itself. Afghanistan has hitherto presented a twofold interest to British commerce, arising (1) from the transit trade to the provinces north of the Oxus, and (2) from the trade with the country itself.

The former consisted principally of indigo, green tea, drugs, and English muslin, and the route which it ordinarily followed was *via* Kabul and Balkh to the Oxus Ferries. A second transit-route was *via* Kandahar and Herat. I have spoken of the disabilities from which this trade suffers in the ruinous imposts of the Afghan authorities, and in the increasing competition of railway-borne Russian goods in the Transoxian regions. Its decline may be illustrated by figures showing that the transit-trade *via* Herat and Kerki to Bokhara, which in 1881 amounted to 3,600 camel-loads and 1,025 tons weight, sank in 1884 to 1,700 camel-loads and 490 tons weight, and has since all but vanished; while during the autumn of last year (1888), when the rebellion of Is-hak Khan agitated Afghan Turkestan, communication by caravan between Kabul and Bokhara ceased altogether.

Transit-trade, however, in a country of such precarious political stability as Afghanistan is *ipso facto* a somewhat hazardous venture, and cannot be expected to give uniformly satisfactory returns. But the prospect is a much more ominous one when we turn to the trade with the country itself, to which I now invite your attention.

Afghanistan is only actually touched at one point of its border by a railroad, and that the English railway (Sind-Pishin Line) recently pushed out from Quetta to the Amran Range in the direction of Kandahar. Farther to the north-east the main Punjab line from Lahore is produced as far as Peshawur, near the embouchure of the Khyber Pass. From these two termini long strings of camels convey British and Indian merchandise into the interior: the caravans in correspondence with the Sind-Pishin line serving the Kandahar region, and ultimately Herat; those that start from Peshawur serving Kabul, and ultimately Afghan Turkestan.

On the north-west the Russian railway runs parallel with the English, several hundred miles apart, but at a rather greater distance from the Afghan frontier on that side than is the Indian railway on the south-east. From Merv, however, from Tcharjui on the Oxus, and from Bokhara, communication is made with the Afghan interior; and caravans, made up for the most part in Bokhara, but charged with Russian merchandise, serve the frontier markets of Maimena, Andkui, Shiberghan, Akcha, and Siripul, whence the goods are redistributed into the inland villages and towns.

The situation which it is my object to indicate is this. The Russian, or more strictly Bokharan, caravans, in correspondence with the Russian railway on the north, are not only seriously competing with, but are even beating the Afghan or Indian caravans in correspondence with the Anglo-Indian lines on the south. In other words, Afghanistan, which has hitherto been regarded as a peculiarly sacred preserve of the British or Indian trader, is fast becoming a battle-ground of international rivalry, and is little by little yielding to Russia that which it steals from Great Britain. Let me take my evidence from both quarters, the north and the south, *i.e.*, both from Russian and from Indian official sources.

The principal Russian exports to North Afghanistan

are printed goods, sugar—lump, moist, and candied—trunks, iron, hardware, copper, drugs, and matches. The extent to which this trade has already been developed is demonstrated by returns that have been published by the Russian Journal of the Ministry of Finance, according to which in the summer of last year (1888) the value of Russian goods exported to Afghanistan from Bokhara during the month of June alone amounted to £123,581; and of imports into Bokhara from Afghanistan to £215,390. In the following months this trade, both export and import, suffered seriously from the general dislocation arising out of the rebellion of Is-hak Khan. But the high level which it had previously reached, and which it is said since to have recovered, will illustrate the extent to which Russo-Afghan trade, in connection with the Transcaspian Railway, has already been carried; and justifies the sanguine declaration of the Russian Finance Minister that—"Northern Afghanistan presents a market in which Russian goods find a ready sale, and compete successfully with Anglo-Indian and other European merchandise."

I now turn to the evidence supplied by the trade returns on the other side, viz., on the Indian frontier in the provinces of the Punjab and Sind. The value of the exports from the Punjab to Kabul during the eleven months from April to February has been as follows during the past three years:—

	1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.
Rupees ...	6,036,751	5,536,431	4,933,640

The value of imports from Kabul across the Punjab frontier during the same period has been—

	1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.
Rupees ...	2,432,846	2,265,622	1,875,914

It will be observed that the figures both of exports and imports exhibit a steady progressive decline. The Deputy Commissioners and the Financial Commissioners in their

reports to the Indian Government attribute this to various reasons, among which Russian competition finds a place. The Report of the Assistant Financial Secretary for the year 1887-8, part of which is printed as a Parliamentary paper in London,* contains the following paragraph:—

“Trade with Kabul is not progressing as it might have been expected to do, seeing that the railway runs right up to its border, and that the country has been free for the last few years from serious political convulsions. Whether the stagnation of the trade is to be attributed to Russian customs restrictions on the other border of Northern Afghanistan, impeding the progress of transit trade between India and Central Asia, or to the illiberal fiscal *régime* of the Amir, or to tribal disturbances from time to time, it is certain in any case that the trade gives no indication of material increase.”

As an illustration of the oppressive custom-dues exacted by the Amir, I may here mention that the taxation on the road to Ghuzni upon cloth coming from India is as follows:—Eighteen rupees on each camel-load at the Shutargardan Pass, and a forfeiture of one piece out of every forty; and a further eight rupees upon each camel-load on arrival at Ghuzni.

Similar evidence to that which I have quoted is also forthcoming in the returns from the Sind Province, which commands the great southern trade route into Afghanistan by the Bolan and Khojak Passes, and which is now served by the Quetta or Sind-Pishin Railway. The returns of exports and imports by this railway are somewhat delusive. The bulk of the trade appears to be in exports; but this is explained by the fact that more than half of the total consists of railway material, while a substantial portion of the remainder goes for the requirements of the garrison and inhabitants of Quetta.

Perhaps the most reliable figures that we can take are those of the annual caravan-borne trade across this section of the frontier to Kandahar, which, in spite of its proximity to the frontier—less than seventy miles—exhibits a steady

* Statement of the Trade of British India from 1883-88. London, 1889.

decline. They were as follows for the eleven months from April to February in the last three years :

1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.
Rupees 154,327	123,413	89,987

The value of the imports during the same period was :

1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.
Rupees 133,160	107,830	97,601

Now I do not say that the decline of trade with Kandahar is directly attributable to Russian competition, because I have no evidence that Russian goods penetrate so far south ; nor can we be certain to what extent Kandahar is fed by the railway as distinguished from road-borne goods. But Kandahar, it must be remembered, is the trading-point of transfer for Girishk and Herat, and it is indisputable that Russian competition has in the latter place ousted us from the field, and that whatever our ascendancy in the southern market, it is more than balanced by our exclusion from the northern capital, which appears, from all accounts, to be almost as much lost to us in a commercial, as it is in a political sense.

