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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PERSIAN CHRONOGRAM FOR 1895 AND JAPANESE NEW YEAR'S WISH AND SYMBOLS (WITH ILLUSTRATION).	
THE WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN. By Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett, M.P.	1
PROGRESS IN MYSORE. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.	21
AFGHAN AFFAIRS AND "WAZIRISTAN." By Ex-Panjab Official	29
RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA.—I. THE ARMENIAN QUESTION. By Capt. G. V. Tarnovski	37
RESULTS OF A LOCAL ENQUIRY IN ARMENIA. By Hormuzd Rassam	42
THE ARMENIAN AGITATION. By Safir Efendi	48
THE NEW CRUSADE AGAINST THE TURK. By C. D. Collet	53
THE MADRAS LANDOWNERS' GRIEVANCES. By "Scrutator"	57
THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO. By Ion Perdicaris.	58
THE HOVA VIEW ON THE MADAGASCAR QUESTION (WITH MAP). By Captain S. Pasfield Oliver	65
SOME PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF IMPERIALISM. By F. Faithfull Begg	90
ST. HELENA: THE GIBRALTAR OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC. By R. A. Sterndale	99
THE YIH-KING. By the Right Rev. Monseigneur Prof. C. de Harlez, D.D.	117
THREE HYMNS OF ZOROASTER. By the Rev. Lawrence H. Mills, D.D.	133
THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. By the Rev. Rabbi H. Gollancz, M.A.	139
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST: "The Questions of King Milinda." By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.). "An Introduction to the study of the Korán." By Dr. G. W. Leitner. "The Upanishads." By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.). I. "The Qurán: Meaning of the Word."—II. "The Translation." By M. S. Howell, C.I.E., LL.D.	145, 403
THE AFGHAN WAZIRIS AND THEIR COUNTRY. By Major H. G. Raverty	153
THE CHINESE VICEROYALTY OF MANCHURIA. By Lt.-Col. W. E. Gowan	166, 425
DUTCH SUCCESS IN ACHEEN AND THE ACHEENESE. By A. G. C. Van Duyl	183, 434
REVELATIONS REGARDING BADAKHSHAN.—ITS HISTORY. By the Editor	191
SEMI-CLASSICAL ORIENTAL EDUCATION—PERSIAN. By Dr. G. W. Leitner	197
PERMANENT V. PERIODICAL SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA. By Parbati C. Roy, B.A.	206
INDIA IN 1895. By Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K.C.S.I.	273

CONDITIONS OF INDIAN LEGISLATION.

THE MANDATE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF INDIA.—THE COTTON DUTIES. By C. D. Field, LL.D. (late Judge, High Court, Calcutta)	297
LORD ELGIN ON THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL. By J. W. Neill, I.C.S.	308

ENGLAND AND CHINA.

CHINA'S FUTURE: A STUDY. By Colonel Mark Bell, V.C., C.B.	326
THE ANGLO-CHINESE CONVENTION AND THE BURMESE FRONTIER. By General A. R. Macmahon	349

PAGE

THE HAUSA ASSOCIATION. By Sir G. T. Goldie, K.C.M.G. 363
EAST AFRICA AND THE NILE. By Anglo-African 372
WESTERN AUSTRALIA. By A. F. Calvert 384
THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.—THE MIGRATION OF TALES. By C. H. Tawney 394
TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN SIAM AND THE SIAMESE LAW OF ORDEALS. By Capt. G. E. Gerini (Royal Siamese Service) 415
ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE AND THE SYRIAN CHURCH IN INDIA. (MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR W. ELLIOT.) By R. Sewell, M.C.S. 444
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION 458
CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS, NEWS, ETC. 210, 464

Central Asian News, by our own Correspondent.—Madras Opinion on Cowkilling, by an Englishman.—Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities at the British Museum, by Hormuzd Rassam.—Discovery of Pelasgic Inscriptions by Dr. E. Schneider at the Tomb of Midas, by Baron H. de Reuter.—The Permanent Settlement—A Reply, by A. Rogers.—Waziristan, by Lord Chelmsford.—The Anglo-Chinese Burmah Convention.—"Koran," by W. T. and M. S. Howell.—Future Alliance of Japan, China, and Corea, by a Japanese.—The Ismailians, by Baba Gool Mohammad.—The Arabic Professorship at Cambridge.—The Geneva Oriental Congress.—Oriental Versions of the Jubilee Ode.—Colonies or Dependencies.—Madagascar.—Persian Affairs.—Statement of Principles of the East India Association.—Mrs. Gibson's Sinaitic Researches.—The Empire of India Exhibition.—The Protected Princes of India.—The Indian Conservative Association.—Zobehr Pasha and General Gordon.—Native Indian Army Medical Officers.—Dr. Pfungst and Theosophy.—Where is Dardistan?—The Indian Commander-in-Chief on Dr. H. W. Bellew.—The Woking Mosque.—Religious Processions in India . . . . . 210—237

Central Asian Notes.—The Native States and the Paramount Power in India.—Hyderabad, by J. D. B. Gribble.—Oriental Studies at Geneva.—Sir Ashmead Bartlett on the War between China and Japan, by George Crawshay.—The Question between India and Lancashire.—The Repeal of the Cantonment Act, by C. N. R.—Chitral Affairs.—The Amir's Visit.—"Dr. Pfungst and Theosophy," by H. I. Edge . . . . . 464—475

REVIEWS AND NOTICES 238, 476

Manual of the Bengali Language, by G. F. Nicholl, M.A.—The Portuguese in India, by F. C. Danvers.—Bengal MS. Records, by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I.—The Buddhism of Tibet, by L. A. Waddell, M.B.—A Short History of Syriac Literature, by W. Wright, LL.D.—The Religion of the Ancient Semites, by the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D.—Asiatic Neighbours, by S. S. Thorburn.—Untersuchungen über die 'Addâd auf Grund von Stellen in Altarabischen Dichtern von F. Giese, Ph.D.—Three Years with Lobengula and Experiences in S. Africa, by J. Cooper-Chadwick.—The White Kaid of the Atlas, by J. MacLaren Cobban.—Woman in India, by Mary Frances Billington.—Romances of the Old Seraglio, by H. N. Crellin.—The Colonization of Indo-China, by J. Chailley-Bert, translated by A. B. Brabant.—Ways and Works in India, by G. W. MacGeorge, M.I.C.E.—The Migration of Symbols, by Count Goblet d'Alviella.—The Transcendental Universe, by C. J. Harrison.—Vâsudeva Vijayam, revised and enlarged by Rama Natha Tarkaratna.—Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, by E. W. Lane.—The Year Book of the Imperial Institute for 1894.—Ten Weeks in Egypt and Palestine, by Catherine Janeway.—Les Pélasges et leur Descendants, par Edouard Schneider.—Ballads of the Marathas, by H. A. Ackworth.—Chips from a German Workshop, by F. Max Müller, K.M.—Western Asia according to the most recent discoveries, by C. P. Tiele.—Bibliographical List of Books on Africa and the East published in England.—The Seven Poems, translated from the Arabic by Capt. F. E. Johnson, R.A.—Preservation of Health in India, by Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I.—Commercial Geography, by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A.—Tales of the Punjab, by F. A. Steele.—Rhymes of Rajputana, by Col. G. H. Trevor, C.S.I.—Report of the Administration of Mysore, 1886-7 to 1890-91.—Lahore, its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, by Sayad Muhammad Latif, Khan Bahadur.

PAGE

—Shafts from an Eastern Quiver, by C. J. Mansford, B.A.—Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia, or Notes on 450 Embryo Writings and Scripts, by Terrien De Lacouperie.—Studies in Biblical Archæology, by Joseph Jacobs.—The Russian Jews, by Leo Errera, translated from the French by Bella Lowy.—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, October, 1894.—Reginald Heber, by Arthur Montefiore.—The Nurseries of Cholera, by Ernest Hart, D.C.L.—The Geographical Journal, October, 1894.—Australasia, Vol. II.: Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes, by F. H. H. Guillemard, M.A., M.D.—The Humour and Pathos of Anglo-Indian Life, by J. E. Mayer, M.D.—Are Foreign Missions doing any Good?—Progress in Language, by Otto Jespersen, Ph.D.—War in Korea, by J. Morris.—John Bull and Co., by Max O'Rell.—Homeward Songs by the Way, by A. E.—Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, by Charles J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India . . . . . 238—259

The Indian Magazine of Photographs, September, 1894.—Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E.—The Religions of the World, by M. J. Grant, D.D.—After Five Years in India, by Annie C. Wilson.—Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, May, 1893, to April, 1894.—Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay.—Fath al Qarib, La Révélation de l'Omniprésent, edited with a translation in French, by L. W. C. Van Den Berg.—The Religious System of China, by J. J. M. de Groot, Ph.D.—Alfârâbi's Musterstaat, by Prof. Dr. F. Dieterici.—Village tales and Jungle tragedies, by B. M. Croker.—John Russell Colvin, by Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I.—The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Jubilees, by R. H. Charles, M.A.—Jataka, or Stories of Buddha's Former Births, translated from the Pali by various hands, edited by Prof. E. B. Cowell.—The Geographical Distribution of Tropical Diseases in Africa, by R. W. Felkin, M.D., M.R.S.E., M.R.G.S.—The Rani of Jhansi, by Alexander Rogers.—Six Months in a Syrian Monastery, by O. H. Parry, B.A.—Incidents in Indian Life, by John Case Browne, M.A.—Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas (Scientific Reports), by W. M. Conway.—The Crusades, by T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford.—Good reading about many Books, mostly by their Authors.—Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny, by Lieut.-General McLeod Innes, R.E., V.C.—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—A History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule, by Prama Nath Bose, B.Sc.—The Indus Delta Country, by Major-General M. R. Haig, M.R.A.S.—Le Prophète Aggée, par Tony André.—The Teaching of the Vedas, by Maurice Phillips.—Chips from a German Workshop, by F. Max Müller, K.M.—A modern Priestess of Isis, translated and abridged from the Russian of V. S. Solovyoff by Walter Leaf.—A Translation of the four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, by A. Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S.—Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny, by W. Forbes Mitchell.—South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, by A. Rea, M.R.A.S.—List of the Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg, by the same.—Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia, by Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B.—The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere, Bart, G.C.B., by John Martineau.—The Secret Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV.—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1895.—Prince Henry the Navigator, by C. R. Beazeley, M.A., F.R.G.S.—The Kathâkoça, translated by C. H. Tawney, M.A.—The Gospel of Buddha according to old records, told by Paul Carus.—The Globe-trotter in India and other Indian Studies, by M. Macmillan, B.A.—Anglo-Urdu Medical Hand-book, by George Small, M.A.—Grammar of the Urdu Language, by the same.—The Chrestomathy of Arabic Prose-Pieces, by Dr. R. Brünnow.—The History of Currency, 1252 to 1894, by W. Shaw, M.A. . . . . 476—499

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES . 261, 514

THE IMPERIAL

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Asiatic Quarterly Review,

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JANUARY, 1895.

THE WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

By Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, M.P.

A political revolution of an extraordinary and far-reaching character has just taken place in the farthest East. The Japanese nation, as Minerva "from the brow of Jove," has "sprung full-panoplied" into the foremost rank of the great powers of the world. Japan only needs a dozen battleships to make her in reality a first-class power. On land she has utterly smashed the military power of the Chinese empire, that vast Colossus with its feet of clay. Japan might engage the army of any nation in the world, four only excepted, with every prospect of success. Her sailors have displayed astonishing skill, discipline, and valour.

Without a single armour-clad vessel of their own, the Japanese have defeated a superior array of Chinese men-of-war, including two well-armoured battleships; and they have established an unquestioned maritime ascendency in the East. In fact, no European squadron now in Asiatic waters, except, of course, the British, could meet the Japanese Fleet with any chance of success.

The Japanese victory was contrary to the predictions and expectations of almost every newspaper and every authority in this country. It was, indeed, admitted by some, that the Japanese might gain a few advantages at the outset; but the critics of the war invariably concluded their observations by prophesying that the greater resources and staying powers of the Chinese would in the

end triumph. The English Press was, on the whole, strongly prejudiced against the Japanese; and the *Times* and the *Standard*, in particular, poured out the vials of their contempt upon the audacious islanders who dared to challenge the Dragon, and who had ventured to go to war without the imprimatur of the British Press. A very different view commended itself to me from the first. Six weeks before the battle of Ping Yang I published a strong opinion as to the almost certain and decisive victory of the Japanese. The following extract from a letter of mine, which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of September 18th, may be interesting, as it explains the reasons for the general mistake that was made, and also gives one of the causes of the Japanese success:

"The Japanese possess discipline, perfect organization, excellent weapons, and a high-spirited national pride. The Chinese have no organization, little discipline, and still less *esprit de corps*.

"The Japanese have for centuries lived under what is much like the European Feudal system. They have an ancient and not a degenerate nobility, full of enterprise and courage. Their armies are mainly officered by nobles, not unlike the Prussian army. The Chinese system is purely Oriental—a dead level of mediocrity under an absolute monarch, only broken by the uncertain and capricious development of bureaucratic honour.

"The Japanese have no Europeans in their fighting services, because they have mastered European science and know as much as Europeans. The Chinese have banished Europeans from their martial services because they are too ignorant and prejudiced to understand or appreciate European knowledge.

"Many Englishmen have rashly concluded that the Japanese are superficial and lacking in backbone because they have so quickly learned and assimilated European knowledge. This is a grievous mistake. The Japanese are not only intensely quick, they are also most thorough.

"This early Japanese victory is a great piece of good fortune for England. If properly used by our Government it may be invaluable to us. The Japanese are our natural allies in the Far East. Our interests are largely identical. Both have a common danger and a common enemy.

"To Japan Corea is of vital importance. The Corean Peninsula holds an analogous position as regards Japan to that held by Ireland towards Great Britain. It would be a deadly peril to Japan if a great European Power, or even a vigorous China, were to hold Corea. To China Corea may be of sentimental value, but is of comparatively small strategical and commercial importance. Corea lies on the extreme north-east of the huge Empire of China, and its position may be compared to that of the far north of Scotland to the British Islands.

"Pekin now lies open to the Japanese armies. If Japan can hold the sea power, 50,000 Japanese, disciplined and led as they are, could march all over the Chinese Empire."

I do not wish to claim any special credit for this forecast. I only mention it because, taking a strong pro-Japanese view, nothing would give me more annoyance than to be

regarded as a blind worshipper of success. It was always my conviction that the Japanese would win. This conviction was based on an intimate acquaintance with the character, conduct and abilities of the first band of young Japanese nobles that came to England twenty-seven years ago. These young men came from Prince Satsuma's country, after our bombardment of Kagosima, in order to study the English constitution, laws, sciences, and naval and military art. They were the most high-minded, zealous, diligent, able, thorough young men, that it would be possible to meet.

There are indeed two chief and paramount reasons for the triumph of Japan—the first, her national unity and intense patriotic spirit; the second, the happy possession by Japan of an ancient, hereditary, enlightened, manly, and intelligent aristocracy, who largely officer her armies, and who play a prominent part in her political affairs. Now, in both these points China is painfully deficient. China has no real national unity. Even her administration is split up under several distinct provincial Governments, which are independent of each other, and which only own allegiance to a common Emperor. Nor has China a real hereditary aristocracy. Her rulers and dignitaries are official and bureaucratic, not hereditary. Office and power in China give rank, and both depend upon the will of the Sovereign or of his Viceroys. Favouritism, bribery, sycophancy, and artifice of every kind as a natural result prevail. Often the least worthy get the best places. As a consequence when the pinch comes—as it has come upon China within the past four months—the Chinese official and officer proves unequal to, or unworthy of, his trust. Instead of being found in the van of the attack he is generally found in the van of the retreat. A Japanese noble would die rather than flee from the enemy. He comes of a family that have for centuries been accustomed to arms and to lead. The Japanese nobility have, at the close of the nineteenth century, shown that they can fight

and lead, and be as patient and tenacious as their forefathers were three centuries ago. It may be pardonable at the outset to point one moral from this great struggle between China and Japan. By an interesting coincidence these two exceedingly precious attributes or possessions of a nation, which Japan enjoys and China lacks—national unity and an ancient nobility—are at this time the heritage of our own country. The efforts of one great party in the State have of late years been directed towards depriving Great Britain and Ireland of these very features of our constitution and our national life. The United Kingdom split up, with separate legislatures and administrations for Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England, would be, in constitution, uncommonly and painfully like China at present.

Another point to which attention may profitably be drawn is the remarkable analogy between the position of the British Islands to the Continent of Europe, and the position of the Japanese Islands to the Continent of Asia.

Both nations are insular. Both have a great genius for the sea. Both are intensely enterprising and commercial. Both have Imperial interests and ambitions, which the English race has long exerted and developed, but which the Japanese are only now beginning to put into play. Both nations have a constitution very similar — King, Lords, and Commons. Both have a powerful Press and an honest judiciary. The parallel might be continued further, but it is not desirable to strain it. Suffice it to say, that in my opinion, Japan is marked out by nature, by position, by constitution, and by common necessities, as our ally in the far East. It is a very great pity that our Government and our Press took such a short-sighted and biased view of the claims and conduct of Japan in the earlier stages of the war. It is a still more grave misfortune that our Ministry should, as the Prime Minister exposed in his eccentric speech at Sheffield on October 25, have tried to arrange a "combined intervention" in order to press the proposals of China upon Japan.

This singularly maladroit action, confessed to the world

in a still more unfortunate speech, produced, as might have been expected by any statesman, results, the exact opposite of those which Lord Rosebery seems to have wished.

It betrayed the confidence and the weakness of China, and led directly to her complete overthrow. It greatly irritated the Japanese, who, alarmed by the menace of intervention, pressed on the war with more than redoubled vigour. It drew upon our Government a severe rebuff from the majority of the great Powers. No one would reprobate practical attempts on the part of the British Government to promote peace and put an end to a sanguinary and destructive war. Had the British Ministry gone confidentially to Japan with friendly offers of mediation so soon as China asked for our good offices; had they tried to bring together the minimum Japan demanded with the maximum China would give—all, of course, confidentially—peace might then have been achieved. Had our Government helped the two contending Powers to declare peace themselves, without any foreign intervention, such a policy would have met with universal approbation. It would have been manly, time-honoured, and English; and it would have been successful. Instead, the British Government most unfortunately decided to go cap in hand round Europe and America asking for help. Very naturally they not only got a severe snubbing, but also failed abjectly. Japan has now, by force of arms and at the cost of much bloodshed and misery, in December, compelled China to publicly take the very course which Her Majesty's Government might, early in October, have arranged by private and friendly diplomacy, before Port Arthur had fallen and Chinese defence had been hopelessly crushed.

Into the respective claims of the two countries upon Corea, space will not admit of a close examination. This rivalry of the two Powers is a history in itself. Nearly three centuries ago the Japanese were driven out of Corea by the Chinese. In 1597 the last stand was made at

Fusan, on the south-east coast of Corea. The Japanese people still cherish the memory of their ancestors who fell around Fusan, and animate their national spirit by tales of Japanese heroism in the sixteenth century.

The Japanese claim upon Corea is at present based upon two principal and practical grounds:—(1) The political and military necessities of Japan; and (2) The execrable condition of the Corean Peninsula under Chinese suzerainty and influence. Corea is almost essential for Japan. The Corean ports command the southern and western coasts of Japan much as the Irish ports command our western harbours. Only a hundred miles of sea separate the two countries. Japanese trade with Corea is large, and there are some 12,000 Japanese settled in Corea.

The danger lest the Russian power in North-Eastern Asia—a recent, but a most formidable interloper there—should gain possession of a Corean port, and so dominate the Peninsula, has of recent years ever been present to Japanese statesmen. They fully realize the aggressive and all-absorbing character of the Russian autocracy. They know—what our statesmen so often forget—the relentless tenacity of its ambitions and the unscrupulous resolve of its methods. This knowledge had probably much to do with the anxiety shown by the Japanese to settle their differences with the Chinese this year, and before the great Trans-Siberian railway was completed. That railway, 3,000 miles in length, or six times as long as our longest track, will bring the heart of Russia within seven days' reach of Vladivostock, the Russian arsenal and dockyard on the North Pacific. It will enable Russia to mass her legions at any point along the immense northern frontier of China, or pour them into Corea, whenever she might choose. At present Japan feels herself quite equal to any force the Russians can send against her in North Eastern Asia, and has shown that she so feels. For, the Russians at the outset of the war showed signs of moving into North Eastern Corea, and telegraphed tales of imaginary Chinese incursions across the Siberian frontier as an excuse.

The Japanese thereupon simply sent 5,000 of their sturdy little infantry to Possiet Harbour, on the extreme north-east frontier of Corea. There they are still, *vis-à-vis* with the Russian forces, who have not ventured to put the question to a test. Nothing in the Japanese policy and warfare has been so gallant and so wise as this move. Equal courage on the part of our Government would be searched for in vain. Russia, who encouraged the war at the outset in the hopes that it would be equal, protracted and disastrous to both parties, and that she might profit by the exhaustion of the two combatants, has been intensely chagrined by the easy and complete victory of Japan. A "highly-placed and competent Russian authority" said on Oct. 15, according to the *Standard* :—

"It was one thing to have a slothful, retrograde nation like China on our frontier, but it would be quite another to find China replaced by Japan. There could scarcely be but one issue to a conflict between the Japanese and us; but, nevertheless, in the beginning, it would be extremely difficult for Russia to concentrate any adequate force to meet the already organised Japanese army in occupation. A war at that remote end of our empire would be most harassing and costly."

The Russian Press, which never dares take a political line without the direct sanction of the Czar, has for the past three months been crying in chorus for a port in Corea and a slice of Manchuria as the price of acquiescence in Japanese aggrandisement. Perhaps, the hope of this has somewhat influenced the effusive, but most superficial and perilous *entente* that is said now to prevail between the Governments of Russia and Great Britain. It is to be hoped that no British Government will be so unjust or so insane as to disappoint Japan or despoil China, in order to win the limed and perilous praises of St. Petersburg.

A few observations as to the immediate cause of the war may be of interest :—

In 1876 a treaty was made between Corea and Japan, the first article of which declared that "Corea is an independent State, and enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan." There is no mention of vassalage to China. In 1882, however, in the treaties both with the United States and China, the King of Corea admitted he was tributary to China. The Chinese influence now became predominant

in Corea. In June, 1882, the Japanese Legation was attacked by an armed mob; the Japanese Minister, with a small escort of Japanese police, fought his way down to the coast, and was there rescued by a gunboat. After this, both the Japanese and the Chinese Legations obtained military guards of their own countrymen. The rivalry between the two nations now became intense. The Corean Court was divided into factions. One of these, led by the Bin family, relations of the Queen, favoured the Chinese. A few progressive young men, called Tai-un-Kun, favoured the Japanese.

In September, 1884, during a palace revolution, the Japanese Legation was again attacked, and the Japanese Minister was again obliged to fight his way down to the sea coast. A large Japanese force was at once sent to Corea. Ample apology and atonement were offered by the Corean Government, and a convention was signed between China and Japan. This Convention stipulated that China and Japan should withdraw their troops within four months, and that the King of Corea should provide a sufficient military force, to be drilled by the officers of a third power. The important article of the Convention declared if there was any grave disturbance in Corea either party might, by giving notice, send its troops into Corea, but that such troops should be withdrawn so soon as the matter was settled. From this time onwards Chinese influence became supreme, and the state of Corea went from bad to worse. The Bin family got possession of the whole administration; corruption and injustice everywhere prevailed, and the anarchy in Corea became a positive danger to its neighbours. Thousands of Coreans emigrated, and numbers took to armed brigandage. Early in the present year Japanese statesmen realized that the moment had come when they must act promptly, or see the Russian power intervene in their stead. The struggle for supremacy in the East was forced upon them, and fortunately Japan was ready. The following is the official account of the Japanese position, published at the outbreak of the war:—

"The negotiations which were conducted at Pekin through the good offices of the friendly Great Powers were on the point of a satisfactory conclusion when China suddenly informed the Japanese Government through the mediating Powers that Japan must forthwith withdraw her ships from all Chinese ports, and that, if Japan did not formally express her compliance with all Chinese proposals by July 20, the Chinese naval and military forces would advance. This was regarded as an ultimatum *in optima forma*. The Japanese Government, however, acting upon the advice of the mediating Powers, accepted the Chinese proposals in principle, making some amendments. These Japan submitted, with the declaration that any advance of the Chinese naval and military forces would be considered as a menace."

The position became very strained, almost unbearable, in June last. Both nations had troops in Corea. The Japanese demanded immediate reforms in the administration. The Chinese, always behindhand, temporized in order to gain time to increase the number of their soldiers in the Peninsula. The Japanese assert that there was an agreement that neither side should increase its forces till a settlement was come to.

The difficulties that arose over the case of the *Kowshing* led the Emperor of Japan to formally declare war early in August. The challenge was at once accepted by China, and the Chinese Emperor issued a proclamation, which concluded by calling upon his generals to "rout these Wojan from their lairs," an order which is still very far from fulfilment.

And here it is but fair to note the exceeding accuracy and modesty of the Japanese official despatches ever since the war began. I have noted them all with the utmost care, and compared them with the results when fully ascertained, and have never detected the slightest untruth or even exaggeration in the Japanese official narratives. Indeed, all the reports coming from Japanese sources, or from English correspondents with the Japanese armies, have been singularly free from errors. Far different has been the character of the news from China, and from correspondents with the Chinese. Until after the capture of Port Arthur, one long and uninterrupted stream of fiction has poured from the rich Chinese manufactory of exaggerations and misstatement. The *Times* correspondents at Shanghai and Tientsin have taken the palm for inaccuracy.

On September 16 the Chinese met with their Sedan.

Their army, numbering close upon 20,000 men, was strongly entrenched in and around the great city of Ping Yang, on the river Tatong. Ping Yang has a population of 100,000, and lies about 100 miles north-west of Soûl, and 120 miles south of the river Yalu, the boundary of Corea. Field Marshal Count Yamagata, who assumed command of the Japanese forces in Corea about September 8, laid his plans with the utmost precision and effect. After three days of preliminary skirmishing the combined Japanese columns made a night attack upon the Chinese at 3 a.m. on Sunday Sept. 16th. This was completely successful.

Within half an hour of the assault all resistance had ceased. Some of Li-Hung Chang's European-drilled troops alone preserved their formation, and stood their ground. These are said to have been destroyed to a man. The spoil of the victors was immense. Vast quantities of stores and provisions, arms and ammunition were captured, with hundreds of Chinese colours. The Chinese Commander-in-Chief, Tso Fonk-Wai, with four of his generals and his whole staff, were among the prisoners. The exact number of Chinese soldiers captured is in some doubt. The first telegraphic accounts put the total Chinese loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners at over 16,000 men. The Central News correspondent with the Japanese army, telegraphing from Ping Yang on Monday afternoon, September 17, said :—"The unwounded prisoners were paraded this morning; the total number is 14,500, but probably several hundreds more will be brought in."

It is hardly credible—but no evidence has yet been brought to disprove it—that the Japanese loss, in gaining this tremendous victory, was only thirty killed and 270 wounded, including eleven officers. Even this loss was mainly the result of the fighting on Saturday.

The battle of Ping Yang practically decided the fate of the war. The Chinese have made no serious stand since the defeat and capture of their principal army and best generals on the Tatong. The blow inflicted upon the morale of the Chinese soldiers by this disaster was irrepar-

able. It has been impossible to get the Chinese troops to fairly face their enemy since that fatal day.

Almost simultaneously with this crushing defeat on land, an overthrow as decisive in its results befell the Chinese at sea. The two fleets were not badly matched in point of numbers, tonnage, and weight of shell fire. The Chinese had twelve war ships in all, exclusive of torpedo boats; viz., five armour-clads—two, the *Ting Yuen* and *Chen Yuen*, being of 7,280 tons each and bearing armour of 14 inches—five cruisers, and two gunboats. The Japanese had ten war vessels, excluding torpedo boats. Four of these were very powerful cruisers; three were fine cruisers, but not so powerful; two were old vessels built in 1877 and 1878; one, the *Akagi*, was a gunboat; and one, the *Saikio-Maru*, an armed merchant vessel. The total tonnage of the Chinese squadron was 36,830 tons; of the Japanese, 36,650 tons. The total weight of the shells that could be thrown by the Chinese guns at a single discharge was 12,460 lb.; of the Japanese guns 12,546 lb. But as the Japanese had a great superiority in quick-firing guns, the actual weight of metal discharged by their ships in a given time must have much exceeded that thrown by the Chinese squadron. Here the similarity between the two fleets ceases. In every other quality—in knowledge and practice of naval tactics, in genius for manœuvring, in speed and in rapidity and accuracy of gun fire, the Japanese were infinitely superior to their opponents. Indeed, this superiority makes all deductions drawn from the Yalu action and its results very dangerous as bearing upon European sea-fights. There is not, and there could hardly be, such a difference between the skill, manœuvring, and gun fire of two European fleets as undoubtedly existed between those of the Chinese and Japanese fleets.

The battle began about one o'clock. It was waged with great fury till sunset, when both sides were glad of a respite. It is not certain which side retired, or whether both did. The Japanese account states that at nightfall their ships

hauled off, intending to renew the fight at daybreak; but that the Chinese Fleet slipped past them in the night and got into Port Arthur. The Chinese say that the Japanese were beaten off and did not attempt to pursue. The net result of the action, however, was that the Chinese lost five ships irrecoverably. The armour-clad *King Yuen*, of 2,850 tons, was sunk during the action by the Japanese shells. The powerful, protected cruiser, *Chih Yuen*, of 2,300 tons, was also sunk by gun-fire. Two smaller cruisers, the *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei*, each of 1,400 tons, were also sunk, the first by gun-fire, the *Yang Wei* by the ram of her consort, the *Tsi Yuen*. During the retreat the *Kwang-Kai*, of 1,030 tons, was run ashore in Talien Bay and afterwards destroyed by the Japanese, and a sixth, the *Lai Yuen*, was crippled for several months. The Chinese thus lost five war ships of a total tonnage of 8,980 tons; that is more than one-fourth the total fighting power of their fleet. The Japanese did not lose a single ship, though their fine cruiser, the *Matsusima*, Admiral Ito's flagship, was so seriously disabled that she had to go out of action, and the *Saikio Maru*, an unprotected transport, was much damaged. The Japanese only lost 237 men killed and wounded, of whom 109 were on the flagship *Matsusima*. This ship engaged three Chinese vessels in succession, one being the big iron-clad *Chen Yuen*.

There is no doubt that the battle of the Yalu gave the Japanese a clear naval ascendency in Chinese waters. The Chinese fleet has not ventured to put to sea since its heavy losses there. The Japanese have been unquestioned masters of the sea. Their warships have in vain challenged the Chinese squadron at Wei-hai-wei to come out and meet them. Their transports have crossed and re-crossed the seas in perfect safety. The fight off the Yalu River was therefore, in its consequences, as decisive on the sea as the battle of Ping Yang was on land.

The chief lessons to be derived from this action are the advantage of greater speed and quick-firing guns, and the

efficiency of armoured defence for battleships. Although the Japanese kept up a perfect *feu d'enfer* from their quick-firing 100 lb. and 40 lb. guns upon the *Ting Yuen* and *Chen Yuen*, neither of these vessels had its armour pierced, and they got into port without serious damage. The latter had 120 shot holes in the unprotected portions of her sides; the former had 200 shot holes. Yet not a single shell pierced the fourteen inches of armour that guarded the vitals of these two battleships. Neither side used the torpedo or the ram, except in a single case, where the Chinese battleship, *Chen Yuen*, fired two torpedoes at the *Saikio Maru*. The Japanese fought the action at long bowls, so as to keep as much as possible out of the effective range of the Chinese big guns, while they pounded the enemy with a hailstorm of quick-fired projectiles. An eye-witness described it as "a very heavy, well-sustained, and accurate fire." Four thousand yards was Admiral Ito's distance at first. This was afterwards reduced to 2,500, and even 1,700 yards; all the while well out of torpedo range or ramming.

It would be a great mistake to conclude that, because the Japanese, with cruisers only, defeated the Chinese, who had armour-clads as well as cruisers, therefore cruisers are a match for battleships. In the first place, the Japanese cruisers were for the most part modern, of a very good type, high speed, and well armed with quick-firing guns. The Chinese armour-clads were, with the exception of two, old, slow, and almost devoid of modern quick-firing guns. The two Chinese battleships, that were of good size and well armoured did most of the fighting and came practically scathless out of the fray. The Japanese, owing to their want of armour-clads, were obliged to carry on the battle at a great distance, and so could use neither the torpedo nor the ram. It is doubtful, also, if the bows of their swift cruisers are fit for ramming. It was the immense superiority of the Japanese in tactical skill, in speed, in gunnery, and even in courage, that rendered the Japanese cruisers a

match for the Chinese armour-clads. Had there been anything like such an equality in these points, as exists between European fleets, the Japanese fleet must have fared badly at Yalu. Properly studied and understood, the Yalu sea fight demonstrates the value and necessity of strong armour protection for men-of-war. A couple of first-class British battleships could, with moderate luck, sink the whole of the two fleets engaged off the Yalu.

The command of the sea, which the Japanese have held in practice since the beginning of the war, and indisputably since September 17, has been of inestimable value to them. In fact, it has made all the difference between victory and defeat. Without it, the Japanese could not have reinforced their troops in the Corean Peninsula, who must, therefore, have been overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Chinese. Without it, Count Oyama's army could not have been landed upon the Peninsula of the Regent's Sword, or achieved the brilliant capture of Port Arthur. By the aid of the Japanese navy, Marshal Yamagata's army received supplies and reinforcements, as it was moving over the difficult and almost roadless country between Soûl and Ping-Yang, and again between Ping-Yang and the Yalu River. The difficulties of transport would, but for the fleet, have been almost insurmountable. By its help the Japanese were able to send troops promptly to Possiet Harbour, and so prevent a Russian invasion of Northern Corea. Of course the Japanese control of the sea, prior to the battle off the Yalu River, was due mainly to the incompetency of the Chinese navy more than to any really superior naval strength of the Japanese. Had an English or even a French admiral been in the position of Admiral Ting, the Japanese transports and the troops they were conveying must have had a very rough time of it.

The Chinese persistently asserted that they had sunk one of the Japanese warships, and had seen it go down. It now turns out that this vessel was the Chinese cruiser *Chih-Yuen*, which received a full broadside on her star-

board water line, and then sank bow first, her screws revolving in the air, as was the case with the *Victoria*. The *Tsi-Yuen*, a small battleship of 2,320 tons, was cut off in the first advance of the Japanese and fled in panic from the fight. Her captain, Fang, has since been executed "to encourage the others." In her flight the *Tsi-Yuen* rammed the Chinese cruiser *Yang-Wei*, which had to be beached, and became a wreck.

One remarkable feature of this fight was the number of times the ships were set on fire by bursting shells, especially the Chinese ships. The Japanese used many melinite shells. These set fire to the woodwork, wherever there was any between decks, and made it burn furiously. The Chinese cruiser, *Chao-Yung*, was in flames when she sank in deep water. The battleship, *Ting-Yuen*, was on fire several times. The *Lai-Yuen*, a smaller ironclad, was all but destroyed; her whole interior aft the mainmast was completely gutted. The fire at one time surrounded the whole magazine, and the armoured deck and bulkheads became almost red-hot. It will take four months to repair the *Lai-Yuen*. In the meanwhile, however, it is very likely that Wei Hai Wei, the port where she now lies, may change hands. Admiral Ting, a brave old infantry soldier, has held supreme command of the Chinese Fleet; Major Von Hannecken, who has superintended both the naval and military defences of China, was formerly a Prussian cavalry officer.

From the battle of Song-Hwan, on July 29th, which settled the fate of Soûl and Central Corea, to the decisive battle of Ping-Yang on September 16th, which cleared the whole Corean peninsula of Chinese troops, was forty-nine days; from September 16th, the date of the Ping-Yang victory, down to October 24th, when Marshal Yamagata crossed the river Yalu and invaded China, is thirty-eight days. October 24th was a day of ill omen in the Chinese calendar. It marked the invasion of Chinese territory by the Japanese armies. On October 24th the Japanese first

army, which numbers about 25,000 men, forded the Yalu River ten miles above Wiju, and drove the Chinese in panic towards Feng-Hwang. Several minor engagements took place on October 25, and the Chinese were driven out of Hushan by the brigades under Colonel Sato and General Osako, with a loss of 750 killed. On October 26 the whole Japanese army advanced to the strongly fortified town of Chin-Luen. The Chinese army, some 16,000 strong, fled from Chin-Luen without the slightest resistance, leaving behind them twenty-two guns, 300 tents, and immense stores of ammunition and forage. This made eighty-four cannon captured by the Japanese altogether, apart from those lately taken at Port Arthur.

It is hardly probable that the Japanese, if the war continues, will waste much more time in Southern Manchuria. Neither Moukden nor Neu-Chang has any great strategic value. It is most likely that the greater part of the first and second army, under the commands of General Nodzu and Count Oyama, will be transported by sea from the Yalu or Neu-Chang and Port Arthur respectively and landed at either Shan-hai-Kuan, or the mouth of the Peiho, for a combined march on Pekin. Shan-hai-Kuan on the Gulf of Liantung is the sea terminus of the Tient-Sin, and is 150 miles from Tient-Sin, and about 175 miles from the Pekin Railway.

At the end of October the Japanese third army, 27,000 strong, was ready at Hiroshima for embarkation. Its object was then believed to be Formosa; but Shan-hai-Kuan seems now the more likely destination.

By what was certainly more than an accidental coincidence, on the same day that the Japanese first army crossed the Yalu, the Japanese second army, under General Count Oyama, Minister of War, disembarked close to Talien Bay on the Liao-Tung, or Regent's Sword, Peninsula. This force mustered 22,000 strong, and left Hiroshima River on October 18 in no less than fifty transports. Such an immense flotilla six days at sea offered a splendid opportunity for the Chinese fleet to attack and harass, if not destroy,

had it retained any strength or enterprise. But the journey of 800 miles from Hiroshima to Talien Bay was accomplished with complete freedom from hostile menace.

The distance from Talien-Wan to Port Arthur itself is about thirty-five miles. The Japanese army advanced with the greatest deliberation southwards and did not deliver the final assault till Wednesday, Nov. 21. On the evening of the 20th there were some smart skirmishes, but the main attack took place on November 21st. On that day Count Oyama deliberately stormed, at the point of the bayonet, positions of immense strength, strongly fortified and defended by 15,000 Chinese. Admiral Freemantle, who went over the scene of battle the day after Port Arthur fell, has described the position as impregnable if properly held. The number of Chinese killed in the assault was over 2,000. The Japanese losses were exceedingly light, amounting to only 270 killed and wounded. The assault on Port Arthur, fortunately, was witnessed by several Europeans, including the officers of Her Majesty's ship *Porpoise* and of the United States cruiser *Baltimore*.

These all describe the courage and discipline of the Japanese in the most glowing terms. The advance was made with all the regularity and precision of troops moving on parade. Fort after fort was stormed by the Japanese infantry with the most dauntless courage. The Chinese, as usual, showed a deplorable want of spirit.

The remarkable and astounding development of Japan in all the knowledge of our modern civilization, scientific, civil, political, naval, and military, largely accounts for their brilliant successes. Their organization, their discipline, their mastery of the art of war in all its branches are truly marvellous. As a correspondent of the *Times*, who failed, however, to gauge the secret of Japanese success, wrote from Soûl early in September:—

"There is no accounting for this analogous position except on psychological grounds. A poor country of 35,000,000, weighing on an average 120 pounds, challenging a rich nation of 350,000,000, and weighing on an average, taking north with south, 150 pounds—that is about the state of the odds. What a potent weapon is readiness to strike!"

The same correspondent, writing on the disembarkation of the Japanese army in Corea and their conduct at Soûl the capital, says :—

"So far nothing could exceed the excellent behaviour of the Japanese soldiers. Their discipline is perfect, they move at ease about the town without uproar or rudeness, and excite the admiration even of their potential enemies by the assiduous way they perform their duties. The Chinese have been in no way interfered with. No complaints of violence or extortion have been laid against the soldiers, who pay honestly for what they get. . . .

"The little army, which probably numbers 10,000 in all, was embarked in good order with marvellous celerity, as if the movement had been long rehearsed, and the force was equipped with every conceivable requisite for a year's campaign. Ample stores, reserves of clothing, boots, etc., for the men, accoutrements for horses and guns, all sorts of field appliances, telegraphs, pontoons, ambulances—everything, in short, that the Japanese observers of European warfare have perceived to be necessary or useful in war. Not a button missing, nor a medal either, for the officers are profusely decorated with these trophies of service."

What then is to be the end of this war? Every day that it goes on will increase the Japanese demands and the weakness of China. There is no doubt that Japan is entitled to ample reward, both in territory and money payment, as the fruit of her wonderful organization and her splendid victories. The best policy for England would have been from the first a cordial understanding with the Japanese Government, and a friendly influence to obtain for Japan adequate, but not excessive, terms. Such action on the part of England would also have benefited China, for peace at any reasonable price would have been of inestimable value to China two months ago. Now she may have to buy peace at any price. When China on October 5, asked Lord Rosebery to mediate, Japan would have been glad to get £50,000,000, the suzerainty of Corea, and the Island of Formosa. Now Japan will probably ask £80,000,000, as war indemnity, Formosa, the Corean suzerainty, and the Regent's Sword Peninsula, on which Port Arthur lies, as well. These terms do not seem to me excessive. The Japanese have before them the warning of the Franco-German peace of 1871. £200,000,000 and Alsace-Lorraine seemed then hard terms enough. But had the German Emperor, Prince Bismarck, and Count Moltke in the least foreseen the extraordinarily recupera-

tive powers of France, their demands would have been doubled. If China is well advised, she will close with the Japanese conditions at once, lest worse things befall her. A Japanese march upon Pekin is to be deprecated. The capture of Pekin would probably mean the fall of the Manchu dynasty, the break up of the Chinese Empire, and anarchy throughout the 350,000,000 of people that compose it. Such a catastrophe should be averted if possible. The Japanese triumph, if properly used, is a godsend to England. It places across the southward march of Russian aggression in North-Eastern Asia a brave and highly-organized Power that is more than a match for all the forces Russia can muster in those regions. The victory of the Japanese, if only our Government know how to use it, will be a real boon to Great Britain.

China, too, if she escapes dissolution, will certainly benefit by this war. The lesson has been sharp, the remedy most painful; but the disease was deep seated and increasing. Corruption, falsehood, cowardice, and decay had permeated the whole body politic of China. It needed the surgeon's knife to cut out the canker. Nothing but such a terrible awakening could have driven China out of the dark recesses of her ignorant and cruel barbarism into the light of day. In sheer desperation China will now have to take a lesson out of Japan's book, and seek that Western knowledge which she has despised, and learn that European civilisation which she has tabooed. China will have to throw open her vast regions to the influences of European intelligence, training, and science. There must be a splendid opening for English enterprise and commerce during the years of China's new birth and development.

No nation in the history of the world has ever been at once so acquisitive and so thorough as the Japanese. Thirty years ago Japan was in a state of practical seclusion and barbarism. To-day there is hardly anything that the most advanced European intelligence and civilisation can teach to the Japanese. Yet I venture to say that all this know-

ledge might have been learnt, as, for example, the Bengal Hindoos might learn it, without the possessors being able to accomplish anything like the results that Japan has achieved during the present war. It is the intense national fervour and patriotism inspired by a perfect national unity; it is the possession of a chivalrous and gallant aristocracy which directs and leads these national aspirations and patriotism, that has enabled the Japanese to triumph not only in the arts of peace, but also in the "field of blood and iron."

PROGRESS IN MYSORE:

THE SUCCESS OF THE RENDITION POLICY.

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

"The Maharaja of Mysore has, by his high qualities and care for his subjects, justified the experiment. His Principality is not only one of the model States of India as regards administration, but he and his Minister, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, have attempted the solution of political problems at which we still look askance in British India."

This is the verdict of the writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* of 3rd December last, on the recent history of Mysore. And this powerful critic, writing with very full official and unofficial knowledge of the facts, and with no bias in favour of Mysore statesmen, proceeds to enumerate some of the greatest triumphs of modern civilization in India, wherein this wise and sympathetic administration has undoubtedly shown itself to be in the very van of enlightened progress.

Sir Sheshadri Iyer's annual Address to the Mysore Representative Assembly, delivered this year on the 12th October, follows closely on, and is the appropriate sequel to, the second Quinquennial Report of the administration of Mysore since the Rendition. The year 1891 saw the completion of the first decade of Native rule in the Principality. The two quinquennial Reports of the Prime Minister—of which the latter has appeared this year—afford a marvellous view of national prosperity and the comfort of the people advancing by leaps and bounds, under an elastic and sympathetic system of government, wisely liberal and judiciously paternal, guided by the best precedents of British rule, and yet untrammelled by those bonds of red-tape that even the best precedents are sometimes apt to tighten. And the Prime Minister's address to the Representative Assembly, delivered by command of His Highness the Maharaja, summarises the results of all

this, and brings the interesting narrative up to date, to show that the beneficent work is still going on, and at an ever progressive rate.

His Excellency points with pardonable pride to the remarkable fact, that since the Rendition, not a single pie of additional taxation has been imposed in any shape or form. "True," he adds, "our revenue has increased* nearly fifty per cent. during the past ten years; but this increase has been obtained by improved management—which is so much to our credit."

The truth is, that the Mysore Administration has recognised from the first the folly of "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs." Instead of starving the agriculture of the country by squeezing out of the land the last pie of the "unearned increment," a liberal expenditure on railways, roads, and irrigation-works has led to enormous progress and general enrichment. "Our cultivated area now," says the Prime Minister elsewhere, "is nearly six millions of acres, as against only four millions in 1880-1881; the cultivated area in Mysore per head of population is 1·1 acre, whereas in Madras it is only 0·6 acre; and yet the land-revenue in Mysore is the same as in Madras, namely, about 1¾ rupee per head of population." These figures are eloquent. Just as in Bengal under the Permanent Settlement, the lightness of the incidence of the land-tax enriches the Province—and the provincial Treasury shares in the general prosperity. There are, I fear, parts of India where such a state of things would be held to indicate a weak or incompetent Settlement Department; and the cry would be, for more rigorous assessments, like the famous re-settlement of the Bilaspur district of the Central

* It is a noteworthy fact that this large increase in the revenue of Mysore—and especially in the land-revenue—actually misled Mr. Fowler into offering a comparison in his Budget speech this year between the Mysore and the Madras administrations in the matter of increased taxation, which was unjustly unfavourable to Mysore. The Hon. P Chentsal Rao has since drawn up an elaborate *Minute*, which has clearly exposed the fallacy of Mr. Fowler's figures—on the lines indicated by the Prime Minister in the words quoted in the text

Provinces in 1891—where the Government increased its demand by 189 per cent.* at a blow, according to the figures of the Chief Commissioner, and by 298 per cent. according to the figures of a writer in the *Nagpur and Berar Times*. The results of the one policy we see in Mysore; elsewhere we see the results of the other policy in Ryots' Indebtedness Relief Acts and similar legislation.†

Take another point. Consider the *Abkári* or excise revenue. In Mysore, from nearly the same consumption of spirituous liquors as in Madras, a higher excise revenue is derived; and this most desirable result is attained by very simple means. By the adoption of a system not very unlike that Gothenburg plan advocated by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, the Mysore Administration prevents much of the unnecessary leakage of the excise revenues between the consumer who pays, and the Government who receives.

The Address of the Prime Minister points out that no less than 63 per cent. of the rise in the incidence of total taxation in Mysore is due simply to this increase in the excise revenue. This phenomenon is so important both in its moral and social aspect, and in its bearing on the future of Indian finance—and in view of current discussions in England, it is so interesting from the Temperance standpoint—that the Prime Minister's explanation of it is well worth reproduction *in extenso*:

> Our Revenue from Excise is derived from two principal sources, Toddy and Arrack. Toddy, the milder and comparatively innocent drink, is the immemorial beverage of the agricultural classes, while Arrack, which is far stronger and more harmful, is chiefly con-

* See a resolution of the Chief Commissioner, dated the 20th November, 1891; and see also the letters of Mr. Fuller, C.S., the Settlement Commissioner, and of "A Malguzar" in the *Nagpur and Berar Times* of about the same date.

† The distinguished Bombay civilian to whom the Bombay ryots are indebted for the latest attempt to save them from the fatal effects of this policy—the Hon. Mr. Lee-Warner, C.S.I.—has just been appointed to the Mysore Residency. The public will hope to receive from his accomplished pen some comparison, either officially or non-officially, of the two rival systems of land-policy.

sumed by the industrial labourer. The average alcoholic strength of Toddy is 2½ per cent. while that of Arrack is 39½ per cent. The former is used by the prudent conservative agriculturist with a settled course of life and regular work, while the latter is consumed mostly by the labourer and the artisan who is attracted to new places by the prospect of profitable employment. There is every reason to believe that the consumption of Toddy is fairly stationary, while that of Arrack has a decided tendency to increase year after year. Our increased revenue from Toddy is almost wholly the result of improved management, while that from Arrack is due to both improved management and increased consumption.

The old system in regard to Toddy was one of eight large District Farms for the entire Province. These farms were given out for terms of 3 years for an annual rent, the amount of which was the highest tendered by a limited number of persons whose standing in the business practically excluded all outside competition. Under this system, we received during the first triennium after the Rendition, an annual rent of 4½ lakhs, and during the second triennium, one of 6¼ lakhs: this latter sum was nearly the same as what used to be realized before the Famine of 1877. In the third triennium, there was a further rise to 7¼ lakhs. Then we tried a partial Talukwar subdivision of the District Farms, and this measure increased the rent for the 10th and 11th years to 9¼ lakhs per annum. In the 12th year we introduced the great change of system I explained to you last year, with the result that the Revenue at once mounted up to the present figure of 13¼ lakhs. This increase, you will remember, was secured not from increased consumption nor by adding to the burdens of the people, but by abolishing needless intermediaries between the Government which owns the extensive date groves and the small farmer who supplies a certain limited number of shops from a particular grove or part of a grove. It is thus clear that the increase of Toddy Revenue, from 7¼ lakhs in the 9th year after the Rendition to 13¼ lakhs last year, was due wholly to improved management.

As regards Arrack, our policy has been essentially one of gradual enhancement of the duty upon the article. In 1881, there existed different rates of duty. The general rate was Rs. 2—3—0 and Rs. 2—4—0 throughout the Province, with Rs. 2—7—0 for the outlying District of Chitaldroog and special rates of Rs. 3—3—0 and Rs. 3—4—0 for the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore. By a process of gradual assimilation and enhancement, we have now arrived at the high uniform rate of Rs. 4 per gallon 20° Under Proof equivalent to one of Rs. 5 for Proof. The selling price under our system is fixed as high as Rs. 5—5—0 for 20° Under Proof, equivalent to Rs. 6—10—3 for Proof. These rates are as high as they can be pitched consistently with the sound policy of preventing illicit distillation or contraband importation. The causes which, in addition to the enhanced duty, have tended to secure the increased Arrack Revenue are—

(1) The abolition in 1884 of all outlying Distilleries and the introduction of a system of manufacture and distribution under centralized control;

(2) The separation in 1892 of the business of manufacture from that of distribution, and

(3) The system adopted in the same year for the sale of the privilege of retail vend. The increase due to the last-named cause represents an addition of Rs. 0—8—8 to the four Rupee Duty.

Making due allowance for the increase due to the above-mentioned causes, we find that a substantial part of the rise in Revenue is still due to an increased consumption. Compared with 1881-82* we now have a total increase of Revenue of Rs. 12,02,000, of which Rs. 5,67,000 are due to increased consumption and the remainder to other causes. The increased consumption is chiefly among migratory gangs of coolies and artisans employed in the Gold Mines, Mills, Public Works, Buildings and Coffee Plantations. Altogether, 394,751 gallons of Arrack were consumed during 1893-94, and this gives a consumption of 4·1 drams per head of population. In the Kolar Gold Fields, a labour

		1881-82.		1893-94.
* Gallons	...	168,093	...	394,751
Revenue Rs.	...	4,22,000	...	16,24,000

population of 11,000, including women and children, constituting a little over $\frac{1}{25}$th of the Provincial population, consumes 43,937 gallons, which is a little over $\frac{1}{3}$th of the total consumption for the Province, giving a consumption per head of 3·99 gallons, or 2037 drams, which is altogether extraordinary, and approximates closely to the rate of consumption in the United Kingdom. Coming next to the large city of Bangalore, which is the chief centre of industry in the Province, we find a consumption of 59,523 gallons, or at the rate of 37·8 drams per head of population. A large cooly population living in the outskirts of the Bangalore City and Cantonment, swell the Arrack consumption of the Taluk to 25,147 gallons, giving a rate of 14·3 drams per head. As in the Bangalore City, so in the Mysore City, the same industrial conditions, though existing in a less degree, give a total consumption of 26,650 gallons, and a rate per head of 18·3 drams. Coming next to what I might call the Coffee tract, and including under this designation, the four Taluks of Manjarabad, Koppa, Chikmagalur, and Mudgere we find a consumption of 51,375 gallons, or a rate of nearly 10·9 drams per head. The result of these calculations is that 10¼ per cent. of the Provincial population aggregated in the Gold Fields, the Mysore City, the Bangalore City and Taluk, and the Coffee tract, together covering 8¾ per cent. of the Provincial area, are responsible for 52 per cent. of the total Provincial consumption, as explained in the table before you.

The consumption per head for this 10 per cent. of the total population is 21·2 drams, whereas for the remaining $\frac{9}{10}$ths of the population it is only 2·2 drams. Not only does this small fraction of a tenth of the population consume more than half the total Arrack, but also shows a tendency (if we compare the past 2 years) to drink in greater proportion than the rest of the Province. I may observe in this connection that in the Civil and Military Station, where the industrial conditions of the Bangalore City are reproduced on a larger scale, the Arrack consumption is 91,629 gallons, or 46·7 drams per head, and in Coorg, where the climatic and other conditions are similar to those of what I have designated the Coffee tract in Mysore, the consumption of Arrack was 66,008 gallons, or 18·3 drams per head of population.

A comparison of the Arrack statistics* of last year with those of 20 years ago, affords striking proof of the fact that what really determines the rise and fall of Arrack consumption is not the rate of selling price nor the number of shops nor the strength of total population, but the numerical strength and profits of a small minority of wage-earners engaged in industrial occupations and concentrated in particular localities, conditions which, as already explained, existed at their maximum during the last year.

These are pregnant and impressive words, and deserve the careful study of everyone interested in the question, whether from the side of the drink-revenue, or from that of Temperance reform. They more than bear out Mr. Gladstone's famous denunciation of the "Local Veto" nostrum as an imposture.

Hardly less interesting is the account of the administration of the Mysore forest department. Though the Madras

* Including Civil and Military Station.

Year.	Population.	No. of Shops.	Price per Gallon.	Consumption.
1873-74	5,055,412	1,442	Rs. 3 to 4	263,000
1893-94	4,943,604	899	Rs. 5-5-0	486,000

forests are fully ten times the extent of the Mysore forests, yet the Mysore forest revenue is 13 lakhs, against only 15¾ lakhs in Madras. Of course the main explanation of this fact is to be looked for in the valuable sandal-wood monopoly; the Maharaja's Government derives ten lakhs a year from sandal-wood alone.

Again, the revenue that is now derived by the Mysore Government from its liberal and judicious encouragement of the gold-mining industry—which it fostered with far-seeing generosity—is increasing by leaps and bounds. The increase under this head, during the past year only, has been from Rs. 495,859 to Rs. 725,629, or something between 40 and 50 per cent.!

I might go on to cite many other details of interest from the Prime Minister's account of his stewardship, to show to what a remarkable degree the Maharaja's administration has been at once beneficent and successful. But the really important matter, the main feature of the whole Address, as it is also of the quinquennial Reports, is the liberality and the enterprise of the Mysore policy. There is no province in India in which railway extension, and the general opening-up of the country by communications of all kinds, has been carried on of late years with half the energy or half the boldness that we see displayed in these Reports. The State is not afraid to undertake irrigation-work freely, and finds itself repaid a hundredfold into its bosom. The most liberal terms are offered to mining prospectors, to coffee-planters, and other pioneers of industry; and I have myself heard over and over again from English gentlemen, settlers in Mysore, that there is no Government in the world so easy to get on with, and certainly none in India so uniformly fair and liberal.

It is only fair to the Local Governments of British India to remember that in this connection they probably have a less free hand than the Native States. Directly a Local Government attempts anything like liberality of policy, it is swooped down upon by the omnivorous Government of

India, and called upon for an increase to its contribution to Imperial revenues, in a way that often seems to render nugatory the wise measures for the decentralisation of finance that were initiated by Lord Mayo. But even in Native States, the arm of the Supreme Government is a long one. In Mysore accounts, for instance, there is every year a huge item of expenditure for the Imperial Subsidy —no less than two million and four hundred and fifty thousand rupees; and from the nervous interpellations of some of the members of the Representative Assembly, there is evidently a good deal of apprehension among the people lest even this large annual contribution should be increased to the full three-and-a-half millions that might be demanded under the terms of the Rendition. Such an increase would probably put an immediate end to all Mysore schemes of advance and progress. But it would be a scurvy recognition of the progress of the past; and for this reason, it is probably a fortunate thing that, in the Government of India, the member in charge of the Foreign portfolio is the Viceroy himself. The Imperial guarantee against external aggression and internal disturbance is fairly worth, in every Native State, an adequate subsidy to the Paramount Power; but the subsidy system ought not to be turned into an engine, like the Central Provinces Settlement Department, for the capture of the "unearned increment."

To those who are interested in the great problem of the judicious extension of local self-government in India, the deliberations of the Mysore Representative Assembly are singularly suggestive. Its functions are, of course, simply consultative; but its value in this capacity has already been conspicuously demonstrated, especially in regard to experiments in the direction of social and economic reform. Proposals have from time to time been put before these elected representatives of the various towns and rural districts of the country, on such delicate questions as the reform of the marriage laws, the protection of religious

endowments, and similarly thorny points in which rash or premature legislation might do great harm; and I think it is clear that in this way has been discovered a safe and dignified method of ventilating new theories, and of instructing public opinion instead of startling or coercing it. An economic experiment that has been initiated in 1894 in this way is the establishment of Agricultural Banks on a small and tentative scale. There is no country in the world where there is such a wide margin between the current rate of interest paid by the Government, and that paid by the private borrower, as in India; and it would apparently follow from that fact that there is no country where the Government can so profitably aid enterprises of the nature of Agricultural Banks. The Prime Minister thus states the condition of Mysore in this respect:

> In our own State the balance of the Government Savings Banks' deposits has risen from 4 lakhs in 1881 to 28 lakhs during the last year, though the rate of interest was recently reduced to 3½ per cent., but the borrowing power of our Raiyat is nevertheless as low as ever. The substantial agriculturist, especially the Coffee Planter and the grower of exportable produce, is able to obtain some credit from the foreign buyer on the security of his crops at 9 and 12 per cent. interest, but the ordinary Raiyat is unable to get any credit except at usurious rates. How to bridge over the wide gulf that thus separates capital from want is one of the most important problems of the day in this country, and it is not without considerable diffidence that His Highness' Government approach its solution.

The Prime Minister has started his plan on a moderate scale, on co-operative and limited-liability principles; and he concludes his remarks upon it in these wise and modest words:

"Small beginnings and early struggles are the necessary conditions of vigorous life, and I indulge in the hope that the scheme, carefully worked on a moderate scale, and in places where the conditions are most favourable, will soon be the means of establishing a system of Agricultural Banks throughout the country. They will be a great education to the people in thrift and co-operation, and they will be the means of creating a wholesome public opinion against unproductive expenditure and extravagance of all kinds."

AFGHAN AFFAIRS AND "WAZIRISTAN."

By an ex-Panjab Official.

If there ever was an occasion on which the exercise of the most elementary prudence could have avoided a conflict, it was in connexion with the demarcation of the Afghan-Waziri frontier. Considering that the Afghanistan of the Amir borders immediately on the Waziri country, whereas the Panjab proper is separated from it by a tract of more than doubtful allegiance flanked on the West by independent and hostile ranges, the obvious course was to demarcate the dividing line from within the Afghan side and not from without that of the Panjab. The former course would have only entailed the despatch of a few Afghan officials by the Amir with a suitable escort meeting the English Commissioners within his frontier. The course that has been adopted has been to create much noise and avoidable opposition and to gain credit for putting it down. This policy has already given us a Pyrrhic victory for our troops, it may continue in a campaign that will cost much life and treasure, and it must end in the undying hatred of tribes that formed an excellent recruiting-ground for our army and a hornet's nest against any foreign foe. Thus has the Durand policy, from which the members of that family have mainly benefited, destroyed a bulwark to foreign invasion in Waziristan, as it has in Dardistan. The forcible approximation of our frontier to Afghanistan in the one case, and to the Russians on the other breaks down the most efficient barriers that nature and history have put up to separate the Indian tiger from the Russian bear. The old "*forward policy*" so far as it meant meeting Russia half-way in, or beyond, Afghanistan proper or actively interfering in its affairs, has been wisely abandoned, but only to make room for what is equally dangerous to the peace of India and

as exhausting to her finances, namely "*the growth* of our Indian frontiers. If demarcation there is to be, then, where mountains and uninhabitable plateaus, as in the Pamirs, or the bullet of the hungry Masûd Wazîri raider, do not already show it, let it proceed from within the Amir's country and not after crossing any hostile territory. This may be a useful hint even in the forthcoming Bajaur delimitation.*

I can understand the Hindu's disbelief in historical truth when I read what passes as such in political reports. The people of Wano were supposed to have so felt the oppression of the little finger of a single official of the Amir, that, for two years, they clamoured for the whole weight of British protection. Coy at first, our politicals had eventually to give way to a universal invitation. To honour it thousands of troops also arrive, though uninvited, and a slaughter takes place among guests and hosts that ranks Wano with Ambeyla.

It cannot be said that this game of bloodshed will ever be worth the candle, even if all the players on our side were made K.C.B.'s or K.C.S.I.'s. It shows, however, how little our politicals know of a people at whose expense they gain a reputation, when on the eve of the Wazîri attack they cried "peace when there is no peace."

It should be remembered that, whatever our ulterior aim, the present extension of "our sphere of influence" is merely passing a red thread round an independent country, but to the Wazîris it already looks like an attempt at annexation. The Amir is, no doubt, very sorry at the *contretemps* that has occurred, though it will show him the brave warriors that he could have counted upon, as the leading Muhamma-

* We have to demarcate the boundary as agreed upon with the Amir and as we had several open accounts to settle with the Wazîris, a considerable force was deemed to be necessary for the protection of the Boundary Commissioners and to give a sufficient backing to the Commissioners in case the tribes refused to come to a settlement on the outstanding differences between them and the Government. It was certainly believed that a strong display of force would prevent a collision and the fact that the principal tribal Chiefs were not concerned in the recent attack on our Camp shows that they, at any rate, were not opposed to a peaceful settlement.—*Ed.*

dan Chief, in the event of an infidel invasion whether from the North or the South. In the meanwhile, we may discover how much more difficult it is for us to advance than it would be for the Russians to do the same in the direction of an exposed Afghan Turkistan, where the people are not of Afghan race like those we have to confront. Have we not yet been taught that our move on Hunza-Nagyr met with the corresponding move of Russia on to the Pamirs at an infinitely smaller cost, although we could put the Kashmir treasury under contribution? And what is the corresponding "compensation" that Russia will demand for any annexation of the Waziri country, as already threatened in the Russian Press?

Since 1880 the Waziris have given us no trouble worth recording. A coolie killed here or there, a horse or two stolen, a raid on an outpost, nearly sum up their crimes. Now, on one morning alone, we and they have lost more men than in the previous 14 years.

As for the murder of Mr. Kelly and of some Sepoys, it has already been avenged. The alleged murderers have been given up to us by the tribal Maliks, who, in their turn, have been killed by their own tribesmen; so the matter has been settled in accordance with Waziri traditions.

If, however, the Waziris were as quiet as the Chilásis had been since 1852, they would still be accused, as the Chilásis have so wrongly been by Colonel Durand in the *Contemporary Review*, of repeated outrages compelling the swift vengeance of the long-suffering Government of India. As a matter of fact, a few thousand rupees judiciously spent in charity on, or among, the hungrier or wilder of the Waziris, would protect our frontier from their raids. Nor is there any reason why we should not first subsidize and then utilize them as "Waziri Rifles" or "Waziri Frontier Militia" or some such congenial task. The Afridis, as "Khyber Rifles," now keep that pass open on two days of the week when travellers are as safe as on the Grand Trunk Road. This success is deserving of close imitation

elsewhere.* Otherwise we fear that, unless bankruptcy supervenes, "the forward policy," now concealed under "the frontier growth," will be persevered in, in one form or the other, to the ruin of the Empire and the greater glory of its promoters.

The curious thing is that from Vice-regal speeches, such as have lately been made by, or for, Lord Elgin at Lahore and elsewhere, down to the flattering of one's Munshi, there is a traditional belief in our justice. The chivalrous ardour of our feudatories and of our military castes or sects to fight our battles and to find a congenial vent for their now suppressed energy, must not, however, be taken for ignorance of our motives or dealings. Indeed, they often deplore our mistakes, whilst listening in sad courtesy to our explanations.

As for the impoverished frontier peasant, who sees his last bit of land pass into the hands of the usurer, he, like the disappointed office-seeker, would welcome any change even if brought by the marauding Waziri in the wake of the great emancipator of oppressed races from the North.

Whilst India is exhausting herself in sterile campaigns against eagle's nests, the Amir is, fortunately for us and himself, consolidating his power in the inner circle that we have left to him *plus* a trail towards the Pamir for an enemy to tread upon. If Messrs. Pyne and Martin do not go too fast with their purchases, which have already cost the Afghan soldiery a month's pay, they may create a taste for English goods, though it was not wise of Mr. Martin, if correctly reported in an interview with a Press Agency, to boast of having driven out Russian commerce (which, even if true, cannot have the avowed support of the British Government) and of being an Agent of Afghanistan rather

* The Panjab Government in 1880/81 proposed to control the Khyber under the *joint* responsibility of the local tribesmen and the Government. The joint arrangement was negatived and the control of the Pass was entrusted to the tribesmen alone who were to be held responsible for the security of person and property in the Pass. The result has been an unqualified success and in another generation looting in the Khyber will be, we believe, a forgotten art.—*Ed.*

than of the Amir, whatever that distinction may mean. Mr. Curzon, who may be said to be travelling for the *Times*, may convert that mighty organ to a more consistent and generous appreciation of the Amir's friendship to Great Britain, than when it wrote on the 2nd November, 1892,

> "In the last resort the Indian Government can do without the strong and independent Afghanistan it strives to maintain, but, whenever it shall cease to struggle for that end, Afghanistan as a kingdom will disappear. . . . The Indian Government will not be lightly turned from its settled policy, even by perverseness on the part of its ally. But it possesses means of bringing considerable pressure to bear upon him in a disciplinary way."

or even, when perhaps significantly, only the other day, the writer in it on "Indian Affairs," attributed that friendship to his personal relations with certain Englishmen. However valuable to Great Britain those relations, maintained in spite of adverse circumstances, may have been, the Amir's friendship is his own inspiration. At any rate, I hope that, after Mr. Curzon has seen this, he will no longer clamour for the military occupation of any part of Afghanistan, or for further encroachments in Dardistan. His good sense in recommending a small allowance to the Thum of Hunza, in lieu of the traditional income from raiding, rather than continue the enormous expenditure on the Gilgit road and troops, is, at all events, worthy of a practical statesman. Not so would be his persuading the Amir to carry out an old idea of visiting England at the grave risks that such a course would entail.

Ably, however, as the writer on "Indian Affairs" tries to seek the key-note to the Amir's policy in a pamphlet published by him in 1886 and referred to at length in the *Times* of May, 1892, though the one of 1893, quoted almost in full in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April of that year, would have been more in point, I maintain that the only key-note is the unshakeable sincerity of his friendship for England, in spite of the greatest provocations. He felt the disaster at Panjdeh, almost more because it was a blow to us and to our good management, than to himself. He spoke strongly about it, as one does about the mistake of a

valued friend, and he, again and again, and notably at the Vice-regal Durbar at Rawulpindi, offered his sword to fight *our* enemies in avenging a defeat into which we had led him. He believed in us against the evidence of his senses, and we shall never lose his manly co-operation if we only show courtesy and good faith. The bolder our policy, the truer will move the warrior's heart within him. At the same time, any over-sensitiveness on our part to plain-speaking in controversial matters would be childish and unworthy of a great Government. Nor have we any claim to infallibility or to the possession of all the virtues. *Verbum sapienti.*

As in the partition of Africa the European nations concerned consider it to be the quintessence of justice to despoil the natives in equal proportions, without the faintest regard to existing indigenous rights or wishes, so in that of Asia the nice division of the spoil among the aspirants to "spheres of influence" obtains the main attention of "scrupulous" diplomacy. Two great factors are, however, apt to be overlooked. One is the rise to universal empire of whatever State can Europeanize, for purposes of organized commercial and military exploitation, the masses of China, —a task that Japan may, perhaps, undertake—and the other is the irreconcilable Muhammadan factor, which even the further reduction of Turkey by the neutralization of Armenia will not destroy, and which will form an Alsace and Lorraine wherever grouped in any considerable number.

Let us go to school, not to Lords who think that they can commit their country to foreign alliances without a *qui pro quo*, but to that very pamphlet mentioned in the *Times* of the 13th November 1894, so thoroughly analyzed by the writer on "Indian Affairs," and yet the main point of which, the only guide to a true solution of the Central Asian *imbroglio*, he seems to have missed, perhaps because the English translation clouded the Persian original.

The point made is simply this, that, whereas England has nothing to gain by annexing the barren countries

beyond Afghanistan, in itself an unprofitable acquisition, she will not seek to occupy it as a stepping-stone to further conquests. Russia, on the contrary, having everything to gain by conquering India, must endeavour, by force or fraud, to pass through, or alongside of, Afghanistan with the view to its eventual occupation. Since, however, such an occupation would lead to the complete starvation of Afghanistan, for incontrovertible reasons that the Amir gives in detail, as also to the demoralization and irreligion of the land that only produces "men and stones" by the presence of a foreign soldiery, therefore every true and intelligent Muhammadan and Afghan patriot considers *that* power *alone* hostile, the interest of which it must be to occupy Afghanistan permanently or *en route* to a more desirable objective. The Amir, who embodies, by his position and convictions, the national and religious sentiment of his country is, therefore, an inalienable friend of Great Britain.

Can anything be more condemnatory of "the forward policy," that seeks to occupy supposed points of vantage in, or beyond, Afghanistan, than this self-evident proposition of the Amir? Further, he shows that if he had been allowed a free hand, when the Tekke Turcomans asked for his aid, Merv would have been saved by the force of circumstances rather than his own, and that, later on, the Panjdeh disaster must similarly have been avoided. The whole of the pamphlet teems with practical wisdom and the narration of plain facts. Would that it were "read, marked, learnt and inwardly digested" by those to whom the direction of Oriental politics is entrusted, and who, as a rule, do not know Oriental languages and the Oriental mind themselves and yet persecute those that do and can alone advise them.

I consider as traitors to their country those who aid in the subjugation of the independent tribes that fringe our frontiers and interpose so many Circassias to the advance of a great power. It is a mistake to alienate Afghan tribes from the ruler of Afghanistan, their natural Head in case

of danger from without. It is ill-advised, therefore, to take off another slice in the South, for Russia will, sooner or later, claim a corresponding one in the North. In the meanwhile, the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier will, in all essential particulars, be as detailed in the article on "Afghan Affairs and the Central Asian Settlement" published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of April, 1894. Russia has more to gain, for the present, by a joint partition or protection of China than by an immediate further move towards India.

Indeed, the attitude of the Russian Government, on the occasion of Sirdar Ishaq Khan's* rebellion in 1888 was strictly "correct," although he was nearly successful in Balkh and Maimeneh. Circumstances are not likely to bring him again to the front, as little as Ayub Khan whom we hold back at Rawulpindi, but it is interesting to read the recent account of the doings at Samarcand of a possible pretender, whom Russian papers extolled for having adopted Russian manners and threatened to let loose on Afghanistan, if the recent illness of the Amir, for whose recovery both England and India were so anxious, had taken a serious turn. We believe that this man of iron, who is as true to his God and country as he is in his friendship for us, will have time so to consolidate his reign in the affection and organization of his people, as to found a Dynasty that will continue *pari passu* with our own rule of India "necessary to, and necessitated by, each other," to use a happy phrase in his last letter to Dr. Leitner. His grown-up son, Habibullah, has already given proof of his capacity for government, whilst Muhammad Omar, the child-prince, has "the royal manner" and is said to be full of promise.

* Ishaq Khan (pronounce diacritically Is-háq = Isaac) is a cousin of the Amir, being a son of Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khan. His mother was an Armenian lady, an aunt, we believe, of the merchant Luka, a partisan of the Amir and a representative of the small Christian community at Kabul, where he suffered losses for his loyalty, for which, like an "honest broker," he is said to have allowed himself to be recouped twice.—Ed.

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN ASIA.—I.

By Capt. Geo. V. Tarnovski.

Russia's political mission in Central Asia has been discussed by many Russian and English authors, not to mention numerous works and articles on this subject by writers of other nationalities. However, a forecast on the Russian evolution of Central Asia, based on a consideration of the problems meted out by history to Russia in Central Asia, has not yet been formulated, so far as I am aware. The following is merely a statement of personal opinion, the outcome of study, observation and travel in Central Asia.

The annexation of Turkestan and Turkomania by Russia has led to the establishment of *Pax Russica* in countries hitherto the scene of bloody warfare and men-kidnapping raids. Khiva, Bokhara, Khokand, and, last but not least, Turkomania, where, according to a *makál*,* popular in Central Asia, "no man could live," have been opened up to civilization and peaceful progress only since Russia's domination and sway have been extended over these countries. Russian rule has, so far, proved a benefit both to the sedentary Uzbaks and Tajiks of Turkestan, who now ply their trade and till their fields without fear of being kidnapped by slave-hunters, or despoiled of their property by extortionate officials, and, likewise, to the nomad, men-kidnapping tribes of Turkomania, who have now settled down to peaceful avocations. Yet, barely a quarter of a century has elapsed since Khiva and Bokhara were the chief slave-markets of Central Asia, and only fourteen years ago the Turkoman raids swept up to the very gates of Meshed and Herat. Thence it can be inferred, that for the present peace and the safety of traffic throughout nearly all Central Asia, mankind at large is indebted to Russia. So much must be conceded to Russia even by the bitterest detractors of her policy in Central Asia.

* Proverbial expression.

An impartial study of the history of Russia's advance and Russian rule in Central Asia, if the imaginary fears for the safety of India be for a while set aside, will show that up to this day it has been Russia's mission in Central Asia to restore peace and welfare to the populations of countries coming under her political domination and sway. Nor can it be considered, that this mission is completed, as long as in Central Asia Russia does not border on countries, offering at least equal guarantees of inward peaceful progress, and outward peaceful neighbourhood. That such is not at present the case can hardly be denied by anybody acquainted with the political *status* on the Perso-Afghan side of Russia's boundary in Central Asia. In creating this *status*, British, or, to be more exact, Anglo-Indian policy in Central Asia has been largely instrumental.

Ever since the pacification of the Kirghiz steppe, crowned by the capture of Ak-Musjid, and the foundation of the *at present forsaken because no longer needed* Fort Peroffski, British diplomacy has been striving to oppose and check Russia's expansion southwards in Central Asia. Anxiety for the safety of British dominions in India was the recognised motive of this policy. The principle of maintaining between Russia and British India an "insuperable barrier" of barren sand-wastes, snow-clad mountain fastnesses and barbarous, warlike populations was embodied in the Anglo-Russian agreements of 1860, 1873 and 1886-1888.

We all know how this "insuperable barrier" has dwindled down, in the course of barely a quarter of a century, to a mere strip of "buffer" territories, now separating Russia and Greater Britain in Asia. A conterminous boundary between these two Great Powers, to an unbiased mind, must now appear a logical necessity. Yet, with a constancy of purpose worthy of a better end, the exertions of British diplomacy in the Anglo-Russian agreement *re* Central Asia, at present under consideration, are directed solely to strengthen this "buffer" strip to the utmost, regardless of everything save the "defence of India" scheme; and, to

force upon Russia a boundary, as distant as possible from the North-Western frontier of India, regardless of possibilities for, and requirements of, future peaceful progress in Russian Central Asia.

Now, it ought to be considered *before all*, whether such a boundary, even if gratifying to present Anglo-Indian susceptibilities and anxieties, will not become a cause of future friction and strain, as inconsistent with the natural peaceful development of Central Asia under Russia's supremacy? And whether it would not be more wise for the sake of future peace to delineate at present a boundary between Russia and Greater Britain in Asia, equally ensuring the safety of British India and giving Russia ample scope and freedom to continue her work of civilization and peaceful progress in Central Asia?

Russia's historical heirlooms in Central Asia are, mostly, deserts and wastes, where prosperous and populous states had before flourished; heaps of ruins, where great and rich cities had before stood; vast tracts of arid country, which had formerly yielded hundredfold crops. Nor are these things of an irretrievable past, or which have recurred but once: we know, that many civilizations have taken birth and reached their highest pitch in Central Asia, to decay and decline, as is the fate of all that is mortal. Neither can it be asserted, that this present state of waste and desolation is the result of Nature's action in times of human record. History shows, that man is the worst destructor of all; nowhere is this more strikingly demonstrated than in Central Asia. And what man hath destroyed, man must restore; for such is the Law.

It has been Russia's historical lot to take over Central Asia mostly in a state of desolation; her historical task in Central Asia is, therefore, to restore what has been destroyed by her predecessors; and none will deny that Russia's work in Central Asia has been and is one of restoration, and not one of destruction. This work is such, that Russia from Central Asia and Greater Britain from India may well, nay, must, extend to each other a friendly hand

and labour at their respective tasks together. For all of us Russians, who have made Central Asia their home, cannot but admire the English in their work of civilization in India, under conditions many times more trying than those we have to cope with. And we most sincerely and frankly admire the Anglo-Indians, as the truly grand workers they are.

The work of restoration in a sun-burnt country, where, save for water, nothing living can exist, necessarily implies, from the very beginning, the reconstruction, or creation anew, of irrigation channels, combined and regulated so as to distribute the precious, life-giving fluid, in the most productive way and with the least waste possible. If these questions of vital importance to civilization and peaceful progress are to be solved at all satisfactorily, the whole water-supply of a given area, as every Anglo-Indian knows well, must be under *one* control. Wars for the water-supply are of common recurrence in the history of Asia.

Yet, in a great part of her present dominions in Central Asia, Russia is in a precarious position in respect of the water-supply: thus, some of the most valuable watercourses for the culture of cotton, mulberry-tree, vine, etc., are severed by the present southern boundary in a way, which nips in the bud the development of these cultures, highly important to Russian industry. To make matters worse, it cannot be expected, that under the present conditions this state of things may amend itself in future: the *Pax Russica* has caused the re-population of many trans-frontier tracts, hitherto laid waste by warfare, and Russia is compelled, even now, to resort to stringent measures for the sake of obtaining the stipulated water-supply.* Other streams

* As a practical instance of difficulties with the water-supply, created by the present Russo-Afghan boundary, I would adduce the destruction of Russian crops from drought in the valley of the Kushk river in 1892; this brought about the nomination of a highly expensive Boundary Commission to enforce the observance of the treaty of 1885-1888 by the Afghan subjects, who, in strict accordance with this treaty, were compelled to abandon their settlements in the upper valley of the Kushk river.

If the treaty of 1885-1888 had been more sensibly drawn up in this particular, and the water-supply of the Kushk valley had been under *one* control, nothing of the kind could have happened. And yet the British Commissioner apparently considered it no small merit to have insisted on a boundary, leaving the question of water-supply necessarily open to future complications, and was congratulated by the Foreign Office on "the successful result of his labours." *Vide* Blue-book on Central Asia N 1 (1887), pp. 1 and 10.

cannot be regulated in the springtide, because they rise in trans-frontier countries, beyond the control of Russia, and her subjects must every year suffer considerable losses, sometimes the destruction of a year's crops.

Now, if it be considered that Russia very rightly wants to draw on her dominions in Central Asia for raw materials, needed by her industries, and at present mostly imported from abroad; that she wants to create in Central Asia a market for her produce; that there is nothing in the natural conditions of Central Asia to preclude the possibility of the above being accomplished; that the only obstacles to this lie in the mistaken policy of a Power, naturally the ally of Russia in Asia, but which, on the contrary, deems the weakness of Russia in Central Asia to be the only safeguard of India, and the present state of things to be a danger and menace to India,—can it be anything but natural that *all* Anglo-Russian agreements *re* Central Asia up to this day represent only *modi vivendi*, and that a boundary equally acceptable to *both* Russia and England, is yet a thing of the future? Is it reasonable to expect, that a Power, cramped in the legitimate peaceful development of its dominions by a boundary, unsatisfactory in the chief essential of, and requirement for, peaceful progress, can, in the natural course of events, abide by the result of treaties, enforcing this precarious position of things?

It may be inferred from the above, that neither at present, nor for many centuries to come, can Russia want British India, when she has such a task cut out for her in Central Asia. Only it must be obvious, and most of all to an Anglo-Indian, that Russia cannot be hampered in the question of water-supply.

A study of the map will show, that the sources of this water-supply, now denied to Russia by England, do not rise in India, nor even within hail of British India. For Central Asia lies in the drainage area of the Aralo-Caspian depression, and all that is needed by Russia, at present and in future, is the *control and domination over this drainage area.*

THE ARMENIAN DIFFICULTY.