Summing up, therefore, my observations on Afghanistan, I have shown that over the northern zone, which includes Afghan Turkestan and Herat, Russian trade, fed by the Transcaspian Railway, is acquiring a control that, if we may judge from cognate cases, is likely to develop into a monopoly ; whilst over the southern zone including Kandahar, Ghuzni, and Kabul, Anglo-Indian trade, so far from making that progress which the more pacified condition of the country, the alliance of the Amir, and the excellent railway communication on the Indian side would appear to warrant, is either stationary or is definitely on the decline. We have lost part of Afghanistan—commercially. Our foothold does not become a firmer one in the remainder.

III. Finally I turn to Persia, the concluding, but

perhaps the most important illustration of my thesis. For the purpose of my argument let me divide that country into four quarters, or zones, of commercial influence, in each of which I shall balance and contrast the respective advantages of the two rivals. The first zone is the western, or Azerbaijan province, whose centre is Tabriz; the second is the northern, whose centre is the capital Teheran; the third is the eastern, or province of Khorasan, whose centre is Meshed; the fourth is the middle and southern, whose centre is Ispahan, and which possesses the sea-ports of Bender Abbas, Linga, and Bushire. These zones are fed commercially by certain channels, the character and adaptability of which to Russian or British mercantile interests I will briefly indicate.

1. The province of Azerbaijan was formerly approached by British merchandise in the main from two directions: from the north-west *viâ* Poti, or Batoum, Kars, and Erivan, and from the north-east *viâ* the Caspian. The abolition by Russia of the transit-trade across the Caucasus in 1883, and the annexation by the same power of Batoum in 1886, have absolutely closed to England these two avenues of approach, which are now left under the unimpeded control of our rival; they have driven English trade with Persia to the more circuitous and costly overland route from Trebizond; and they have destroyed an English trade with Caucasia which I have seen estimated at an annual value of £1,000,000. Here, in a comparatively restricted space, but on a scale of scientific precision, may be seen exhibited the merciless results of Russian Protection, and its especial antagonism to British trade. Nor is the loss to Great Britain to be estimated by the closure of these routes alone. The figures of the British import trade into Persia *viâ* Trebizond, so far from showing an increase resulting from the enforced concentration upon that line of approach, exhibit since 1884 a progressive decline.*

* No. 119 of the Miscellaneous Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
£548,921	527,462	679,428	652,823	704,493	578,850	522,480	471,700

The British Consular Report of the trade of Trebizond for the year 1887 contains the admission that "the decrease in cotton goods, especially from the United Kingdom, is to be explained by the greater importation of Russian stuffs, which appear to be yearly on the increase, that of Trebizond alone figuring for 1887 as £10,000, against £1,920 in 1886." * The British Consul at Constantinople, in his report for the years 1887 and 1888 on the trade of that port, makes a similar confession. He says with reference to Central Asia in general that large import houses in Constantinople which formerly did business as middlemen between European manufacturers and the merchants of these parts have lost their custom, and are being extinguished by the opening of new and more direct *i.e.*, by Russian routes; and with special reference to the zone which I am discussing that "In Persia the provinces of Azerbaijan, Khoi, and Mazenderan alone continue to take their supplies by way of Constantinople, *and then only when the Russian competition permits of their doing so*"; and that "owing partly to this competition dealers in Manchester goods have suffered considerably." † I derive kindred testimony from another official, and in this case, an outside quarter, in a letter from the French Consul at Tabriz in 1888 to a French commercial publication, which contained these words:

"It seems likely that the trade of Europe with Persia will be very seriously affected indeed by the influences which are linking that country in a closer commercial union with Russia. But it is England which will suffer most by the new situation; for Russia makes muslins of better quality than those of Manchester; and when the price of the Russian muslins, which is rather high at present in consequence of their novelty, begins to fall a little, the English manufacturers will have no chance of competing with those of Russia."

2. I pass to the second or northern zone, consisting of

* No. 342 of the Annual Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1888.

† No. 537 of the Annual Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

the provinces of Ghilan and Mazenderan, and containing the capital Teheran. Teheran is fed by three main arteries, from Bagdad *viâ* Kermanshah and Hamadan on the west, from Resht on the Caspian on the north, and in a less degree from Meshed-i-Sar further to the east along the same coast-line. Here again Russian superiority is gradually but surely being established, the proximity and monopoly of the Caspian giving them an advantage with which it is almost impossible for the long and circuitous overland routes to compete. The latest report on the trade of North Persia says that at Teheran Russian prints received by Resht and Kasvin compete strongly with the English, though the latter still have the advantage except in Turkey reds.* Should the road from the Caspian to the capital, for the construction of which the Russians have recently been putting diplomatic pressure upon the Shah, be taken in hand, there can be no doubt as to which way the balance will in future incline. East of Teheran, in Mazenderan, we have the authority of the same report for saying that "English prints are beaten by Russian, and it would even be difficult to find a piece of English origin." In fact, the second zone, like the first, must be increasingly credited to the Eagle rather than to the Union Jack.

3. More deplorable, because more decisive, is the spectacle presented by the third zone, that of the wealthy province of Khorasan, with its capital Meshed. Here Russian influence, commercial as well as political, is omnipotent, and British competition is, except in the case of Indian imported tea, almost a negative quantity. Hitherto the main avenues of approach to this province have been on the north *viâ* Shahrud from Teheran, *viâ* Astrabad from the Caspian, *viâ* Herat from Afghanistan, and on the south from Bender Abbas on the Persian Gulf. The last-named route is practically the only one available to British or Anglo-Indian trade, which is limited to a few articles such as tea, which Russia cannot supply, and which

* No. 119 of the Miscellaneous Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

is in the hands of Hindu and Kashmiri merchants. The three northern routes which have for some time been practically Russian, have now been supplemented, and will in time be superseded by a new route opened up by Russia over the border mountains from Kuchan to Askabad, where at a distance of only twenty miles from the frontier connection is established with the Transcaspian Railway. Already Russian merchandise, transported from Baku and Uzun Ada, is being poured over the frontier by this line into Khorasan, where Russian dress, Russian commodities, and Russian drinks everywhere abound; and when the carriageable road, for which the Russians are pressing, is completed from the frontier to Kuchan and Meshed, the process of commercial absorption will be complete. I may mention that with a view to encourage trade by this route the Russian Government has recently issued a proclamation at Askabad, offering free transit to all goods from Persia, if sent by Askabad to Uzun Ada and Baku; a concession which has for some time been in existence on the Caucasian border in the opposite direction. Unless, therefore, England can speedily develop and extend her communications from the south, she may say good-bye for ever to the markets of Khorasan.

4. It is with positive relief, after these lugubrious reflections, that I turn to the fourth and final zone of influence, viz., the Central and Southern Persian, the chief towns of which are Ispahan and Shiraz, and which is in connection with the ports of the Persian Gulf. British influence is here, owing to her command of the maritime approaches as completely in the ascendant as I have shown Russian influence to be in Khorasan. English prints defy all competition at Ispahan, and south of that place command the entire market. The proportion of British shipping that entered the port of Bushire in 1888 was 93,555 out of 97,775 tons; of Linga, 82,780 out of 119,280 tons; and of Bender Abbas, 76,586 out of 85,599 tons.* The

* *Vide* No. 591 of the Annual Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

statistics of British and Indian trade with these ports stand in approximately the same ratio to those of other European countries. Quite recently the Karun River concession, about which so much has been heard, has opened up a new trade route into the interior; though until the Persian Government shows some willingness to assist traffic, by improving and securing roads and by removing restrictions on commerce, too much must not be expected in this direction. The supremacy of England in Southern Persia is a satisfactory symptom, and will provide us with a clue to a more energetic policy in other directions. But even here it must be noted that the Russians, undaunted by physical or material obstacles, are boldly attempting competition; and the latest report from the British Consul-General at Bushire contains this paragraph: "As a rule, Manchester cotton goods hold their place, and the tendency has been to receive more costly goods. But at Bender Abbas Russian red chintz has superseded that formerly imported from India, the traders alleging that they obtain an equally good stuff at cheaper rates from Russia."*

I have now exhausted the range of observation to which I limited myself in commencing this paper; and it only remains for me to sum up what I have advanced, and to suggest the steps that should be taken by British commerce either to extend its operations, to recover its influence, or to guard against extinction.

I have shown that in the Khanate of Bokhara, Russia, by means of the Transcaspian Railway, has acquired a complete monopoly of the native markets. It is as impossible for England to enter into any independent commercial relations with the Amir of Bokhara as it would be for Russia to make a similar arrangement with the Maharajah of Kashmir. The utmost that we can do is to assist the Indian transit-trade through Afghanistan by prevailing upon Abdurrahman Khan to lighten the extravagant dues imposed by his office of Customs. I have not, however,

* *Vide* No. 591 of the Annual Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

much faith in this remedy ; and I look upon the trade of Bokhara as lost.

I have shown that in Afghanistan British commerce is not making the headway that might be expected in the south, and is suffering from Russian competition in the north. I should like myself to see Great Britain exercise a much greater commercial control over what I cannot exactly call a feudatory state, because the vassal, so far from paying, is paid by us, but over a state which is admittedly and solely under the suzerainty of this country, and from which we are entitled to demand substantial returns for our considerable outlay and immense responsibilities. I should like on the Indian side to see railroads pushed further into Afghanistan, certainly as far as Kandahar, and possibly as far as Kabul. British ascendancy in that country is far more likely to be perpetuated by such methods than by intermittent campaigns, or even by regular lacs of rupees.

Lastly, in Persia I have shown that while Russian ascendancy in Khorasan is at present balanced by British ascendancy in the south, yet that in the western and northern zones of influence, British trade is declining and Russian trade is progressing. In these cases our share of the spoils may, to some extent, be revindicated (as Mr. Law has shown in his report, previously quoted *) by the bestowal of greater attention upon the tastes and fashions of our Persian customers, and by the employment of trained middlemen or brokers speaking the native languages and understanding native customs, who should both supply the English manufacturers with information and facilitate the discharge of business on the spot. But in Persia, as elsewhere, our control is only to be retained and fortified over the south, and projected into the east and north and west, by the new and bloodless weapon of nations, viz., the extension of communication by rail. The principal trade routes of the Orient are marked out by

* No. 119 of the Miscellaneous Series of Foreign Office Reports, 1889.

physical conditions and by immemorial usage. But those who aspire to their control must realize that though the routes remain the same the methods have changed. Caravans are doomed, and goods-waggons drawn by steam must take their place. It is to her quick realization of this fact that Russia owes the extraordinary success that is now attending her commerce in Central Asia, and that has swollen her exports over her Asiatic border from £2,470,000 in 1884 to £3,530,000 in 1886; and her imports over the same frontier from £3,620,000 in 1884 to £4,530,000 in 1886. The lesson that she has taught us in Transcaspia and the Khanates we should apply in Persia. British trade with Khorasan can only be recovered, with Teheran can only be extended, and with Ispahan can only be permanently secured, by the introduction into Central and Southern Persia of a railway system connecting the principal towns, and in communication either with the ports on the Gulf, or, as is even more desirable, with the already existing British railway in Beluchistan. This line supplies the natural starting-point from which a railroad could be pushed forward primarily into Seistan, a region of great potential fertility, and continued thence to Kerman, Yezd, and Ispahan, which might also be approached by improved road communication from Shustar on the Karun, and perhaps ultimately be connected by rail with Kermanshah and Teheran. This is an ambitious, but it is both a practicable and a pacific, policy. I see no reason why, if the attention of the people of this country can be drawn to the critical condition of British commerce in Central Asia, and if they can be convinced, as is easily done, of the value and importance of its maintenance and extension, they should not merely acquiesce in, but should insist upon, a policy that is directly devoted to the ends I have described, and that would unquestionably be fraught both with profit to ourselves and with blessings to the peoples of the East.

GEORGE N. CURZON.