RESULTS OF A LOCAL ENQUIRY.

By Hormuzd Rassam.

Public feeling has been so aroused lately both in England and on the Continents of Europe and America regarding the reported atrocities in the district of Bitlis in the Pashalic of Van, inhabited mostly by Kurds called Sasoon, that it may not be uninteresting to the readers of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" to get some insight into the intricate political aspect of the question.

Of course with the present onesided outcry against the alleged cruelties of the Kurds and Turks which are said to have been perpetrated in that part of Asiatic Turkey called in England "Armenia," but which is known to the Ottoman Authorities and the different nationalities on the borders of the Euphrates and the Tigris as "Kurdistan," it is quite impossible to arrive at a right conclusion as to the hubbub which has been created owing to the sensational articles which have lately appeared in the public journals. I myself have had so much experience from time to time of such reports that I hesitate to believe implicitly clamours which are raised by one party against another, especially when religion is introduced into the strife.

Unfortunately, these unhappy disturbances are not confined to Armenia alone, as history shows. When antagonistic nationalities come into conflict exaggerated reports are hatched up for party purposes.

As a matter of course as I was armed with full powers by the Sublime Porte to make the necessary inquiries and I was honestly assisted by the local authorities in my intercourse with the natives I was able to have free communication with the inhabitants of those countries, whether Mohammedans or Christians.

It must be remembered when I went on that mission, fanaticism amongst the Kurds was at its height seeing the

"jehád" or "holy war" was being preached against the Russians, and it was but natural for the Moslems to suppose that the sympathy of the Christians in those parts was directed towards their co-religionists. The consequence was that both the Governors General of Diarbekr and Van had not a little difficulty to keep peace amongst the turbulent tribes and their Christian neighbours, especially as all the regular troops had been ordered to the seat of war and only a small number of the native police who were mostly inefficient and untrustworthy left to keep order in the vast two Pashalics.

After making some allowance for doubtful reports regarding the suffering of the Christian population in districts which are not immediately under the direct control of the Governors General of Van and Diarbekr there is no doubt that a good deal of misery and oppression are caused in those parts from want of proper protection to life and property but in this respect even Mohammedan peasants are not exempt.

From the different inquiries I made a few years ago while on a political Mission in that country, I found that Serfdom in the Kurdistan mountains was not quite abolished, but, on the contrary, in some of the inaccessible mountain-fastnesses Christian villages with their inhabitants were bartered for and sold by their Beys and Aghas as their feudal lords, and any man who dared to change his habitation would be sure to meet with death. I was told by some Kurdish chiefs that this old feudal usage was submitted to by even Moslem villagers who have no power to resist.

If such an arbitrary custom still exists in those countries how can any rational being expect to find peace and tranquillity while the country swarms with marauders and brigands? There is no doubt that if the behest of His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, who has always been noted for his philanthropy and compassion towards his subjects, were to be implicitly carried out, we should hear no more of Kurdish excesses or Turkish misrule. But how is this to

be attained when everyone knows that the Armenians are suspected of agitating for autonomy and the warlike, and hitherto semi-independent and proud, Kurdish tribes have always looked upon them as their inferiors? The happy result, the consummation that all wish for, can only be gained by peaceful means and by tact in managing the different Kurdish races. I know from long experience and intercourse with the Kurds that they are capable of listening to reason and easily led by kind words and good treatment, and I am bound to say that it would be much easier for a peacemaker to win the goodwill of a Kurd than to conciliate some of the contentious Christian clans scattered in different parts of Armenia, Kurdistan, and the highlands of Assyria.

To prove my argument I will relate two cases of peacemaking on two missions to those parts. In one I succeeded, but the other failed in consequence of the ill-feeling that existed between the chief of the Tearis and their spiritual head.

The first was, when I was passing at the end of 1877 on my political mission through the Assyrian mountainous districts, called Teari and Barwari. For some years prior to my visit to that country there was a blood feud between the Chaldean Christians (commonly called Nestorians), and the Kurds of the latter district. As the Barwari Kurds occupy the fastnesses which lead to Mossul, the Nestorians were not able for a number of years to carry on their former trade with the inhabitants of lower Assyria. On finding that both the contending parties were not unwilling to give up their warfare and live peaceably with each other I advised Mar Shimoon, the Patriarch of the Chaldean Nestorians, to delegate some trustworthy representatives to accompany me to Barwari in order that I might arrange terms of peace with the chief of that province. He accordingly sent with me the Archdeacon of Asheetha, the largest town in Teari, and three other elders whom I introduced to the Bey, the hereditary chief of Barwari. My companions were received with every cordiality and hospitality, and after

I got them to enter into a compact for permanent peace the Teari traffickers were able after that to pass and repass without any molestation.

The second trial at peacemaking was in July 1880 when I was going to Mossul from Van on an Archæological mission for the Trustees of the British Museum. While passing through the camp of the most powerful tribe of Nomad Kurds called "Artooshi," about three days' journey from Van, I was received very hospitably by their chief called Hajji Agha. While we were conversing together in the evening about the state of the country he told me that his people and the Tearis (meaning Mar Shimoon's people) were always at loggerheads, and he on his part would be glad if I would make peace between them as I had done on a former occasion between those people and the Barwaris. I said that I was then on a different mission and could not spare the time to go to Teari to see the Patriarch, Mar Shimoon, but I would willingly do what I could through Captain Clayton, the then British Consul at Van. He thanked me very much for my suggestion and told me he had heard that the Consul was then on a visit to the said Patriarch within a day's journey from his encampment, and he asked me to write to him, and he would send my letter himself by a special messenger. Of course, I did as he wished, but soon after I left, while continuing my journey to Van, I met Captain Clayton returning from his visit to Mar Shimoon, and as soon as I informed him of the wishes of Hajji Agha he proceeded to the camp of the Artooshi to consult their chief about the proffered overtures of peace. I learnt afterwards, to my regret, from Captain Clayton that the peace negotiation had collapsed on account of the Teari magnates refusing to meet either Mar Shimoon or the Artooshi chief.

There are still some Kurdish tribes, mostly Nomadic, which have never been brought under proper subjection, and as a matter of course when they find that they can exact what they please with impunity from the Christians,

whether Nestorians, Armenians or Jacobites, who are under their power, they do so without the least compunction. A large number of the highland Kurdish tribes, from Diarbekr to Solaimania, are more or less unmanageable. They not only refuse to pay any taxes or conform to the law of conscription, but they also plunder and kill at their pleasure. Their victims, however, are not merely Christians, but in many instances, which came under my notice during my different travels in that country, Mohammedans as well as Christians suffer from the ravages of the lawless Kurds.

The Rushkootan, Shaikh Dadan, the Sasoon, and Mootki tribes, who inhabit the mountains between Diarbekr and Moosh, spare neither Christian nor Mohammedan; and when I was in the Pashalic of the former no less than three Moslem Chiefs were murdered in cold blood by those robbers because they refused to give them what they demanded. A few days before I passed through the disturbed districts under the power of the Rushkootan tribe no less than forty-five peaceful lowland Kurds were massacred by those rebels on account of a dispute about a gun.

A large number of Kurdish atrocities were reported to me, robbing and desecrating churches and Monasteries, the violation of women, and the carrying away of Armenian girls as slaves by the Hamawand Kurds who were sent at the time of the Russo-Turkish war to the Bayazeed camp from the district of Solaimania near Mosul. Some cases of robbery I found to be true which I brought to the notice of the local authorities, but I could not find any proof of the graver cases especially with regard to the kidnapping of Christian girls. In the first place, I was not able to find who were the girls that were kidnapped, nor could I trace through the proper channels their whereabouts. There were only two women who had been, as alleged, married to Moslem husbands, a great distance from Van, whether by force or consent it was impossible to say; and as I was not sent to that country to hold Courts of Inquiry or interfere in matters which I was not commissioned to settle I did

what I could in bringing such matters to the notice of the proper Ottoman Authorities.

In conclusion, I feel that I must say a few words in praise of the Armenian community whether in Asia Minor, Kurdistan, or Armenia: they are the most industrious, the best educated, and worthy to attain to a high position. It is deplorable that such an ancient people should live in constant turmoil through mismanagement.

The hopes of the Armenians, who used to be most loyal subjects of the Porte and in many ways more Turks than the Turks themselves, and the survival of whose ecclesiastical autonomy during centuries of Turkish rule is alone a strong testimony in Ottoman favour, were unduly roused by the example of the Bulgarians, the supposed Boeotians of Turkey who were called "potur, haivan = clodhopper, brute," successfully achieving their independence. The revival of the kingdom of Armenia is the dream of some of the agitators, and there has long been a talk of Nubar Pasha of Egyptian fame being their first crowned head or, at any rate, President under the protection of the European Powers. Far more likely is a Russian annexation, though there is no reason whatever why the Turkish administration could not arrange a *modus vivendi* between the Kurdish Lords and the Christian peasantry. This would be infinitely preferable to foreign intervention, which is, generally, very costly and extracts more in high salaries from an entire people than the old bribery and corruption which only affects the parties to cases of litigation or oppression. We do not suppose that, under the new Czar, the study of Armenian will be prohibited in Armenian Schools or their Church be dragooned into subservience to the demands of a Russian hierarchy, but the fact remains that the Armenians are, or quite recently were, as dissatisfied on one side, as on the other, of the Russo-Turkish frontier. The Anglo-Russo-Turco-Franco-Italian *entente cordiale* may even be cemented by the proposed Commission, for it is not likely that it will ask for, much less publish, any evidence regarding the alleged Russian origin of the Armenian agitation or the salaries paid by Russia to certain Kurdish Chiefs. If the Turks have a good case, it was scarcely wise to refuse the independent enquiries about to be instituted by the American Consul, unless, indeed, the Commission subserves political ends that have been agreed on beforehand, rather than those of a judicial investigation. We believe, however, that no conjecture is complete which does not include the motive power supplied by Mr. Gladstone, who still pulls many a string, whatever his modesty or the ignorance of the public may assert to the contrary. The presence of the Russian delegate at the Commission will, at all events, simplify matters as that of Hitrovo in connexion with Bulgarian agitations.

EX-DIPLOMATIST.

THE ARMENIAN AGITATION.

By Safir Efendi.

The Vilayet, or Province, of Bitlis has recently been the scene of certain events, widely divergent accounts of which have been published in this country and abroad.

The Armenian version—and this is the one which has been reproduced by most of the European Press—speaks of the massacre of thousands of persons and the burning of 25 villages. The numbers of the Armenians slain have assumed, under the facile pen of certain writers, constantly increasing dimensions, until at last they have become quite incredible. With the best intentions in the world and however much people may wish to accept this information, it is impossible to help remarking, that the manner, in which the facts and the principal conclusions are grouped together in the Armenian account, is anything but convincing.

The Constantinople version is much simpler. It says that, about a year ago, the preliminary signs of a disturbance became manifest in the district of Sassoun with the secret encouragement of certain agitators. At that time things had gone so far that barricades had even been erected by the Armenians, and had to be removed by the Ottoman troops, whose action, combined with the efforts of the civil authorities, soon suppressed this movement. Affairs had subsequently assumed their normal course, when, a few months ago, a man of the name of Hamparsoun, an active agitator, who had been mixed up in the Coumcapou affair and had taken refuge first at Athens and then at Geneva, made his appearance at Talori in disguise and under the assumed name of Mourat. The seditious attempts, which this man was not slow to make, succeeded in raising a portion of the Armenian rural population against the authorities; about 3,000 men withdrew to the mountains, where they believed themselves safe from the clutches

of the law. But the agitators, who were anxious to arouse the Mussulman inhabitants and to sow terror and discord throughout the country, were careful to procure the perpetration of some horrible atrocities. About the end of July, bands of armed Armenians attacked the tribe of Délikian, carried off several of its members and committed various acts of robbery. They next marched upon the tribes of Yékran and Yasignian, seized the nephew of Eumer Agha, chief of the former tribe, filled his stomach with gunpowder and then set fire to it. The horrible scenes, enacted at the village of Gullu-Ghuzat, defy description. Mussulman women were first outraged and then butchered; men were dragged through the streets with ropes round their necks: some had their eyes put out, others their ears cut off; the most seditious and outrageous demonstrations against both the Mussulman religion and the Ottoman Government were indulged in: and two other villages on the route of the above-mentioned bands were set on fire. Such, in short, were the crimes which they committed before retiring to their fastnesses in the mountains.

As soon as tidings of these atrocities reached Constantinople, orders were despatched to Marshal Zéki Pasha, who was in command of the 4th Ottoman army corps, to proceed in person to Sassoun, in order not to give colour to any malicious reports of these occurrences which might be circulated. The Marshal went to the said place with three battalions of infantry belonging to the regular troops, and not *Mustahfiz* or *Bashibozouks*, as has been stated. Upon being summoned to surrender, the Armenians offered resistance to the troops, which then proceeded to discharge their duty, not however without the loss of a score of officers and soldiers, either killed or wounded. The task of restoring peace was accomplished under the eyes of Marshal Zéki Pasha himself. Those, who surrendered at discretion, were sent back to their villages; a detachment of men was told off for the purpose of preserving order, and at the end of a few days tranquillity once more reigned

throughout the district. Such is, in substance, the Ottoman version, which is corroborated and confirmed by the confessions of the conspirators, as well as by a quantity of other evidence beyond dispute. It bears upon it the mark of truth and sincerity. Even the London newspaper, which was one of the first to publish the news of the alleged "massacres" at Sassoun, has since felt itself compelled to state expressly and by way of correction that the total of the victims has been exaggerated. This is a valuable admission, which should be borne in mind; coming from such a source, it is equivalent to an implicit denial of the original statement.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding facts—and it is specially important if we wish to obtain a true understanding of the circumstances—is that the much-talked-of Talori affair was in no sense the outcome of a *spontaneous* movement, but was originated and organised, like those which preceded it, by agitators from outside, acting without doubt at the suggestion of some astute persons, who wished to make capital out of these disturbances.

The first outbreak of this sort was that which took place at Merzifoun, when a Russian Anarchist, named Chémaoon, succeeded in exciting the Armenians of the district and provoking a seditious movement. Thanks to the promptitude and energy of the local authorities, the disturbances were soon suppressed, and their author arrested and handed over to the Russian Government on the understanding that he should be sent to Siberia.

Next came the Yozgat affair, where an Armenian, who was "wanted" by the police, fired upon the officials of the law. The agitators at once intervened and a brawl ensued. Some Armenians, who had taken possession of the church, discharged a volley at the police, whose commander had his horse killed under him. Once again, the prompt and energetic measures of the Ottoman authorities suppressed the rising, and order was speedily restored.

The third case of the same kind was that of the messenger, who was robbed in the outskirts of Yozgat by a band of armed Armenians. But their schemes were once more doomed to failure. The authorities did not lose a moment; the robbers were at once arrested and the stolen money recovered, so that the results, which the agitators had anticipated from this outrage were nipped in the bud.

In consequence of these successive failures, the agitators felt it desirable to change the scene of their operations to districts more remote from the capital, in the hope that the Ottoman authorities would be prevented by the great distance from acting with rapidity, and so they would have the field to themselves. But their calculations, as we have seen, have not been justified by events in this case either. *Hinc illae lacrimae!* Hence the loud outcries of certain London Armenians and their friends.

All this noise about so-called "atrocities" will produce no effect. As far as the Porte is concerned, it will absolutely refuse to adopt the course which the Armenian ringleaders would have it pursue. Those, who seek to invoke might against Turkey in a case where she has right on her side, do not seem to reflect upon the dangers of a situation, which has originated from fallacious premises and could only lead to a disastrous conclusion. The best thing for the Armenians of Turkey to do is to be on their guard against an agitation which tends to kindle hopes, which can never be fulfilled. Such is the view of all sensible men, who look at the facts without bias.

It is satisfactory to be able to assert that the responsible statesmen of Europe appear imbued with the same ideas and are not likely to allow themselves to be dragged at the chariot-wheels of the London Armenians and their friends.

The Rev. Dr. Hamlin, who was the founder and first president of Robert College, Constantinople, has written the following letter to the *Congregationalist* of Boston:

"An Armenian 'revolutionary party' is causing great evil and suffering to the missionary work and to the whole Christian population of certain parts of the Turkish Empire. It is a secret organization, and is managed with a skill in deceit which is known only in the

25465

East. In a widely-distributed pamphlet the following announcement is made at the close:—

"'HUNTCHAGIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

"'This is the only Armenian party which is leading on the revolutionary movement in Armenia. The centre is Athens, and it has branches in every village and city in Armenia, also in the Colonies. Nishan Garabedian, one of the founders of the party, is in America, and those desiring to get further information may communicate with him, addressing Nishan Garabedian, No. 15, Fountain-street, Worcester, Mass., or with the centre, M. Beniard, *Poste Restante*, Athens, Greece.'

"A very intelligent Armenian gentleman, who speaks fluently and correctly English as well as Armenian, and is an eloquent defender of the revolution, assured me that they have the strongest hopes of preparing the way for Russia's entrance to Asia Minor to take possession. In answer to the question how, he replied: 'These Huntchagist bands, organised all over the empire, will watch their opportunities to kill Turks and Kurds, set fire to their villages, and then make their escape into the mountains. The enraged Moslems will then rise and fall upon the defenceless Armenians and slaughter them with such barbarities that Russia will enter in the name of humanity and Christian civilisation and take possession.' When I denounced the scheme as atrocious and infernal beyond anything ever known, he calmly replied: 'It appears so to you, no doubt, but we Armenians are determined to be free. Europe listened to the Bulgarian horrors and made Bulgaria free. She will listen to our cry when it goes up in the shrieks and blood of millions of women and children.' I urged in vain that this scheme will make the very name of Armenia hateful among all civilised people. He replied: 'We are desperate: we shall do it.' 'But your people do not want Russian protection. They prefer Turkey, bad as she is. There are hundreds of miles of conterminous territory into which emigration is easy at all times. It has been so for all the centuries of the Moslem rule. If your people preferred the Russian Government there would not be now an Armenian family in Turkey.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'and for such stupidity they will have to suffer.' I have had conversations with others who avow the same things, but no one acknowledges that he is a member of the party. Falsehood is, of course, justifiable where murder and arson are.

"In Turkey the party aims to excite the Turks against Protestant missionaries and against Protestant Armenians. All the troubles at Marsovan originated in their movements. They are cunning, unprincipled, and cruel. They terrorize their own people by demanding contributions of money under threats of assassination—a threat which has often been put in execution.

"I have made the mildest possible disclosure of only a few of the abominations of this Huntchagist revolutionary party. It is of Russian origin. Russian gold and craft govern it. Let all missionaries, home and foreign, denounce. Let all Protestant Armenians everywhere boldly denounce it. It is trying to enter every Sunday-school and deceive and pervert the innocent and ignorant into supporters of this craft. We must therefore be careful that in befriending Armenians we do nothing that can be construed into an approval of this movement, which all should abhor. While yet we recognize the probability that some Armenians in this country, ignorant of the real object and cruel designs of the Huntchagists, are led by their patriotism to join with them, and while we sympathize with the sufferings of the Armenians at home, we must stand aloof from any such desperate attempts, which contemplate the destruction of Protestant missions, churches, schools, and Bible work, involving all in a common ruin that is diligently and craftily sought. Let all home and foreign missionaries beware of any alliance with or countenance of the Huntchagists.

"CYRUS HAMLIN."

MASSACHUSETTS HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Boston, Mass.

In view of the revolutionary and incendiary designs of the Huntchagist revolutionary party among the Armenians, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society enjoins upon all those it befriends to give no countenance or support to that party.

CHARLES R. RICE, Chairman of the Executive Committee.
JOSHUA COIT, Secretary.

THE NEW CRUSADE AGAINST THE TURK.

By C. D. Collet.

Once more we are invited to a crusade against "the unspeakable Turk." Some time between July and September there have been risings on the frontiers of Kurdistan, where the Turkish Government is not well organized; the ordinary force has been defeated, regular troops have been called in; insurrection has been suppressed and it is said that atrocious cruelties have been committed by them, the orders being so cruel that they were obeyed unwillingly. An inquiry is to be made on the spot, and a Russian, a British, an Italian and a French Vice-Consul are to be delegated to the Commission of Inquiry.

Whatever the facts may have been, and whatever the negligence or even the criminality of Turkish officials, it is quite certain that the permanent conspiracy against the Turkish Government has deemed the present a good time for its activity, and is making an attempt to reproduce the Atrocity agitation of 1876, which was so successful in exaggerating all that had taken place in Bulgaria, and in separating Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro from the Ottoman Empire, as well as a part of Asia Minor.

Here we must make a concession. If the provinces of Asia Minor inhabited by Armenians should be given over to Russia, we in England shall no longer be called on to protect the Armenian Christians. Since Kars was surrendered to Russia, a systematic attempt has been made by the Government to suppress the Armenian religion in the primary schools. Monseigneur Mouradian, Armenian Bishop of Smyrna, wrote in December 1888:—

"The Ukase of 16 February, 1884, which ordered the closure of the Armenian schools, aimed at depriving the Armenian clergy of the right of superintendence over the schools maintained at the expense of the ecclesiastical property of the Armenians.

"Here is what the Russian Government exacted:—

"1. The teachers and inspectors of schools shall be appointed or dismissed according to the directions of the Russian Government.

"2. None can be appointed teachers or inspectors but persons who have received their education in the Russian establishments.

"3. They must all belong to the clergy, and cannot be appointed if they are not confirmed by the Government.

"4. The agents of the Russian Government will have the right of being present at the instruction.

"5. The programme of the studies must be identical with that of the Russian schools."

"It is evident," says Monseigneur Mouradian, "that the Armenians cannot maintain schools thus withdrawn from their management. The (Armenian) Holy-Synod therefore acted correctly when it rejected these requirements, even in presence of the menace that *its Members would be sent to Siberia.*"

Whether the schools thus closed have been opened again I cannot say.

The *Chronicle* of last week publishes the following in a letter from its Moscow correspondent:—

"The important gatherings at Kiev of representatives of the clergy of South Russia, summoned to discuss the present position and prospects of Stundism, has presented its report to the Governor-General, and thanks him for his help in stamping out the heresy. The measures, the clergy state, which had been of the most assistance to them in their campaign were:—

Forbidding the meeting of the heretics for prayer.
Forbidding the colportage of the British Bible Society.
Forbidding the guardianship of Orthodox children by Stundists.
Forbidding Stundists to enter guilds of artisans.
Forbidding Stundists acquiring land by purchase."

Wherever she dares, Russia persecutes those who do not belong to the Government Church, avowedly for the purpose of making them change their religious confession. In Turkey, every Confession is a separate community and is governed by its own laws, administered by its own clergy, *while the Turkish Government discourages conversions to the Moslem Faith.*

The cry of atrocities is, on the part of the mob who howl at public meetings, a mere insanity. Not one in a million even asks what are the causes of these troubles in the Ottoman Empire, or what is really possible in order to abate them. But Russia knows well what she is about and the plans which her partizans suggest are always such as would make reform impossible.

On the present occasion, we have the advantage of a statement of the case by Madame de Novikoff which she gives in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* of 14 December. Madame de Novikoff says:—

"The full confirmation of the horrible news from Armenia makes the heart sick. Not that any of us who know the Turk had any doubts as to the truth of the atrocities at Sassoun. These things are too common. The scale differs, the crime is always the same. And the crime—what is that?

"The crime is the establishment—or the re-establishment—of Turkish Mussulman authority over a Christian race."

She asserts that

"The criminals who perpetrated the massacre were Turkish regular troops, commanded by Turkish officers acting in direct obedience to explicit orders from the Turkish Government," and that "the direct complicity of the 'Sublime' Porte in these hideous crimes is not disputed even by the Pashas of Stamboul."

This is the old story, with which we have been misled so long. But those who have really the interests of Christians, as Christians, at heart, have begun to discover their error. The Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance has some months ago expressed his conviction that none of the misgovernment of any part of Turkey is caused by any *action* at Constantinople, though much may be caused by *want* of action.

Madame de Novikoff continues:—

"Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stéfano runs thus:

"As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect without further delay the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians."

Now, it is obvious that this clause imposed clear and precise obligation, not only upon Turkey, but also upon Russia. If the reforms were not carried out, if the security of the Armenians was not guaranteed, Russia would have been bound to interfere, and *would have interfered*, to compel the Turks to carry out their treaty obligations.

To whom would Russia have been bound? Only to herself. Would she have benefited the Armenians who remain in Turkey when she oppresses those who remain in Russia? Hear what Mr. Lanin says, travelling in the neighbourhood of the last war. He says:—

"I lately had a conversation with an Armenian from the city of Artvin on the Tschorokh, a little to the south of Batoum, a man well stricken in years, who trembled with rage when I asked him what he thought of the plan to extend to the Turkish Armenians the benefits of Russian rule. 'We helped the Russians during the late war,' he said, with the accents with which the Ancient Mariner may be supposed to have related how he killed the albatross: 'our knowledge of the country, of the mountain passes, of the enemy's position, made us invaluable allies. We wanted to better our position and we acted like the horse that called in the man to help him and ruled it ever

afterwards. Great God! we tear the hair off our heads in rage and despair when we think of the flood-gates of misery we then threw open. In the coming war there is not a man—nor a woman either, for the matter of that—who will not strain every nerve to assist the Turks.'"

We do not defend Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty. Like Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stéfano it binds Turkey to execute the necessary reforms in "the provinces inhabited by Armenians." But what were, what are these "necessary reforms"? The San Stéfano Article by indicating the danger in the retirement of the Russian troops certainly hinted that the remedy might be found in their return. The Berlin Article spared the Turks this insult, but it does not specify the reforms.

Lord Salisbury entered on the execution of the Treaty with interest. He instructed Sir A. H. Layard to obtain, "with the least possible delay a formal engagement from the Sultan" for

1. A gendarmerie organized and commanded by *Europeans*.
2. Central Tribunals in which there should be a *European* learned in the law whose consent shall be necessary in every judgment.
3. A Collector in each vilayet who should abolish tithe farming, and should in most cases be a *European*.

The Anglo-Armenian agitators refer to Sir A. Layard's letter in which he suggested these reforms to the Sultan, who was thus asked to intrust the administration of his country to foreigners. Let them also quote his succeeding letter in which he justifies the objections made by the Porte.

With regard to the second of these "reforms" Sir A. Layard remarks:—

"To give this power to a judge who is *entirely ignorant of the Turkish language* . . . and who is unacquainted with the laws, usages, and habits of the country, might prove prejudicial to the cause of justice rather than otherwise."

Finally, let all who wish the provinces inhabited by Armenians to be governed by Europeans, or to be made into an autonomous province, recollect that in these provinces the Mussulmans are 3,167,894 while the Armenians are only 587,235, other sects numbering only 223,890. The Armenians would gain nothing by exchanging their present self-government for a share in Ottoman nationality.

THE MADRAS LANDOWNERS' GRIEVANCES.

By "Scrutator."

The Madras Landholders' Association has addressed to the Secretary of State a closely-argued Memorial against the Madras Proprietary Village Service Bill. The Rája of Venkatagiri, the President of that Association, declares that Bill was pushed through the Legislative Council in a high-handed manner, in defiance of those rules of procedure that have hitherto been observed in the interests of fair-play. Neither the parties concerned nor the public, nor even the Members themselves of the Legislative Council, had been allowed to obtain the necessary information on the subject-matter of the Bill; and damaging admissions on this head are quoted from the Report of the Select Committee of the Council. It is also plainly stated—and this serious statement will have to be enquired into by the Secretary of State—that the Government of India had "hastily given its assent to the Bill, knowing that the Zemindars were opposed to it, and that their Memorial protesting against it was being forwarded." As it is generally understood that the inspiration of all the attacks on the landed interest that are now so fashionable in India comes from Simla, it is particularly unfortunate that the Government of India should give any colour to such assertions as this; but the dates that are given at page 2 of the Landowners' Memorial—unless they can be shown to be wrong—seem to prove beyond doubt that on the very day when Sir A. P. MacDonnell was putting off an interpellation on the subject in the Viceregal Council by the assertion that the Bill "was still under consideration," as a matter of fact the Viceroy's assent was actually given to the Bill!

The Memorial shows that the Madras Civil Service is itself opposed to the measure. The Resolution of the Board of Revenue, dated December 18, 1888, says—"Most of the Collectors who reported in 1874-75 on the "question were opposed to the measure."

It is also proved that a precisely similar measure—Sir Antony MacDonnell's "Patwari Bill" for Bengal—was vetoed by the Secretary of State in 1885.

The Landowners assert that the Government by this Act first robs them of their village servants, by forcibly turning the latter into servants of the State, and then adds insult to injury by taxing the landowners to provide the pay for these servants. This taxation, the "Village Service cess," they declare is a plain violation of the Permanent Settlement, and a flagrant breach of British faith that was pledged to that Settlement.

The Madras Landowners make out a strong *primâ facie* case, which will have to be dealt with by the Secretary of State, or by Parliament. Meanwhile, we have no hesitation in assuring the Madras Association that if the statements of the Memorial can be substantiated, neither the Secretary of State nor the High Court of Parliament will venture to permit the great injustice of which they complain to be carried through.

THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO.

By Ion Perdicaris.

Events in the Empire of Morocco betray a continued increase of disorder and insecurity despite the hopes encouraged by the peaceful accession of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz. Feuds have broken out between the various Kabyles. Morocco city, the southern capital of the Sultanate, has been besieged by the rebellious Rahamna tribe who endeavoured to deliver Mulai Mohammed, the young Sultan's eldest brother, from the confinement to which he had been consigned, and to place him at their head as Sultan, an attempt which would have succeeded but for the energy and generalship displayed by *Kaid* Widah, the governor of the city. As it was, all communication with the place was, for several weeks, rendered impossible nor can the Shereefian Government now maintain its authority outside the gates of Morocco or in the more southern districts. It has even yet been impossible for the wives and relatives even of the *Viziers*, who had remained behind when the late Sultan left Morocco city with his army *en route* for Robat, to rejoin the court at Fez.

The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast towns of Saffi, Mazagan and Casablanca has been the field of repeated conflicts, both between the local Kabyles, and between the members of some of these Kabyles with their own *Kaids* or governors: several of the latter have been killed and their residences destroyed. Last month four Europeans, including the British *ad interim* Consular Agent and two other officials, were attacked and robbed, whilst walking on the beach near Casablanca, by a mounted party of the Tuata Kabyles armed with Winchester repeaters. As will be remembered H. M.'s cruiser "*Amphion*" was despatched to Casablanca, but no reparation for the outrage was obtained.

On the 6th of November a German subject, Franz Neumann, was shot whilst driving to his residence just outside Casablanca. Fortunately for Europeans resident in Morocco, the German Government is less indifferent to the safety of its subjects in semi-barbarous countries than are those extremely democratic Governments whose leaders, absorbed in party contests, lack the inclination or the power to adopt energetic measures. Telegraphic instructions were at once sent from Berlin to Count Von Tattembach, the German Minister at Tangier, who, two days after, was in the saddle and off for Fez without waiting for an escort.

Possibly the *Viziers* who were then subjecting the British Minister, Mr. Satow, to the usual vexatious delays and procrastination will be startled, by the unannounced advent of the German Minister, into immediate attention to the demands of his Government, although it is reported that the indemnity and guarantees required are of such proportions that compliance with them may be absolutely beyond the power of the Shereefian Government. In this case we may yet witness an armed intervention which (if it occurs) may precipitate the general scramble that the various Powers undoubtedly desire to avoid.

What has not been realised in Europe is that this decrepit Empire may, at any moment, break up, through sheer lack of internal cohesion. Although the native officials are still tolerated in the towns over which they preside yet, throughout the rural districts, insurrection, covert or declared, seems to reign. Postal communication has suffered an almost total eclipse; trade and commerce are generally paralysed, as merchants cannot collect, either in kind or specie, the payments due; and the accounts which reach Tangier betray the universal uneasiness of the population, especially of the Jewish communities, that everywhere fear the outbreak of such outrages as those perpetrated lately at Demnat.

The readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* know, from my former articles on Morocco, that I am not habitually

an alarmist nor inclined to underrate the remarkable self-control shown by the Muslemin population at the time of Mulai-el-Hassan's decease. My experience of the friendliness of the natives in former years, when the Shereefian authority was suspended in 1873 whilst the late Sultan Mulai-el-Hassan was making good his own claim to the throne—a claim against one of his own cousins who held the city of Fez for several months,—has led me to share the official conviction at Tangier that order would finally triumph after the young Sultan's cordial welcome at Fez.

Much depended upon the tact and ability of the grand *Vizier*, Ba Hamed. But he has, unfortunately, shown more disposition to displace rival officials than to control or conciliate the more powerful native interests, whilst his attitude towards foreigners has not been nearly so cordial as that of the Moorish Court during the late reign.

Another difficulty with which the new Government has had to contend has been the want of money. Not only had the treasury been exhausted by the costly expedition to Tafilet but it is alleged that large sums were misappropriated by the Djamai and others in authority, who profited by the state of the Sultan's health when he returned in a dying condition from his unsuccessful attempt to wring unwilling contributions from his rebellious subjects. Even the money which he collected at the city of Morocco was not brought to Fez. The present Government, therefore, finds it difficult to pay the troops, although it would appear that, hard pressed as Ba Hamed may be, he manages to keep better faith with the soldiers than the late Minister of War, Mohammed el Segrir; for many who had deserted because they had received no pay are now returning to their colours. It may be assumed that the party which holds the purse will triumph in the end, and it is on this account that the poverty of the treasury at Fez is of such ominous import.

The European Powers have shown great indulgence, realizing that almost any native government, however deficient in judgment and administrative ability, is better

than no government at all. These considerations have led Spain not to press for the immediate execution of the agreement signed between Marshal Martinez Campos and the late Sultan; but it is to be feared that at Fez this indulgence has been mistaken for inability on the part of the Powers represented at Tangier to adopt any more energetic policy.

It should be remembered that Ba Hamed, unlike the late Sultan, who attempted to gather from the press some faint reflection, at least, of foreign opinion and the course of events abroad, is more than indifferent to everything of the sort. It is not strange, therefore, that a *Vizier*, utterly ignorant of any language but Arabic and who despises those who are better informed, should have derived no other impression than that tolerance has been due to fear.

The Moor is, indeed, according to his knowledge and weapons, a doughty fellow, willing to take very hard knocks upon condition of being able to return them in kind. Indeed, were the natives well armed and well led, it would be difficult to muster a more effective force, especially for a guerilla campaign. Persistence, however, under disadvantageous circumstances is a quality which they lack,—one to which even civilized society most tardily attains. In the contest with the Spaniards in 1559 and 1860, the Moors showed that though capable of many a gallant exploit they could not be depended upon for staying power. How, indeed, could they, without any commissariat or organised staff, to say nothing of medical resources, of which they were as innocent as the tribes of Central Africa? It is not, therefore, unlikely that this military spirit may cause Ba Hamed to refuse to comply with the stern conditions Germany would impose, or even should the *Vizier* desire to do so he may lack the power. Hitherto the attitude of the German Government towards Morocco has been especially benevolent, owing possibly to the very obvious consideration that, in case of a European conflict, a Moorish alliance which should allow even the menace of a

Moorish attack upon the Algerian frontier might, at a critical juncture, detain a considerable French force that could otherwise be employed nearer the Rhine.

It is to similar considerations that the tolerance or affected amity of other Powers has been due, notwithstanding the arrogance or duplicity with which the various foreign representatives have been treated at Fez where, until the advent of a former French Minister, M. Jules Patenôtre, now Ambassador at Washington, the humiliating etiquette of the Shereefian reception compelled the Minister of the greatest of the Powers to stand bareheaded, on foot, exposed to the rays of an African sun, whilst the Sultan, mounted upon his horse and protected by the Shereefian umbrella held over him by attendant slaves, condescended to accept the compliments and presents of the Envoy.

Prompted, possibly, by a desire to avoid the pomp and pride displayed when Sir Charles Euan Smith visited the Shereefian Court, Mr. Satow, somewhat to the surprise of the natives, made his own official entrance at Fez *en civile* instead of donning his Court dress; and, when he was subsequently accorded an audience by the sickly boy of thirteen, the merest *simulacrum* of a Sultan, Mr. Satow not only reverted to the bareheaded attitude while addressing the Sultan who was mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, but he treated the *Viziers* with similar deference.

It is doubtful whether it is wise to send a mission to Fez, after the rebuffs to which Mr. Satow's predecessors have been exposed, until the Foreign Office was in a position to support its demands, if need be, by force; and, although the conciliatory disposition of the present incumbent at the Tangier Legation has succeeded in disarming the distrust of his colleagues, yet it must be remembered that at Fez Mr. Satow is treating with men who are not likely to yield to arguments supported merely by soft phrases and costly presents. The policy of making gifts to the Shereefian Court not only has the drawback of having already been tried on a considerable scale with conspicuous absence of

success, for already Her Majesty's Government have made many expensive presents, including poor Stoke, the elephant sent from India when the late Sir William Kirby Green was accredited to the Sultan; but this practice has the grave disadvantage of being mistaken by the ignorant natives for the payment of the tribute so long resorted to by several of the Powers when the Salee Rovers were the terror of the sea and the Sultan was supposed to be so invincible that it was cheaper to purchase his good will than to punish by arms the depredations committed under his flag and by his orders. Fortunately, to-day, the European Powers are no longer reduced to ransom the subjects—once wont to be sold as slaves upon the mart at Fez and Morocco; and it is well that even the most ignorant of the Sultan's followers should realize how different are the relative positions of Morocco with such a Power as Great Britain.

The Moors, owing to the failure of the former English Mission, have been only too disposed of late to doubt the ability of all foreign Governments to redress the wrongs to which their subjects may be exposed at a moment when the local authority is often itself unable to maintain order. This fact constitutes the chief difficulty of the present situation not only for England, but also for the other Powers. To use force might imperil the native Government, whilst not to use it may render the foreigner's position in Morocco untenable. Could the Powers cordially unite in an effort to maintain order, in the coast towns there would be little to fear; for even the natives, especially those possessing either land or other property, would welcome such an intervention with relief. Since, however, all of us, both native and foreign, know that it is vain to hope for such a solution, and that if one Power landed troops or constabulary, every other Power would hasten to seize upon some port or district to be retained as its own exclusive possession, the fear is that at any moment a general *débâcle* may ensue.

In such a case the only Power in a position to act effectively is France. The Republic, with her contiguous Algerian Frontier and the many centres of influence already established on the Morocco side of the frontier, could influence the course of events in this country as no other Power can; and were it not that the seizure of Tangier would almost certainly provoke a European conflict, France would, possibly long ago, have found some easily provoked occasion for intervention.

As it is, the attention of the French officials to even minor details connected with local administration is worthy of commendation. No opportunity is neglected by which public opinion may be influenced. Honours and pensions are bestowed upon the members of distinguished native families and the heads of religious orders. One of the latest incidents is that the rank of a Lieutenant of cavalry in the Tunisian Beglick has been conferred upon Mulai Ali-el-Wazani, whose mother, as readers may remember, is an Englishwoman: yet England has done nothing either for her or her children: the two young Shereefs have been educated at Oran and Algiers at the expense of the French Government. Whatever disposition these youths may have entertained in favour of their mother's native land must naturally be weakened by the contrast between our neglect and the recognition and favours bestowed upon them by the Government of the Republic which is thus enlisting natives of influence and position, at various points throughout Morocco, wherever the religious fraternity of the Mulai Taieb is established. Curiously enough, the more these recruits are favoured by the French, the greater is the manifest *prestige* which these recipients of French honours enjoy at the Shereefian Court and throughout the country generally! This fact is rendered obvious by the special attention shown to the young Wazani Shereefs who have just returned from Fez, where they have been entertained, for the last month or two, as guests of the Government.

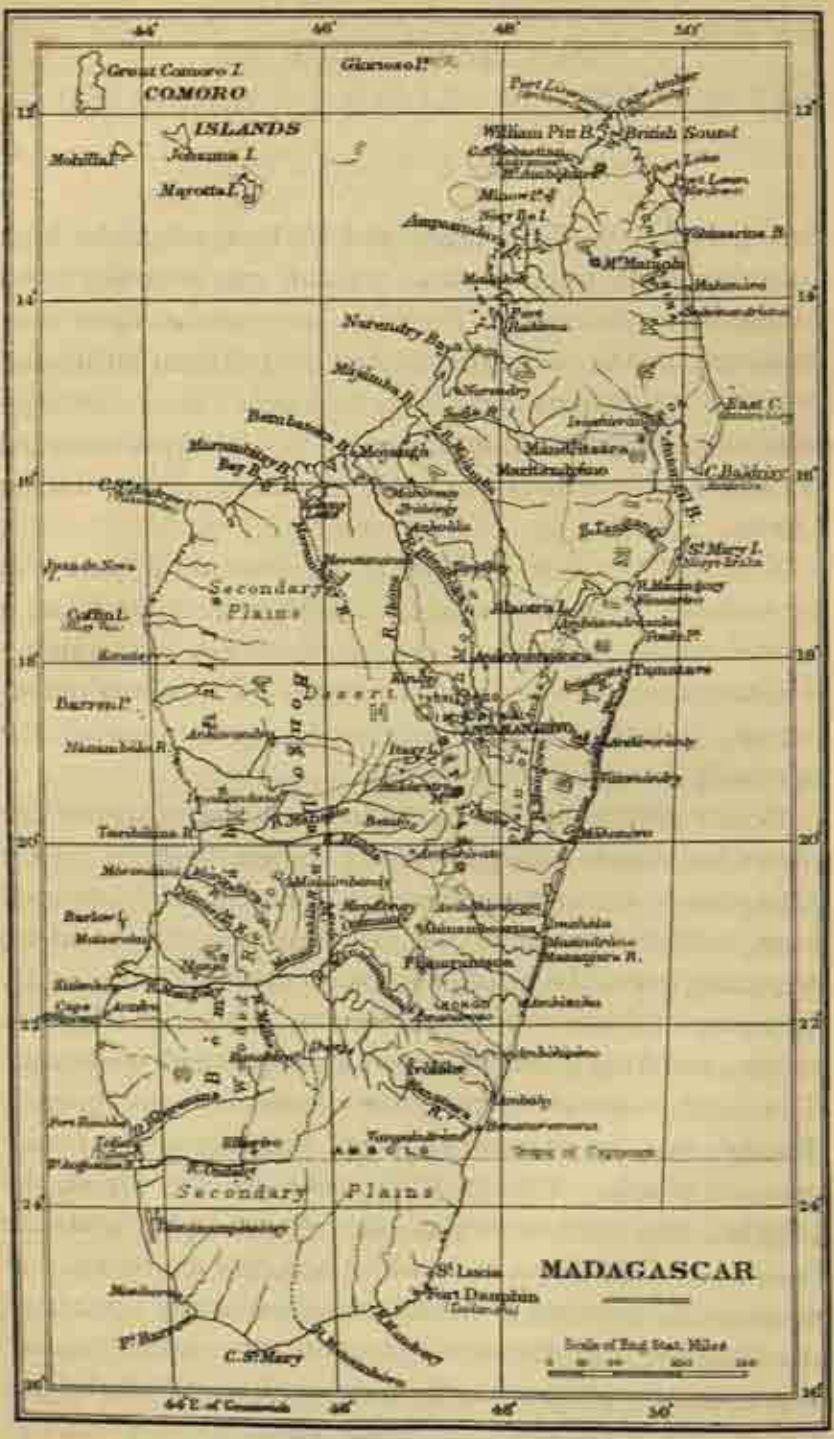
THE HOVA VIEW OF FRENCH TREATY CLAIMS ON MADAGASCAR.

By Captain S. Pasfield Oliver.

Since the days of Richelieu and Colbert, when the high sounding name of *La France Orientale* was bestowed upon Madagascar, successive French Governments have ever hankered for the possession of the Great African Island and repeated expeditions have been despatched for its subjugation. Nothing but disappointment has, hitherto, attended on these vain efforts to found a colony in the Indian Ocean.

Twelve years ago M. Ferry's Government, in their zeal for Colonial expansion, sought a decent pretext for fixing a quarrel on the Hovas, and an excuse was not long wanting for prosecuting these ambitious designs. The agents provocateurs, in other words the Consuls, soon furnished the necessary ground for intervention.

Before proceeding to relate some of the causes of the somewhat prosaic though unequal contest between a great European power and a native race, then but lately emerged from barbarism, it may be necessary to say something respecting one of the two belligerents—namely the Malagasy. The people of the numerous Malagasy tribes are naturally robust, and from youth hardened to fatigue and endurance. The characteristics of the tribes however, vary greatly. Though they speak one language, they are not a homogeneous people. The great divisions are the Hova, the Betsileo, the Betsimisaraka, the Antsihanaka, and the Sakalava. The Hova race, which occupies the central and metropolitan province of Imerina, numbers nearly 1,000,000; the Betsileo and Betsimisaraka, on the eastern coast, approximately 3,000,000; the various tribes of the Sakalava, who inhabit the western side of the island from the north to the south, probably exceed 1,300,000; and the Antsihanaka,


Great Comoro I.
COMORO
ISLANDS
Johanna I.
Mayotta I.
Mohilla I.
Glorioso I.
William Pitt B.
British Sound
Port Leven
Nossy Be I.
Nossy Cumba I.
Antongil B.
Narrendry Bay
Narrendry
Bembatooka B.
Mozangaia
Mahanoro
East C.
C. Bastian
St Mary I.
Secondary Plains
Barren I.
Desert
Tamatave
Tanchilogue R.
Mananchir R.
Mananjare R.
Secondary Plains
St Lucia
Port Dauphin
MADAGASCAR
Scale of Eng Stat. Miles
C. St Mary
44° E. of Greenwich
45°
46°
47°

a small but distinct tribe, are situated towards the north-east of the Hovas, and number 300,000. Thus the entire population of the island may be estimated at not less than 5,500,000. At the head of the Malagasy tribes stand the Hova, who are the most advanced in civilization. They now dominate the whole of Madagascar. For centuries they were but a small tribe confined to the small central province of Imerina, which measures about eighty miles long from north to south and about sixty from east to west. Their language may be considered the standard of Malagasy; it is the most copious and the least nasal. It is not more than seventy years since it was first reduced to writing by missionaries. Past Malagasy history depends upon tradition, and is altogether unreliable. The literature consists of a collection of numberless proverbs and a few legendary songs or poems. The Hovas, unlike the Betsileo, who average nearly six feet, are below middle stature. Their complexion is light olive, frequently fairer than that found in Spaniards, Italians, or Turks. They have soft, straight or curling, hair, dark hazel eyes, a well-proportioned and erect carriage, and are distinguished by great activity and courage. Their neighbours, the Betsileo, on the other hand, have a broad, low forehead, flattish nose and thick lips, and hair that is woolly. They have none of the distinguishing Malay characteristics presented by the Hovas. The Hovas are self-reliant and intellectual, and are possessed of a special faculty for organisation and administration. The Sakalavas are nomadic tribes that live by plunder. They are sly, perfidious, brutal, arrogant, and live perpetually in mutual fear of one another; even nearest relations are suspicious of each other; and no European is safe amongst them. Their country stretches along the whole western littoral of the island and is almost uncultivated. Even those tribes which have been under the influence of the French flag at Nosi-bé have not made a tithe of the advance in sixty years that the rest of the tribes of the island have made during five and twenty years under the central native Hova Govern-

ment. For some years the Malagasy Government has been pushing forward educational measures and laws tending to the modification of the semi-barbarous state of the island. Schools, churches, libraries, and hospitals are to be found throughout the metropolitan province, and are well supported by the upper classes of the Hovas.

Their short national history—commencing, so to speak, with Radama I. (who was the first to consolidate the Hova sovereignty and found the present dynasty) excepting in the terrible reign of Ranavalona I., presents a record of reform, progress, and improvement. A Christian in secret for some time before her accession, Ranavalona II., the immediate predecessor of the present sovereign, no sooner ascended the throne than, by her minister, she issued commands for the public burning of her "ancestral idols." The better educated classes long disgusted with the rapacity and imposture of the idol-keepers, who had spread desolation over Madagascar in the previous reigns, were quick to follow the example of her Majesty and likewise destroy their local, provincial and national idols. Christianity thus inaugurated under royal auspices bore immediate and wonderful fruits. The schools and the churches, which at the commencement of her reign numbered 25 and 120, exceeded, at the close, 1,100 and 1,200 respectively. The work of governing the country, which had hitherto been performed by the Prime Minister, was divided into eight departments, presided over by a corresponding number of ministers, namely—Home, Foreign, War, Justice, Law, Commerce, and Agriculture, Finance, and Education, with a staff of secretaries and clerks.

Justice had been formerly bought and sold to such an extent that it had almost ceased to exist. But in 1878, thanks to the present Prime Minister, Rainilaiarivony, a sweeping reform was made in its administration by the formation of additional courts. In 1879 the army was reorganised. A much-wanted rural police was established, and taxes were equitably levied. New and trusted

governors were appointed to distant provinces to take the place of old and untrustworthy ones. Lastly, a code of laws, comprising three hundred and five statutes, was promulgated, and all the Mozambique slaves in the island were emancipated. Eleven years ago, Ranavalona II. died and Ranavalona III., the present Queen, succeeded to the throne of Madagascar. The experienced minister and enlightened reformer of the preceding Queen still remained Prime Minister to preside at the council of the sovereign, and became the consort of her Majesty. His hair is turning grey, but the fire of his eyes and their depth of intelligence are not dimmed by the approach of old age. He is known by the sobriquet of "Deal Fair" a name given by the foreign merchants. From the day of his entrance into the palace as secretary in 1842 to the present time, the life of Rainilaiarivony and the political history of Madagascar are identical. He has achieved a great position, and has won his laurels, step by step, by merit and not by favour.

It is the law of the land that the queen should marry the Prime Minister. The political *raison d'être* of this arrangement is obvious. The Queen belonging to the class of nobles (*Andriana*) and the Prime Minister to the *Mainty* (or people), the union of the two preserves a sort of balance of power and strengthens national confidence. Succession to the throne is hereditary, but if the eldest son does not show promise of being an eligible successor, either through infirmity of mind or body, or through want of popularity, or through treason, he is superseded. The sovereign nominates his successor. Sometimes the sovereign has not only nominated his immediate successor, but has even extended his nomination to three or four generations. Should such successions by varying circumstances not take place, the nomination to the sovereignty then rests with the nobles. With the exception of the brief reign of Radama II., the crown has been worn by queens since Radama I., in 1828, a period of sixty-six years. Until 1863, when a change in

the constitution occurred, the word of the sovereign was law. The monarch was lord of the soil, owner of all property, and master of all subjects. Upon the death of Radama II. the then Prime Minister, Ravoninahitraniony, announced that in future the word of the sovereign alone was not to be law, but that the nobles and heads of the people were to unite in making laws.

Her Majesty Ranavalona III. is the youngest daughter of the sister of the late Queen, and is thirty-three years of age. She was nominated by her aunt, the late sovereign, as her successor in July 1883. She was educated in the London Missionary Society's Girls' School. Although no longer youthful, her Majesty strikes all observers with the dignity and grace wherewith she performs the duties of a queen. Her life is full of anxious responsibility, for everything regarding the government of the country and the welfare of her people is referred to her. To gentleness of manner may be added firmness of character, enthusiastic patriotism and fiery indignation at French aggression. Her palaces are furnished in European style. When she appears to the public it is in European costume. The Queen seldom, if ever, acts in matters of national importance without first ascertaining the national will. This is done by publishing a royal edict for a great Kabary, which is always held on Mahamasina—the Champ de Mars—a magnificent level parade ground, at the foot of the mountain on which the capital, Antananarivo, is built.

French politicians and journalists call the Hovas barbarians; but when a native race, within a period of less than half a century, emerges from the darkness of obscurity and idolatry, adopts Christianity, and comes within the pale of modern civilization, it cannot justly be called barbarous.

Let us now say a few words about the last Franco-Malagasy war itself and the principal causes of quarrel that led to it.

This former war was mainly "got up" by the agitators of Réunion and their friends the deputies of the so-called

"Colonial party" in France, who induced the French Government to enforce the vaunted "historic rights" of France in Madagascar. The history of these "rights" is as follows. In 1840, the rebel Sakalavas, finding it impossible to resist the Hova force of arms, determined to fly for protection to some foreign power. They sought the assistance of the Governor of Réunion, and to him they conceded all the territory belonging to them. The Governor accepted the concession and referred matters to his Government. To further the ends of this acceptance several conventions were entered into, in 1840-41 and 1842, with Sakalava chiefs, by which several islands and provinces were ceded to France. The Government of Louis Philippe confirmed the acceptance of these concessions by the Governor, but would not set foot on the mainland of Madagascar, and contented themselves with declaring the islands only to be the French possessions. The French Government themselves put no real faith in the value of these cessions of territory by the Sakalavas (who were rebels) and always acted as if they had no belief in a protectorate. If there were a real protectorate, how is it, it may be asked, that this particular portion of territory (illegally) ceded by the Sakalavas, was on November 9, 1861, and again on September 12, 1862, included in a Concession Charter, permitted to be granted by the sovereign of Madagascar to a French company, and afterwards fully recognised and authenticated by the French Government?

These French claims, which formed the principal points of contention in the Franco-Malagasy quarrel, were mere after-thoughts used for the occasion. Another happy afterthought, used as one of the pretexts for the late war, was the French assertion that the Treaty of 1868 gave Frenchmen in Madagascar a right to *purchase* land. The Malagasy Government denied this. The main objection of the Malagasy Government to the previous Treaty of 1863 was the stipulation respecting the *purchase* of land by Frenchmen. In framing a new treaty in 1868, would they, the

Malagasy Government, be likely to allow the obnoxious clauses to be reinserted? The Malagasy negotiators clearly defined their meaning to be, that it did not authorise the *sale* of land. Perhaps it is not remarkable that the French Government should place wilful misinterpretations upon the meanings of treaties made with natives, but that they should be totally unaware when making treaties in 1862 and 1868 that there was already, according to French claims, a protectorate over the north-west of the island, is inconceivable. The right interpretation of this is, not that the French Government did not know, but that they did not believe in their protectorate acquired in 1841.

There is little doubt that, when the French first bombarded Mojanga on the west coast and Tamatave on the east, they firmly believed that the Hovas would give in at once, and that they would be in a position to dictate what terms they pleased. This is quite true, and might have so resulted, but for the inaction of the French in not following up the moral effect of their bombardments and the advantages they had gained. The early bombardments were confined to shelling a few huts, wherever visible, along the coast of Pasindava Bay. On the 15th of May, 1883, Mojanga was summoned to surrender. Fire was opened on the forts and the Hova portion of the town was destroyed, and a French garrison occupied Mojanga after the Governor with his handful of men had retired inland. It is stated that the Hovas had only thirty guns, and that these were unserviceable. On the 24th of May tidings of these hostilities reached Antananarivo, causing dismay among the European residents, and rousing the indignation of the Malagasy.

Had it not been for the Queen and the Prime Minister there would have been an awful scene of bloodshed. On May 31st, Admiral Pierre made his appearance at Tamatave, and the French Consul, M. Baudais, went on board his ship. The Admiral and Consul then drew up an ultimatum, which contained the following demands:—

1. The French were to have guaranteed to them the possession of all the island north of the 16th parallel. 2. An indemnity of 200,000 dollars (£40,000) for the claims of French citizens. 3. A revision of the treaty, and a voice in all matters affecting the policy of the Hova Government. The answer to the ultimatum from the acting Minister for Foreign Affairs arrived on the 5th June, stating that the Government of the Queen of Madagascar declined further negotiation so long as the French refused to recognise the Queen as Sovereign of Madagascar.

On June 10th, 1883, fire was opened on the defences of Tamatave by the six vessels under the command of Admiral Pierre. The Hova garrison of 509 men retired, immediately the bombardment commenced, to their entrenched camp at Manjakandrianombana, within sight of where the French vessels were anchored. The Hovas set fire to the four quarters of the town of Tamatave before leaving it, but a heavy rain was falling at the time, so not much damage was done. The French disembarked their troops, took possession of the fort and town of Tamatave, but never got any further, in that direction, inland. The Hova lines were never penetrated by the marine infantry, but were held successfully against the enemy until the French were tired of attacking them any longer.

The hostile operations (for they can hardly be dignified by the name of a war) carried on by the naval division under three successive admirals, commanding the French ships in the Indian Ocean, lasted, as we all know, from May 1883 to December 1885—over two years and a half—when a treaty of peace was, after much difficulty, agreed upon.

The story of that last unhappy expedition under the three Admirals, Pierre, Galiber and Miot, has often been told; so it need not here be recapitulated, although the full details have never been published by the Government of the Republic for obvious reasons; and, indeed, it is a fact that the statistics of the mortality and sickness, which more

than decimated the unfortunate marine infantry, sailors and weaker creole volunteers from Réunion, have been studiously suppressed by the various ministers of marine who have since ruled in that particular department of the state.

From the Hova point of view, this last war is still regarded as having been commenced in injustice, conducted with half-heartedness and terminated by a miserable treaty which has, ever since, been most ungenerously evaded by their hereditary foe.

Nine years have elapsed since peace was made—a peace which was throughout regarded only as a truce—a temporary cessation of fighting—and now that the situation, always unsatisfactory has become unbearable between the two nations, it may be convenient to take a retrospective view of the Franco-Hova dispute, judging its aspect however, *from the Hova side of the question.*

The treaty which put an end to the war, was signed on board the "Naiade" by the French Plenipotentiaries, Admiral Paul Emile Miot, M. Salvator Patrimonio, and, on the part of the Malagasy, by General Digby Willoughby, on the 17th December 1885; and in this document the term "Protectorate" so obnoxious to Hova ears had been scrupulously suppressed, whilst a special clause formally recognised the sovereignty of the Queen Ranavalona III. over the whole island of Madagascar. For the *first* time, indeed, France abandoned her claims to the separate protectorates of the semi-independent tribes on the west coast, with whom her officers had contracted former treaties.* The very first clause has been open to misconstruction from the beginning, for it is on this clause that

* M. Hanotaux, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his speech of 13 November, 1894, says:

"Pour *la première fois*, il étendait son action sur l'île tout entière, tandis que nous abandonnions volontairement—peut-être à tort—les protectorats directs plus ou moins effectivement exercés par nous sur des tribus indépendantes de la côte. C'est en vertu de cette concession que le gouvernement hova a pu entreprendre sur la côte ouest des expéditions à la suite desquelles il s'est assuré, dans cette région, une autorité qui, auparavant, ne lui avait jamais été reconnue."

the French have, *latterly*, founded their claim to a really effective protectorate, which, however, they did not seek to affirm, or exercise, until it was formally recognised by Great Britain in the so-called "Salisbury declaration" of August 5th, 1890.

The Treaty was drawn up in French and Malagasy, and Art. 18 stipulates that "*the two versions having exactly the same sense*," the French text shall be official and shall be valid in all respects, as well as the Malagasy text. But, unfortunately, as the Jesuit Father Caussèque remarks, the two texts do *not* exactly coincide, and certain Malagasy expressions differ sensibly in their true meaning, from the French words and their import.* Thus, as before observed,

* During the negotiations at Tamatave M. de Freycinet telegraphed from Paris: "Le mot *protectorat* ayant fait échouer la précédente négociation, vous pouvez, s'il le faut, supprimer cet article lui même, que les articles suivants rendent inutile." The original clause rejected by the Malagasy, on account of the obnoxious expression, had run thus:

"*Ny Protectorat ny Frantsa eken ny Government Malagasy amy ny*
Le Protectorat de la France est accepté par le Gouvernements Malgache
sur toute.
Nosy Madagascar manontolo, izany hoe: Frantsa no hitarika ny
L'île de Madagascar, c'est à dire que la France présidera aux
firaharahan ny Fanjakana Vahiny amy ny Government Malagasy
relations de toutes les Puissances Etrangères avec le Gouvernement
Malgache
izay tsy hahazo hirahara amin ireny Fanjakana ireny
qui ne pourra communiquer avec les dites Puissance que
afa-tsy amy ny alalany Frantsa.
par l'intermédiaire de la France."

The new version ultimately accepted, with the hateful phrase eradicated, now stands as follows:

"*Ny Government ny Repoblika hitandrina ny firaharahana rehetra*
The Government of the Republic will have oversight of all business
transacted
ataony Madagascar amy ny Fanjakana any ivelany. Ny Malagasy
by Madagascar with the kingdoms outside. The Malagasy
izay any amy ny tanim-bahiny dia hipetraka amy ny fiarovany France.
who are abroad will be placed under the guardianship of France."

The official French version reads:

"Le Gouvernement de la République représentera Madagascar dans ses relations extérieures. Les Malgaches à l'étranger seront placés sous la protection de la France."

the word "Protectorate" is not in the treaty; and the Hova authorities will not admit that they are obliged to communicate with foreign states only through the intermediation of a French Resident-General. They only recognise that France has been granted a privileged situation in the island, and that is all. As can be well imagined, two different interpretations, the one strictly literal and another very loose in its rendering can give rise to a very wide margin of variation, and it was apparent, from the very date of signature, that great causes for doubt must arise.

It was in consequence of this obvious difficulty that the Hova Prime Minister was obstinately determined to renew the war and to refuse the royal signature to the ratification of the treaty, unless full explanation on the doubtful points was afforded by the French plenipotentiaries; and General Willoughby was accordingly instructed to demand certain explanatory clauses to be added to the treaty in the shape of answers to a series of categorical questions. It was only when these replies to the Hova interrogatories proved satisfactory that General Willoughby was authorized to affix to the ratification the signatures of Ranavalona III. and her Minister Rainilaiarivony. These explanations were furnished in a document which was not even then considered fully explicit until a final postscript had been added, in which, as it has turned out, the very pith of the French claims was extracted.

This additional Appendix, having been formally attached to the treaty (bearing the signatures of M. Patrimonio and Admiral Miot, dating 9th January, 1886, and officially addressed to the Hova Plenipotentiary by the French Plenipotentiaries), the whole treaty was duly ratified on the following day, January 10th, 1886. The Hova Ministry regarded, as they surely had a right to do, this all-important declaration as forming an integral portion of the said treaty; yet hardly had it been signed when M. Patrimonio despatched a telegram, which left Zanzibar on the 15th

January :—"The treaty has been ratified by the Malagasy Government as sent to you. There have been some attempts at modifications which we have evaded. We have only agreed to furnish, by correspondence, some explanations of certain clauses. . . ."

On the day following the receipt of this telegram the then French Premier, M. de Freycinet, stated to the two Chambers that his Government would organize the "*Protectorate*" over Madagascar upon bases of an extremely simple character.

On February 17th M. de Freycinet was asked in the Chamber of Deputies by M. de Vaulcomte whether the Hovas admitted that there was a French *Protectorate*, to which he answered, "Certainly." The ratification was voted unanimously and the text of the treaty was published in the *Journal Officiel* of the 7th March, but all mention of the appendix was suppressed by the Government; and, indeed, no allusion to it was permitted to appear until July 15, when M. Jules Delafosse rightly declared it to form "la négation du protectorat." The astute Rainilaiarivony and his followers were soon fully aware of the intention of the French Government to thus ignore and evade the true interpretation of the treaty clauses; they would have loyally accepted the terms as expressed in the Malagasy text, in which the erasure of the obnoxious term "Protectorate" had been so strongly insisted on, and yet even they were surprised that neither M. Patrimonio nor Admiral Miot would admit the validity of the instrument to which they had signed their affirmation which bore their signatures.

Oriental duplicity the Malagasy, themselves Orientals, fully comprehended, but even they were not prepared for such an immediately open and unblushing disavowal of a sacred bond by a European diplomatist. Still more were they disgusted at the sight of a French admiral, after making terms with his enemies who had not succumbed to the force of arms, not upholding, even to his own personal

detriment, the strict fulfilment of the treaty and its accompanying postscript which he had pledged his word and honour as representative of France to carry out.

Hardly had the French Senate ratified the treaty, *minus* the celebrated postscript when the flagrant evasion of the true interpretation was directly signalled to Madagascar, whose Queen, at the instigation of her minister, took the earliest possible opportunity of indicating her defiance in return. The chiefs and elders of the people were assembled to hear the words of Ranavalona III., which were to the following effect:—"When the late war with France came on, you knew of the guns and cannon which were ordered, as I informed you, for I ordered the Prime Minister to do the matter secretly, and they came. And you, my people, saw them, for you fetched them up. More were ordered, and I now let you know that they have come. There are cannon, Gardner guns, shells and a great many rifles landed at Farafangana. There only now remains to get them up to Antananarivo." This speech, so defiantly significant, was enthusiastically applauded. In fact the treaty of peace was so distasteful to the patriotic Hovas, that the actual terms of the clauses could not be disclosed to the people. When the full significance of the clauses was explained to the chiefs, they were satisfied that, according to the strict interpretation of the Hova text, Rainilaiarivony had succeeded in preventing the French from imposing a Protectorate, and that should France attempt to violate the engagements made by Admiral Miot and his colleague, the Queen would call upon her subjects to defend her sovereign power over the island at all costs. For this purpose orders were given for fresh supplies of European arms and ammunition, but at the same time Rainilaiarivony determined, if possible, to give the French no pretext for resuming the hostilities, which had already cost France 26 millions of francs, and numbers of wasted lives.

At this time, it should be remembered, Rainilaiarivony

was not an autocratic despot, although he held the reins of government firmly in his grasp. The sturdy manner in which he had repelled the unjust attack of the foreigner upon Hova independence had increased the confidence in his rule, and he had a strong set of men about him as ministers among whom one especially, Ravoninahitriniarivo (who had created such a favourable impression among all Europeans, when the Malagasy Embassy visited Europe and America in 1882-83), was well qualified to conduct business with the Consuls and French Resident.

M. Le Myre de Vilers took up his duty as the first Resident General in April, 1886, and made his official entry into the Capital on the 10th May. An enormous crowd of the populace assembled to witness his arrival, but an ominous silence reigned throughout the city. The ceremony more nearly resembled a funeral than a triumph. No lodging had been prepared to receive the French officials, and their baggage was delayed three months on its way from the coast; whilst at his cold reception by the Prime Minister, not a single word was said about the Protectorate, which the French official dared not claim or even mention.

From the very first moment the much-vaunted French "Protectorat politique" fell to the ground "frappé d'une impuissance initiale et peut-être perpétuelle."

The first object in the Prime Minister's mind was to get rid of the French troops at Tamatave and Mojanga, by payment of the indemnity of ten millions of francs, and after much trouble Rainilaiarivony succeeded in effecting a loan of fifteen millions with the Comptoir d'escompte, of Paris, at six per cent., repayable in twenty-five years. For this purpose he undertook to hand over to the agents of the Paris Comptoir every six months a sum of 582,982 fr. 50 c., towards the payment of which he contributed the customs dues of six ports,—viz., Vohimaro, Fenoarivo, Tamatave, Vatomandry, Mananjara and Mojanga. Nevertheless, as it eventually proved, the totals of these customs

seldom reach anything like the amount required, and Rainilaiarivony has had to find by various expedients between 350,000 and 400,000 frs. every year to make up the difference. Had the present rupture of diplomatic relations not occurred the whole loan would probably have been paid off by the year 1911. The necessary taxation of the people to meet the expenses of the indemnity did not tend to raise the French officials in the estimation of the Hovas, who are by nature of a very thrifty, saving disposition. The indemnity was duly paid before the end of the year 1886, and Tamatave was finally evacuated by the French marines who had been in possession since June, 1883.

Another subject of difficulty quickly arose between the new Resident-General and the Hova Government relative to the delimitation of the ground held by the French around the bay of Diego Suarez. MM. Miot and Patrimonio had agreed to limiting the French boundary to within 1½ miles of the deepest inlet. M. Le Myre de Vilers boldly declared that his Government had in no way sanctioned this arrangement, which had been defined in the appendix of January, 1886; he coolly demanded a boundary of 24 kilomètres, which would include the Hova fortress of Antomboka, and although the Malagasy Premier consented to send a delegate to examine the ground no agreement was arrived at. Meantime, after eight years of occupation, M. Froger, the present Governor of the French "colony" of Diego Suarez, has included all the country to a distance of 36 kilomètres to the southward, although he has, of course, been unable to take possession of the Hova stronghold in Antankara. This has again been looked upon by the Hovas as a flagrant violation of the terms of the treaty, for the French representative openly declared that his Government had no official knowledge of the Miot-Patrimonio letter.

M. Le Myre de Vilers next proceeded to induce the Hovas to construct a telegraph line from the capital to the coast, for which purpose the native Government handed over a sum of 100,000 frs. to the contractors, MM. Déchamp and

Courtadon, who put up a line from Tamatave to Antananarivo, a distance of 300 kilomètres, which was in working order by the 19th September, 1887.

Meantime, following the new state of affairs created by the war and the treaty came the usual host of adventurers eager to obtain concessions, ready to promise almost any terms, but sadly wanting sufficient cash capital even to pay preliminary working expenses. The most important concession—the only one, in fact,—which has been carried out on a large scale, was one granting the right of mining and exploiting the auriferous deposits in the district of Mevatanana, above the confluence of the rivers Ikopa and Betsiboka. Here, M. Suberbie, the concessionnaire, has established his works, which have been carried out by means of *forced*, or, in other words, *slave* labour. M. Suberbie, who formerly had been one of the leading members of the famous Lambert company and who had been brought up in the school of Laborde, made his arrangement with the Prime Minister dependent on the latter furnishing Government unpaid labourers, under the existing ancient and hereditary system of "*fanompoana*," a kind of *corvée* or government service. This feudal service, which embraces all classes of people, including even the slaves, operates most severely on the lower classes, who have to do all kinds of heavy work, such as making roads, building houses, cutting timber, digging minerals, etc., without the slightest remuneration.

Of late years the practical working of this system had been much ameliorated. A sense of justice and right had arisen among the classes in regard to the exercise of arbitrary authority on those beneath them, whilst the people themselves began to resent the too harsh application of this law. Now, however, in the gold diggings, established by French masters, the people witnessed with indignation the civilised Europeans brought by M. Suberbie into their country urging the Prime Minister to supply them with numbers of unpaid labourers, from far and wide, to work

in the gold fields. Detachments of Sakalava, Antankarana, Antsihanaka and even Hovas were mustered there to work like slaves, at veritable slave labour; and the natural result was that troops of them deserted, and excited by the prospect of selling gold to the numerous traders at the ports on the west coast, became organised in bands of gold robbers. These bandits, "fahavalos," have now increased on all sides throughout the gold region, and several French travellers have fallen victims to their attacks. Nevertheless, the Hovas consider that this brigandage is in a great measure owing to the unjust and excessive hard labour imposed on the tribes about the banks of the Ikopa and Betsiboka rivers for the profit of French merchants. One of the great complaints brought by the French against the Hova Government is this charge of brigandage, against which the various Hova Governors in the outlying districts are well nigh powerless to act, well knowing that it is through the acts of the foreigners themselves in attracting together from all parts numberless waifs and strays, outcasts and vagabonds to labour in their diggings, who on finding out the unremunerative character of their task, soon abandon hard unpaid work for easier and more congenial employment in gathering gold for themselves and robbing the foreigner.

Moreover the French have been inconsistent in their dealings with the Sakalava tribes, who furnish most of these so-called "fahavalos.' Thus by the treaty of 1885 the Hova Government was recognised as supreme over the semi-independent Sakalavas of the west coast, yet in spite of the protestations of the Prime Minister, the French have not hesitated to protect Tsialana, the chief of the Antankarana Sakalavas, and to accept from him the cession of the islands Nosy Faly and Nosy Mitsiou. When the Hova troops attempt to follow up the "fahavalos," these last readily escape to the coast where they can cross to the islands under French protection. The most serious question of all, however, which the Resident had to cope with, after a brief interval, was that of the foreign relations of

the Hova Government. This was brought to a critical issue by the arrival of Mr. Campbell, consul for America, closely followed by that of Mr. Haggard, consul for England. Curiously enough M. Le Myre de Vilers had received no definite instructions from his Government with regard to the issue of "exequaturs" to these officials, and none of the foreign Governments had, hitherto, thought of accepting these "exequaturs" at the hands of the French Resident. Nevertheless Mr. Haggard came out in 1887 with instructions to apply through the Resident for his "exequatur," a course which Mr. Campbell informed him was objected to by the Prime Minister. Under the circumstances the newly arrived British Consul was in a dilemma, he was unwilling to prejudice British relations either with the French or the Hovas, and yet his instructions from the Foreign Office were precise. Accordingly he sent off his application from Tamatave by carrier, but the carrier was discreet, and the application never reached the French Residency at Antananarivo. Meantime the American Consul, who had already made his application to Rainilaiarivony through the intervention of M. de Vilers, found that Rainilaiarivony would not acknowledge any application so forwarded.

This brought matters to a crisis. According to the Hova view the Government of Madagascar were willing to abide loyally by the terms of the treaty and its appendix; but they had not admitted either the Protectorate of France or the intervention of the Resident in the matter of "exequaturs." M. de Vilers threatened in vain, and as a last resource, hauling down his flag, on the 19th September, 1887, marched with his escort out of Antananarivo. Halting, however, at a short distance outside the town, he demanded a final interview with the Malagasy Premier, when a compromise was arrived at. It was settled that in issuing the "exequaturs" to foreign consuls, these documents should be endorsed with a note stating that:—"whenever the Consular transactions have the character of *Foreign Politics*,

then the Representative of France has to be consulted and will preside at the deliberations."* M. de Vilers re-entered the capital with his marines and the Hovas congratulated themselves on having scored a diplomatic victory. Well did Rainilaiarivony know, however, that it was only putting off the evil day, but delay was everything, and more war material was ordered from abroad.

The British Consul, who had by this time received fresh instructions from the Foreign Office (his first application having miscarried en route) was able to request his "exequatur" formally, from the Prime Minister direct, endorsed as above. Soon after this incident M. de Vilers proceeded on leave of absence to Europe, leaving M. Larrouy, his able assistant, in charge of the Residency for some months, and did not return until November, 1888. He brought back with him two guests who exercised an important and fatal influence on the future of Madagascar. One of these was Colonel H. E. Colvile, C.B., of the Guards, whose wife unfortunately for the Hovas, was a French lady and a Roman Catholic. This officer (probably on the strength of a very misleading report published by the Intelligence Branch of the War Office,—in which it was stated that France had "obtained a political *Protectorate*" and that "the organisation of the Protectorate" had been proclaimed, etc.)† started by assuming that the Hovas admitted the validity of the effective French Protectorate. He and Mrs. Colvile accompanied the French Resident from Zanzibar to Nosibé, to Diego-Suarez (where Mrs. Colvile describes half of the French garrison of disciplinary troops at Antiserane as occupied in guarding the other half in confinement) afterwards proceeding to the colony of Sainte Marie (where four white Frenchmen alone survived to hold possession of this fever-stricken locality) and to Tamatave, whence the

* "Lorsque les affaires à être traitées auront un caractère de politique extérieure, alors le Réprésentant de la France présidera aux débats."

† See *French Operations in Madagascar*, 1882-1886. Prepared in the Intelligence Branch War Office, by Major W. S. Cooke, Cheshire Regt., D.A.Q.M.G., April, 1886, pp. 43-44.

travellers were carried in "filanzana" up to Antananarivo. They arrived just in time to take part in the celebration of the great national festival of the "Fandroana," where the modest English contingent, represented by Vice-Consul Pickersgill, Bishop Cornish and the Protestant missionaries formed a group by themselves, whilst the French Resident and his staff ostentatiously parading their alliance with the British Envoy and his wife, formed an opposing group. What strange views were entertained by the inofficial and presumably Roman Catholic British Envoy may be gathered from Mrs. Colvile's account. She writes:—"We were informed on good authority that the reason the Methodists formerly became a great power in the country was that the Prime Minister wishing to get rid of his too powerful brother, turned Christian and married his queen under Christian rites so as to have the excuse of exiling his brother as a heathen. Later on, finding that the Methodists were getting too strong for him, he established the Church of England as a counterpoise,"—a Romanist view of the question which is unflattering to the Protestant missionaries, Independents, and Church of England, as well as to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Missionary Society. M. de Vilers made good use of his influence over his guests, he forwarded them down to the coast at Mojanga escorted by one of his staff, and the effect of his hospitable reception of them eventually bore far better fruit than all his diplomatic encounters with Rainiliarivony, who had been led to rely, hitherto, at least on British sympathetic if not active support. With a knowledge that he had thus done his best to undermine the existing friendly relations between Great Britain and Madagascar, the first French Resident handed over his office to his successor, and shook off the red dust of Imerina from his shoes in July 1889.

M. Bompard, like his predecessor, studiously avoided any mention of the dreaded term—"Protectorate"—and, although he was unable to follow the example set by M. de

Vilers of scattering silver about in profusion and thereby raising the ordinary price of necessities, yet he lived on better terms with the Hova officials. All went on quietly for a time at least, and the second Resident set to work to form a syndicate to exploit the Betsileo country, under the auspices of the *Comptoir National d'Escompte*, hoping to succeed in enlisting a number of Betsileo labourers, who might, under French guidance, eventually form the nucleus of a French native army organised by non-commissioned officers from Diego Suarez, who could act as a support to the French escort at the capital. Meantime the Christian European Powers had been for some time engaged in quarrelling over the partition of heathen Africa. Nothing indicated the coming event, when, in September, 1890, a Reuter's Telegram, from Zanzibar, announced, all of a sudden, that France and England had concluded an arrangement by which the latter fully acknowledged the French Protectorate over Madagascar. M. Bompard, who had been kept wholly in ignorance of the negotiations between the court of St. James and the Quai d'Orsay was as astonished as the Prime Minister. He had a mauvais quart d'heure at his next interview with Rainilaiarivony in the Silver Palace. As for the Hova Government's view of this coup d'état, it was firm, dignified and precise. The English and French might make what arrangements they pleased between themselves. If the British chose to acknowledge the Protectorate of France, that recognition had no power to confer any legal rights, which remained exactly as before according to the terms of the Treaty of 17 December, 1885. The Hovas now openly prepared for a defensive war, whilst M. Bompard could only protest that this arrangement, of the 5th August, 1890, would make no difference in the attitude of his Government or himself. The agents of the British Government meantime found themselves somewhat in a fix. They were now forbidden by their instructions to hold any direct communication with the Hova Minister, whilst he would not listen to any com-

munication made through the intervention of the French Resident. On all sides it was evident that war was imminent, as things could not long remain in this critical state, all official business being at a standstill. M. Bompard found his post untenable, and having asked to be removed, was, after a brief interval, during which M. Lacoste acted in his place, relieved by M. Larrouy.

Unfortunately for the Hovas the French now had more just reason for complaint against the Malagasy Government. Two French subjects M. de Lescure and M. Bordenave were killed by the Sakalava near Mahajamba, on the north-west coast, in 1890. In the following year Dr. Beziat was slain by "fahavalos" on his way to Mojanga; at Mandritsara, M. Muller was murdered in August, 1893, and on the 21st October, 1893, M. Silanque fell a victim to these same brigands. Only a few months ago, in September, 1894, two Europeans, MM. Louvemont and Gellé (the last a Mauritian colonist) lost their lives when repelling an attack of "fahavalos," also on the N.W. coast. The Hova Government have never been able to afford protection throughout the region, now in a state of anarchy, beyond the western and northern confines of Imerina proper, or outside the range of the Hova garrisons among the independent tribes. The Hovas plead that these foreigners travelled at their own risk and ventured where Hova escorts were not obtainable; but the French agents declare that after these crimes were committed the Hova governors did not exert themselves to follow up the criminals or take the least trouble to avenge the murders. M. Larrouy reported that the lives of the Frenchmen at the capital were unsafe on the 28th August, 1894. On the receipt of this despatch M. Dupuy's Government decided to send a specially accredited envoy with an ultimatum to demand the full recognition of the treaty by the Hova nation and the practical application of the first article, giving effect to a political and effective protectorate.

M. Le Myre de Vilers, the selected plenipotentiary when

he arrived at the capital on the 18th October in reply to the ultimatum which he presented, was confronted with a counter-project drawn up by Rainilaiarivony, dated October, 1894.

The Hova Government's proposition was as follows:—

"(1) The Resident General (instead of continuing to preside over the foreign politics of the Hova Government) will be recognised by this Government as representing those foreign governments having treaties with Madagascar should he be empowered so to act by the said governments, and on his showing his powers to that effect to the Malagasy Government.

"(2) The Queen of Madagascar takes under her safeguard the persons and properties of French subjects residing in the island. On the other hand, the Government of the Republic engages not to hinder the introduction by the Queen of the arms and ammunition which are necessary for her to carry out this obligation.

"(3) The Government of the Republic engages to give orders to the officers commanding ships of war on the station not to disembark any troops whatever for the purpose of exercising manœuvres.

"(4) The Malagasy Government and the French Government engage to nominate their delegates respectively to determine the delimitation of the Bay of Diego Suarez, conformably to the treaty: the date of such delimitation to come into force within three months from the signature of the present treaty."

This document fairly testifies the resolution of the Hovas to resist French aggression to the bitter end. The French deputies have voted by a large majority £2,600,000 to enable an army of fifteen thousand men to invade the country of the Hova Queen; but the Hovas have counted the cost and seem ready to submit their cause to that Providence, which generally marches with the biggest battalions, but which now and then enables the weakest nations to find defenders in the very elements themselves.

Generals "Hazo" and "Tazo"—jungle and miasma—wield terrible weapons, formidable even to the Senegal tirailleurs, much more so to the bataillons légers des Chasseurs d'Afrique, the "joyeux" or "Zéphirs," as these gay light infantrymen delight to style themselves, with their Lebel rifles and Du Bange quick-firing mountain guns to assist them. The best qualified experts, M. le docteur Villette, M. le Roy de Méricourt and M. Lagneau, who have all studied the climate and fevers of Madagascar, are agreed that the rapidity with which Europeans are stricken down by the poisonous malaria on the coast is often such that the sick men with difficulty can reach the more salubrious inner zone at higher altitudes. Half of these enfants perdus will possibly be employed in carrying the other half of their comrades up the stream of the Betsiboka. Who can tell? The Hova cause is not entirely lost yet. The Malagasy view of the French treaty claims on the island of Madagascar has been briefly set forth above. It need hardly be added that there is a reverse side of the medal—that seen by the eyes of M. Hanotaux, General Mercier and General Duchêsne.