THE RE-OPENING OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

To those behind the scenes in European politics it may seem, after what was thought to be the inevitable collision of the nations in 1886, idle to talk of the certainty of the imminent outbreak of a European war on a scale that has never been equalled. Yet only the wilfully blind will shut their eyes to the ominously threatening clouds which are gathering in Eastern Europe. The growing confidence of the French nation in their military strength, as shown by even moderate men like M. de Freycinet declaring that the new French army can hold its own against any adversary, is another element in the European situation that is not conducive to the maintenance of peace. Nor can the ostentatious restraint placed by Russia upon herself in regard to Bulgarian affairs be considered otherwise than as indicative of an intention to change her *modus operandi* at the first convenient opportunity. The resuscitation of the military power and confidence of France must largely contribute to the early arrival of that opportunity, for the significance of General Vannoffsky's visit to Paris, and of the noisy acclamations with which the mention of Russia and everything Russian are received throughout France, cannot be obscured. The only possible conclusion that can be arrived at is that the unwritten alliance between Russia and France is not less binding or effective than the formal obligations and special contracts constituting the Triple Alliance in Central Europe.

Although it is impossible to foretell the precise moment at which the conflagration will break out, there is still every probability that the first spark will be set to the

mine by some of the minor states, who are naturally more impatient than the great Powers, and who, having less to lose, do not appreciate at its full extent all the risk and peril of an appeal to arms. These minor states, of which Servia is the worst offender, being a veritable *Trojan causa excidii*, are not subject to the same control as maritime countries like Greece, which can always be reduced to a reasonable frame of mind by the simple expedient of a naval demonstration. They are secure from coercion, almost on account of their insignificance; but, on the other hand, their direct chastisement by any Power, even as a mode to secure the continuance of peace, would surely be provocative to some other Power, and entail war. It is to such states as Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and even Roumania, that we must look if we would wish to see the symptoms that ought to guide us in judging what will happen within the next few months on the European chess-board. Apart from the ever-present possibility of a collision between France and Germany, which may come upon us unawares, the danger to the general peace lies in the most insidious form, for the squabbles of the petty states, and not over-creditable communities composing them, which have been named may at any moment involve us and other peoples in a sanguinary and preventible struggle. From being classed in that category Bulgaria has gained the right to be honourably exempted by the courage and independence her people and rulers have shown under arduous circumstances.

On the last occasion of the peace of Europe being seriously disturbed, it will be recollected that the Panslavist Committee issued its proclamation to the Slav peoples on the eve of the Servian war. At this very moment the same body has made an important declaration as representing the opinion of Holy Russia, and in the form of a catechism of ten commandments it lays down the law which the peoples and governments of Roumania and

Servia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, are to faithfully observe, if they would enjoy the support of their natural protector, Russia. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that like causes produce like effects, and that the Panslavist Committee would not have given expression to this violent propaganda unless it had good reason to know that it would not be displeasing to the higher powers in Russia, and that events would speedily shape themselves in favour of its practical application. We have, therefore, all the stronger inducement to inquire as to the direction in which Russia will work, and to mark the points of danger to the general peace. Some of these points may seem insignificant in themselves, but they all contribute to make up the magnitude of the result, and to extend the area of the conflagration.

In regard to one of the four states named, Montenegro, there is no room to entertain any uncertainty. It is absolutely at the disposal of Russia, and will act promptly and vigorously the moment it receives the cue from St. Petersburg. If the other states have little to lose, Montenegro has nothing, and none of them would get such a large and tempting reward. The admission of the Montenegrin family into alliance with the Romanoffs has been followed by a scheme for enlarging the authority of the chiefs of the Black Mountain, and even for making them the successors to the Obrenovitch at Belgrade. How far the scheme itself is practicable need not be discussed at this moment. It is sufficient to note that it has found favour with the Montenegrins, and that although the idea is new in Servia, its expression will serve as a *ballon d'essai* to test popular opinion in that country. Without any such temptations in the past for playing Russia's game, Montenegro has over and over again testified her devotion to the Czar by assailing the Turks. She has acted as the spear-point in those popular risings against Mussulman rule which enabled the Emperor of Russia to figure as the patron of the oppressed Christian nationali-

ties. With personal considerations of the strongest kind thrown in, there can be no doubt of her willingness to lead the way wherever Russia calls. Whenever Montenegro moves, however, the hour of concealment will have passed, as the only possible military operation for her would be to harass Austria in Bosnia, or to assail Bulgaria on her flank. Things have not yet reached this pass, and we must look for the presentation of the danger in some more insidious form than an overt demonstration by Montenegro.

In turning our eyes elsewhere they are at once arrested by the critical condition of affairs in Servia, where at any moment events may happen which will precipitate the crisis every one dreads. The return of Queen Nathalie to Belgrade is in itself an ominous circumstance, but her return in defiance of the conditions imposed by her husband, ex-King Milan, adds immensely to the gravity of the step. The statement that she will hold herself aloof from the political contest associated with the general elections that will be in progress during her residence at Belgrade can impose upon nobody. It is on the face of it absurd to think that an energetic woman of the masterful temperament of Queen Nathalie, who, under the restraint imposed by her husband, still exercised a considerable influence on the politics of her country, could be induced to sit still in the moment of her triumph, and to refrain from giving encouragement to that party which is willing to receive inspiration from her, and to carry out the behests of the Czar. Even if all the conditions which King Milan sought to impose upon her had been accepted, there is little doubt that the restraint would have been too irksome, and that she would not have abided by the conditions. But those conditions have been virtually set on one side. King Milan's efforts have been rendered abortive. The Regents have acquiesced in all the material requirements of the Queen, who is left mistress of the situation. Queen Nathalie returns to Belgrade as the recognized leader of the Panslavist movement, and as the focus of Russian intrigue.

The point of immediate curiosity is the effect the Queen's presence will have on her son. King Milan always feared her influence over this youthful representative of the family and fortunes of the Obrenovitch, and it was for this reason that he strove so hard to hedge round her return with every degree of formality, and to give her as few opportunities of seeing her son as possible. But all his efforts have been baffled, and the Queen is practically mistress of the situation at Belgrade. As we cannot suppose that King Milan was apprehensive without some reason of his divorced wife's influence, the probability seems to be that her son will yield to it, and that the ruling power will pass into her hands. In itself this result would be bad enough, for it would be injurious to the interests of Austria-Hungary, with which those of Germany and England are so closely connected; but its immediate consequences promise to be still more grave and embarrassing. If Queen Nathalie were to firmly establish her position at Belgrade, the Government of Austria might by an effort of restraint continue to tolerate the presence of even so hostile an influence as hers would be at her door for the sake of not disturbing the general peace; but if, far from giving tranquillity to Servian politics, her presence is proved to be the cause of bitter strife between contending factions, jeopardizing the dynasty and unhinging the public mind, it is not easy to see how Austrian ministers will be able to tolerate a state of things which is intended to be subversive of their legitimate rights and position in the valley of the Danube.