SOME PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF IMPERIALISM.

By F. Faithfull Begg.

Imperialism and the Imperial idea have never been in favour in the minds of Colonists. Consciously or unconsciously, they associate them with Downing Street rule, and arbitrary interference with freedom of action. Having regard to the comparatively short period during which representative institutions have been enjoyed by the self-governing Colonies—and it is of them alone I propose to speak—this is not remarkable. Nevertheless it is demonstrable that it is only by means of the Imperial idea in its true sense, and by the preservation of the Empire, whole and undivided, that safety and prosperity can continue to be enjoyed by the outlying portions of the Empire. My object is to show briefly and in its main features that this is the case.

Self-preservation, with Nations as with individuals, is the first law of their being, and on the part of the mother country and the Colonies alike, the path of safety lies in the direction of consolidation, while disintegration would be fatal.

Shrewd, intelligent, energetic, and enterprising as Colonists are, and enthusiastically loyal as they show themselves to be, more especially upon public occasions, it is nevertheless true that the average Colonist has no clear perception or abiding sense of the vital issues which are bound up in the fact that his country forms an integral portion of the British Empire. Neither in his youth nor in his maturity do international problems touch him except by accident. He knows little of war except what he has read in books, he has probably never seen a siege, or a military investment; even the very sight of soldiers, or war-vessels is a novelty to him. Necessarily brief, this

description may be challenged as inaccurate. Strictly speaking it applies best to Australasia, and least to South Africa. Canada for example has had internal rebellion to deal with, and the recollection of the Civil War in the United States must be fresh in the minds of Canadians. In South Africa the Zulu war, tribal disturbances and military expeditions generally, have in some sense familiarised the Colonists with warfare. But in the broad sense in which I am treating the problem, and as bearing upon the conditions which would exist should Great Britain be engaged in a struggle with any of the great Powers—more especially upon the sea—it is substantially correct.

Two main considerations have combined to produce this mental attitude on the part of Colonists. In the first place the actual fact of absolute dependence upon the mother country for protection has never been brought home to them by foreign attack. The problem in other words has never presented itself in a concrete form since self-government was conceded. And, secondly never having had any direct voice in the settlement of international affairs, and having been fully occupied by their own domestic politics, they have had little occasion to consider the question in the abstract. Hence it follows that to bluntly thrust so-called shortcomings before them, to rail at them for not directly contributing in larger measure to the defence of the Empire, and to demand immediate subsidies for that object, as has now become the custom of some, is sheer folly calculated solely to irritate them, and alienate their affections. By education upon the nature of the vast issues which are involved, by patient waiting for the ripening of a full perception of their importance, and by the constant expression of friendly feelings towards Colonists themselves, and of interest in their affairs;—by these means alone can the unity of the Empire be preserved.

One vital consideration should never be lost sight of by

the people of this country, namely, that however much the self-governing Colonies might lose through a severance of their connection with ourselves, the results of such an issue as far as we are concerned would be undoubtedly more disastrous for us than for them. Moreover the existing state of things has grown as the consequence of our own deliberate acts. Two generations ago we thrust self-government upon these colonies, and we added the information that the sooner they became independent, the better we should be pleased. We have changed our minds. We now see how fatal to our interests it would have been had our advice been followed, and it is not open to us, having effected this sudden change of front, to as suddenly alter our policy and demand that our new attitude should be cordially and at once accepted and approved. As a matter of fact the process of education in the Colonial mind is making rapid progress. The Colonial Conference of 1887 has been followed by the Ottawa Conference of 1894. Leading Colonial statesmen have shown themselves alive to the grave issues which are at stake. The press, both here and in the Colonies contains frequent allusions to the question. The leaven of a broad Imperial sentiment is slowly but surely at work. Increasing ease and rapidity of intercommunication are having their natural effect, and, provided the over-zealous candour of a few can be restrained, there should be little fear of the ultimate result. An illustration will best enable us to justly appreciate the supreme importance to both parties of the maintenance of the existing connection.

Take the case of New Zealand as being at once fairly typical, and at the same time exhibiting the problem under clearly defined conditions.

New Zealand is a country having great pastoral and agricultural capabilities, and already produces food far in excess of local requirement, there being for example a large surplus of wheat available for export. The climate and soil are also eminently adapted for the growth of fruits,

which of various descriptions and in considerable quantities are exported; principally to the home markets. Grasses flourish, and upwards of 8,000,000 acres are laid down in pasture. The export of frozen meat is a large industry, having grown from 15,000 cwt. in 1882, to 869,000 cwt. in 1892. A very large amount of land remains unoccupied, so that there is no reason to suppose that the export of frozen mutton will not also largely increase. Although there are already in the country 20,000,000 of sheep, it is estimated that in ten years' time the export of frozen sheep and lambs may reach a total of 4,000,000 carcases per annum. Butter and cheese are also largely exported, and the quantity will probably increase considerably in the near future. Climatic conditions favour the growth of wool of which one hundred and eighteen million pounds were exported in 1892, the value being £4,313,000. The native flax plant is cultivated with success, the annual export reaching 12,000 tons. The Colony is rich in minerals, the average export of gold for the last ten years having reached 200,000 ounces. Coal seams of excellent quality exist and a considerable export trade in coal is now done, although, on balance, the imports of coal are still heavy. This exported coal is declared upon excellent authority to be fully equal, if not superior to the best description from any part of the world. Timber of excellent quality abounds.

It will be seen from this short summary that the principal productions of the Colony consist of those arising from pastoral, agricultural, and mining pursuits, and hence the proportion of imported, manufactured products is and will probably remain high. These goods are principally obtained from this country, which is also the principal destination of the exports from the Colony. As a consequence there exists a rapid and frequent Steam Communication between New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Over-sea commerce, however, with California and elsewhere is rapidly increasing.

The slightest study of these the main features of the case

of New Zealand, taken as a typical illustration, shows that the maintenance of open-sea routes is for her an essential condition of prosperity. This is even more emphatically true when it is borne in mind that the development of the country has been mainly effected by capital obtained in the home market and consequently a large annual sum must be provided for the service of the debt. This can only be done by means of exports over-sea, New Zealand being an island 16,000 miles distant from England where her chief market is found. Unless the grower of wheat, fruit, mutton, wool, etc., can safely transport his surplus products across the ocean to a market, he cannot pay his debts, the colony of which he is a citizen cannot meet its annual obligations, and disaster and bankruptcy must follow and that speedily. Nor is the issue any less serious for the mother country. Indeed it is in one sense more serious. Imagine New Zealand shut off from communication with outside. Her public loans would be in default, and the private indebtedness of the colonists would fall into arrear, imports of manufactured articles would cease, and much hardship would exist. But she could feed and clothe herself. No one need want for the necessaries of life. The effect in this country in like circumstances would be far different. The artizan spinner of New Zealand wool would be out of employment at the very time that the supplies of corn and mutton were shortened by the cutting off of the New Zealand supply, and whilst the capitalist, dependent upon his investment in New Zealand stock, was reducing his expenditure. In other words New Zealand could at a pinch live without us. We, to the extent and in the measure in which we depend upon New Zealand supplies, would be left with a blank, which our internal resources afford us no means of filling. It is true that the effect upon us of the stoppage of one such source of supply would not necessarily be disastrous; although it is remarkable in a society constituted as ours now is, how one branch of trade acts and reacts upon all

others. But the problem is the same. The underlying principle cannot be gainsaid. Nor is there any security that the case now being considered would occur by itself, but on the contrary every probability that it would form, if it did occur, only one in a series of analogous cases, happening at one and the same time.

Examine now certain strategic conditions which would emerge the moment one of the outlying portions of the Empire severed its connexion with the Mother Country. Let us assume for example that New Zealand did do so. One of two things would happen, viz., either she would become an independent State, or she would seek a new alliance, say, with one or other of the Great Powers. The most likely course of events would be that she would in the first instance prefer the former, but speedily be forced into the latter position. In either case she would become technically, as far as we are concerned, a foreign state, and would require to be reckoned with accordingly. Having lost the right to regulate her foreign policy, we could no longer control her in the making of peace or war. If independent, she would on the one hand be liable to attack, and on the other hand free to make war on her own account. If absorbed by one of the Great Powers, her fortunes must follow those of the 'predominant partner' with like consequences. In other words, while a colony remains part and parcel of the Empire, our communications with her, and hers with us, remain open unless we ourselves are at war. The moment the connection between us ceases, not only have we no longer any control, but the chances of interruption immensely increase, and the risk of it consequently becomes greater.

It is this contingency of war, which forms the supreme difficulty in attempting to estimate the effect of a change in relationship, such as we are considering. International law is not only ill-defined, but is subject to this difficulty, that there is no guarantee that the exigencies of the moment may not lead or compel one or other of the combatants to

disregard even recognised obligations. There is no supreme authority to step in and say "This you may do and this you may not." No doubt any flagrant breach of recognised international law would ultimately recoil upon the nation which was guilty of it. But the mischief would be done. The reparation would come too late. According to existing conditions, Great Britain and her colonies being one, nothing can interrupt inter-communication while the Mother Country remains neutral, and only force can interrupt them in time of war. Sever this connection however, and at once, each part must conform to international usage. The law of contraband of war, and the law of blockade which are both fairly well defined must be observed. The list of articles of contraband it is true is a doubtful quantity. Coal and food for example may or may not be regarded as contraband in the next sea campaign. The chances are that both will be so regarded, in which case even a neutral flag will not protect them from capture. The law of blockade on the other hand, interposes an absolute bar to the carriage of goods by neutrals to and from the ports of the belligerents. Assume therefore that either the mother country, or the erstwhile colony (now by assumption an independent state) was at war, no communication could take place between them under a condition of blockade of the ports of either, without involving both as belligerents.

Similar conditions apply to all the other self-governing Colonies of the Empire. Each particular instance has its own special features, but all have the same essential conditions lying at the root of and controlling the situation.

Now revert for a moment to the consideration of the commercial conditions which exist. From this point of view the relationship between the mother country and a Colony is that of a gigantic and intricate partnership. Trace the course of a single series of transactions as an illustration. A New Zealand farmer grows sheep for the double purpose of producing mutton and wool. Both products are shipped to this country, the one to provide food,

and the other the raw material of his labour for the British artizan. The resulting manufactures are shipped back again to New Zealand. On both journeys the merchandise is carried in British ships, and the financial part of the business is carried on with the aid of British bankers. Not only so but the New Zealand farmer probably carries on business with money borrowed from British capitalists, and the insurance of the freight, back and forwards is undertaken by British insurance offices. Moreover all the people engaged in the business are probably of one blood and nationality, which should count for something. Even if however we omit this last consideration, how can we say at any stage of the whole process that the interest of any individual or company has ceased, and how is it possible that the chain of events should be broken at any point without each and all being affected? It is simple truth to say that although not evidenced by any deed of co-partnery, and without there being on the surface any apparent direct inter-dependence or community of interest, each member of the combination by which the final result is brought about, is just as vitally concerned with the actings of all the rest as the partners in a private firm are in the transactions of the co-partnery.

It may be suggested that it makes no difference under which flag our supplies are grown, they will find their way to us by virtue of the natural laws of supply and demand, and similarly with the export of our manufactures. The strategic conditions which have been indicated negative the idea. It is idle to suppose that our mercantile marine could in time of war be transferred to a neutral flag. An ostensible transfer of ships to a person domiciled in a neutral state would be regarded as a mere colourable transaction which would not be recognised in a prize court as entitling to the benefits of the neutral flag. On the other hand all the other countries in the world put together could not find the money to actually buy more than a fraction of our merchant navy. Nor does this aspect of the case touch the

question of blockade. What became of our Lancashire spinners in the cotton famine? A declaration of blockade cut off the supplies and ruin followed quickly. Our very existence now that three fourths of our home population consists of artizans, and two thirds of our food supply comes from abroad depends upon uninterrupted supplies of raw material and food. An interruption of supply for even a few weeks would be fatal to us, so small under modern conditions are the surplus stocks which are kept on hand.

Our interest therefore in retaining our Colonies is manifest and paramount. Their interest in continuing their relationship with us is scarcely less great. Some modification of existing conditions may be needed. The Colonies for example may now fairly demand some share in regulating Imperial policy. Their growing importance would justify the claim. With altered relations would come for them wider duties and increased responsibility. There is no reason to doubt that Colonial statesmen would be equal to the situation. What is wanted meanwhile is a wide diffusion of information as to the essential features of the case. The rest will follow, unless the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race can no longer be trusted to solve intricate questions of representative government.

ST. HELENA:

THE GIBRALTAR OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC.

By R. A. Sterndale.

"I have had opportunities of examining Gibraltar and Malta, and I must confess, that the impression left on my mind is that neither of these places is to be compared in strength with St. Helena."—Major-General Alexr. Beatson, Governor of St. Helena, A.D. 1808-13.

On the 21st day of May A.D. 1502 João da Nova, Commodore of a Portuguese fleet sailing homeward from the East Indies, sighted a lofty volcanic island right in the track of the S.E. trade-winds, in latitude 15° 55′ S. and W. longitude 5° 49′. We may imagine with what feelings of curiosity and interest he rounded the frowning cliffs and then hove to on the leeward side of his new discovery. A barren island it was not, for at that time the beetling crags were crowned with the foliage of indigenous vegetation which has now almost disappeared or has been supplanted by an alien flora. As he looked up the gorges leading to the sea, and down which the clear rivulets of fresh water ran, his eye was gladdened by the sight, so refreshing to the wave-tossed mariner, of umbrageous forests of the native Gumwood and Ebony. The pious Lusitanians of the day generally dedicated their discoveries to the saints; and as it happened that the date of this addition to their list was the birthday of the mother of Constantine the Great, the new island was named St. Helena. After putting some live stock ashore to supplement a very meagre fauna, the pious Portuguese sailed away and for eleven years the lonely rock was left to itself.

It is a strange fact that the first purpose to which St. Helena was put in 1513 was to make it a place of exile for a noble prisoner, a Portuguese named Fernão Lopez, who having been degraded and mutilated was left here for

a time with a few slaves and a stock of pigs, goats and poultry. Henceforth the Portuguese made it a port of call; and by the end of the century there was a considerable settlement there with a church; but the attention of the Mother-country having been diverted into other channels St. Helena was neglected and finally abandoned. The Dutch then took possession of it and retained it till 1651, when they left it in order to concentrate themselves at the Cape of Good Hope, and the island was at once appropriated by the English East India Company, who improved the place so much that the Dutch, regretting their action in giving it up, attacked and captured it in 1665. But ere a twelvemonth had expired the English re-took the island and strengthened the fortifications in Chapel Valley which original name they changed to James' Valley in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. Fort James gave in recent years its name to Jamestown the present capital.

The Dutch, however, made one more attempt to regain the place, and in 1673 after a severe repulse in Lemon Valley they succeeded in landing a force at Bennett's Point and penetrated inland nearly to High Peak where they were met by a force of 500 men from the island garrison. An engagement ensued which ended in victory on the side of the invaders who then marched upon Fort James which capitulated after long and tedious attacks. The Governor and most of the English inhabitants escaped with their goods on board the ships which were in the harbour and making for the Brazilian coast they fell in with a British squadron under the command of Capt. (afterwards Sir Richard) Munden, who immediately bore up for St. Helena and, unperceived by the Dutch, landed a force of 200 men at a spot on the East coast, to make their way across whilst he sailed round to James' Bay. The little force which had been landed was guided by Oliver, an island-born slave, through the rugged ravines till at last further progress seemed to be stayed by an insurmountable

barrier. A sailor named Tom volunteered, however, to scale the precipice and amid the encouraging shouts of "Hold fast, Tom!" from his comrades he succeeded, taking with him a ball of twine by means of which he was enabled to haul up ropes. The rock is called "Holdfast Tom" to this day in memory of the gallant action by which the little force was enabled to gain the heights of Longwood and thence to march on to the top of Rupert's Hill overlooking James' Valley.* Capt. Munden appearing at the same time in the Bay, the Dutch were so surprised at being taken in front and rear that they surrendered at once. Capt. Munden erected the fortification known as Munden's Battery and otherwise strengthened the place; and he had the satisfaction of taking prisoner the Dutch Governor who had been sent out to assume the charge of the island, and also of securing several richly laden Dutch vessels which, not suspecting that an enemy was in possession, had put in on their homeward way. Since then St. Helena has remained undisturbed in British hands.

Three years later, the island was visited by the celebrated Astronomer Halley, in memory of whom the high ridge on which he pitched his tent has been named "Halley's Mount."†

The East India Company were determined to make the place impregnable for the future, and batteries were built to command every weak point and the garrison increased. For nearly two centuries it was looked upon as a valued possession and a sum of between eighty and ninety thousand pounds was annually spent on it. Of local forces, there were three companies of St. Helena Artillery and the St. Helena Regiment of infantry 700 strong, besides Militia.

No wonder, then, that the British Government, casting their eyes about for a safe place in which to confine the

* *St. Helena, by J. C. Melliss.*

† For a very interesting account of Halley's life and works and his connexion with St. Helena see an article by Capt. S. P. Oliver, R.A., in the *Journal of Science*, February, 1880.

Great Emperor, fixed upon the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic as a fitting prison; and accordingly Napoleon was conveyed there in October, 1815; and there he died in May, 1821.

In 1832, the East India Company abolished slavery at a cost of £28,000.

The first blow to the prosperity of the St. Helenians came in the following year, when the island was transferred from the East India Company to the Home Government. Some little time elapsed ere the transaction was completed; but on the 24th February, 1836, Major General Middlemore took formal possession in the name of His Majesty, William IV.

The change told heavily on the official residents; for the Company's staff was greatly reduced, and many who had been in receipt of good salaries found themselves cut down to comparative penury.

The salary of the Company's Governors had been about £9,000 *per annum:* that of the Crown Governor was fixed at about one-fourth. Still a considerable civil staff was kept up; and in 1840 a Vice-Admiralty Court for the trial of vessels engaged in the slave trade was established, which, with the working of the Liberated African Depot and the frequent visits of the naval squadron employed in the suppression of the slave trade, brought into circulation a considerable amount of money and furnished employment to the islanders, though unfortunately of a kind to cause them to neglect the diligent cultivation of their fertile soil which would have been ultimately of greater benefit to them. The total extinction of the slave trade after the American War led to the reduction of the West African Squadron and the abolition of the Liberated African Establishment; and then truly hard times began to fall on the poor little island.

This time it was an invasion of an enemy which did infinitely more harm than did the earlier invaders, the Dutch. In the *débris* of a condemned vessel there happened

to be a colony of white ants; and these grew and multiplied in their new home to such an extent that Jamestown was almost ruined. When I visited the island in 1861, I was shown some of the ravages committed by this wicked little insect of which I had seen a good deal in India, but of whose iniquities I had not till then formed an adequate conception. However, in justice to our Indian termite, I may say that the St. Helenian pest was many years afterwards identified, by means of specimens taken to England by Mr. Melliss, as belonging to a South American species and was probably introduced in the timbers of a Brazilian slaver.

Still the St. Helenians jogged on comfortably enough in the little world of their own in spite of failing sources of revenue and white ants and a negro element in the population, which they would rather have done without; and though some of the wiser ones may have looked anxiously ahead in anticipation of evil times to come, still the majority knew little and cared less for the Suez Canal, and were happy enough in the custom of the thousand ships which annually cast anchor in their harbour. But the Canal was at last finished, and ruin was hastened. Year by year saw the lessening of the tale of vessels. The old familiar names of the great passenger liners ceased to gladden the eyes of those who used to look out for them. Few passengers went to India round the Cape; so the ships were sent to Australia and other distant lands, or were broken up as they got old and were replaced by powerful steamers or great four-masted vessels fitted with all the modern appliances that obviated the necessity for their putting in anywhere during the voyage for water or fresh provisions. And so, year by year, the number of vessels lessened, till at last not one-fourth anchored in the almost deserted harbour.

Now became apparent the folly of neglecting the natural capabilities of the soil for the doubtful advantages of an outside traffic. St. Helena had no export trade. She imported everything, even to the food which she ought

to have been able to grow for her own people. If her arable land was not extensive her population was in ratio not excessive. Montserrat, an island of the same area and of like mountainous character, has a thriving export trade and supports a population now three times as great as that of St. Helena. But in the case of the latter her exports are *nil* and her population is yearly decreasing by emigration.

Such briefly is the history of one of the most charming of our smaller colonies. As I have remarked elsewhere there was a time when St. Helena was a household word in the mouths of Englishmen and their children.

"But now, beyond the fact of its having been the prison of Napoleon, and a vague idea that it is a barren volcanic rock somewhere in the midst of the ocean, and that it had a green spot with a weeping willow tree hanging over the grave that once held the Great Emperor, few people know anything about the island. That it ever had a past beyond the historical incident just alluded to, or that it is capable of a future, enters not into the minds of men. Old Anglo-Indians used to know something of it when the only route to India was round the Cape of Good Hope; and even up to the time of the opening of the Suez Canal, when sailing-vessels ceased to carry passengers to the East, it was visited by some, like myself, who, for considerations of health, took the longer sea-voyage. Now a few passengers to the Cape touch there; but the time allowed is so short that but little of the island can be seen, and many content themselves with a view of the outside which, like the rugged walnut, contains so fair a kernel."*

Let us turn now from history to a glance at the island itself. It is of volcanic origin, the extinct crater being situated in what is now called Sandy Bay on the south coast, and the outer edge being the high ridge which culminates in Diana's Peak, 2,697 feet above the level of the sea. The total area is 47 square miles or about 30,000 square acres of which about 2,000 are quite barren, leaving about 28,000 acres, more or less, useful. Of these, however, only 8,000 acres are really first-class soil. In salubrity and evenness of temperature the climate vies with that of Madeira. The influence of the fresh S.E. trade winds keeps down the heat of the tropics, and renders a residence

* Sancta Helena: an island in Extremis.

there most agreeable. In the winter the thermometer may fall as low as 53°, and in Jamestown it may in summer rise to 84°; but the mean ranges from 57° in September to 66° in March, taken at an altitude of 1,764 feet above the sea. The average rain-fall is about 30 inches on the coast, 44 inches at Longwood, and probably 55 to 60 inches on the high ridges. There is an abundance of water, though perhaps less than there used to be, owing to the reckless cutting down of the forests. At the time of my visit there were 212 springs discharging fresh water into the ocean. The best testimony to the generosity of soil and climate is the fact that trees from all parts of the temperate as well as the tropical zones have been introduced and have flourished exceedingly, so much so as to have quite pushed out the indigenous *flora*. Probably in no other place in the world would be seen oaks and bamboos, mangoes and apples growing side by side. And yet with all this kindliness of nature St. Helena has fallen into decay and poverty, whilst other less favoured islands are thriving. Mr. Morris, in his report to Government in 1883, says:

"About 8,000 acres are in pasture and hay land. The tendency is to throw more and more land out of cultivation and place it in grass. This is a retrograde step as regards the agricultural interests of the island, but it is inevitable under the influences which obtain at present.

"The country houses, which in the East India Company's time were inhabited by prosperous merchants and officials and surrounded by well-kept gardens and orchards, are now fast falling into decay and becoming ruinous. The cultivated areas around them are simply converted into grazing-lands, and a few cattle and sheep are the only indications of life for miles round."*

Its present state was lately described to me as deplorable by one who knew it well in its prosperity, and who had recently visited it; and I see Mr. Melliss uses the same term in his book:

"Nothing," he says, "can be more deplorable than the state of the island at the present time."†

* *Report on the Agricultural Resources of St. Helena, by D. Morris, Esq., C.M.G., Assist. Director at Kew.*

† "*St. Helena*," *by J. C. Melliss, Esq., late Commissioner of Crown Lands.*

It was only last year that Admiral Field, M.P., called the attention of the House to the depopulation of the place owing to the able-bodied men emigrating in search of work; and this, as I pointed out elsewhere, is a serious matter as leaving a pauper residuum behind. No wonder, as the inhabitants had learnt to depend on the custom of vessels for their support, that their condition became deplorable. The natural resources of the island have been greatly neglected, if not entirely ignored. The fisheries, which should not only form an important factor in the feeding of the population but, in the forms of salt fish and isinglass, be an item of profitable export, are left unheeded; the soil which to a certain extent was most fertile has been impoverished by over-cropping and neglect of manuring: whilst hundreds of tons of valuable manure have been cast into the sea or exported in the form of guano. In fact, the past history of the place, that is, since it was taken over from the East India Company, seems to justify the proverb "*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*" Everyone who knows the island, every writer on the subject repeats the same sad story. The annual report for 1891 by the Governor, Mr. W. Grey-Wilson, C.M.G., states:

"The condition of the island in August was such as to excite very grave anxiety. Work was almost unobtainable; with the shipping nothing was doing; the potato crop was indifferent; and starvation faced many."

This is a serious out-look even with a thrifty hard working people, but much worse with one combining much of the apathy of the Oriental with the improvidence peculiar to mixed races akin to the Eurasian in India. The question now is, What is to be done? The *insouciance* of the St. Helenian is the growth of generations; and we must work for posterity in bringing back the youth of the island to habits of thrift and industry. We cannot expect to work wonders with the adults, although by setting about it the right way I believe that much may be accomplished, though I agree with Mr. Morris when he says:

"Unless the Home Government is prepared to give the island some assistance and to support it while endeavouring to develop the resources of the soil, I fear there is little hope in the future."

But if the Home Government do not see their way to giving material assistance something may still be done, and I am of opinion that the regeneration of St. Helena lies in the City of London. The formation of a St. Helena Company with a moderate capital would do much to restore the island to prosperity.*

I shall touch briefly upon the various capabilities of the place as mentioned by Messrs. Melliss and Morris, with such additions as have suggested themselves to me. My own impressions of the place are most favourable. I visited the island at a time when I was engaged in the Settlement of Land Revenues in the Central Provinces of India; and I, therefore, looked about me more critically than most visitors would have done. Still, as this was many years ago, I prefer to quote the more valuable opinion of Mr. Morris who writes thus—

"Speaking from my point of view and after a careful consideration of the soil, climate, and general resources of the island, I am led to take a hopeful view of those resources provided they are developed in such a manner as to place the island in fair competition with other countries. I

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* I am glad to say that such a company has been formed on a philanthropic basis, its object being to develop the valuable fisheries, and also to promote other industries, especially those of fibre and olives. The prospectus which is about to be privately issued is headed as follows:

THE ST. HELENA INDUSTRIES, LIMITED.

(*Incorporated under the Companies' Acts, 1862 to 1890.*)

Capital £10,000 in £1 Shares, Payable on Application.

Council of Administration.

Sir ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B., late Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Sir JAMES D. MACKENZIE, of Tarbat, Bart.
Vice-Admiral E. FIELD, M.P.
W. EVANS-JACKSON, Esq., F.R.G.S.
S. SOLOMON, Esq., late Member of Council of St. Helena.
J. C. MELLISS, Esq., M.I.C.E., late Commissioner of Crown Lands, St. Helena.

RESIDENT ADMINISTRATOR—HARRY F. J. WYATT (Retd. Lieut. R.N.)
H. F. J. WYATT, R.N., HONORARY SECRETARY (*pro. tem.*).
9, St. Mildred's Court, (*Opposite*) Mansion House, London.

look entirely to the soil for the elements necessary to bring prosperity to St. Helena. But the people require to be shown what those resources are; they need to be taught how to use those resources aright; and they require to be encouraged and assisted while so engaged."

It must, however, be remembered that there is not much land capable of very high cultivation. Mr. Morris estimates only about 8,000 acres; but these 8,000 acres ought to be made very productive instead of being thrown chiefly into hay and grazing lands. Of the remaining acreage there are, according to Melliss, 1,816 acres quite barren, and about 18,700 semi-barren and suitable for sheep pastures. I will divide my remarks into two heads: *viz.*—Agri-Horticulture, and other productive industries.

Again, I will subdivide Agri-Horticulture into Major and Minor operations, the first to include extensive industries, such as the growing of productive trees, *viz.* lemons, coffee, olives, etc., and such crops as potatoes, sugar-cane, and fibre-yielding plants; and the second to comprise what we may call garden or fancy industries, which though carried on in a small way yield large profits, as arrowroot, tomatoes, chillies, vanilla, medical herbs and tobacco.

The reclaiming of the at present unproductive land should be our first care. Melliss, whose attainments as a geologist renders his evidence most valuable, says:

"1,816 acres are quite barren, indeed for a mile inland from the sea, excepting in the ravines where they intersect the coast, few plants are to be seen."

This is corroborated by Morris, who states in his report that the only and scattered vegetation consists only of *Mesembryanthemum*, the rare indigenous *Pelargonium*, *Pharnaceum*, and *Tripteris*.

Little can be done here but I would suggest the sowing, in the crevices and parts where soil has lodged, of seeds of such plants as wall-flowers, Borage, clovers, etc., with a view to Bee cultivation, about which I shall have something to say further on. Many flowers useful for bees are to be found in the island, and one of them, *Alyssum Maritimum*,

is said to grow wild on the low lands, and therefore its growth should be encouraged in the barren tracks. A few pounds' worth of seeds scattered judiciously in favourable nooks and crannies might give a handsome return to the bee-keeper.

But there is still more money to be made out of the barren zone by the extended cultivation of the Aloe (*Furcræa gigantea*) which grows commonly all over the island. The fibre from this plant is in steady demand, and fetches from £28 to £30 per ton; it is easily propagated; and one of Mr. Morris' recommendations is,

"to grow large quantities of the plants and utilize all waste lands so as to produce leaves cheaply and economically."

Mr. Morris has treated at greater length than I have room for in this article, the cultivation of this plant and that of the New Zealand Flax, *Phormium Tenax*, which last has been tried but with poor success. One great difficulty in the way of the undertaking was the expense of transit from the place where the plants were grown to the factory at Jamestown: this swallowed up all the profits. The only means of transit are donkeys. It was a serious mistake to build a factory so far from the place of production of the raw material; but the simple contrivance of a wire tram would, after the initial expense, effect a considerable saving of time and money in transit. By spanning the valleys with stout wire-rope the bundles of leaves or fibre hung on pulleys would rapidly glide from point to point till they arrived at Jamestown from the high lands. A man or a boy or two at each station would help the bundles on to the next slide; and in places, perhaps, the help of donkeys would be required.

This is not a theoretical notion of my own but what has actually been accomplished by a friend of mine in Italy. The faggots of firewood cut in his hill-forests are sent down a wire to the valley below instead of being taken down, as they used to be, on donkeys. Now he employs only a few donkeys to carry back the pulleys on which the faggots are

slung. It is difficult to judge, from a small-scale map, of the line of country most suitable in St. Helena; but it seems to me that a considerable stretch of wire could be laid across the deep valley skirted on the East by Longwood and Deadwood.

The second or semi-barren zone of the island is the one which requires the most consideration as it comprises the greater part of the area. Its chief value at present I take to be the providing of pasturage for sheep, but there must be a large acreage which can be used for other and more profitable purposes, as for instance the cultivation of olives. Having seen much of olive culture in Italy and the South of France, I had made a note of this tree for St. Helena before I met with Mr. Morris' report, and I was pleased to find that he recommends its cultivation. He says:

"Fine trees of the true olive, *Olea Europæa*, grow in the neighbourhood of the Briars (the residence of the Hon. George Moss), and at certain times they are loaded with fruit. Extensive areas at similar elevation might be placed under cultivation in olives which are admirably adapted to the circumstances of the island."

And again:

"I have no doubt that green olives of fine quality might be grown in St. Helena, and from the present trees as they stand large quantities of oil might be prepared."

Melliss too writes in his *St. Helena*:

"The true olive, of which there are two varieties in the island, grows wild and is rather common on some of the most rocky and unproductive soils."

Coffee-planting is another industry which has been neglected. Coffee approaching to the finest Mocha has been grown in St. Helena, but there has been no energy put into the work. Mr. Melliss speaks of a sample grown in the island which took a first prize at the exhibition of 1851. In 1883, Mr. Morris stated in his report:

"I saw very fine patches of coffee, somewhat neglected and unpruned, it is true, but indicating the capabilities of the island to grow in sheltered hollows a fair quantity of very good coffee."

I fancy the *insouciance St. Hel*ène had a good deal to do with the want of success. Coffee will not answer without manuring,—pruning I am not so sure about. I have seen unpruned coffee-trees on the Shevaroy Hills in Madras loaded with fruit in small plantations owned by natives, but manuring is essential. I see in a recently advertised list of properties for sale in the island that there are two lots containing about 2,200 coffee-trees which were expected to come into bearing this year.

Grape vines were introduced in 1718 and flourished exceedingly; but during the last twenty years they have suffered greatly from the attacks of an insect introduced from the Cape. Mr. Morris advocated the introduction of fresh kinds; and it is to be hoped that this has been done, and that there may be yet good wine made in St. Helena as in Madeira, the soil and climate being similar.

And now we come to another important industry which has done so much for the island of Montserrat which exports over 100,000 gallons of lime juice annually. St. Helena was quite a lemon garden at one time and the tree gave its name to several localities such as Lemon Valley, Lemon-tree Gut, etc.; but now not a lemon is to be had. As the trees grew old their roots struck down through the upper soil to the rock and no new ones were planted. Such is the melancholy tale; and if the truth were told, probably the trees were neither pruned, grafted, nor manured, and so they deteriorated.

Everything once so plentiful,—lemons, peaches, grapes, —has vanished or nearly so, and from the same cause,—lack of energy to combat the natural sources of deterioration. The climate is as good as ever; the springs still flow down the valleys; but the poor soil, like an over-worked beast of burden, which over-driven and under-fed lies down to die, has given in.

One would think on reading and hearing all that has been written and said of St. Helena, in late years, that the population has been imbued with the fatalism of the Ma-

homedans—"*Allah ki marzi! Kya karé?*" It is the will of God! what can we do?

I was under the impression that the India-rubber tree might be cultivated with advantage on the semi-rocky lands and also the Camphor tree; but Mr. Morris tells me that St. Helena is not suited to either. He recommends in his report the cultivation of the Carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*), the Rain tree (*Pithecolobium saman*), and the Cashaw (*Prosopis juliflora*) the pods of which form a valuable food for cattle. One species of the latter, *Prosopis spicigera*, is used in India for food by human beings and the timber though small is valued for its strength and hardness.

We now come to minor operations in horticulture, and these are not to be despised. It would astonish some of my readers were I to tell them of the enormous sums realized by garden produce in various parts of the world. Take for instance the Bermuda lily of which bulbs are exported from that island to the extent of over £20,000 annually; or of the Banana exports of Jamaica which last year reached the huge figure of £400,000. The following all grow well in the island and should be encouraged: Arrowroot, Turmeric, Chillies, Vanilla, Tomatoes and Tobacco. Mr. Morris trusts that another attempt will be made to grow tobacco which has failed hitherto from want of sufficient attention to manuring. The medicinal aloe is also common in the island, and he recommends the extraction of the drug which is a simple process.

Having now briefly reviewed what might be done to develop the agri-horticultural resources of the land let me turn to other industries.

There is a great future in store for the island in her fisheries. The waters of St. Helena teem with fish, many of the seventy-five species being of excellent quality; but for commercial purposes it is sufficient to mention the Mackerel, the Tunny, the Cavally and the Conger eel, of which enormous quantities could be taken with proper appliances. Even with the small boats now in use up-

wards of 1,000 tons of fish can be taken annually; but there being no demand on the island for more than a limited supply, the fishermen do not care to catch above their daily requirements, and even now much is thrown back into the sea. There is an excellent market for salt fish close at hand at Rio Janeiro. During the late Brazilian war cargoes of salt cod from Canada to the value of £12,000 were kept out of this port by the blockade. What is required to make a success of the St. Helena fishery is a moderate capital sufficient to purchase a small fleet of four fishing smacks of 30 tons each with seine nets and the necessary gear, and to start a cooperage and curing establishment under experienced men. It is most important in a fishing industry that the thing should be done well if done at all; and the curing of mackerel especially requires care. Want of attention to this nearly ruined the Irish trade with America some years ago. Now there is a very good quality of mackerel at St. Helena, or as an American fisherman expressed it "none better anywhere"; and if it be properly cured there would be a steady demand for it in the United States. For the coarser salt-fish,—*i.e.* salted and sun-dried,—there is always a demand in South America and the Portuguese colonies.*

Silk-worm rearing is an industry specially suitable to St. Helena insomuch as the climate is favourable and the mulberry thrives. It is now being tried by the Rev. J. H. Daine, who will I hope succeed in his efforts: so far he has met with some success. It had been tried before on a very large scale by the East India Company and thousands of pounds were spent on the establishment of gardens and factories; but "*Cosas de Santa Helena!*" as my Spanish friends would say. I hope it will succeed now; but I pin my faith on *Bees*.

* It is to be hoped that the new St. Helena Industries Company will work these fisheries to good advantage. I find on referring to the Government Report on the Irish Fisheries for 1891 that the average value of the fish caught during the year was 9/1½d. per cwt. At St. Helena fish can be bought at 1/6d. per cwt., or even less.

There is a potentiality in this little insect, unsuspected by the majority of people who look upon it as a small adjunct to a garden, where its hive is a thing to be avoided and its honeycomb something to be looked forward to, especially by our juvenile friends. Few are aware of the thousands of pounds this little friend of man brings in to his owners. The Bee farmers of California, of New Zealand, and our own country could give some astonishings details of the profitableness of bee-keeping. It is estimated that the County of Kent could produce 400 tons of honey, which at 9d. a pound would give £33,600. But it is *par excellence* the cotter's industry. Two hives in Kent have been known to yield to their owner £7-14-6 in the year; and a small tradesman in Westmoreland, who had eighty hives, netted an annual income of £220. I am anxious, therefore, that the cottagers of St. Helena should be encouraged to keep bees; and herein comes the valuable testimony of Mr. Morris who thus writes in his report:

"As there are so many flowers constantly in bloom and all the conditions exist for profitable bee-farming, I would recommend that bee-farming as a regular industry be introduced and encouraged. The export of bees'-wax and honey from Jamaica, an industry chiefly in the hands of the negro settlers, amounts to the annual value of £8,000 per annum."

In a preceding page I recommended the extensive sowing of the wall-flower in the rocky parts for bee food, as it succeeds well in St. Helena. I am not sure that heather, which does not grow in the island, would succeed, but it might be tried. The *Phacelia tanacetifolia* is fed on largely by the Californian bee. It is a little blue flower which blooms six weeks after sowing, and it is an excellent fodder for cattle either green or dried—this should be cultivated, also *Limnanthes douglasi*, a valuable bee flower. Sunflowers are also of great value and the seeds contain a useful oil; and no bait for rats is so attractive as sunflower seed.

Mr. Melliss speaks of the wild bee having been plentiful at one time; but it was exterminated about 1854 and reintroduced about 1869, when it was again becoming

wild. This tendency to run wild should be checked. I should think the Italian or Ligurian bee would be the best for St. Helena: it is more fertile than the ordinary bee and is a better hiver, works earlier and later, and has a longer tongue which enables it to gather honey from flowers which the others cannot reach.

My readers may think that I have dwelt too much upon the possibilities of this little island. To what purpose, some may ask, is all this earnestness? The place is well known and if it were worth anything it would not be suffered to go to the dogs; and we have other fields of enterprise open to us now—new and virgin soils, teeming with golden ore and capable of yielding golden grain. Why then bolster up this isolated little spot which may not after all give any substantial return?

It is a little place, it is true; it is isolated no doubt; but it is more than a small insignificant colony:—it is a fortress and a very strong one, and it would be a much stronger one if it were populous and self-supporting, as it could be. There are few places of greater natural strength and I am not far out in calling it the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic. Standing out in the wide ocean, right in the track of homeward bound vessels, think what it would be in the hands of a foreign power! I am often met with the argument "Oh, but no one could keep it who had not the command of the seas." I am not an alarmist and I think we are strong enough to retake it should we lose it by a sudden *coup*; but are we not rather over confident in our estimate of ourselves? After all an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure; and the stronger we can make it the less chance of a catastrophe. And in making it stronger I do not mean by additional fortifications—I think it is strong enough in that way,—but by putting some life and energy behind its guns,—a healthy and contented population with a productive soil capable of sustaining the same. Picture to yourselves a man lying prostrate on the floor in an armoury whose walls bristle with weapons that might aid

the stout heart and hand to save his threatened life from the approaching foe! but it is too late! Starvation has done its work, he must succumb. Such might be the fate of our impoverished St. Helena; but with her resources it should never come to such a pass. An abundance of pure water, a generous soil capable of producing food sufficient for its people if economically worked, and a never failing supply of fish to be caught even under the shelter of its batteries, St. Helena need never fear reduction by blockade, although it be now dependent for the necessaries of life on imported food stuffs.