The risk of an immediate disturbance lies rather from the action of King Milan than from what the Queen herself will do. Although he voluntarily resigned his position as sovereign, he has shown so much care in excluding his late consort, that, if the fact were not publicly proclaimed, which it is, it would still be evident that he would resent to the full extent of his power and influence her exercising the guiding control of Servian affairs. The mere possi-

bility of such a result is sufficient to goad him into action, precipitate from our point of view, but from his calculated to attain its ends before Queen Nathalie is in a position to defy him. King Milan has shown himself singularly indifferent to advice, and the pressure brought to bear upon him from the most influential quarters may fail to induce him to turn aside from whatever course he may himself decide upon. He abdicated his throne in spite of the recommendations of his best and most powerful friends, and there is every reason to say that he will be equally indifferent to the same influences now that he seems resolved to oppose with all his resources and at all costs the acquisition of supreme governing power by ex-Queen Nathalie.

The only manner in which he can reassert what he considers to be his rights is by reappearing at Belgrade, when he must compel the Regents to defer to his wishes, and carry out the stipulation he insisted upon at the time of his abdication, and which constitute the conditions under which they exercise the rights of a Regency. If King Milan were to do this, anxiety would be felt as to whether his partizans or those of the Queen were the more numerous and better organized. The Queen certainly enjoys all the advantages to be derived from the careful organization and preparation of the ground made by Russia, and if her residence in the country is allowed to remain undisturbed throughout the winter, she will no doubt succeed in making her position impregnable. Her greatest advantage, however, will consist in her obtaining an ascendancy over her son, and in thus being able to speak with all the authority of the ruler. The dread of that, as has been said, will impel King Milan to prompt action, and the struggle will very much depend on how far the Regents will think it best to identify their interests with the cause of the late king or queen. Had Austria prepared the ground as well as Russia has, she might have exercised a determining voice in the settlement of this

question, but unfortunately Austria has not done so, and her support would rather add to the unpopularity of King Milan than promote his interests. At the same time his complete failure would inevitably lead to an Austrian armed intervention in Serbia.

From whatever point of view we take of the situation, two things seem clear. The first is that a violent collision between King Milan and Queen Nathalie is inevitable, and the second that it seems impossible for this to terminate without extending the area of the contest. Russia will not abandon its most favoured *protégée* after she has voluntarily placed herself in a position of danger for the furtherance of the Panslavist cause. King Milan's interference must provoke the wrath of Russia; and if there is no other way of doing it, Russian troops will have to be sent, and a new dynasty provided, as is so plainly threatened by the Ten Commandments of Russia, in order that Serbia may not pass under an anti-Muscovite influence. Austria could under no circumstances tolerate the active intervention of Russia in Serbia. She would be compelled by every instinct of self-preservation to occupy Belgrade, and anticipate the threatened movements of Russian troops. The consequences of those acts would be the speedy outbreak of hostilities between Austria and Russia, and it could but prove the precursor of that terrible general war which every one only thinks of comparing with an Armageddon of the nations.

Serbia is not, however, the only, if the chief, irritant cause at work in South-east Europe. The part that Roumania will play in the next phase of the Eastern question is still matter of conjecture. The Panslavist Committee do not mince matters when they say that the German dynasty at Bucharest must be displaced, and that the orthodox religion must prevail from the Pruth to the Adriatic. But the Hohenzollerns at Bucharest have as much objection to be effaced as their kinsmen at Berlin. While the spirit of faction runs high throughout Roumania, it seems impossible to say

whether the party in favour of Russia or that against it is in the majority. The former are, however, likely to lose ground as the conviction spreads, that the success of Russia will entail the disappearance of Roumania as an independent state, and the growth of a consolidated national party may be the outcome of the present confusion in Roumanian politics. Here again it is unfortunate that Austria does not enjoy the greatest popularity, for if the Roumanians were free from prejudice and wisely advised, they should have no difficulty in coming to a conclusion as to whether this independence had more to dread from Russia or from Austria. The best guarantee that Roumanian action will be of a more discreet character than some of the popular influences at work in the country would indicate, is to be found in the prevalent dislike to the even temporary occupation of Roumanian territory by Russian troops, and that seems the inevitable consequence of a Russo-Roumanian alliance. Even when there was a common and much hated adversary in Turkey it was difficult to maintain harmony between Russians and Roumanians, and with the absence of a sympathetic object the task would be impossible. Even admitting the antipathy of Roumanians for Austria, Russia cannot count on the co-operation of the Roumanian people as she can upon Servia and Montenegro. The German dynasty at Bucharest may yet prove able to baffle the designs made against it, and to prevent one at least of Russia's Ten Commandments from being obeyed.

While discussing the situation in Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania, we are dealing with territory more or less subject to Russian influences, and where the balance of probability is either altogether or largely in favour of the different states ranging themselves on the side of the Czar. But a total change comes over the matter when we turn from them to Bulgaria. In Bulgaria we find the one state where chiefly through her own fault Russia has lost ground, and where the commands of the Panslavist Committee are least likely to meet with compliance. The harshness shown by the

Russian Government in its treatment of the new Bulgaria has alienated the sympathy created by the war which emancipated Bulgaria from the Turk, and as Turkey is more disposed to regard Bulgaria as an ally than as a successful rebel, it is highly improbable that Russia will have any chance of regaining her lost popularity. The Czar hunted Prince Alexander from his throne, and for his successor he can find nothing but frowns. Bulgaria has prospered during the last four years in defiance of Russia and without her support. The protector of all the Christian subjects of the Porte has refused to hold any communication with her, and has treated a young and ambitious nationality with much of the sternness that parents sometimes think it wise to show towards recalcitrant children.

The only kind and encouraging words that the Bulgarians have heard in the days of their troubles are those spoken by the Emperor of Austria, in what may be termed his unofficial recognition of the Principality of Bulgaria. There can be no doubt that they produced a great and probably a durable impression on the minds of Prince Ferdinand's subjects. They were the first indication that the absence of formal diplomatic relations did not imply indifference to what was passing in one of the most important parts of Europe, or a want of appreciation of the self-restraint and dignity shown by the Bulgarians under trying circumstances. The isolation in which Bulgaria has been left by Russia's haughtiness would naturally induce her to welcome the substitution of some other powerful protector, which can only be Austria. Additional force would be given to that sentiment by the conviction that Russia was bent on injuring Bulgaria in any way she could, and, if in no other, then by letting loose on her Serbia and Montenegro. There seems good reason to believe that Bulgaria would be more than a match for these two states combined, but the contest could not fail to give Russia many plausible excuses for active intervention. For that reason alone it would be highly desirable for Bulgaria to stand well with the Govern-

ment of Austria, and it so happens that Russia, by her active intrigues at Cettinje, Belgrade, and Bucharest, has forced upon Austrian ministers the conviction that it would be well to have one friend indifferent to Russian blandishments in the Balkan peninsula, and that friend can only be Bulgaria.