There are not wanting those who say that it would be of no use to us in the event of a war, nor would it much profit an enemy. This was not the opinion of the East India Company who held it at a time when we were perpetually at war. That was, however, when the only route to the East was round the Cape; but when the next war, *quod Deus avertat*, breaks out, shall we have to fall back on this route or shall we be strong enough to keep the Mediterranean open for our commerce? Anyhow let us not forget our outpost in the far Atlantic, for who knows how many a richly freighted vessel chased by a foreign cruiser may not, after strenuous effort, find herself at last safe under the guns of our city of refuge, the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic.

THE YIH-KING.

TRANSLATED BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSEIGNEUR CHARLES DE HARLEZ, D.D.,
Professor in the University of Louvain.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE YIH-KING is well known as one of the most celebrated of ancient Chinese books,—perhaps that to which the Chinese attach the most importance, and which they hold to be a rich treasury of the principles of all the sciences, a profound source of all philosophical knowledge, a condensed summary of all the maxims of wisdom. The translations, however, of this book, which have till now been issued in Europe, exhibit it as a collection of meaningless phrases or a tissue of nonsense—a vexation of spirit. How are we to explain this divergence? Have the Chinese *literati* deceived themselves regarding its nature? or have its European translators failed to catch its true meaning?

I have no hesitation in saying that the fault lies rather with the Western translators. Led astray by the Chinese commentaries, to which they attributed a nature and bearing that they do not possess, our translators have seen in the *Yih-king* what it did not really contain and have not perceived what really was there. They sought its explanation in the philosophical dissertations which were composed merely on account of the text, as an interpretation of its figures (*Kuas*): they have failed to seek its meaning either in the text itself or in its history.

The sense of the text was by no means so very difficult to discover; but it needed a thing only too simple to be thought of. I mean, that the *Yih-king* required only to be treated like any other book, and to be translated according to the natural sense of its words, expressions and phrases. This was not, however, done; because the words placed as the headings of its chapters were held to be mere sounds serving only as names for the figures, and not (what they really are) plain words of the language showing the subjects of the chapters. The *Kuas* were taken as the *Kuas Kien, li, fong* or *tsing*, etc.; and the chapters themselves were not considered as treating of the "Active principle," of "Glory," of "Concord," of the "Usefulness of Wells," etc. The key to its interpretation had thus been lost, and it was no longer known to what the sentences composing each chapter referred.

There are at present, I think, very few who will contest so simple a truth, as that the *Yih-king* should be translated as required by the meaning of its words and phrases and according to the laws of the Chinese language. I do not, therefore, see any further need of discussing this question; but my readers will better understand my meaning when I have shown them of what the *Yih-king* consists. Let me, then, explain this point.

* Translated from the French, by the Rev. J. P. Val d'Eremao, D.D.

The *Yih-king* is a book serving for purposes of divination, in which is sought a reply—the will of heaven—regarding the advisability of any project. For solving such questions it offers two very different means, which have no relation to each other, except in outward appearance. These consist in the two series—the one of 6-line figures and the other of chapters of a text comprising a heading, with several sentences. Both series are 64 in number; and each 6-line figure is placed, just before the heading, at the beginning of the chapter which corresponds in number with it.

These figures or hexagrams are formed by the placing, one above the other, of two trigrams or sets of 3 lines each,—the lines being straight, and either whole (———), or divided in the middle into two (— —); as, for instance, etc.

There are only eight possible combinations of such trigrams. To each trigram has been given a special meaning, which forms the basis for divining from it; and they signify Heaven, Earth, Fire, Thunder, Wind, Water (the heavenly and the earthly), and lastly Mountains.

These trigrams arranged in groups of two, one over the other, give a total possible combination of 64, which is the number of the chapters and of the *Kuas*.

These different hexagrammatic figures called *Kuas* give, by the way in which they are formed, a first reply of heaven to the question asked. Thus "mountains" placed above "heaven" may indicate a success,—"wind at the base of mountains" may presage a defeat. Let me add, at once, that the imagination of the augurs here allowed itself free course, and that their replies are, at times, extremely comical, as may be seen in the Chinese Annals. As this divination, however, was merely arbitrary, both the prognostications and their explanation are beside our present purpose.

The chapters forming the literary portion of this book consist, besides the heading, of a first text *not divided into sentences* and giving a general idea of the subject, and of a second text *divided into six sentences* of which one corresponds to each line of the *Kua*.

It is this merely external correspondence which has misled writers into believing that the sentences were indications of what each line of the *Kua* meant. Hence came explanations which have justly been styled absurd and nonsensical. Hence, too, the importance of the titles of the chapters has been misunderstood, and they have been taken even for meaningless words serving solely as the proper names of the *Kuas*.*

We learn with certainty the true nature of the *Yih-king* from the use made of it in the centuries before our era, of which we find numerous instances in the two celebrated books of Annals called *Tso-Tchuen* and the *Kuo-yu*. Now in these instances, the sentences of the *Yih-king* are found interpreted just as I had interpreted them even before perusing these Annals.

Nor are we less indebted to the Commentaries which accompany the

* Hence in Europe people speak of the *Kua Fi*, the *Kua Tsing*, etc., instead of the *Kua* "Concord," the *Kua* "Wells," etc.

text in the editions published during the last 20 centuries. Of these, the two first, which are extremely ancient, are mixed with the text itself: of these we shall give in our work all the substance. No less important and significant are the two other commentaries which give the meanings of the titles.

The origin of the *Yih-king* is absolutely unknown. It first appears in the viith century B.C., under the name of *Tchêu-yih* or the *Yih* of the *Tchêu*. The third Appendix to the present text, dating most probably from the ivth century B.C., says that it first saw the light in the time of *Wen-Wang*; that is in the second half of the xiith century B.C. But the *Shu-king* and the *Shi-king* show that it was not in use either then or a century later.*

The authors who wrote after the *renaissance* of literature under the Hans in the iind century B.C., and even more recent writers make out for the *Yih-king* a history of their own. Their assertions—evidently only a tissue of fables—introduce among its composers the mythical Emperors from the time of Fou-hi, who, it is pretended, was the first sovereign over the Chinese race (about 2900 B.C.), and even Confucius himself.

Without pausing over these legends, I need only add that the figures or *Kuas* are probably older than the two texts, and that of these, the first or undivided text existed most likely before the second.

It is, moreover, scarcely possible to suppose that these two texts were composed expressly to form a book of divination. For the *Yih-king*, as we shall presently see, is a collection of thoughts and expressions, relating to various subjects, treated under its 64 chapters; and it is evident in many places that sentences have been divided or repeated, in order to secure the number (6) required by the number of the lines of the *Kuas*. On the other hand, there is but little probability that such a collection was confined to these 64 subjects. Our book must, therefore, have been compiled from a larger work, taking just so much as was required by the number of the *Kuas*; it may even be that the extracts were made from various works. It is nevertheless difficult to believe that a collection of this kind had been made expressly for purposes of divination with which the phrases of which it consists have no natural connexion. Hence to make it serve that purpose the compiler has had to add terms which were specially employed in denoting favourable or unfavourable auguries. Such expressions must be eliminated in order to get the primitive text; yet in doing this we must use much prudence, for such terms are often necessary to make sense out of a phrase.

Three translations of the *Yih-king* have recently been published by three European scholars,—the Rev. Canon McClatchie, the French Sinologist M. Philastre, and the Rev. Dr. J. Legge. The two first have followed mystical speculations and have not done much to seek out the meaning of the text.

The learned Oxford professor has followed the system of some Chinese who make no account of the meanings of the chapter headings but see in the sentences (only) an explanation of the symbolism of the lines. Though

* On this see my former articles in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1894 and July 1894.

he has at times perceived the real meaning, Dr. Legge himself admits that his work has to be gone over again.

Professor Terrien de Lacouperie,* on the other hand, has tried, in a learned Essay, to re-discover the first elements of the *Yih-king*. I have, however, taken the book in its complete state, such as it was when it first appeared and as it has been preserved since, without any notable alteration. Of archæological allusions I have admitted here, as before, only those which present some show of probability. I interpret the *Yih-king* in the manner in which it was always interpreted till the iiid century B.C., as we learn from the testimony of authentic Annals,†—in which it has since been interpreted outside of the Ontological school,—in which even now it is interpreted in the Imperial Commentaries, as I have shown‡ by numerous examples. Nor is this system in any way really contradicted by the philosophical and divinatory amplifications of *Tcheng-tse*, *Tchou-hi*, and their rivals. Neither in the *Tso-tchuen* nor in the *Kouo-Yü* is there any statement of a signification given to isolated lines, either whole or divided, which might make them represent the active or passive principles; nor of any of the explanations derived thence; and yet less of any choosing of sentences according to the position or the relation of the lines in each *Kua*. All these things were invented subsequently. In these Annals, the entire system of divination is based on the meaning of the headings and sentences of the chapters, quite apart from any meaning given to the trigrams. (See above, p. 2.) All the interpretations in these books are like those which I here give.

I need not here go further into these preliminary questions, as my sole object now is to translate the book itself and not to controvert or criticize any other point. Those of my readers who may wish to know more on

* I should have preferred to add nothing to this notice of the system of the regretted Professor whose death, since I wrote this, we have had to lament. But the learned Sinologist, in his recently published work *The Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilisation*, had made a statement to which I am bound to give a rejoinder. According to Prof. de Lacouperie, every translator of the *Yih-king* should first critically examine its text and change it according to the alterations which he suggests, because the text is admitted to be different from what it first was, and the little that we know of the changes made in it is against my views.

This, I much regret to say, is an entirely unwarrantable assumption. I have already proved, elsewhere, that the text of the *Yih-king* has not been altered more than is usual in all ancient books; and most of the changes made in the *characters* are merely literal (verbal) producing no change in the sense,—as is the case generally with most ancient Chinese books. The learned Professor gave too much weight to certain writings of late date and little worth. *Wen-Wang* far from having corrupted the text and the chapter headings, either did not know our book at all or at least made no use of it. I may add that many of the distinguished Professor's suggested corrections are totally inadmissible, as my readers will see later on. He had, moreover, misunderstood the position which I maintain. I have merely translated the text of the *Yih-king* such as it has been ever since its first appearance as a compilation of sentences, without deciding from what work or works those sentences were extracted.

† We still have the ancient text in the Tchuen and a yet more ancient one, with its variants, through the *Yo-king* and the *Shi-pen*, texts engraved upon rocks and stone tablets.

‡ See my first article, pp. 137 and following.

these matters may consult my former book, *Le Yih-king, texte rétabli, traduit et commenté*, 4°, *Paris, E. Leroux*, and my various articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, and the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

In the translation of the *Yih-king*, we meet with many an obscure phrase, as is natural in a book composed of extracts and in places of even mere scraps of phrases to which the context only can give a precise meaning. At times, too, some words seem to have fallen out of the text, which may also, for the matter of that, have undergone some alterations, like all other ancient writings. Certain phrases, owing to the vagueness of expression and terminology in Chinese, are susceptible of different translations: of these I shall indicate the principal ones in the course of my work.

Be it, however, clearly understood that I purpose to translate here only the text of the *Yih-king* and the two ancient Commentaries which form, as it were, an integral part of the text. I leave out the Appendices or accessory dissertations subsequently added to the text which, however, they scarcely help in any way to explain. Dr. Legge, besides, has already given a satisfactory translation of them. (See the Rev. J. Legge's *The Yih-king*, App. iii., iv. and v., in *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. xvi.)

Finally, to facilitate the understanding of the symbolism of the *Kuas*, I give here the meaning of the 8 trigrams:—

☰ *K'ien*;—Heaven; productive power; inexhaustible force; sovereign power; greatness.

☷ *K'uen*;—Earth; receptive power, producing by excitement, sustaining; submission.

☵ *K'uan*;—Heavenly (running) Water; the moon; difficulty; danger.

☲ *Li*;—Light; the sun; splendour; beauty; agility.

☳ *Kan*;—Thunder; motive power; fear.

☴ *Sun*;—Wind; flexibility, permeability, elasticity, diffusion.

☶ *Kan*;—Mountain; stability; stoppage; obstacle.

☱ *Tui*;—Earthly (stagnant) Water; pleasure; contentment; calmness; immobility.

THE YIH-KING.

Kua, I. ; ; *K'ien.*

I.—Heavenly element; the active, exciting principle.

1st TEXT.—It originates, develops, maintains, completes (every being).

2d TEXT.—1. The dragon in the abyss is useless, inactive. (Symbols): The productive principle in chaos generates nothing. The prince shut up in his palace is of no use to his people.

2. The dragon which shows itself is in the fields. Beneficence indicates the great man.

3. The superior man is active and vigilant all the day. Even during the night he attends to his duty. Dangers coming upon him (in such circumstances) produce no evil results.

4. The dragon agitating himself in the abyss causes no injury. The wise prince exercises his influence on the world. *Com.* II.

5. The flying dragon dwells in the heaven (the symbol of a superior man). The active principle arises in heaven and is productive there.

6. The dragon that rises up and fights is the cause of injuries and of regrets. (Also, great prosperity cannot continue without prudence and moderation. *Com.* II.) The active principle must sometimes yield to the passive,—otherwise beings will not be produced.

7. To see many headless dragons is a happy presage. A great man, when good and condescending, is a dragon without a head or haughtiness. Obstinacy, typified by a head, is a source of great evil. *Com.* II.

Note.—In this series of phrases or expressions, probably taken from various books or consisting of various proverbs, and placed here together, each one mentions a dragon—the emblem of the productive principle, the generator, the sovereign power. Perhaps the 4th (and similar sentences) should be translated "The dragon raising himself is an unlucky presage," that is to say when the lot falls on such a phrase, it is a bad sign. But if this be so, we may ask why each phrase has not its own similar prognostication? Here the five mythical dragons are inadmissible, because they do not bear these names, nor have they the same attributes. Here, moreover, we have six dragons and not five. Prof. de Lacouperie, to maintain his own assumption, translated *Wu-yong* (which means *useless, inactive*) as "in no distinct place." Many of his explanations are of this kind.

Com. I.—Great, truly, is the originating principle, the *K'ien*: all things proceed therefrom. It is the origin of the heaven which it entirely surrounds; there the clouds are produced, and thence the rain is scattered;

from it all things derive their form. To explain the beginning and the end of all things, six lines are employed in 6 suitable positions (the *Kuas*). By means of them, as by a carriage drawn by six dragons, we can reach the heavens. The regular action of the *K'ien* is to make up and to unmake beings: each has its own fixed nature and purpose. The *K'ien* thus maintains universal union and harmony, and thus all progress is advanced and perfected. The Chiefs are raised above all, and, in this way, States enjoy peace and prosperity. The heaven moves and works with great power, and thus the superior man exercises his activity without ever being completely at rest.

Symbolism of the Kua.—"Heaven above heaven,"—the heaven in action; —supreme power.

Note.—Here we see that there is nothing except philosophical ideas, and there are no prognostics to be drawn from either the figure or its separate lines. The dragon is either the active originating principle, invisible at first like the Brahmanic Tad, then evolving himself from himself and, by producing himself, raising himself up to the heaven which though superior to all does not rule exclusively. Or it is the great man, who does nothing useful if he remains enclosed in his house, like *Kao-Tsou*, but who may become the salvation of the world by powerful and wise action. The two ideas seem to be mixed together. It is, as I said, impossible to find here any place for the five dragons of Chinese mythology or to explain these phrases by referring them to these dragons. Besides, the antithesis with the 2d *Kua*, which denotes the earth or the passive principle, clearly shows that it is the active principle which is dealt with in the 1st *Kua*.

Kua II., ䷁ *K'uen.*

I.—(1) *K'uen:* terrestrial principle; the wide-spread earth, productive, bearing, nourishing;—the Feminine;—submission. (2) *K'uen* = to close, to tie;—(3) *Kwun*,—an imperial garment.

1st Text.—It (the Earth) originates, develops, maintains the achievement of the mare. (The Earth, like a mare, produces, nourishes, etc.) The superior man in whatever he does, if he opposes (the action of the Earth) goes astray, if he follows (it) he is right. If he pursues his main object of profit, he may gain friends in the S. West, but will lose those in the N. East.*

Great is the Earth; it is the beginning of all beings, furnishes them with all necessaries, makes them live, and seconds (the action of) heaven. The mare is like her.

2d Text.—1. When we begin to walk on ice, the severe frost has come (an expression consecrated to designate the arrival of the winter

* The prince will gain some friends but will lose others. Here, surely, there is no room for any cosmogonic animal nor for a falling down of the earth: the context excludes both hypotheses. They cannot be introduced into the text without violating all the laws of the Chinese language.

which is the triumph of the passive principle, *K'uen*). It is used with reference to the winter sacrifice in honour of dead relations (*Li-Ki*, xxi. 1). Here we have the strongest affirmation of the principle *K'uen*, the subject of the chapter.

2. The earth, firm and square,* ceases not, without labour, to produce good things for all beings. (The action of the earth is glorious. *Com.*)

3. He who maintains its good order will obtain success. If one serves a prince, even though he do it not quite perfectly, he may yet extricate himself safely from trouble.

4. (In the sense of the closed *Kuen*), A closed and tied sack can be neither praised nor condemned (as to its contents). This is a proverb applied to the earth which contains hidden treasures, and to the deliberations of princes which should remain secret. (Prudence can do no harm. *Com.*)

5. *Kwun*: yellow imperial robe,† an emblem of happiness: in it are beauty and good order.

6. Dragons fight in desert space: their blood is black and yellow (symbolical of the active principle, heaven, which is black (*Kien*), and of the earth which is yellow).‡

7. The number 6 is lucky; using it ensures success.§

Com. I.—The passive principle of the earth is most powerful; from it all beings receive their birth; but it is entirely subject to the active principle of heaven. The earth in its great extension supports all things; its good qualities are unlimited. An immense container, its glory is great, where all beings equally have their development. The female animal has the nature of the earth; it traverses the whole, without limit or end. Mildness and submission, which are its attributes, produce happiness. The wise man should practise them. The good resulting from peaceable and lasting firmness corresponds to the immense good qualities of the earth.

Symbolism.—The double trigramme of the earth—"the earth over earth"—indicates its characteristic good qualities—to produce, support and maintain all things. The wise man, in accordance with this, maintains and upholds all beings by his good qualities.

Note.—This chapter is one of the rare cases in which we find placed together words having the same sound but different meanings, yet not without a relation to the principal idea. The first Commentary fully explains how the female animal is symbolic of the earth.

According to the TSO-CHUEN *Tchso Kong*, an. xii., § 8, the yellow robe signifies the qualities necessary for obtaining high offices and their insignia, that is gorgeous dresses.

* The ancient Chinese believed the heaven to be round and the earth square.

† More correctly a yellow under-garment, representing the earth which lies below and is yellow.

‡ These two terms *k'ien* and *kuen* form the usual characters for heaven and earth.

§ A divinatory phrase. This sentence serves as a conclusion to the two first *kwa*, and is by no means out of place.

Kua III.: ; *Tchun and t'un.*

1.—*Tchun:* Bud, shoot.* Growth, activity; to become great, to advance. 2. Difficulty; stoppage in advancement.

1st Text.—*Tchun:* the beginning of development, but not secured, or accomplished; stoppage. By activity success is secured in all that we may do.

2d Text.—1. To establish one's self lastingly,† one must keep himself firm and upright. (To maintain power) it is good to constitute vassal princes. Though one encounter difficulties, the will must always be attached to duty. If, even when raised up, one is condescending for the necessities of the little, one will secure the strong attachment of the people. (*Com.* II.)

2. (*a*) *Tchun* is as if stopped by difficulties, like a warrior whose horse goes back. (A yoked horse which wishes to back.)

(*b*) A stoppage in advancement, like a yoked horse which backs, causes a plentiful shedding of tears. (*App.*)

3. This is like a young girl whom a ravisher and robber wishes to marry. She should refuse firmly. (If she does so) she can, even after 10 years, still be married and become a mother.

Com. II.—All this refers to "difficulties." A return of prosperity is indicated by a solid equipage and by the birth of a child after 10 years.

4. If she is asked in marriage according to the rules, let her go; this will be well and advantageous to her. It is just like a stopped carriage which resumes its journey.

5. In its development, if the sap of the buds expands moderately, it is lucky; if too much, the growth will be (soon) arrested.

Com. II.—The same occurs, too, when the expansion comes too early.

Or: A hindrance to development: if it be small it may soon cease; if great, the result will be unhappy. (*Com. App.*)

6. When the game pursued escapes into a deep forest, the wise man prefers giving it up to exposing himself to danger. If he continues the pursuit, he will repent of it: he will be reduced to extremities. (*Com.* II.)

Symbolism.—"Thunder under the cloud"‡ signifies troubles and difficulties. The wise man arranges matters as circumstances seem to require. (*Com.* II.)

Com. I.—The two first *Kuas* have shown separately the two principles; now begin their mixing and difficulties. It is activity under these difficulties which leads to success. When heaven sends trouble and darkness, it is good to constitute vassal princes and not to give one's self up to rest and a (false) security. (This seems to have been added as a justification

* Life just beginning; an undeveloped bud; difficulty. *Com. Yih-king hoei.*

† Or: when we progress, we become great with difficulty (*Com.* II.). This means a matter which is commenced,—a state just beginning. *T'un* has reference to all this. *Com. puhn kwan*, to advance with difficulty.

‡ Here, and in all the symbolisms that follow, the question is regarding the meaning of the trigrams.

of the creation of fiefs; and the sentences of this chapter are placed in some disorder.)

Kua IV., ; *Meng.*

I.—*Meng:* A rough and ignorant soul; a child; a being not well moulded.

1st Text.—In order that a rough soul may become developed, it is not I (the master) who have to seek the young man, but he who has to seek me. The augur, when consulted once, gives his reply: if they make him search twice or thrice for it, he disdains further answer (*i.e.* if they do not believe the first augury).

2d Text.—1. To dispel ignorance and roughness, punishment must be used. Warnings and punishments should be used in order to remove all cause for future regrets. (In order to teach submission to the law of correction. *Com.* II.)

2. It is a good thing to devote one's attention to the ignorant (*meng*), to help and to protect a young girl: thus will youth be able to triumph over its own imperfections (*meng*). (The son must support the family. Thus the strong and the feeble help one another. *Com.* II.)

3. When you take a wife, do not consider her fortune.* The man who marries without having learned self-control, will not be happy. Do not take a wife who is not inclined to obey. *Com.* II.

4. The ignorant man (*meng*), poor and abandoned by all, is unhappy.

5. The want of polish (*meng*) may be lucky for a young man (by compelling him to become submissive).† When he is submissive with humility. *Com.* II.

6. To correct roughness (*meng*), it is not good to be tyrannical, but to use severe means in a suitable manner (to prevent its becoming tyranny). Thus the superior and the inferior are in concord. *Com.* II.

Com. I.—The ignorant make progress when they are made to advance at a fitting time. It is the office of the wise to instruct them and make them good.

Symbolism.—A mountain over a spring issuing from a valley—the emblem of a superior man, resolute and cultivating his good qualities.

Kua V.; ; *Su.*

1. Enforced stoppage; an obstacle; resistance to injurious forces; firmness in danger.

1st Text.—The upright and firm man will achieve a brilliant success, will strengthen himself, and bring (his work) to a happy completion. He will know how to conquer difficulties. (Literally, the great river, by breaking obstacles, etc.)

* *Or*, perhaps, Do not marry a woman who looks only for fortune in her future bridegroom,—which seems to agree better with the fundamental idea of *Meng*.

† This may be only a simple repetition of the words *Tung meng*, with the augural sign of a lucky lot.

2d TEXT.*—1. Obstacle, firmness in a distant country. With tact, perseverance and firmness, one will come out of it without injury. (The wise man) does not desire to break difficulties with violence; he unerringly follows principles. (*Com.* II.)

2. An obstacle (*Su*) on a reef, on a sandbank, or an island blocking the way, one can overcome with a little trouble. (*Siao yeu yuen* generally means evil designs.)

3. Stoppage, *danger* in marshy borderlands. If robbers come up, they will seize (those thus stopped). (External danger; with prudence and circumspection, one will not perish.)

4. *Danger*, in the blood, in coming out of a cave (of being slain by robbers).

5. *Danger* at feasts,—a favourable result, if one uses moderation. (*Ngān-i-tai-chi.*) Banquets will have a favourable issue, if temperance be attended to. (*Com.* II. *Medium tenuere beati*; the necessity of moderation in pleasures.)

6. The *danger* which one incurs who has entered a cave; if he unexpectedly meets some men, even three, and treats them with regard, luck will follow. (*Com.* II. Although the position is not pleasant, there will be no great harm.)

Note.—This paragraph is interpolated: the first phrase is like No. 4, and the 2d ("If he unexpectedly," etc.,) belongs to a later symbolism, inspired by the sight of the 3 full lines of the lower trigram, which are taken for the 3 hosts.

Symbolism.—Com. I. *Su* means, Uprightness in the face of danger; immoveable firmness not allowing itself to be overcome or surprised, the righteousness of which is never weakened or exhausted. He who on account of his dignity holds the place of heaven should maintain justice and faithfulness to duty: thus he will be able to overcome difficulties in whatever he undertakes. (*Ap.*)

Com. II.—*Su* is made up of the trigram "cloud" above the trigram "heaven," signifying clouds rising in the heaven. So the wise man tastes joy and pleasure.

Kua VI.; ䷅; *Song.*

I.—*Song*: Appeal to the Prince; a lawsuit; public affairs. (*App.*)

1st TEXT.—The upright man will prevent them; even when carried out with fear and prudence, their end is fatal, even if the middle be favourable. One may succeed in accosting the great, but will not get through the great difficulties (around him).

Com. I.—A *law-suit* should not be urged to the utmost. One will not overcome all difficulties, and must fall into an abyss. The wise man places above all things the just mean, and uprightness.

* All these paragraphs contain examples of the use of the word *Su*, danger, difficulty—dangers of various kinds gradually increasing. The 6th shows both a difficulty and the manner of behaving under it. (*App.*)

2d Text.—1. Desisting (from a *Law-suit*) undertaken* will end happily, even though some rumour (regarding it) may have got abroad. If the suit, notwithstanding discussion, is not continued, the affair will be cleared up. *Com.* II.

2. If he who desists from a *suit* returns home and keeps the matter secret from his neighbours, he will suffer no molestation on account of it.

If the little contend with the great, evils will come as if invited (led in by the hand). *Com.* II.

3. (*a*) He who practises the virtues of the ancients will prosper.

(*b*) Even if complete success does not attend application to public affairs, some at least may be achieved.†—These two things are lucky. *Com.* II.

4. He who loses a *suit* should amend his ways, return to righteousness, and regain his peace of mind. He will thus be happily strengthened.

5. In a *suit*, the beginning (only) is pleasant. It leads to quarrels, *etc.* (*App.*) *Or:* It will be lucky if one holds to what is just.

6. Though one succeed in public affairs‡ and obtain honourable distinction§ at Court, this may be taken away thrice.—We can never be sure that a success is final. *Com.*

Symbolism.—1. Power above and Danger below (for the little) represent a law-suit.

2. "Heaven above water" forms this *Kua*, Danger. The wise man in undertaking a matter considers it thoroughly before beginning.

Kua VII. ; ䷆ ; *Sze.*

I.—*Sze:* Chief; troops, an army; people, a crowd.

1st Text.—The experienced chief is lucky and makes no mistakes.

Com. I.—*Sze* means the people whose happiness proceeds from firmness and justice, by which also one can wield power over the people. By doing thus, the strong man gains his end: exposed to the danger of warlike expeditions, he will be able to conquer (ravage) the world. The people follow him, and he is (ever) successful. How can sorrow betide him?

2d Text.—1. An *army* making war according to the rules will be successful. *Or*, Let an army make war according to rules, otherwise evil will befall it. (*App.*) *Com.* If it violates the laws of justice or of the military art, it will meet an unhappy fate.

2. If (the *king*) is in the midst of his troops, all will go well (and) without mistakes. He should repeat his orders three times to make sure that he has been understood.

3. It will be fatal, if the Chief is like a corpse on a car.‖ His subordinates should follow and obey him without making any mistakes.

* *Sung*, according to *Tchu-hi*, means a suit instituted but not yet terminated.

† *Or:* such application does not allow of perfection in virtues.

‡ *Or:* gain a lawsuit.

§ A wide girdle,—a mark of dignity.

‖ Personating a dead man. Cf. *Tchih-shi:* to occupy a place without doing its duties.

Or: The *army* should halt and retreat as required, in order to avoid mistakes.

4. If the *army* is in a country full of heavy game, it will be good to hunt and take it (for its sustenance).*

5. The *Royal Prince* should lead the army, and keep himself in its midst. If the juniors (who help him) are negligent and cowardly, there will be mistakes and failure.†

6. A *great prince*, having received a heavenly mission, will successfully create a powerful state and firmly establish his own dynasty. A common man cannot serve this purpose.

Symbolism.—"Water under the earth, in the earth." In accordance with this figure, the great man preserves the people (as the water does the products of the soil), and guides the education of the masses. These are various meanings of the word *See*. Prof. de Lacouperie's translation needs no remark as he strikes out the greater part of the words: it is a mere indulgence of fancy.

Kua VIII.; ; *P'i.*‡

I.—*P'i: Union*, harmony; alliance, assistance.

1st TEXT.—*Union* is an excellent thing, a lucky beginning which will be perfected without fail. If concord be not secured, great evils will follow.

Com. I.—*P'i* means concord, aid; the little following and helping (the great) with submission. If concord does not result when the great man holds his place, the moral law is at an end.

2d TEXT.—1. *Union* with a sincere man is easy. The upright man, a friend to union, is (full of this spirit) as an earthen vessel full of fruits. Ever increasing advantages will accrue to him.

2. If the spirit of *union* proceeds from the heart, it will have every success. One will not fail by one's own fault. *Com.* II.

3. *Union* with the wicked is a source of evils. *Com.* II.

4. *Union* with outsiders is lucky. *Com.* It is good to unite with the wise, to follow great men.

5. *Perfect union.* The king while hunting makes three drives, each time allowing the game to escape;§ and the people take no notice (of its having fled out of the park), because they know that the king did it purposely from good-nature.—This proves that the king has well educated and moulded his people. *Com.* II.

* *Or*, for exercise. In China, the chase is a military exercise, undertaken as a preparation for campaigns.

† Cf. the *Sing-li-ts'ing-i*, in the concluding treatise.

‡ Prof. de Lacouperie translates this *to break*: and to prove the correctness of his translation he even explains *pi fu yeh* as meaning cracked earthenware: these three words really mean *to aid, to second*.

§ The game was kept in enclosed parks. One side was opened to let the animals escape from the hunters. Knowing this, the people allow them to escape. According to the *Li-ki*, iii., *v.* 2, § 24, the Emperor acts thus in order that the people, in their turn, may have some game to hunt.

6. A *union* without a head is an evil thing: nothing good can come of it.

Symbolism.—"Water above the earth" represents concord, as the water penetrates the earth and unites with it, leaving no chinks. Animated by this spirit the ancient kings consolidated their States and brought vassal princes into union with them.

Kua IX.: ; *Siao tchu.*

I.—*Siao-tchu*: Little instruction; education; correction; stoppage.

1st Text.—Instruction, education but little developed, is like a great cloud without rain coming from western countries (promising but not accomplishing good things).

Com. I.—The people are instructed when goodness is joined to power, and both great and small agree among themselves. With firmness and goodness in the one and submission in the others, power obtains its end, and useful purposes are carried out. (The figure of the first text represents prosperity as a rising cloud not yet widely spread.)

2d Text.*—1. The *correction* of our nature† is made by the law of reason; it is without fault; it is a source of happiness. (*App.*)

2. To exhort, to guide to this *correction* is an excellent work. (This is the just mean which cannot fail of its own fault. *Com.* II.)

3. Like a car of which the wheels have fallen off (which cannot go), so the husband and wife who, turning away their eyes from each other (do not live in harmony) will not be able to secure their house. (3d meaning. Cf. *Com.* II.)

4. With the sincere man, the blood gushes warmly. (Good feelings spring vigorously.) Respect is shown. (Superiors unite with him in opinion. *App.*)

5. The upright and sincere man gains to himself the others and communicates his possessions to his neighbours. *Com.* II. He is not rich for himself alone.

6. As a shower of rain refreshes everything, so virtue by encouragement becomes perfect. A woman, even if accomplished, may be too excitable and exacting, like the moon on the point of being full. The wise man should *correct* defects and faults, when any vice exists. (Effects of *Tchu. Com.* II.) (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"Wind blowing over the heaven," with an unsubstantial energy,—such is defective instruction. But the great and wise man causes virtue to shine and be admired.

Note.—The only subject of this section, understood thus and according to the Commentaries, is the correction of faults, and the renewing of nature. Women, even the best, have some faults which require correction.

* Here *Tchu* is taken in the sense of education, correction.

† Nature is originally good. The passions to which we yield pervert it; it must be corrected and brought back to its original state.

Kua X.; ; *Li.*

I. *Li*: Walking upon; conduct; action; following a road.

1st Text.—The man who can tread on a tiger's tail without causing him to roar,* will be successful. (Comp. *pa hū wei*.)

2d Text.—1. He whose *conduct* is upright goes on without committing a fault. Upright and pure conduct alone should be approved.

2. He who *follows the path* of (good) morals, treads on easy and level ground. The peaceable and retiring man strengthens himself and has luck. Holding to the mean, he does not fall into disorder. *Com.* II.

3. The one-eyed man can still see, and the one-legged still walk, though but ill.† In this state of bodily imperfection if he *treads* on a tiger's tail‡ (makes a false step), he will be bitten, and evil will result. Even a soldier may become a great prince if he follows the good path.—He will succeed if he has an energetic will. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

4. Even if one has to *tread* on a tiger's tail (to encounter great difficulties), by acting with caution and prudence, the final issue of the enterprise will be fortunate. The end will be gained. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

5. By *walking* with firmness great and solid progress will be made forward.—If the situation be carefully observed as it should. *Com.* II.

6. If one keep his eyes open on his own conduct (*li*) and pay attention to prognostics, his doings, taken all together, will be particularly lucky.—As to chiefs, there will be occasion for high praise. *Com.* II.

Symbolism.—"Heaven above stagnant water," means weakness, mildness, walking submissively under power, joy answering power. It is the just and temperate man holding the supreme dignity, free from fault, glorious and brilliant. The great and wise man distinguishes between the high and the low, and gives certain satisfaction to the desires of the people.

Note.—The whole of this deals with maxims regarding the rules of conduct. The six sentences moreover give cases of the application of various meanings of *Li*.

Kua XI.; ; *T'ai.*

I.—*T'ai*: Union; penetration; liberality; generosity.

1st Text.—The small go to the great, the great to the little; hence results a happy development of affairs. (Matter seeks power; the earth, the heaven; the small, the great.) (*App.*) Cf. 30, l. 7, and foll.

Com. I.—When this reciprocal penetration is at work, the heaven and the earth are in harmony, and all beings are produced. The small and the great are in accord, and their purposes and ends are identical.

2. The lower trigram represents the active, and the upper the passive

* This represents the utmost ability and tact: an instance of the use of the word *Li*.

† One cannot walk with him. *Com.* II.

‡ A peculiar expression denoting an encounter with great difficulties, being in a delicate situation, full of dangers.

principle. That is a figure of constructive power, of the great; this, of submission, of receptiveness and of the small, of common men. The active penetrates the passive principle. The way of the great is elevated; that of the small is silent and full of sorrow.

2d Text.—1. (A symbol of union): If we pull up plants whose roots are interwoven (they come up several together,—thus *union* multiplies strength. *App.*)

2. If we endure the roughness of others (for the sake of continuing united); if being separated* we do not forget those who have remained behind; if we treat our equals in a friendly manner (*pih*), we will, by such *union*, maintain ourselves with glory in the way of the (just) middle. (*App.*)

3. Without a level surface there can be no slope, and without a going forth there can be no return.†

Uprightness and living without a fault are difficult; but let us not regret being honest; we shall have happiness even in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the senses.

4. He who is fluctuating and unstable in his uprightness will not gain over his neighbours by his riches, and he will not become deserving of confidence solely because he has been warned (union impeded by defects. *App.*)

5. *Ti-y*, giving his young sister in marriage,‡ secured prosperity and a singular success: (the union of spouses).—*Com.* II. He secured the realization of his desires by remaining just.

6. When the ramparts of a city fall into the mud, in vain will it (a city without defence) make use of arms to delay its fate.—*Com.* II. So the order which should reign in it becomes disturbed.

Symbolism.—"Earth above heaven." *T'ai* expresses the relationship and the reciprocal permeation of heaven and earth. The prince, by his power, completes the regular action of heaven and earth; and he also sustains his people by aiding and assisting their conveniences (? needs).

Note.—This section develops, by means of examples, the idea of permeation, relationship, mutual help and union.

* Literally: having crossed the river, *ho*.

† An expression for reciprocal relationships, of the alliance and necessary union of the two principles and of human beings.

‡ *Ti-y* is stated to have been the last king but one of the *Shang-yin* (1191). He ordained that Imperial princesses marrying grandees of less rank should forfeit their princely grade. He thus ensured their submission to their husbands and good harmony in their households. (See *T'ong tao tang yih-king*, fol. 37.)

(To be continued.)

THREE HYMNS OF ZOROASTER.

By Dr. L. H. Mills.

In endeavouring to reproduce ancient metrical matter in modern language, we are met by even greater difficulties than those which arise in treating contemporary verse. No prose translation can bring about any effect which approaches that made by the original on its hearers, for in the case of the old-world poem we must not forget that it had no readers, being handed down by oral repetition only, and there is always that serious difference between the early and the new.

We are obliged to bring back the rhythm, if we can, and as the musical intonations are lost we can the less dispense with the metrical ones. No poem whatever is complete without them, however grandly ideal its conceptions may be; and some pieces entirely depend on their rhythmical harmony even for their existence as poetry. Of course no words in metre can be exactly reproduced in metre: it would be childish to attempt it. Nor can any difficult ancient compositions either in prose or verse be exactly rendered even in literal prose forms. Our venerated and familiar Semitic Scriptures themselves are nearly as full of insolvable problems as the Rig Veda or the Zend Avesta. No critic therefore expects literally exact reproductions; but what we do expect to accomplish, and what may fairly be expected of us, is to catch the main meaning and to give again the tone; that alone is difficult enough, yet it is a great service if it can be accomplished; to hear, preserve and speak out the echoes of ancient song; it is a far higher service than to reproduce mere words, for it is the sentiment which we desire to recover when we are dealing with compositions which appeal to our moral feeling.

Take for instance that sublime prayer in Yasna XXVIII. 5, "O Holiness, when shall I see Thee," etc.; those are almost the only actually certain words in the remarkable strophe; but then the two or three possible alternative translations (one of which must of necessity be the true one) are, each of them, fully in the same key. Whichever we may critically believe to be the nearest to the thoughts of the composer, neither it nor any one of the other renderings fails to sustain the lofty tone (only marred as it is throughout by a minute percentage of incantation); and what we need to know is how high and how deep the emotions of the soul were in the man that muttered the hymn as he prepared it, and in the best of the people who heard it.

What difference for instance does it make to us whether Zarathushtra sang, "When shall I see thee as I discover Obedience the path to the Lord, to Mazda the most beneficent," or "the throne of Mazda the Lord most beneficent toward the Obedient"? The first is the finer because an action of the mind which leads us to God is the thing to be sought; but "the throne of Mazda" as the thing immediately found is nearly as good

an idea, and more probable in the ancient fragment because less subtle. The main scope of the words in either version is unmistakable, and no one who has any serious knowledge of the subject can either miss it or escape it; and so throughout. When, on the other hand, we try to determine the exact point of ideas intended to be conveyed by the composer in each word or sentence of the Gâthas, a very different state of things presents itself. Here we have discord and to satiety. Perhaps no field of competition offers so rich an opportunity to the worst passions of our nature, and perhaps in no other respectable calling has there been so much deceit; and this battle must go on. But in the meantime we can enjoy the satisfaction of knowing what the great Seer was trying to communicate and how far his effort has contributed to ennoble human thought.

With this preface let me offer a specimen of the Gâthas as rendered in metre—or at least in rhythm—for the first time, as we may well believe, since they were originally spoken. How far I can make these remote pieces pleasing or intelligible I can only conjecture from the remarks of hearers, which, as too often in similar cases, may have been too favourably coloured. As to the fulness with which I have presented the various touches that may be conceivably given to these sketches, there I fear I have overpassed the mark. I cannot myself think of anything which could be added to the manifold treatment which I have given them. Texts, original texts for the first time edited with collations, deciphered and translated, literally and freely, all have been presented and commented upon, extensively and with minuteness; if it be possible to over-do such a subject, I have certainly fallen into that error. But there remains always the satisfaction to the reader that his author has at least spared no pains to do all that can be done to give trustworthy explanations, and this, sad to say, is far from a common fault.* I will only add that the reader should place himself far back in the pre-Christian centuries, if he would get any impressions from the pieces which are just and at the same time agreeable; for no serious opinion has yet been offered which places them later than the time of Cyrus at least, and the greatest Sanskritist living has put them at 1,500 years before Christ.

I.—YASNA XXIX.

The wail of the Herd's soul; the call of Zoroaster.

(The oldest poem of the world.†)

To You cried the Kine's soul: for what did Ye form? who made me?
On me come wrath and the blow, the murder's shock, contempt's defiance,‡
Than You none other have I, then prosper, O guardian, my tillage.

* See the *Gottingische Gelehrten Anzeige* of May 13th, 1893, review by Professor Justi of Marburg, and Professor Darmesteter's in the *Revue Critique* of September 18th, 1893. See also the *Festgruss* to Professor Roth the great Vedic lexicographer, where, at page 193, I have translated Yasna XXVIII. into Sanskrit.

† So very possibly.

‡ Representing the sufferings of the agricultural population from the bloody raids of Turanian or Vedic enemies.

The Creator of the Herds.

How hadst thou for kine a chieftain? thus the Herd's maker asked of Asha;
When, ruling ones,* ye made her, with the field, kine-breeding, zealous?
Whom gave ye her life's master, wrath from the wicked ones smiting?

Asha.†

Asha to him made answer: "No chief driving grief can be offered.
Of these things that are hidden how the lofty move their plans;
Of beings He is mightiest whom I near with earnest calls."

Sovereignty.

God is of decrees most mindful, deeds beforehand done remembering,
By infidels done, and by us, and what both may do hereafter.
The Lord shall all things discern; To us shall it be as He willeth.

Zoroaster.

Thus we too beseeching, | with hands outstretched to Ahura,
I, and the mother Cow, with questions in doubt press Mazda.
Not on the diligent saint let destruction fall with the faithless.

Ahura, the call.

Then spake Ahura Mazda, He knowing the help by his insight:
No chieftain is found for us here, nor a lord from the Right inspired;
Then thee for the diligent saint, as a lord, the Creator ordered.

The Holy Immortals‡

Mazda this offering's Manthra created with Asha consenting,
Food on the Kine he bestowed, on the eaters with kind commandment;
Who, with the Good Mind's grace, will declare it with mouth to mortals?

Ahura, the appointment

Found for me here is the man, who alone to our doctrines hath hearkened,
Zarathushtra Spitama. Our sacred counsels (Asha's and Mazda's),
Forth to proclaim he desires. Him the place of my prophet give I.

The Herd's Soul

Then wept the Kine's Soul: "gain I, | a lord for the grieving feeble,
A voice of an impotent man,§ while I pray for a kingly chief".

The Immortals.

When shall he ever appear who may give to her help strong-handed?

Zoroaster, prayer for success

Grant gladness, O Ahura and the Right, unto these a Kingdom,
A Realm with the Good Mind ordered, which joy and amenity‖ giveth.
Of these, O Mazda, ever | the possessor first I thought Thee.

* The Ameshaspends or Holy Immortals, the personified attributes of God.
† The personified Holiness of the Law.
‡ Or possibly the attending saints.
§ The prophet "without honour."
‖ Honest labour safe from the raid.

and for light

Whence Righteousness, Good Mind, and Thou | the Kingdom, come Ye?
Then hastening
To grant us light, O Lord, for The Holy Cause do Ye reach us
Your aid, O Living One, now, yea, the helpful gifts of Your faithful!

II.—YASNA XXVIII.

Zoroaster enters upon his office.

A priestly prayer

With hands outstretched I beseech, with praise for this grace, the first blessing,
All actions done in the Right,* gift of, Mazda, Thy bounteous spirit,
And the Good Mind's understanding, thus the soul of the Kine I appease.†

for Heaven and Earth

I who You two encircle, Great Giver the Lord, with the Good Mind,
Gifts for the two lives grant me, this bodily life and the mental,
The prizes by Right deserved; thus to Glory He brings his blest.

Invocation

O Righteousness and thou Good Mind, with surpassing chants I'll praise you
And Mazda, for whom our Piety | aids the everlasting Kingdom,
Aye, together I adore you; then for grace while I call draw near.

Consecration

I, who my soul am giving | to watchful zeal‡ with Thy Good Mind,
For every action the grace | of Mazda, the Living One, knowing,
In wish for the Truth will I teach | while I can, and have aught of power.

Longings

O Righteousness, when shall I see Thee, and thou Good Mind, as I discover
Obedience, the path to the Lord, to Mazda, the most beneficent?§
With that Manthra will we teach‖ | foul heretics faith on our God.

Come with the Good Mind, and give us | long life,¶ O Thou giver of blessings;
Through revealed truth do Thou grant | Zarathushtra Thy strong help;
Grant that to us by whose aid | we may crush the tormentor's torments.**

* The Right included ritual and ceremonial holiness as well as purity in thought, word and deed.

† See V. xxix.

‡ Or "to Heaven."

§ Or "the throne of Manda the Lord beneficent to the Obedient." See above, p. 1.

‖ Or "hold off the flesh-devouring fiends." See above, p. 1.

¶ Possibly "O Thou ever living One."

** The bloody idolatrous foe who lived by plunder.

for guidance and grace

Give Righteousness, Thou this blessing | gains earned by a Good Mind to us,
And grant our wish, O Ârmaiti, | to me, and to Vishtâsp* together;
Grant Thou us, O Mazda ruler, Your Beneficent words to hear.

and for the future

That best I ask, Thou Best One, One-in-mind with the Right unchanging,
Of Thee, Ahura, I ask it, for Frashoashtra* and me beseeching;
Freely to us mayst Thou give it, for the Good Mind's lasting age.

Fears, and further prayer

With prayers for these blessings, O Mazda | and Asha, may we not pain you,
And Best Mind, we who aid you | in the tenfold (?)† chorus of praisers.
Propitious verily be Ye | toward the mighty possessor of weal.‡

Again for light.

What laws of truth Thou knowest | from insight of Right, and the Good Mind,
With these as the gains for earning, O Ahura, fill our desire,
Thus do I learn Your commands, complete for our plenty and weal.

and for inspiration

I who the Right to shelter, and the Good Mind, am set for ever,
Teach Thou me forth from Thyself | to proclaim, from Thy mouth of spirit,
The laws by which at the first, this world into being entered!

III.—YASNA XXX.

The delivery of the Doctrine; the first document of Dualism.

Exordium to the assembled masses

Thus I will speak monitions, ye who come, yea the wise one's monitions,
Praises I speak for the Lord, and the offerings of the Good Mind,
Both benignant counsels from Truth | whence signs in the lights§ seem friendly.

The hour of decision

Hear ye this with the ears! Behold ye the flames‖ with the Best Mind.
Faith's choice must ye now fix—for yourselves man and man deciding,
The great concern is at hand, to this our teaching awake ye!

God and the evil god

Thus are the spirits primeval | who, as Twain, by their acts are famèd
In thought, in word, and in deed, a better they two, and an evil;
Of these,¶ let (?) the wise choose aright, and not as the evil-minded.

* The union of a trio in earnest entreaty is a special sign of historic character; no forger in later times would be likely to weave in such expressions.

† So, literally, but perhaps merely meaning "mighty"; or "in the offering."

‡ Probably the consecrated King, also a priest in the struggle.

§ In the stars, or altar flame. ‖ The Holy Fire. ¶ That is "between these."

Creation and counter-creation

Then those spirits created, as first they two came together,
Life and our death, decreeing | how all at the last shall be ordered,
For evil men *Hell*, the Worst life, for the righteous the Best Mind, *Heaven*.

the choice

Of these two spirits he chose | who is evil, the worst things working,
But Right chose the Spirit bounteous, clothing-on the firm stones of heaven,
(Choosing) those who content Ahura | with actions essentially pure.

*the fall**

Of these two choose not aright | the Devas* ; theirs was deception ;
Those questioning then he approached, the Worst Mind, that he might be chosen ;
Together they rushed into Wrath, and the life of the mortal ruin!

Redemption

To him came then the *helper* | with Kingdom, Right, and the Good Mind,
And a body gave Ârmaitiî† | the eternal and never bending,
With these who are Thine may she be, as Thou earnest first in creations.

the struggle

Thus when the vengeance cometh, vengeance just upon faithless sinners
Thereon for Thee, O Lord, is the Kingdom gained by the Good Mind,
And for those declared, O Mazda | who the Lie unto Truth deliver.

Victory

Thus may we be like those | who bring on this world's completion,
As Ahuras of the Lord, bearing gifts with Asha's grace,
For there are our thoughts abiding, where wisdom lives in her home.

judgment

Then on the host of the Lie | the blow of destruction descendeth,
But swiftest in the abode | of the Good Mind gather the righteous,
With Mazda and Asha they dwell | advancing in holier fame.

and the end.

Wherefore these doctrines ye learn | which Ahura gave, O ye mortals,
For our welfare and in grace, when long is the wound for the wicked,
And blessings the lot of the pure ; upon this shall there be salvation !‡

Oxford, December, 1894.

* Fall of the "gods," or of their worshippers.

† Devotion, the personified attribute of God.

‡ Alternatives literal and free with commentary may be found in my Edition of the Gâthas (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1894 ; to be had also at the Clarendon Press Depository in Oxford and London), to which a dictionary is to be added. See also the Sacred Books of the East, my Vol. xxxi., pp. 1-193.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.

By the Rev. Rabbi H. Gollancz, M.A.

In the July number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* there appeated a few hurried remarks of mine relating to *Jewish Authorities on the Ram of Abraham*. I now venture to think that it will not be uninteresting to hear what Jewish Literature has to say concerning the general subject itself, viz., "*The Sacrifice of Isaac*." Talmudic and Midrashic Literature abounds with versions, differing more or less from one another, of this episode in Bible History. The "Sacrifice of Isaac" as contained in the xxii. Chapter of Genesis is so fascinating a theme (if only from a literary point of view), that it is not to be wondered at, that the Jewish Rabbis of old invested the whole subject with the charms of poetry and pathos, so eminently characteristic of Midrashic Literature.

I do not intend in the brief notes which follow to present to the reader in an exhaustive form the various versions as they occur in Hebrew Literature, but simply to contribute a few passages which I have translated from the original Hebrew sources—passages which will give an idea of the poetic halo which has been cast around one of the most startling, yet appealing chapters contained in the historical portion of Holy Writ.

A typical passage is that occurring in the Talmud (Treatise *Sanhedrin*, fol. 89 b), being in fact a commentary in explanation of the expression "*debarim*," which in Hebrew means "words" as well as "things," in the phrase "And it came to pass *after these things* that God did prove Abraham," etc. (Gen. xxii. 1). As will be seen from the translation which follows, the Talmud considers that the commandment unto Abraham to take his son Isaac and offer him as a sacrifice only "came to pass *after these words*," *i.e.*, after certain words had been exchanged, or conversations had taken place, to call for such a remarkable and astounding command. After which "words" or "conversation"?

A.—Rabbi Jochanan answers in the name of R. Jose ben Zimra: After the words of Satan: for, after "the great feast which Abraham made on the day that Isaac was weaned" (Gen. xxi. 8), Satan appeared before God and said unto Him, "Lord of the Universe! Thou didst graciously vouchsafe unto that aged man when he was a hundred years old a son, and yet he did not think of sacrificing in the course of the whole banquet even a turtle-dove or pigeon in honour of Thee." God replied: "You will acknowledge that he made the feast but for his son's sake. I am confident, however, that were I to bid him sacrifice this very son, he would unhesitatingly comply with My request." Whereupon God immediately "did prove Abraham . . . and said, Take, *I pray thee*, thy son," etc.

[The expression "*I pray thee*" is commented upon by R. Simeon bar Abba thus:—In the same manner as a King of flesh and blood, who in the course of his many battles had always relied for his success upon a

valiant warrior of his who never sustained a defeat, just as he, on the eve of a dreadful battle would beseech this self-same warrior and entreat him, saying: 'Stand firm, *I pray thee*, and prove thyself a hero for my sake even this time, so that people shall not say, the former encounters were but slight and unimportant:" even thus did the Holy One, blessed be He! speak unto Abraham. "I have proved thee, indeed, by many a trial, and thou hast stood them all. Now be firm, and for My sake, *I pray thee*, stand this trial also, that men shall not vauntingly say, there was nothing real, no important sacrifice was involved in the former tests of thy obedience."]

Now, therefore, "Take thy son" (Gen. xxii. 2).

"I have two sons," said Abraham.

"Thine only son."

"Each is the only one of his mother," he added.

"Whom thou lovest."

"I love them both," he continued.

"Even Isaac."

In this gentle manner, says the Talmud, piecemeal did God break the news unto Abraham, so that the command should not fall upon him with too great a shock.

B.—In the *Midrash Rabbah* (Genesis § 55), the expression "*after these things*" or "*words*" is referred to Abraham himself, and suggests the explanation: After he had been soliloquizing within himself and saying, I have rejoiced myself and rejoiced others, and yet have I devoted naught, neither a cow nor a ram as a sacrifice to the Holy One, blessed be He! In consequence of "*these words*" God proved him and said unto him, "Take thy son," etc.

[According to another version, the foregoing confession appears as an accusation brought against Abraham by the ministering angels, who complain before God, "He has rejoiced himself . . . and yet has devoted naught," etc.]

C.—"After these words," continues the Talmud (citing the opinion of R. Levi), might refer to the following conversation held between Ishmael and Isaac. Ishmael one day addressed Isaac and said: "I am above thee in the observance of God's commands, for thou wast circumcised when 8 days old, whilst I endured circumcision at the age of 13 years." "And thou wouldst taunt me," rejoined Isaac, "in this matter! By Heaven! were God to demand of me my whole body as a sacrifice, I would willingly yield it up." It was the outcome of this conversation which led God to prove Abraham's faith.

Now, was Sarah to be apprised of this dreadful intelligence regarding the sacrifice of Isaac which was imminent? The *Jalkut Simeoni* (on Gen. xxii.) relates, that at this juncture Abraham argued within himself thus:—"Shall I inform Sarah of all this? A woman's mind is not strong, and the consequence of my telling her will be—Heaven knows what: while if I steal the boy from her, and inform her not, she will do away with herself in despair at not seeing her child." He, accordingly, devised the following plan. He bade his wife prepare a banquet, at which they might

celebrate the day as a day of rejoicing: whereupon Sarah inquired, "Wherefore all this mirth?" and Abraham answered her and said: "Seeing that God has presented such an old couple as we are with a son, is it not meet that we should rejoice and be glad?" During the banquet, Abraham addressed his wife thus: "Thou knowest, that when I was but three years old I learnt to know my Creator: whilst our boy is already grown up, and he has not yet been initiated into this knowledge. Now I have been informed of a place where they train youths, suppose I conduct him thither." Sarah assented, remarking "Take him in peace." Thereupon "Abraham rose up early in the morning," etc. (*ibid.*, verse 3), deeming it prudent to go while Sarah was asleep, so that she might not have the chance of altering her mind.

While on the way he was accosted by Satan in the form of an old man, who inquired of him, "Whither goest thou?" "To Divine Service," was the reply. "Wherefore, then, the wood and the fire and the knife?" asked Satan. "To cook my food with, in the event of my staying a day or two," was Abraham's reply. "A man like you to take the life of his own son, one given him, too, in his old age! Mark you, if he dies, you will pay the extreme penalty of the law"—thus spake Satan; and Abraham replied, "God has commanded me and I obey." And Satan, turning aside from Abraham and assuming the form of a young man, approached Isaac, and inquired of him "Whither goest thou?" "To gain instruction and understanding," was Isaac's answer. "In life or in death?" Satan asked: "Knowest thou not that thy father is leading thee to the slaughter?" "Be it even so!" Isaac replied. Finding himself baffled so far, Satan persisted in his attempt, and spake unto Sarah: "Where is thy husband?" "He is engaged in his work." "And thy son, where is he?" "Gone with him." "But, shouldst thou not have said 'I will not allow him to leave the outer door?'" "Why not? They have gone to engage in prayer." Thereupon Satan exclaimed "Thou shalt no more see thy son," and Sarah replied "Though I lose mine only son, God's will be done!"

"And they went both of them *together*" (*ibid.* vv. 6 and 8). . . . "And they came unto the place of which God had told him" (*ibid.* v. 9): father and son being of one mind, both bearing the stones for the altar, both bearing the fire and the wood, Abraham like to one engaged in preparations for the marriage of his son, Isaac as though he were spreading the marriage-canopy for himself. And Isaac broke the silence and addressing Abraham said: "Father, hasten to fulfil the will of God, and burn me well and my ashes take thou to my mother, that she may lay them up, so that each time she beholds them she may exclaim: "These are the remains of my son who suffered his father to slay him!" "But, father, what will you do in your old age?" "We know full well," Abraham replied, "that our end is near: the Being who has comforted us hitherto will surely continue to grant us His support even to the day of death."

"And Abraham built an altar there and laid the wood in order and bound Isaac his son (v. 9). And while these preparations were proceeding, Isaac addressed his father and said: "Father, bind both my hands and feet firmly, lest in struggling I should strike thee, and thus

in my last moments be guilty of disrespect towards my parent." And Abraham did so, and there he stood, as the High Priest of old when he brought his oblation and his drink-offering. And the Almighty One looked on, and beheld the father binding his son with all his heart, and the son permitting himself to be bound with all his heart. Thus Abraham "laid him on the altar" (v. 9): the eyes of Abraham being fixed on the eyes of Isaac, and the eyes of Isaac fixed upon the heavens above: and tears were streaming from the eyes of Abraham, and he ventured to give expression to the hope, "O that God might deign to accept some other sacrifice in place of thee, my son!" At that moment he could not restrain his emotions, he broke forth into wailing and tears, and raising his eyes on high, he exclaimed: "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills, from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth" (Ps. cxxi. 1, 2).

At that moment, too, the heavenly hosts lifted up their lamentation on behalf of Isaac, and the ministering angels joined their choir, and said one to another: "Lo and behold a loving father about to slay a beloved son! What will become of the Divine Promise once made unto Abraham: "Thus shall thy seed be?" And then they approached the Heavenly Throne and besought God's Mercy. "Lord of the Universe," they began, "Thou art called merciful and compassionate: O thou whose mercies extend unto all Thy works, compassionate Isaac, the son of man, who now lies there bound, indeed, as the beast of the field: it is Thou who savest both man and beast!"

Immediately the command went forth: "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him, for now I know that thou fearest God," etc. (v. 12). . . . "And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram," etc. (v. 13). This ram, says Rabbi Zachariah, was created on the eve of the Sabbath in the twilight [*cf.* Note July No.], and it had been running in order to offer itself as a sacrifice in place of Isaac, now released. But Samael as the Hinderer to deprive Abraham of the opportunity of sacrificing to God prevented it from approaching: and so it was "caught in a thicket by his horns." And what did that ram do to attract the attention of the Patriarch? He kept pulling at Abraham's garment so long till he looked behind him, saw the ram, loosened it and offered it up as a sacrifice to Heaven. As regards this ram itself, created in the twilight, R. Chanina ben Dosa remarks that not one portion of it was wasted. Its sinews went to form the 10 strings of the harp upon which David, the minstrel King, played; from its hide was made the girdle which once encircled the loins of Elijah the prophet: the left horn was the cornet which sounded upon Mt. Sinai: and the right horn, which is larger than the left, will be used in the days of the future, when the prophecy will be verified, "And it shall come to pass in that day that the great trumpet shall be blown" (Isaiah xxvii. 13).

The Midrash adds, that the fortunes of this ram, wandering about from field to field, and caught at last in a thicket by his horns, supplied Abraham with food for reflection, for by means of the prophetic spirit he saw how, in after times, the Israelites would be caught in the thicket of

their own iniquities, and vexed by the tribulations which they would bring upon themselves: how they would have to wander from kingdom to kingdom: how, being carried away captives from Palestine, they would come to Babylon: how they would have to serve Media next, and after Media Javan, and after Javan Edom: and how, at the latter end, they would be redeemed by means of the horn of this ram.

"And Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son" (v. 13). And Abraham exclaimed, "Lord of the Universe! Look upon the blood of this ram which is shed, as though the blood of Isaac my son had been offered! Regard it in fact, as though my son had been offered first, and this ram afterwards in the place where my son had been offered!"

"And Abraham called the name of the place Adonai-Jireh ('*The Lord will see*')," (v. 14), praying unto God as follows:—"Sovereign Lord Through the merit of this last trial, having subdued my emotions in order to fulfil Thy will, vouchsafe unto me this one request: may it be Thy Will, O Lord God, when the descendants of Isaac shall be led into temptation and suffer for their iniquities, that Thou wilt remember how Isaac their forefather was bound, that '*the Lord will see*' their affliction, and have mercy upon them, and redeem them from their troubles!" To this God replied: "Verily thy children will sin before Me, and I shall judge them on the New Year—'the Day of Judgment.' Would they, however, seek forgiveness for their sins, let them sound the trumpet before Me on that day."

The ram's horn is even to the present time sounded in Jewish Synagogues on New Year's Day, and forms an important feature of the Liturgy. The custom of "blowing the horn" is brought into closest connexion with "the sacrifice of Isaac," quite in harmony with the spirit of ancient Jewish Literature as referred to above.

Another Midrashic passage commenting upon the name "Adonai-Jireh" gives the following interesting etymology of the word "*Jerusalem*." Abraham, it says, called the name of the place upon which the altar for the sacrifice had been erected *Jireh*, while Shem, the son of Noah, had called it *Salem* (according to Gen. xiv. 18, "And Melchizedek King of Salem"). And God said: "If the place be called Jireh as Abraham named it, will not Shem, righteous man that he was, be displeased? Whereas, if it be called Salem, as Shem, Noah's son, named it, what will Abraham, the righteous one, say? Let, therefore, its name be made up of the names given it by each, and let the place henceforth be known as *Jerusalem* (Jireh-salem)!"

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THE QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA TRANSLATED FROM THE PALI BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

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THIS very welcome addition to the valuable series of "the Sacred Books of the East" is translated by the eminent Pali Scholar Professor Rhys Davids. "The questions of King Milinda" is one of the most curious and interesting books in the whole range of Buddhist literature. Though found only in Ceylon and in those countries whose Buddhism has been learnt from Ceylon, it purports to contain a series of puzzles put by a King who is almost with certainty identified with the Græco-Bactrian King Menandros, who lived 140-110 B.C. How the book found its way to Ceylon cannot be decided. The original must have been written either in Sanskrit, or more probably, judging from internal evidence, in some north Indian Prakrit. However it may have got to Ceylon its preservation there, like its disappearance from the place of its origin, is probably to be accounted for by the subsequent rise in Northern India of the Mahâyâna school of Buddhism, by the followers of which this work, written in the spirit of the older and purer Hînayâna school, would have been little valued, even if it were not condemned as heretical. In Ceylon, on the contrary, where the purer form of Buddhism prevailed, it would have been highly prized. There is no improbability in the identification of Milinda with Menander either on historical or philological grounds. Historically, the fact that this King's conquests included a portion of Northern India and that Bactria was converted to Buddhism, if not actually in his lifetime, at any rate shortly after, would sufficiently account for the use of his name. Philologically, the phonetic changes present no difficulty. The interchange of *n* and *l*, and the rendering of the Greek *epsilon* by an Indian short *i* are matters of course, and the effort to give an Indian meaning to a foreign word, of which there are so many instances, would very probably lead the Indian author to see in Milinda a compound containing the root *mil*, "to meet, encounter," and the name of the god Indra, a frequent termination of the names of Kings. He would regard the word perhaps as a Prakritized form of a Sanskit Melendra (*mela* and *indra*) "an Indra in encounter" or "in controversy,"—a very appropriate name for so argumentative a monarch. On the same principle the courtiers Demetrios and Antiochos

reappear as Devamantiya "royal councillor" (taking *deva* in the sense of "king"), and Anantakáya, "having a body like Ananta (a title of Vishnu)." Mankura is possibly for Vankura (? Evagrios) and Sabbadinna may be a translation of some such Greek name as Pantodotos. But this is, of course, mere conjecture.

As to the date of the composition of the work, no certain conclusion has as yet been arrived at. The learned translator has given us some extremely valuable aids towards an elucidation of this point, by collecting the names of persons and places mentioned in the work, together with an elaborate and careful collation of passages quoted in it from other Buddhist scriptures, such as the Pitakas. At present, however, all that can be said is that the indications point to northern India as the place, and one of the earliest centuries of our era as the time, of its composition. It may, for instance, be noted that the curious question as to the seasons (IV. 7, 24) exhibits climatic conditions corresponding very closely to those of the Panjab in the present day.

The book itself, whatever may be its history, is very interesting. It takes the form of a series of lively dialogues between King Milinda and the sage Nágásena, so arranged as to constitute a tolerably complete exposition and defence of the Buddhist faith. Milinda, who is, after all, merely a sort of ninepin, set up only to be knocked down, is represented as having doubts about every article of the creed. Each of these doubts he submits to the sage, who answers him in the Socratic manner, by a variety of ingenious questions, the answers to which lead to a solution that is in each case accepted by the King as satisfactory. A captious modern critic might indeed object that the solutions are not in every case quite so satisfactory as they seem to the King; Buddhists, however, do not seem to see any difficulties in accepting them.

The questions or puzzles,—for they are intentionally made to look as difficult as possible, and the King himself evidently considers them to be regular "posers,"—range over a wide variety of subjects, from the deepest mysteries of Buddhist metaphysical speculation to the most trivial matters. Some indeed seem to be introduced merely to enable the sage to make a rather poor pun. Apart from their utility to those who wish to study the ethics and metaphysics of Buddhism, the questions are extremely interesting from the light they throw, by a thousand graphic touches, on life and manners in the India of those days. The land and its features; animal and vegetable life; the seasons, the weather, men and women in their various relations and circumstances; their houses, clothes, food and utensils; their amusements and diseases; their occupations and ceremonies,—all pass before us in kaleidoscopic variety.

Here, for instance, somewhat condensed, is a ray of light on the medical treatment of wounds:—

"Suppose in treating a wound full of matter and blood, in which the weapon still remained, made worse by pain and by the union of the three humours windy, bilious, and phlegmatic,—the surgeon anointed it with a rough sharp bitter ointment to allay the inflammation; and when this had gone down he cut into it with a lancet and burnt it with caustic; and when

he had cauterized it if he prescribed an alkaline wash and anointed it with some drug to heal it up:—tell me, O King, would he do all this out of cruelty?" (Vol. I., p. 168.)

The following (also condensed) must refer to Milinda's Indian dominions:—

"It is the business of the princes of the earth to learn all about elephants and horses and chariots, and bows and rapiers, and documents and the laws of property; to carry on the traditions of the Khattiya (Kshatriya) clans; to fight and lead others in war, while husbandry, merchandise and the care of cattle are the business of other folk, ordinary Vessas (Vaisyas) and Suddas (Súdras). . . . The business of Brahmans is with the four Vedas, the knowledge of lucky marks on the body, the histories (*itihásas*), Puránas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astrology, omens, dreams, signs, the Vedángas, eclipses of sun and moon, prognostications from comets, thunderings, junctions of planets, falling of meteors, earthquakes, conflagrations, signs in the heavens and on earth, arithmetic, casuistry, omens from dogs, deer and birds." (Vol. I., p. 247.)

As a fairly typical example of the ordinary question and answer, this, relating to an important topic, may be adduced:—

"The King said: Is there such a person as the Buddha, Nágasena?

Yes.

Can he then be pointed out as being here or there?

The Blessed One, O King, has passed away by a passing away in which nothing remains which could tend to the formation of another individual. It is not possible to point out the Blessed One as being here or there.

Give me an illustration.

Now what do you think, O King? When there is a great body of fire blazing, is it possible to point out any one flame that has gone out, that it is here or there?

No, sir; that flame has ceased; it has vanished.

Just so, great King, has the Blessed One passed away by that kind of passing away in which no root remains for the formation of another individual. The Blessed One has come to an end, and it cannot be predicated of him that he is here or there. But in the body of his doctrine he can be pointed out. For the doctrine was preached by the Blessed One. Very good, Nágasena." (I. I., p. 113.)

The extract which follows is an example of the light or trivial kind of question:—

"Venerable Nágasena, are there such things as demons in the world?

Yes, O King.

Do they ever leave that condition (*i.e.*, die)?

Yes, they do.

But if so, why is it that the remains of those dead demons are never found nor the odour of their corpses smelt?

Their remains are found, O King, and an odour does arise from their corpses. The remains of bad demons (*Yakkhas*) can be seen in the form of worms and beetles and ants and moths and snakes and scorpions, and centipedes and birds and wild beasts.

Who else, Nâgasena, could have solved this puzzle except one as wise as you!"

No attempt can be made, within the limits of a review, to examine into critical questions of scholarship, or to appreciate the skill and learning with which knotty points in the text have been handled and solved. A comparison with Trenckner's valuable edition of the text is rendered possible by noting the pages of the text in the translation. Trenckner himself gives no headings to chapter, section, or book; and but for this aid it would be impossible to use his book without much loss of time and temper. Professor Rhys Davids' invaluable work, besides being a most lucid and scholarly translation, serves as a key to Trenckner's Pali text, which without this aid is practically unusable.

Vols. VI. and IX.—THE QURÁN.

Translated by E. H. Palmer, M.A.

(AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE KORÁN—THE NAME "KORÁN." BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.)

When I was asked to write a review of the above translation of *the* book of Islám, I felt that I could do as little justice to it in the short space allotted for the purpose as if I had been asked to review the last English version of the Bible. At the same time, a few general observations may serve as an introduction, and I hope also an encouragement, to the critical examination and study of a work that in the original, merely as a matter of style, is considered to be a miracle of composition, proving its own truth. Indeed, new beauties reveal themselves at every reading; although millions have derived consolation at the mere repetition of its sonorous phrases and thousands have taught its application to almost every phase of life and feeling, there yet remain discoveries of its grandeur to be made, if, in studying the sacred verses, ever closer attention is paid to the occasions on which they were delivered and to the fluctuation of divine passion in exhortation or warning, to the many-sidedness of lofty description, and to the kind heart that guided the practical sense of the Arabian prophet, a keen observer of human nature, of the outer world and of the requirements of the times. Here a conjunctive particle denotes poetic hesitation before the sublime thought that is about to be uttered—there a hiatus indicates surprise at an interruption or at irrelevant questions, the righteous indignation of a misunderstood prophet. I hope, some day, to be allowed to give, in all humility, my own impression of the empires of thought, and of the historical references that exist "between the lines" of that wonderful volume, in an analysis, say, of what is ordinarily called the second Chapter "Surat-ul-Baqarat" the Chapter of the Cow.* That the Korán has never been studied in a completely sympathetic spirit by European Scholars is even true of Professor Palmer who actually complains of the ruggedness of the style of this model of all literary Arabic,*

* I would direct the attention of translators to the verse which challenges them "to bring a chapter like this" in the Korán, if they doubt "its revelation to Our servant."

or of a filthy expression in the 14th Chapter, which Sale and Rodwell had toned down, quite forgetting that a rock cannot be described as a smooth pebble, or a horror in a smile. The Arabian prophet calls a spade a spade, though there are much fewer sexual anecdotes in it than in our own ever-to-be-venerated Bible. What we have to do is reverentially study and try to understand these sacred volumes, not to censure whatever may not be consonant with modern preconceptions.

The word Korán is derived from the Arabic "*Kara-a*" "to read" and is the same as the Hebrew *Kárá*.* It means "the reading" like the Hebrew *Mikrá*. Its form shows eminence and it is also called *Furqán*, "the discrimination" or "what is specially distinguished." It is "the word of God" the "Kelám-ullah" and is one of his attributes. Its writing as the *Kitáb* or "*written*" book was "by the hands of noble, righteous scribes" (50th Sura 15 v.). It was *sent* down to the lowest heaven complete and revealed from time to time to the Prophet by Gabriel, the first five verses being those of what is now the 96th Sura, or chapter. The angel came to him and said *read* "iḳrá," but the Prophet said that he was not a reader. This was twice repeated and, finally, the memorable verses were delivered which connect reading with writing as the appointed means for religious knowledge among Jews and Muhammadans, both of whom have their *Káris*, or men who *read* the sacred Scripture correctly. Palmer, like Sale and Rodwell and every edition of the Korán that I have seen in use among Muhammadans, gives "read" *not* "recite." The verses are as follows in Palmer's most excellent Translation :

> "READ, in the name of thy Lord!
> Who created man from congealed blood!†
> READ, for thy Lord is most generous!
> *Who taught the pen!*
> Taught man what he did not know!"

As the pronunciation of every word in the Korán is a matter that may involve important dogmatic issues, it has been very carefully accentuated and punctuated throughout, so as to leave no room for doubt, such as would have arisen, had it been mere oral "recitation," as some heretics believe. It was necessary for the last of the Prophets to have such an authentic *written* book, in order to show to the Jews and Christians that his creed, too, had the book, as is said in the second Sura "*That* is the written book 'Kitáb' in which there is no doubt." Jews, Christians and Muhammadans are considered as being within the pale of the book and are, indeed, members of the chosen people, who are in possession of the (sacred) book, or "Ehl Kitáb," namely, the "Old Testament and Psalms, the New Testament and the Korán" respectively.‡ I have already

* The *Karaite* Jews are so called because they will only *read* the *text* of the Pentateuch. —*Ed.*

† A far greater miracle than that the Prophet should be able to read under divine command.—*Ed.*

‡ In the 6th Chapter after enumerating a number of prophets from Abraham to Jesus and treating *all* revelations as part of *the* book, it is said that the Jews "put it on papers which they show," though they "conceal much" (relating to the mission of Muhammad).

endeavoured to show in my treatise on "Muhammadanism" that Islám is Christianity *minus* the teaching of St. Paul and Judaism *plus* proselytism and certain special tenets.

Not only does the form of the word "KORÁN" show that it *ought* to be *read* or is a "Lecture" or "what pre-eminently deserves to be read,"—just as among smaller Muslim Chiefs he who is considered to be "pre-eminently exalted" is the SULTÁN, but no one who has followed the teaching of the Korán in Mosque Schools or has accompanied Muhammadans on funeral processions or other religious ceremonies, will deny, that the first and principal meaning of "Korán" is that of *reading*. It is perfectly true that the Háfiz, who learn the Korán by heart, must do so, if blind, by the ear, but *the* gesture when reciting it is that of holding up the palms of the hands as if reading from a book. Nor could the angel Gabriel, in bringing even a part of a book to Muhammad ask him to *recite* what he had not yet *read*. The commentators to the trilingual Bhopal edition of the Korán (Arabic, Persian and Urdu) thus explain the verses which have been quoted. (*Urdu*): At first Gabriel brought the revelation, these very five verses; the Prophet had never been a reader and writer. He (Gabriel) then said (*firmáya*): even from the pen, it is He (God) who gives knowledge; thus too, he will give it." And then a story is related of "Abu Jahl, the Infidel, seeing the Prophet read the Namáz (prayer), worried him." The Persian translator says: "Ikrá," the meaning of "Ikrá" is "readiness for the revelation of the Korán and for *reading* it" (*talávat-án*)

In spite, however, of all that has been said and the common-sense view of the question, the meaning of the word "Korán" has been an unnecessary puzzle to some whose learning exceeds their sagacity among both European and native Arabic Scholars for more than a thousand years. In my account of "Korán Schools" in the last number of *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, I omitted to mention that I had myself attended one in a Mosque at Constantinople, after serving Her Majesty as Chief Interpreter during the Russian War in 1855-56, in order to learn the Korán by heart in accordance with the Muhammadan method. I am, therefore, acquainted with the mode in which it is *read*, which is a preliminary, not a sequence, in its acquisition, to *reciting*, as is maintained by those who prefer speculation to fact. The Turks render "Ikrá" as Oqû = read; the Persian version is "Bekhán," the Urdu "Parh" which all mean "READ" and *not* "recite" (except in a possible second sense) and the commentary in Urdu (Bhopal trilingual Korán) explains that "reading" is meant. To me, the "consensus fidelium" as regards the interpretation of a word in their own sacred Scripture has greater weight than any conjecture which is opposed to Muhammadan tradition and practice. At all events, in my account of Korán Schools, including the touching Covenant which the child makes with his Creator, I was concerned with an important feature in the existing Muhammadan system of education and with the happier relations that should be fostered between Muslims and Christians and not with a verbal quibble. In this place, however, I may say that the interpretation of Korán as "recitation" is incorrect, misleading and heretical, besides being remarkably foolish, for how can "a recitation" be "*sent down*" from

heaven or be in Chapters and verses or be a book or be "taken up" at this or that hour or any of the numerous prescribed tasks which show that we are dealing with a *substance* and not with mere *sound*!"

There has always been a mystic, latitudinarian and gnostic tendency among some of the professors of Islám who have taken as their bases the spoken *Logos* or "Kelám" as opposed to the *written* word. The former characterizes Aryan traditions carefully handed down by special methods of oral *recitation* from master to pupil, as in the case of the Vedas—the latter is the practical gift of Shemitic revelation in *Scripture* or what is written down for human revelation—the written book or *Kitáb* whence alone what ought to be *read* or the *Korán* is communicated to mankind, not subject to every breath or wind of the human word, but constantly tested by reference to what can neither be curtailed nor added to in the unalterable written form from which alone there ought to be a "reading" and *from* such reading, if need be, a *recitation*.

Professor Palmer, in commenting on "Ikrá" says: "I have followed the most generally accepted tradition that it has its ordinary signification of 'reading,' and this is supported by the reference immediately afterwards to writing; others take it to mean 'recite'; Sprenger imagines it to mean 'read the Jewish and Christian scriptures.'"

This is not so far-fetched as Prof. Palmer thought. On the contrary, it is connected with the very root of the tree, of which Judaism, Christianity and Islám are branches.

Some time ago there was a report that the Russian Censor had revised the Korán and that there was a rising in consequence among the Muhammadans at Kazán. I could never ascertain the exact particulars, but I procured a Korán printed at Kazán under official sanction and I found it to be in every particular an exact copy of the orthodox volume. Indeed, Professor Palmer has omitted a passage as probably redundant for an English reader, which, had it been struck out by the Russian Censor, would have been deemed by us to be a wilful misrepresentation of the doctrine of "Jehád," the sacred war only to be undertaken in self-defence by Muhammadans when forbidden the exercise of their religion or when turned out from their homes, *provided* they have a reasonable prospect of success:

Palmer's translation.	*Sale's translation and the Russian edition of the original.*
"but fight them not by the Sacred Mosque until they fight you there; then kill them."	"yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but *if they attack you*, slay them."

The words "if they attack you" = "fa inn qátalúkum, fa-qtalúhum," are left out, which might make all the difference to a fanatic, though only a

* Zaid ibn Sábit, the Prophet's Secretary, is said in Al Bokhari's famous collection of traditions, to have been ordered to "look for the Korán in every place and collect it." He says, "I sought for the Korán and collected it from the leaves of the date, from white stones and breasts of people that remembered it, till I found the last part of the chapter entitled Repentance." Now let the word "recitation" be substituted for "Korán" in the above passages and see what nonsense it makes.—*Ed.*

line above he has been told "fight (the unbelievers) for the religion of God" *if* they fight you, "but do not transgress" by attacking them first.

Where, however, the Russian official Korán fails, either through carelessness or with intention, is in the prominence given to the *Logos* or *Word* as a descriptive title to the *Reading*. In other words, the "Korán" is called "Kelám-i-Sharif," already a Persian construction, or "the noble Word," not the "Korán" at all, though the word "Korán" repeatedly occurs in the Korán itself, as e.g. in the 7th Chapter of the Koran. "And when the Koran is READ then listen to it," where, of course, the root of "Korán" and "read" is *the same*.

"Al Korán al Majíd" is the usual and best title or "the glorious reading" whereas "Kelám" *alone* is heretical, as *e.g.* "the Kelám-i-pír" or the "Logos of the Old Man" (of the mountain). Again, the printing, although clear, is misleading in so far as the long Alif or "á" is not written out, but merely indicated by a straight accent. This is specially confusing in the above-quoted sentence, where the practical omission of Alif makes the difference between "killing" and merely "fighting." Finally, the Suras or chapters are not numbered or clearly divided. All of this may lead to a loss of the written word. However, care is taken of every word and letter of the Korán, and one learns at school that the sacred volume contains 73,440 words composed of letters of which 40,792 are Alifs, 1140 "b"s; 1299 "t"s; 1291 "th"s; 3293 "j"s; 1179 "h"s; 2419 "kh"s; 4398 "d"s; 4840 "dh"s; 10,903 "r"s; 9583 "z"s; 4591 "s"s; 25,133 "sh"s; 1284 "ṣ"s (sads); 1200 ḍ (dads); 840 ṭ's; 9320 ẓ's; 1020 guttural "a'ins"; 7499 "ghain"s; 2500 "f"s; 5240 "q"s; 22,000 "k"s; 14,591 "l"s; 20,560 "m"s; 2036 "n"s; 13,700 "w"s; 700 soft "h"s; 502 "ye"s. I undertake to say that this outline gives one a better idea of the distribution of letters and sounds in Arabic than many a philological treatise. There exist also books containing all the dotted words of the Korán and others all the undotted ones, besides other numerous safeguards against interpolations or omissions, which it is not necessary to indicate, so the Russian Censorship will find it difficult to tamper with the volume, even should it feel inclined to do so, which I altogether doubt, as it has been the policy of Russia for the last two years to specially favour Muhammadans.