We have seen that the most serious ground for apprehending early disturbance in South-east Europe lies in the direction of Servia; but it must not be assumed that Bulgaria herself may not be the provocative cause of strife. The Bulgarian people have made such progress as a self-governing nation, and have acquired such confidence in themselves, that they chafe, and not unnaturally, at the anomalous and unjust position to which they have been assigned by the timidity of Europe. They would enjoy in name as well as in substance the independence which they have made a supreme effort to achieve, and only a few weeks ago there appeared every reason to believe that the anniversary of Bulgaria's independence would be celebrated by throwing as a defiance in the teeth of Russia her right and resolve to exist as a sovereign state. Unless Russia were to eat all her threats, and the Czar to show a capacity of forgiveness with which he is not credited, this step would be resented by Russia, and would lead to a military descent on Bulgaria either from the Black Sea or through Roumania. The danger was momentarily staved off on the last occasion, but it may recur at any moment. As a counter-move to any Russian demonstration at Belgrade it would not be ineffectual, and for that reason Bulgaria might receive encouragement from Austria to commit herself; but the more imminent risk seems to be that the encouragement will come from Turkey, who is apprehensive of loss in Albania from Montenegrin-Servian action, and who thinks by compliance with the wishes of her feudatory that she may gain a devoted and useful ally against Servia. We must therefore be careful not to exclude Bulgaria when we are reckoning up the inflammatory elements near the powder magazine of Europe.

With such conditions in force, excluding from consideration the action of Greece, which can never be counted upon for any long period, it needs a very optimistic nature to say that the peace of Europe is assured, and that there is no danger of war. The truth is nearer the opposite; the peace of Europe is in jeopardy, and the spectre of war draws nearer. The principal causes of danger have been pointed out. The Great Powers know what war on a large scale means. They know its certain cost, and its doubtful issue. They have shrunk more than once in the last few years from an appeal to the terrible arbitrament of arms, and only some sudden national emotion will overcome the caution of sovereigns and Governments in every country except Russia, and Russia will only move when she thinks either that her hold on the Balkan peninsula is slipping away, or that domestic difficulties are only to be settled or shelved by the excitement of a foreign war. Were the only risk of strife to emanate from the Great Powers, there would be reason to believe that peace might be preserved indefinitely. But there is no controlling the action of such states as Montenegro and Servia. It is obviously a just cause of indignation and even of irritation that two such insignificant and disreputable communities should be able to stir up the embers of a general war, and set the whole of Europe by the ears. The fact cannot, however, be impeached, and the only remedy is the strong one that Austria should receive the mandate of Europe to perform the thankless task of occupying Belgrade. This step alone will nip in the bud a plot that is rapidly developing, and at the same time give these petty communities a salutary lesson that Europe will not allow them to injure the most important communities, and create a strife which it is to the human interest should never happen.

ASIATICUS.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

AFFAIRS in Afghanistan have remained in a settled condition during the whole of the past quarter. The Ameer has completed the pacification of his province of Turkestan in the thorough manner in which he commenced the task, and the announcement that he is on the eve of returning to Cabul will show that he has convinced himself that, so far as internal danger goes, his position in the north is secure. The rising in Badakshan which raised a momentary apprehension was promptly crushed, and served only to show the stability of Abdurrahman's hold on that province. On this point it is interesting to have the independent testimony of a Russian officer, Captain Gombtchevsky, to whose tours in High Asia we have several times referred, and who is once more exploring the districts south of the Pamir. His evidence, involuntary as it must be considered, upon the strength of the Ameer's position even in Roshan and Shignan, must be held to clearly dispose of any suggestion that the Afghan authority therein is so slight as to call for supersession.

The general position in Afghanistan continues to be satisfactory and encouraging. The Ameer's son and presumptive heir, Habibullah, young as he is, has administered the affairs of Cabul with much discretion and success. The tranquillity of the country has never been greater than during the last eighteen months. The rebellion of Ishak Khan, far from weakening the Ameer's hold on his subjects, has very much strengthened it, and it is impossible to mention a time when Afghanistan was more composed within itself. This circumstance is rendered all the more encouraging and significant, because with so many

persons interested in spreading unfavourable rumours about Afghanistan, and in magnifying the importance of petty disturbances, it shows that the tranquillity is unquestionable and well established. We hope that the return of the Ameer to Cabul will be followed by the revival of the project of a suitable English embassy to the Afghan capital, and we hope still more that that mission will lead to practical schemes for the material development of Afghanistan. The essential preliminary of all such schemes should be the continuation of the Pishin railway to Candahar. The Ameer himself would benefit largely from the establishment of a similar concern to the State Bank of Persia in his country, and although his commercial policy is not exactly of the nature to suit our interests, he is so keenly alive to the advantages of an increased revenue that he might be induced to look with favour on those undertakings which, under English or other auspices, must soon and at an early date effect the regeneration of all the principal countries of Asia. Among those states Afghanistan is in our eyes one of the most important from a political standpoint.

Talking of the regeneration of Asiatic countries suggests a reference to the adoption at last by China of a railway policy which will, before many years have rolled by, give that Empire several important main lines, connecting parts of its vast territory by hours where weeks and even months are now required. The first railway is to be from Peking to Hankow. In a few years there will be another from Hankow to Canton, and we may reasonably assume that neither Nankin nor Manchuria will be allowed to long remain outside the reach of the latest improvement. Fierce as the struggle has been between the supporters of the old system and the advocates of change, there is every reason for hoping that now that the fight is over the victory has been complete, and that there is no risk of a reversal of the policy which has been so tardily adopted. It is impossible to predict what changes this event will produce in

the industrial life of China. Notwithstanding the depression in the China tea trade in England, the general trade of that country shows every sign of increase and prosperity. When the blood is made to circulate more rapidly in the aged veins of the Chinese nation the expectation that their country will prove a Utopia is not unlikely to be realized.

The Chinese have no intention of being made fools of in their commercial undertakings. Their railways will be for the benefit of China and not of the foreigner. So far as possible they will be made by Chinese labour, and of Chinese materials. The start will have to be effected under European instigation, and it may be many years before the supreme posts of administration can be entrusted to other hands than Europeans. But the ultimate goal to be attained will be the maintenance of these railways by Chinese engineers, managers, and directors. The introduction of railways must lead to a large increase in the development of coal and iron, in both of which minerals China is known to be exceptionally rich, and it must stimulate the import of manufactured articles both from England and from India. After long discussion and some uncertainty as to the action of the Pekin Government, the great commercial era in China seems to have fairly begun.

While China is about to take this important step in her own territory, she is indirectly concerned in, and will be much affected by, the decision to which the Russian Government has come to prosecute, with as little delay as possible, its long contemplated enterprise of a railway across the vast expanse of Siberia to Vladivostock. General Annenkoff has surveyed the route, and is confident of his ability to complete it in between four and five years. Unless a great European war compels a diversion of the funds, it is probable that his expectations will be realized, for the Russian Government seems at last to have awoke to the importance of its virgin possession in Siberia, and

to be consequently anxious to develop its resources. The construction of this railway along the whole of the northern frontier of China must produce an important effect on the adjacent districts in Mongolia, and will certainly necessitate some corresponding action on the part of China, particularly in Manchuria, where the military position of the Peking Government cannot be rendered too strong.

That the Chinese themselves realize the significance of events in this quarter may be gathered from their having decided to establish a strong naval flotilla on the river Songari. Nominally intended to put down river piracy, it is also calculated to strengthen the position of the Chinese garrison *vis-à-vis* with that of Russia across the frontier. The garrison of Manchuria has recently been increased, and armed with new weapons. In numbers, it is adequate to all the requirements of the province, and its efficiency is believed to be very considerable; but it cannot fail to be rendered better able to cope with an European opponent by the co-operation of this river flotilla. Successful in Manchuria, the same principle will be applied in regard to the other rivers and inland seas of China, and nothing can be more conducive to the stability of the central authority than that it should control an efficient police force of this description.

In Persia we must expect that Russia will not be long before she makes some effort to recover the ground she thinks she has lost through the commercial concessions to Englishmen; but it is not probable that she will resort to any violent measures, or to seizure of territory. At present her acts point in a very opposite direction, and she apparently hopes by the establishment of a company for developing trade to obtain her share in the exploitation of Persia. Meantime, it may be noted that Prince Dolgorouki, whose diplomacy is popularly considered in Russia to have been no match for that of Sir Drummond Wolff, will not return to Teheran. Who his successor will be is still unknown.

Professor Vambéry has written to the Nawab Abdool Luteef, of Calcutta, the following interesting letter on Indian Mahommedans :—

"BUDAPEST UNIVERSITY, August 12, 1889.

"MY DEAR NAWAB,—I beg to acknowledge with many, many thanks the receipt of the valuable and highly interesting pamphlets on the rise, growth, and doings of the Mahommedan Literary Society of Calcutta, which you have been so kind as to send me.

"As one who is deeply interested in the welfare and cultural development of the Mahommedan world, I have long time ago watched and paid the greatest attention to the activity of the Society, created and led so admirably well by you, and I need scarcely say that I am much obliged to you for having afforded to me the opportunity of entering into relations with a man of your abilities, patriotism, and true devotion to your nation.

"Having devoted the greatest part of my life to the study of the Mahommedan nations and countries, I feel the keenest interest in the work of the Calcutta Literary Society of Mahommedans, who have furnished the most eloquent proof that a nation, whose holy book contains the saying, *Uloobul Ilma Minal-mahd-i-Ilallah*.—i.e., seek knowledge from cradle to grave, will not and cannot remain behind in cultural progress, and that Islam is still able and willing to revive the glories of middle age, when the followers of the Koran were the torch-bearers of civilization to mankind.

"It is also from a political point of view that I must congratulate you on your doings, for you have shown to your fellow-believers the superiority of Western culture presented in English garb to the dim and false light which might come from elsewhere. I am not an Englishman, and I do not ignore the shortcomings and mistakes of English rule in India, but as one who has lived in many countries of Europe and Asia, and who took great trouble to look deeply into matters, I can assure you that England is by far in advance of the rest of European nations in point of view of justice, humanity, liberty, and fair-dealing with those who are entrusted to her care. You, the Indian Mahommedans, who, as the successors of Khalid, can justly *pride yourselves on having introduced monotheism* in India, you are called upon to give to the rest of the people of Hindustan the best advice and example in choosing the appropriate means for modernizing your matchless but antiquated culture. I wished that Turkey, who is fairly advancing in modern sciences, could take the lead in the Mahommedan world as an instructor and as a civilizing agent; but poor Turkey, surrounded by enemies and weakened by continual warfare, must hardly struggle for her existence, and cannot look to her fellow-believers in the distance, in spite of the noble qualities and patriotism of her present ruler, whom I am proud to call my friend.

"In default of a Moslem guide, you are on the best way in India in having adopted English tutorship, and you, sir, who lead that movement, you do certainly the best service to your nation and religion in encouraging the Mahommedans on the path of Western culture and sciences. I wish my age would permit me a visit to India, for I have not yet given up the

idea of delivering a few lectures in Persian, which I speak like my mother-language, to the Mahommedans of India; and if I come to India, I shall appear there under the patronage of your Society, trying to contribute a small stone to the noble building raised by your efforts.

"I beg your pardon for having ventured to intrude with my long letter, which I conclude with the hope of your favouring me with the opportunity to continue our correspondence, and of your forwarding also in future the publications of your Society to

"Yours faithfully,

"A. VAMNÉRY."

REVIEWS.

The Marquis of Dalhousie.

IF Captain Trotter's monograph on the great Marquis of Dalhousie is something deficient in colour and vivacity, it still forms a solid and creditable addition to the statesmen series of Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co. ["The Marquis of Dalhousie," by Captain J. L. TROTTER. (Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co.)] Captain Trotter is fortunately in sympathy with his subject, and he has a proper appreciation of the splendid deeds of the great Pro-Consul. But who indeed can fail to feel otherwise if he only approach the subject with an open and candid mind? In our opinion Lord Dalhousie was a greater man even than he appears to Captain Trotter. His annexation policy from the Punjab to Pegu, and from Berar to Oude—annexations which were always forced upon him, and which were generally distasteful to no one more than their author—has been fixed upon as the chief object for his partizans and opponents to squabble over; but the annexation policy showed only one phase of Lord Dalhousie's character. He was not less remarkable as an internal administrator than as a supreme governor with large views on general policy, and to this side of his work and character Captain Trotter does ample justice. The introduction of railways and the telegraph into India during his Governor-Generalship was an important episode, and if he cannot be given any special claim in regard to initiating it, it cannot be denied that he realized all its importance, and that he encouraged by every means in his power the speedy completion of main trunk

lines throughout the country. The perusal of such a work as this tends to strengthen the conviction that the British power in India has been the creation of a few men of superlative genius and energy, whose great schemes have been supplemented by the continuous efforts of a body of individually unknown but able and courageous officials. Among these great geniuses three stand out far above their class, Hastings, Wellesley, and Dalhousie. Lord Clive, whose services were of a different order, but not less signal, will as time goes on be regarded more and more as the soldier founder of the Empire of British India; and although the Governor-General is also a director of armies, he is essentially the administrator of more than two hundred million people, for whom war is only a scourge and terror. As to Lord Dalhousie's exact place in the triumvirate named opinions will differ, but probably the majority of persons will agree with us in placing him between the two—not quite so great as Warren Hastings, and yet as having accomplished more than the Marquis Wellesley. The book will certainly give the general reader some idea as to the hard facts and necessities of Indian Government.

Across Asia.

MR. DE WINDT is to be complimented on having written an entertaining and instructive volume about his land journey across Asia and Europe, from Pekin to Calais. ["From Pekin to Calais by Land," by H. DE WINDT. With illustrations and map. (London, Chapman and Hall, 1889.)] It resembles very closely M. Victor Meignan's "De Paris à Pekin," and strangely enough both writers come to the same conclusion, "*N'allez pas là ! c'est la morale de ce livre !*" The parts of China and Siberia through which Mr. de Windt passed have been often described by previous writers, English and Russian. Two

favourable representations may be taken in Michie and Timkowsky, and, comparing the present writer with these and others, it will be readily acknowledged that he has much to tell us that we had not learnt from any previous traveller. His account of Peking is particularly vivid, and if we should hesitate to accept all his statements of fact as authentic, it is rather because we know the difficulty of ascertaining the truth about any subject during a brief visit, than because we can positively say that the truth is something quite different. We feel bound to utter a word of caution to the reader before accepting Mr. de Windt's portrait of the Emperor Kwangsu as a faithful representation of that youthful potentate's character and habits. Much curiosity has been and will be felt on the subject, but we question whether Mr. de Windt is quite accurate in several of his statements, as for instance, that the Empress Regent observed the feudal system, or that the Emperor's ministers cannot approach within sixty or seventy yards of him. On both these points we have reason to say that Mr. de Windt was misinformed, and when a traveller is discovered making too readily statements that rest on an insufficient foundation it necessarily damages those for which he has every warrant. Mr. de Windt's remarks and experiences are calculated and perhaps intended to show that those who travel in China must prepare to be disillusionized. In no part of the world is travelling attended with greater inconvenience and uncertainty, and in none is the reward from the spectacle of new scenery, and strange or picturesque inhabitants and costumes less. Chinese life and Chinese scenery are monotonous. The people and their mode of government are admirable, and, in a certain sense, formidable, but nobody can pretend that closer contact with them is calculated to inspire affection or regard.

The Indian Mutiny.

THE fifth volume of the cabinet edition of Kaye's and Malleon's "History of the Indian Mutiny," edited by Colonel Malleon (W. H. Allen and Co.), has been published. Our opinion of this standard work has been too often expressed to admit of repetition, and it will suffice to say that this volume brings to a conclusion the history of the purely military events of the great Indian uprising of 1857. Among many notable events it describes the late Lord Strathnairn's remarkable campaign in Central India, his defeat of the Gwalior contingent, and the pursuit of Tantia Topee. The sixth and concluding volume of the edition is promised for an early date.

Library Map of Asia.

MESSRS. W. and A. K. Johnston, of Edinburgh and London, have published an excellent Library Map of Asia, which will meet a very general want and which will facilitate reference to those old countries that are once again attracting from the world their proper share of attention for either commercial or political reasons. The map forms one of the Modern series of Library Maps, and its size is 52 inches by 43. The scale is one of 145 miles to the inch; and last, but not least important, the price is not excessive. In a wall map two things are more requisite than any other. The first is clearness of type in the names, and the second the marking off of the different countries and political divisions by expressive colours contrasting well with each other. In these essential points, Messrs. Johnston's Map of India meets every requirement and fulfils all conditions. It will be found useful for schools and colleges as well as for the library of the man who for any reason is interested in what happens in the East.

A Suburb of Yedo.

THE late Surgeon-Major Purcell has written a singularly entertaining volume on life in a Japanese village close to the capital, and his word-pictures are expressed in well-chosen and elegant language, such as is not often to be met within books of this class. ["A Suburb of Yedo," by the late Surgeon-General T. A. P. PURCELL. With illustrations. (Chapman and Hall, 1889.)] The Japanese are as interesting and attractive a people as the Chinese are the reverse. The more we know of them, the more do we wish to know, and the greater satisfaction do we feel in the fact that this Asiatic people have been drawn within the range of civilization and that they are never likely again to relapse into the slough of Oriental exclusiveness. Dr. Purcell had no political ideas or opinions to ventilate in this book. His sole object is to instruct his readers about some of the less-known phases of Japanese social life, and we do not know where a more charming narrative could be found than that with which he has provided us. His description of the village and its inhabitants, of those typical characters in all villages—the doctor and the barber—and of the rural life of the commune, are all excellent, and inspire regret that from so vivid a pen we shall get no more amusement combined with instruction.

Allen's India List.

THE official India List, published twice a year by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., of 13, Waterloo Place, has duly made its appearance for the month of July, and it contains all the old features which have made it such an indispensable book of reference, while the official data have been brought down to the latest date possible. Considering the slowness with which news of deaths or retirements is transmitted to the India Office, it is not a little creditable that these data

are supplied so promptly in Messrs. Allen's publication. We have so often alluded to the merits of the India List that it is unnecessary for us to dwell upon them again at any length, and it will suffice to say that the present number sustains the high reputation that it has acquired and retained in the many years that have relapsed since it was first published.



* * * *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. A. Q. R.



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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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