The famous Series of "the Sacred Books of the East," which was started 20 years ago, deservedly receives the support of the Secretary of State for India. Yet among its 60 volumes 58 are devoted to the translation of Hindu, Buddhist and Chinese texts. Only 2 vols. (Palmer's translation) are given to the Scripture so sacred to 60 millions of our fellow-subjects. No one at the India Office appears to have urged the publication of any of the important Muhammadan religious commentaries and lawbooks (both Sunni and Shiah). A more impartial distribution of official literary patronage should be insisted on; and it is high time that a portion of our public funds should be devoted to the promotion of a knowledge of sacred Muhammadan literature generally, and that more of it also should be included in the Series in question.

THE WAZĪRĪ AFGHĀNS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

By Major H. G. Raverty (late 3rd Regt., Bombay N. I.).

The storm predicted on the Afghān frontier in my previous account of the "Independent Afghān or Paṭān Tribes," in the April number of this Review, has, possibly, commenced with the Waziri tribe.

It is a significant result of our alleged policy to *coerce* the Afghān border tribes, that, to quote the speech of Lord Roberts at the Mansion House on the 13th June, 1893,

"*The policy of the Government of India is, 'to extend our influence among them without menacing their independence, and, by trying to civilize them and increase their prosperity, to induce them to look upon us as their friends, who will protect their interests and insure their being left in undisturbed possession of the territory they occupy.'*"

A brief account of the great Waziri tribe and of the tract of country which they inhabit, as also of their immediate neighbours, may, therefore, be interesting at the present conjuncture of affairs.

The Waziri Afghāns, Puṛhtānah, or Paṭāns, belong to one of the four great divisions of the Afghan nation, the Karlārn*i*.*

Aor-Mar, fifth son of *Sh*araf-ud-Din, otherwise *Sh*arkabūn, son of Sarahbar*n*, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Ra*sh*id, the Paṭān, the progenitor of the Afghān race, had a son named 'Umar Din, corrupted into Amar, who had two sons, Zakariyā (Zacharias), and 'Abd-ullah. When the family was moving from its summer to its winter quarters, these two, roaming about one morning in search of game, came upon a spot where some other Afghān families had been recently encamped. There Zakariyā found a male baby—and 'Abd-ullah picked up a shallow iron kettle which Afghāns call *kaṛaey*. Zakariyā was the father of many sons, while 'Abd-ullah, who was very poor, had none—the more a man's sons in those days, the greater his strength—and he besought his brother to let him have the boy, whom he would adopt as his own son, and in exchange would give him the *kaṛaey*. This was done, and in accordance with the circumstances under which the boy was found, he was named Kaṛlārnaey, the grammatical derivation of which compound word, as also details regarding the Kaṛlārn*i* descent, will be found in my "Notes on Afghānistān," pages 381-382.

Another version is, that the boy belonged to one of the Sarahbar*n* families, which, whilst moving from summer to winter quarters, expected a night attack from some enemy, and suddenly decamped leaving the child behind in the hurry and confusion of the march.

When Kaṛlārnaey grew up, his foster father, 'Abd-ullah, the Aor-Mar, gave him a daughter to wife, by whom he had two sons, Kodaey and Kakaey.

* I am particular to write Afghān names correctly, and therefore may mention, that the letter represented by "*rn*" in italics, is peculiar to the Puṛhto language, and conveys the sound of "*r*" and "*n*" nasal.

In the names of tribes, where "*ai*" occurs, it represents the tribe collectively, but "*zai*" and "*zae*," as people write it incorrectly, as in "Yusoofzai" and the like, refers only to a *single male* of the Yūsufzi tribe. Yūsufza*i* would refer only to a single female of the tribe, but "*zi*" is both the masculine and feminine plural, and refers to a tribe collectively, wherever it occurs.

The former became the father of seven sons, three by one wife: 1. Uṯmān; 2. Dilazāk or Dilahzāk; 3. Wurūk or Ūrūk; and four by a second wife: 4. Mānaey; 5. Luḳmān, nicknamed *Kh*aṭak; 6. *Kh*ogaey; and 7. Mangalaey. Two sons of a daughter of Kodaey, named Honaey and Wardag, whose father was a Sayyid, that is, descended from 'Ali,* the son-in-law of the Arabian prophet, several of whose persecuted descendants took shelter with the Af*gh*āns—then a mere collection of families, descended from Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Ra*sh*id, ruled by their own elders—were adopted by their mother's father. All these were the progenitors of as many tribes, thus, Uṯmān of the Uṯmānzi; Dilazāk of the Dilazāks; Wurūk or Ūrūk of the Wurūkzi or Ūrūkzi; Mānaey, through his son Farid or Afrid, of the Afridi; Luḳmān, *alias K*haṭaḳ, of the *K*haṭaḳ tribe; *Kh*ogaey of the *Kh*ogiāni; and the sub-tribes of *s*adrā*rn*, Mu*gh*bal, and Bahādurzi, from Mangalaey. Wardag and Honaey, the daughter's sons, adopted by their grandfather, Karlā*rn*aey, were the progenitors of the Honi and Wardag tribes.

Kakaey, second son of Karlā*rn*aey, had two sons, 1. Sulimān, and 2. *Sh*itak. From *Sh*itak sprung the sub-tribes known, from dwelling in the Bannū territory, as Bannūtṙi. Sulimān, son of Kakaey, had three sons: 1. WAZIR; 2. Bā'i; 3. Malik Mir. The descendants of Wazir are the WAZIRI; those of Bā'i, the Ba'izi; and those of Malik Mir the Malik-Miri or Mirānzi. Malik Mir had a daughter named Kā*gh*az, but some called her Kā*kh*a'h or Kā*gh*a'h; and as her husband was of inferior rank to herself, a domestic of the family probably, her descendants, according to the invariable custom of the Pus'*h*tānah or Af*gh*ān people, were named after the mother, and not after the father, hence they are called Kā*gh*azi or Kā*gh*zi, or Kā*kh*zi, or Kā*gh*azi after her. The Malik-Miri or Mirānzi, and Kāghazi, inhabit Lower Bangas'*h*, of which Kohāt is the chief place, and Darsamand of Miranzi.

I have thought it necessary to name all the Karlā*rn*i tribes and sub-tribes here, because "blood" is said to be "thicker than water," and may possibly prove to be so in the present instance with these Af*gh*ān people,† who are known to history as the "Aḳwām (plural of Ḳaum tribe) of Bangas'h."

* More directly a descendant of *Ismā'īl*, son of the Imām Ja'far (the 6th Imām, 'Ali being the first), the founder of the *Ismā'īlīān* or Fātimite dynasty of Egypt; and from whom the present Agha *Kh*ān, "the pope" of the *Kh*ojah sect of Bombay, claims to be lineally descended, through Hasan, *'Alā-Zikrut-us-Salām*—or Hasan of blessed memory, the Mulāhidah Chief of Alumūt.

† This was shown very plainly in that affair on the Anbela'h "ridge" (*vul.* "Ambela") in 1860, where the Yūsufzis made such a decided stand, which now appears to have been forgotten. The whole of the Yūsufzis were up in arms to support their kinsmen of Buner; and had not an accommodation been come to when it did, there would have been 60,000 instead of 20,000 Yūsufzis in the field. As it was they defended their ridge from the 20th of October to the 15th of December, and inflicted on us the loss of some 16 British and 4 Native officers killed, and 21 British and 21 Native officers wounded, and a loss of men to the extent of about 1,200 killed and wounded, out of a force of about 9,000 men, well provided with artillery, they themselves losing, "it is reported," 3,000. History repeats itself, and we shall have now a force numbering 10 or 12,000 to bring the Waziris under control.

The following tree will show at a glance the descent of these Karlā*rn*i tribes.

The Waziri Karlā*rn*is are subdivided into a number of branches (of which I have only mentioned the principal); more than any other tribe except, perhaps, the *Gh*alzi, Kākar, and Yūsufzi. The Waziris have become numerous only within the last two hundred years—but so rapidly, that, towards the close of the last century, they were already one of the most numerous and powerful of the Afg*h*ān tribes, numbering close upon 100,000 families; and they have certainly considerably increased since then.

Wazīr, the progenitor of the tribe, had two sons, *Kh*izr or *Kh*izraey, and Lālaey. The descendants of the latter son did not become so numerous as those of the former, and contain but two divisions, each of which consists of three clans or subdivisions. A feud having arisen between them and the descendants of *Kh*izr, about a century ago, they separated from them, and subsequently took up their abode with their Karlā*rn*i kinsmen, the *Kh*ogh*h*āni, and along with them they still continue to dwell; but, in case their other kinsmen were engaged in a life and death struggle for independence, such as the present one is likely to be, they would, very probably, aid them. They are located around Gandamak—the place where the last sad scene of massacre was enacted in the disastrous retreat from Kābul in 1842—on the northern slopes of Spīn *Gh*ar, or the Safed Koh range, and are said to number 5,000 families.

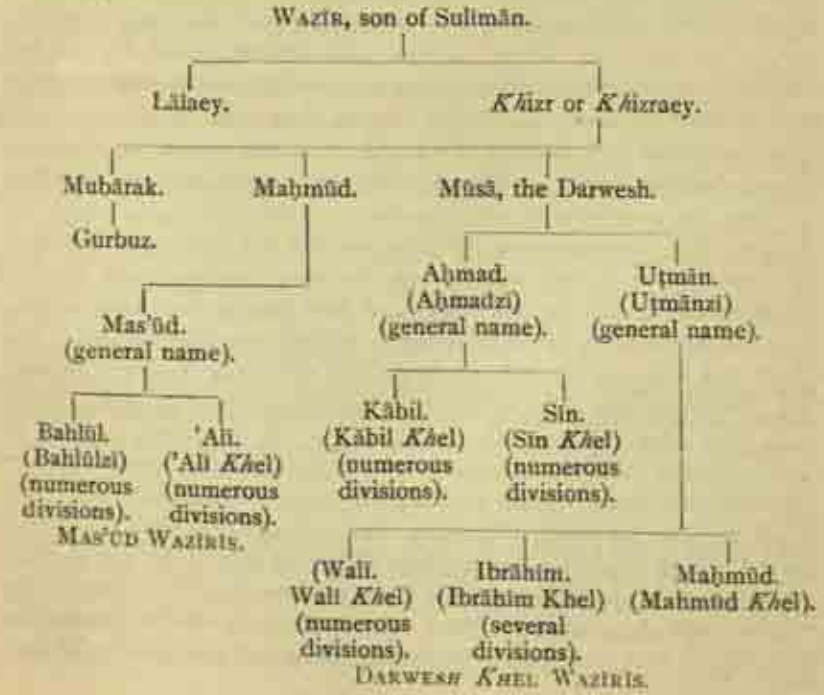
*Kh*izr had three sons, 1. Mūsā, who was known as the Darwe*sh* or Devotee; 2. Mahmūd; and 3. Mubārak. Mūsā had two sons: 1. Ahmad,

and 2. Uṭmān, who had three sons: 1. Maḥmūd, 2. Ibrāhim, and 3. Walaey, who were the progenitors of the Maḥmūdzi, Ibrāhimzi and Wali *Kh*el. These again are subdivided into many branches. Aḥmad, the eldest son of Mūsā, the Darwe*sh*, is the progenitor of the Aḥmadzi branch, which is, in consequence, accounted among them as the head or senior branch of the tribe. It contains two divisions, which are again subdivided into a number of clans or smaller sections. These descendants of Mūsā, the Darwe*sh*, whom they all venerate as a saint, and whose tomb is at Nekzi, a village on the Ṭon*ch*i river which flows through the *darā'h* or valley of Dawar, are known under the general designation of Darwe*sh K*hel.

Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd, son of *K*hizr, son of Wazir, had two sons, 'Alī, and Bahlūl, whose descendants form the 'Alīzi and Bahlūlzi divisions. These again are subdivided into a great number of clans; and the whole of Mas'ūd's descendants, who are very numerous, are known as the Mas'ūd Waziris—not "*Mahsud*": there is no such name among them—and may now almost be accounted a separate tribe.

Mubārak, the other son of *K*hizr, remaining to be noticed, had a son named Gurbuz, whose descendants, now numbering only about 1,500 families, have separated entirely from the rest of the Waziri tribe, and dwell in the elevated tract between the *Sh*amal and Ṭon*ch*i rivers, on the south-east boundary of the *K*host district, about eight miles south of Segi, and east of Dawar, and immediately east of the Mug*h*al M'la defile, on the road from Segi to Bannū, but adjoining the tract held by the Darwe*sh K*hel branch. There the Gurbuz cultivate the available lands, *for which, in former times, they paid a small sum annually to the Durrāni government.*

The following tree will show the descent of the main branches of the Waziri Afg*h*āns here mentioned:



The Darwesh Khel dwell together, and the Mas'ūds live separate from them, but, in some places their territories adjoin, or lie contiguous to each other. The former dwell chiefly in the northern and western parts of their country, and are nearest to Kohāt and Bannū in British territory, on one side, and to Khost, Dawar, and the *darra'h* or valley of the *S'haey* or Right-hand Gumul (river) on the other. The Mas'ūds dwell in the southern and eastern parts, and are near Bannū, Tāk, and the *darra'h* or valley of the Gumul river, but they nowhere actually touch our border. Thus the Uṭmānzi branch of the Darwesh Khel is located farthest north-east, the Gurbuz farthest north-west, the Aḥmadzi in the extreme south-western, and the Mas'ūds in the south-eastern part of their possessions. Some few clans or sections of the Darwesh Khel became British subjects after the annexation of the Panj Āb (Panjab) territories in 1849, and took to agricultural pursuits; and others might in time, have followed their example, but for the present attempt to crush their independence in "true Circassian style." Those who became subject to our rule, or apparently so—for they could retire into their hills and fastnesses when they chose—were responsible for the passes leading in and out of the tracts respectively occupied by them, and in advance of which, eastwards, in British territory, most of the lands they cultivated lay. Some of the Darwesh Khel, however, such as the Kābil Khel—not "*Kabal*" Khel—one of the four divisions of the Wali Khel, which is one of the three subdivisions of the Uṭmānzi, descended from Uṭmān, son of Mūsā, the Darwesh, and the Mas'ūd division of the Waziris, had been, until within the last fifteen or twenty years, a perpetual source of trouble since the annexation of the Panj Āb (Panjab) territories. Such disturbances however take place on all borders, and ever will; and what have often been called Wazīri "outrages," have merely been reprisals for outrages on them on the part of portions of tribes under our rule, only, ordinary Britishers will not see this.*

The Waziris dwell in an extensive tract of very mountainous country—about one hundred and twenty miles in length from north to south, and about eighty in breadth in its widest part—some of the strongest and most difficult in the Afghānistān, and, with few exceptions, as *illāts* or nomads. Their chief wealth consists of numerous flocks, and a vast number of cattle of different kinds. They pass their lives under their black tents chiefly, made from the hair of their goats, called *Kijzda'i* in Pos'hto, and cultivate the available patches of land known as *Kars* (not "*Kach*," as we find in maps and official reports), lying along the banks of the various streams and watercourses which run through their country, and in the defiles with which it abounds. Of agriculture they are generally ignorant.

They carry on a little trade with our frontier districts, and bring down the surplus produce of their hills, and take back fabrics for making clothes, salt, and a few other necessaries, but the tribe is quite able to support itself on the produce of the country it inhabits. There is no level ground

* If the country of the Waziris should be annexed, we shall then be face to face with the Sūlimān Khel and Kharoti Ghalzis, and the Jandrān Katlārwis, who will raid, or be accused of raiding, like the Waziris, and then, after the same fashion, they must also be annexed, and so on *ad infinitum*.

in it, so to say, the country consisting of some of the highest spurs, ridges, and offshoots, on either side of the great eastern range of Mihtar Sulimān, Koh-i-Siyah, *Ghar*, or *Shū*-āl, or Shū-āl *Ghar*, as it is called hereabouts. Wherever a small area is found capable of being cultivated it is brought under tillage, and is called by a separate name, generally the name of the clan or division who cultivate it.

They have iron mines in their country, near Makin and Bābar *Ghar*, which have been worked for ages. The name of Aor-Mar is connected with this fact, but the particulars need not be related here; and they make exceedingly good swords and knives. They entertain an inveterate hatred towards the people of Hindūstān.

This great tribe, hitherto, has been wholly independent, and has had neither tax nor tribute to pay, with the single exception of the Gurbuz, and has rendered allegiance to no one. Being divided into a number of branches, moreover, they do not acknowledge the authority of an hereditary, or of any single chief—which renders them less formidable than they otherwise might be—but have numerous head-men, who hold a little authority, and these are chosen with the consent of the division to which they belong; but when about to undertake a warlike expedition, a leader is elected, whom all implicitly obey. They are "Home Rulers" to the back bone, and consequently are entitled to the sympathy of the party now in power. Much less internal disagreement exists among the Wazīris than among the generality of Afghān tribes (or Home Rulers generally), and the consequence is, that, being more united, they are much more powerful. It is very certain that they know their own strength, and are proud of it.

They held a much greater extent of territory at the time of the annexation of the Panj Āb (Panjab) territories than they had done during the previous fifty or sixty years. They had then gained a footing in Bannū itself; and the Ahmadzis held lands in Bannū long before the Sikhs appropriated it, and used to pitch their black blanket tents therein in winter. Their country now extends from around Tal (not "*Thal*" nor "Thull," as in the maps) on the river of Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kurram"), in the Kohāt district, and also in the *thal*, the arid, uncultivated tract of Bannū, known by that Hindi word, signifying dry, hard ground, and in which the Marwat Afghāns dwell, the chief place of which is Laka'i. (There is a vast difference between the meaning of Pus'hto *tal*, and Hindi *thal*, for at Tal there is no want of water.) There is a tradition that this arid tract was once the bed of a vast lake. (See my "NOTES ON AFGHĀNISTĀN," etc., page 322, note ¶.) The Gambilah river flows through the middle of it.

The southern boundary of the Waziri country extends to the Gumul river, just before it enters the plain of the Dera'h-jāt. Thus the country of the Waziris throughout its whole extent, consists of the main and subordinate parallel ranges, on the east and on the west, of the great eastern chain of Mihtar Sulimān or Koh-i-Siyah, which is called, or rather is locally known as *Shū*-āl, and Shū-āl *Ghar*, and its spurs and cross ridges. These subordinate parallel ranges are much loftier on the eastern side of the main range than on the western, the country on that side being much more

elevated. The south-eastern portion of this territory of the Waziris is that part of the great main eastern range of Mihtar Sulimān, which, north of the Gumul, becomes somewhat disturbed, and bulges out considerably, so to say, to the westward, and meets other cross ranges from the north-west, and through its whole extent it is flanked on the east by the Koh-i-Sur*kh*, Sor *Gh*ar, or Rātā Roh, which has been described at length in my "NOTES" before referred to. The Waziri country, east of Wār*n*ah and (*vul.* "Wano") west of Tāk, extends southwards to the banks of the Gumul river, but between the eastern boundary of the Waziris and Tāk, a strip of hill country extends, part of the Koh-i-Sur*kh*, Sor *Gh*ar, or Rātā Roh, about forty-five miles in length, and about eleven broad in its broadest part. It runs a little west of south to the Gumul, and in our maps is called the "*Bhuttunnee* Range," and "*Bittunee* Hills," because it is inhabited by part of the Af*gh*ān tribe of Baitni, and is properly known as the *Baiṭni* Hills. This tribe is very ancient, but insignificant in point of numbers, and used in former times, when I was on that frontier, to be styled the "jackals of the Waziris."* On the north-west of the Waziri country, the main range here throws off smaller parallel ridges, or waves, as they may be termed, which slope downwards towards the *darra'h* or valley of the Ton*ch*i river, which separates the Mas'ūd Waziri country from Wār*n*ah, the country of the Dotārni Lodis; and on the west, one of these parallel ranges, which is somewhat more elevated than the others on that side—for I am only attempting to describe the main features of the Waziri country—bounds the Dara'h of Wār*n*ah on the west, and separates it from the *darra'h* or valley through which the *S'h*aey or Right-hand Gumul flows from north to south. Between these subordinate ranges on either side of the main range are still smaller *darra'hs* formed by cross ranges, such as those of *Sh*aka'i, Dab, Hinda'i, *Sh*pesh*t*a'h (which signifies a "wedge" in Pus'*h*to), Badr, *Sh*aṛanah, Kus'*h*to, etc., and some tracts of table land of no great extent, such as *Sh*am and Razmak, *Sh*erah-Tala'h, and others; and in these the Waziri tribe cultivate such land as is fit for tillage.

Some of the mountain tracts in the possession of this tribe are well wooded, and contain forests of pine of two or three descriptions, some of which is imported into the Dera'h-jāt, as well as other forest trees, and some of lesser growth.

On the west the Waziri country touches that of the Sulimān *Kh*el and *Kh*aroti *Gh*alzis; and there was a chance that, some day, they might come into contact with the first-named most numerous and most powerful of the *Gh*alzi Af*gh*āns, alone supposed to number over 100,000 families. It was on their account that the Waziris, powerful as they were, hesitated from extending farther westwards than Mar*gh*a'h, in the upper part of the Ton*ch*i Dara'h, into Farmūl. Whether, in the present state of affairs, the Waziris may enter into closer relations with the *Gh*alzis, for mutual defence, remains to be seen.

* These are the Patāns—who wanted protection from the Af*gh*āns—the Waziris—referred to in the last April number, page 323, both being Af*gh*āns. These are "the powerful *Bhittanni* tribe" of the "Punjab Frontier Memorandum to the Secretary of State for India," dated October, 1876. This "powerful tribe" numbers less than 5,000.

Marg*h*a'h is rather less than nine miles from *Kh*aroṭi, a place belonging to, and called after that tolerably powerful branch of the *Gh*alzī tribe, numbering about 5,000 families, and ten miles and a half from Urghūn, in the district of Farmūl. The direction from Ur*gh*ūn of these two places is about south-east inclining east, on the route from *Gh*aznīh to the Bāzār of Aḥmad *Kh*ān, a mile and half from Bannū, and, in former times, its chief place. Marg*h*a'h lies on the north bank of the Ṭon*ch*i river; and about twenty-four miles farther eastwards is Mala*kh* where the Dawar territory commences, inhabited by other Karlā*rn*ī tribes. Three miles and a half north-eastwards of Mala*kh* is the Kalaey (village) of Aḥmad *Kh*ān on the north bank of the Ṭon*ch*i, and rather less than a mile east of that is Pīrān *Sh*āh, the name given to two or three villages of Pīr-Zādahs, some descendants of Mūsā, the Darwe*sh*, the progenitor of the Darwe*sh Kh*el division of the Waziris, and whom they venerated as their Spiritual Guide. These are on the south bank of the Ṭon*ch*i, and one of them is named *Kh*ūzī (*Kh*ūbzī ?) and another Nekzī, and the tomb of the Pīr is situated south of the last named place.

The northern boundary of the Wazīrī country is irregular. On one side the Waziris touch their kinsmen, the *J*adrā*rn* branch of the Mangal Karlā*rn*īs, and, farther eastwards again, they are separated from *Kh*ost by the range of mountains dividing it from the *darā'h* of the Ṭon*ch*i, and, still farther east lies Dawar before referred to. All their neighbours in that direction, it will be observed, are Karlā*rn*is like themselves, without exception; indeed, all the Karlā*rn*is adjoin each other. There are about 20,000 families in Dawar alone.

It must be remembered that the Waziris being pastoral and nomadic, and only visiting some places in the winter season, have few or no villages, but live scattered about, a few families together, and mostly in *kijzda'is* or black tents made of the hair of their goats, and in mat or grass huts; but, in some places, among the Mas'ūd Waziris chiefly, they have dwellings partly hollowed out of the steep hill-sides, which are roofed over, and some have two or three roofs or storeys, and this, imperfectly understood, has led some persons away with the idea that they *live in caves!* Makīn is their principal village, or rather, a cluster of small villages in the *darā'h* or valley of that name. This is their principal village or town, and the only one it may be said; for Kārnī Grām (the "*Kānigoram*" "*Kanigaram*," etc., of the maps and of "Gazetteers") although in one of the *darah's* or valleys within their territory, and where they hold their *jirga'hs*, or tribal assemblies, it is, or was, a town belonging to the Aor-Mar tribe of Afg*h*āns, the descendants of that same Aor-Mar, one of whose sons, 'Abd-ullah, adopted Karlā*rn*aey, from whom the Waziris are descended, as before recorded. It lies about ten miles S.S.W. of Makin, and about forty-three N.W. of Tāk. The Aor-Mars are an ancient tribe of the Afg*h*āns, and once possessed the whole of the country round about, but were, in course of time, ousted from all else besides their Kā*rn*ī Grām, or "Stone Town," as the words signify, by their Karlā*rn*ī kinsmen, the Waziris. Two or three successive seasons of scarcity in recent years have led the few remaining Aor-Mars for the most part to abandon Kā*rn*ī Grām, and to

take up their abode among the Wardags, with whom also they are by blood connected, as previously shown. The Wardags dwell in the *dara'h* or valley of *S'h*niz, situated between Kābul and *Gh*aznih. They inhabited the south-west corner of the *tomān* or district of Bangar'h in Akbar-Bādsh*a*h's reign, near the tract still held by their *J*sadrān kinsmen. The Wardags were then strong, and were assessed as liable to furnish 500 cavalry and 5,500 infantry for militia purposes. *S'h*niz was then held by Mu*gh*al people, the remainder of those *mings*, or *hazāraks*, or military colonies, which the Mu*gh*al rulers used to locate on their frontier districts, and the remainders of which *mings* still continue to dwell farther west.

The Dara'h of Wārnah,* which is of considerable elevation, slopes downwards towards the Dara'h of the Gumul river, and adjoins the south-west corner of the Waziri territory. It lies north of the *Sh*erāni Af*gh*ān territory, previously annexed, as noticed in my paper on the "Independent Af*gh*ān or Paṭān Tribes." It was from the Gumul side of Wārnah that the "delimitation process" was commenced upon the country of the Doṭārni Lodi tribe, and it was on the Spin, in its southern part, that some of the Waziris, and others probably, indulged in what is dear to all Af*gh*āns—a night attack upon their enemies—the delimitation force of 2,500 men of all arms—a force as numerous as General Sir C. J. Napier, G.C.B., had for the conquest of Sind—on the night, or early morning, of November 3d last.† There was, however, another little army of the same strength not far off to support the first one if necessary.

Wārnah is about thirty miles long from north to south, and about from ten to fourteen miles in breadth. A stream, known as the Spin, a feeder of the Gumul, runs through it from north towards the south, and unites with the main stream near Kot-ka'i, one of the halting places of the *powandah* caravans on the *Gh*wāyi Lāri route to *Gh*aznih.

This small tract of territory belongs to the Doṭārnis, who are descended from the Mati branch of the Af*gh*āns, from an adopted son of Ibrāhim—son of *Sh*aikh Baiṭ, or Baiṭnaey, the progenitor of the Baiṭni tribe—surnamed Lo-e-daey, from constant use abbreviated into Lodaey. It was the Lodi tribe which gave the only Paṭān Sultāns to Hindūstān, who were six in number. The great *powandah* or *nomad* merchant tribe, the Nūḥārni, now chiefly known as Lūḥārni (*vul.* "Lohani" and "Lohanee," etc.), the Niāzis, Sārnis, and other Lodis dwelling around, therefore, are kinsmen of the Doṭārnis. The latter are, for the most part, *powandahs* also, and

* It is neither called "Wanch," nor "Wano," but the word *inflected* becomes Warno.

† A few weeks ago we were told that there was "no likelihood of the Waziris offering any resistance to the Delimitation Commission"; but, as soon as the news arrived that they had, a leading article appears in a daily paper, that "No surprise need be felt at the news of severe fighting on the Afghan frontier. . . . They received a lesson which may possibly secure the Delimitation Commission from farther *molestation*," etc.

We have just been informed, in a communication received through "Reuter's Agency" (Nov. 26), that, "hitherto the Waziris had been regarded *as a cowardly race*." Those who thought so will change their minds, possibly now; and we are also told, that "if the attacking force had only waited for the junction of 2,000 *allied tribesmen*, the fight might have entailed a grave reverse to British arms." We shall hear more of "allied tribesmen" yet, unless we abandon our career of wholesale annexation of other people's territory.

deal in some of the richest and most expensive fabrics carried by those nomadic merchants, who, with two or three exceptions, are only portions of Afghān tribes, who follow mercantile pursuits. The Ḍoṭārnī tribe is very small, not more than about two hundred families in all, but they hold their own, or did up to this period of time, in Wārnah tenaciously.

The land therein is good, particularly that lying nearest the *to'ī* or stream, which can be irrigated therefrom, and which constitutes about a fourth of what is capable of cultivation. This tract is very sultry in summer, and from the tortures of a vast number of mosquitos but little rest is obtainable in any part of it.

The Ḍoṭārnīs dwell in the central part of the *dara'h*, and there they have a walled village, formerly of some strength for those parts, which is sometimes called the *ḳala'* or fort of Wārnah, but, of course, it was not a fort in a military point of view. About a third of this little tribe cultivate the lands around it, and the rest follow mercantile pursuits, as before mentioned, and only return at certain times of the year.

The other parts of the Wārna'h Dara'h, north and east, are held by the Ahmadzi branch of the Darwesh *Khe*l Waziris; and the Zali *Khe*l clan or section of that branch, which are generally the assailants of *powandah* caravans, always dwell therein. It is probable that it was with these that the delimitation forces came in contact. The other Waziris only resort to Wārna'h in the summer season with their flocks and cattle, as do likewise a few of the Daulat *Khe*l *powandahs*, who being Nūhārnīs, are Lodis like the Ḍoṭārnīs; and some of the Sulimān *Khe*l *Ghil*zai tribe also come into Wārna'h. The annexation force may come into contact with them likewise, and possibly have an early morning visit from them.

Although so powerful, the Waziris have not dispossessed the Ḍoṭārnīs, whom they appear to hold in considerable respect. Perhaps they have other good reasons for leaving them unmolested.

The Ḍoṭārnīs made some considerable figure in India during the time of the Paṭān or Afghān rulers; and numbers of them are to be found there. At the beginning of this century many were to be found in the Dakhan, and southern India, in the Balāri (*vul.* "Bellary"), Karappah (*vul.* "Cuddapah"), and adjoining districts of the Madras Presidency, as well as Baiṭnīs, Dilazāks, *Sher*ānīs, Parnīs, and other Afghān tribes, and there their descendants still continue to dwell.

The Jāni *Khe*l branch of the Wali *Khe*l Uṭmānzi Waziris, who cultivate lands around the fortified post of that name, between the *Kha*serah and Kahūiān passes, and near which some 6,000 Waziris are reported to be assembled, have, or had, nominees in our frontier militia, as well as other Waziris. The Jāni *Khe*l, and Malik *Shāh*-i Wali *Khe*l, Uṭmānzi cultivate lands within the British border, while others only cross the border in the cold season. Such as do are responsible, along with the Jāni *Khe*l, for the *Kha*serah, *Kha*sorah, Kur'*h*to or *S'h*ukto (*vul.* "Shakhdoo") and Kahūiān Passes, leading into Bannū. Some of them cultivate lands in front of the Passes in question, and the Wurūki or Wurki branch of the Jāni *Khe*l occupy the *Kha*sorah Pass. If all the Waziris are *not* determined to fight for the general welfare of the tribe, they will not sacrifice these lands, but

if they have made up their minds to fight, they will. Some restlessness exists among them as it is.

As we had entered into such a good understanding with the present Afghān government, we should have allowed time to soften down the asperities that have existed between us and the Paṭān or Afghān tribes, who, from the time of the first Afghān war, and since the annexation of the Panj Āb territories, and especially from our acts of late years in the search of a "scientific frontier," have all entertained the suspicion, and with good reason, as it has turned out, of our foregone intention of seizing their country, and interfering with their independence, notwithstanding all the statements to the contrary made in Parliament and at Banquets. If left alone, these independent border tribes, would, by degrees, have become obedient to their natural head—and would have been an invaluable source of strength to him—the ruler of the Afghān state, of which we pretend we are so very anxious to preserve the integrity, while at the very same time we are doing our utmost to disintegrate it! Or, the tribes might have become obedient to our rule, although there was the probability of their preferring, as is but natural, a Muhammadan government and ruler of the same blood and religion as themselves.

The Waziri tribe has always been tenacious and jealous of its independence as far as we are concerned, observing, doubtless, our never-ceasing encroachments upon the possessions of others from the very first. How many expeditions have had to be undertaken against the Kābil *Khel* and Mas'ūd Waziris alone, and at what cost of men and money! Yet we cry out against the Russians doing the same thing on the other side of the Afghān state, though we humbly submit to it. The treatment of the *Sheranis*, inoffensive cultivators, alluded to in my former paper, and the intention to annex the country, and destroy the independence, of the Waziris and the Doṭārnis by main force, is just what the Russians did at Marw, and at Panj Dih and Bādghais. The Waziris cannot solicit them to send a "Boundary Commission" to meet the "Delimitation Commission"; so I suppose the Russians will help themselves to another slice of Afghān territory on the other side.*

What is called the "forward policy," whether as regards the Afghān state, or Balūchistān, or in Dardistān, and parts around, has been to crush the small independent states between ourselves and a big neighbour, and thus break down the barrier that nature and history had created for the defence and preservation of India proper, whilst the authors of it at home are knocking their own country into "Parish" atoms.

The Waziris have been quieter for some years past than ever they were before since 1849; but, now that they have been roused, and another assemblage of the tribe is said to be posted on the Bannū side of their country, and "daring" to threaten it, we shall see how strong a force will be required at that point. Besides this, there are many more Waziris, and

* The following appeared in the St. Petersburg "*Sha Viedomosti*," the day after the telegram of the attack on the delimitation force in Wāzīristān: "Any occupation of Afghanistan by Great Britain would be followed by a corresponding Russian movement." The Waziri country is the *very heart* of Afghānistān; so the Afghān government is likely to have a lively time of it, if not now, in the early future.

many more points that they can threaten. What will all this cost India in its present impoverished state? But what matter? Must not enterprising young "Politicals," and other officers be rewarded with C.S.I., and other decorations?

Now as to "the frontier tribes" who make such "admirable soldiers," who "in many cases have shown a devoted attachment to the British officers with whom they have been associated." A recent telegram (Nov. 20, 1894), runs as follows:—

"Fighting on the Afghan Frontier."

"It is reported from Bombay on excellent authority that there is strong ground for the belief that the Waziris' recent attack upon the British force at Wano, on the Afghan frontier, was led by deserters from the 20th Punjaub Infantry, and that an ex-havildar was actually engaged in the assault. A number of rifles and horses *looted* during the attack have been traced to men who had previously deserted from the Indian Army."

There are a number of men of this tribe in the Indian army, and I fear we shall hear of many more desertions; but what else could we expect? Ever since the rebellion in the N.W. Provinces, called the Mutiny, whereby a civilian party government in England, dependent on every election wind, succeeded at last in getting the sole control of the finances of India, which it had so long coveted with greedy eyes, and over the territories and troops of the East India Company, the constant endeavour has been to tear down, tinker, and spoil everything built up by that Company, and to make the native troops as inefficient as possible, by taking away from them what they most required—their own European officers—who knew their men, and whom their men knew, and turn the whole into "Irregulars," at the advice of some inexperienced official, who had "Irregulars" on the brain. They have succeeded but too well; and they have at last, after working for thirty-six years, attained the acme of their desires, in just now putting the finishing touch to the breaking up of the armies of the three Presidencies.

Latterly it has been the fashion to enlist foreign mercenaries—we English have always been fond of such from the time of sending legions of Hessians to America to fight our battles—the plea being the difficulty of obtaining recruits. I know the time when for every one required, five or six suitable Indian recruits could at once have been got, but under the new order of things, and the never ceasing vexatious innovations, all this has been destroyed, and good natives will not enlist. The resource, therefore, is to enlist foreign mercenaries from among the Afghāns—"the frontier tribes," and other alien races, who, in an emergency, a case of reverse, or for any grievance real or imaginary, can, at any time, be "over the border and awa'," taking their arms with them. During the very last Afghān war, some of these foreign mercenaries did so. Who are likely to be faithful to us, such men, or our own subjects, whose fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers have served in our ranks, and whose families and homes are in our midst? Some will say, "that all this failed in the Mutiny." This was not the case; some of the Native troops were spoiled by bad management, and the forcing upon the East India Company, too often, of old, worn-out, and sometimes nearly blind generals, and by undermining the authority of commanding officers of Regiments.

Rome was lost through the enlistment of, and dependence on, barbarian mercenaries, and the setting aside of the native people, who thereby lost their fighting qualities. Let not India be lost from the same causes.

English people are fond of enlarging upon their patriotism and love of freedom, and they suppose seemingly, that they alone possess these feelings but I think that, if they try to crush the freedom of these 500,000 Afghāns, they will find them endowed with the very virtues that we claim as our monopoly, but then they are neither Bulgarians nor Armenians.

Unceasing lamentations are made on the killing of a couple of coal strikers, who excite thousands like themselves to destruction of life and property; Commissions of Inquiry sit thereon, and a great stir is made, but in case a few thousand Waziris should be killed by us, that is merely done to show our love for them, and that we have "*not the slightest intention of interfering with the independence of these tribes*," "*not to attempt any territorial aggression*," "*nor attempt an extension of the frontier of India further than it is at present*" (Sir John Gorst, Under Secretary of State for India, House of Commons, August, 1891).

THE CHINESE VICEROYALTY OF MANCHURIA.

[*From the Russian of Lieut. Z. Matusovski's "Sketch of the Chinese Empire."*]

TRANSLATED BY LT.-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

WHATEVER be the issue of the present war between China and Japan—whether those are right who tell us that the "nation at play"* has an army and a navy very much up to date, and that, by a series of swift and sharp blows, these forces, acting in concert, will shatter the loosely welded and unwieldy Celestial Empire to its very centre, or whether those are likely to prove correct who, still believing in "the staying power" of China, confidently assure us that the Japanese will eventually withdraw from the struggle in a crippled condition, certain is it that the Manchur dynasty seems to be toppling to its fall.

In the face then of one or other of these alternatives we naturally seek for information which will give us more light in our study of the mysteries of the huge "Middle Kingdom."

No work extant affords us the same amount of knowledge of the *interior* of China as that from which we have translated the following account of the Chinese "Viceroyalty of Manchuria." Indeed we may go further and confidently assert that this work is the outcome of the first real attempt to bring under the comprehensive title of "A Geographical Review of the Chinese Empire" the fruit of the labours of such authorities as Père Hyacinth, Dr. Williams, Baron Richthofen, Carl Ritter, etc., and to supplement such knowledge as the works of these authorities afford by the more recent information obtained through the surveys of the many Russian and the few English explorers of the several parts of the huge Empire of China.

But there exist more pressing reasons which should lead us to make a close study of the "Chinese Viceroyalty of Manchuria." Firstly, the various organs of the Russian Press have been permitted by the Official Censor to announce that Russia will never permit Japan to permanently occupy Korea. How then does Russia propose to snatch the spoils of the conqueror? By herself annexing Manchuria. Secondly, and only as recently as the 1st September of the present year, we have been told by that intrepid traveller, Mrs. Bishop,† that a reign of terror has set in throughout the length and breadth of Manchuria. And, thirdly, we learn

* *Vide* Chapter XXIX. of "The Japs at Home," by Douglas Sladen. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1892.

† *Vide* her letter published in the *St. James's Budget* of the 26th October last, headed "The Holy City of the Manchus," and dated from Moukden, Manchuria.

from a St. Petersburg telegram (published in the *Standard* of the 21st Novr. last) that

"The Minister of War has considered it necessary to strengthen the forces in the Cis-Amur district of Eastern Siberia by 15 staff-captains and 49 lieutenants, 8 non-commissioned officers and 175 men from the 34th Line Regiment of the Division."

Why this great disproportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers to privates? The present Governor-General of the Cis-Amur Tract is General Grodekoff of Herát fame. Once then let Russian troops cross over to the southern bank of the Amur and even though an understanding may have been arrived at between England and Russia with regard to the vexed question of the proper limits of northern Afghanistan and to the still more important question of Russia's right of exit from the Black Sea, those troops will never be withdrawn from Manchuria. A reference to the map will show how a Russian occupation of Manchuria would affect not only Corea but the very existence of the Chinese Empire.

The country which occupies the north-eastern portion of the Chinese possessions "without the Great Wall" and which is known to Europeans by the name of one of the tribes inhabiting it—*Manchu**—to which belongs the present ruling dynasty of China—is called by the Chinese themselves *Doon-San-Shen, i.e.*, "the three Eastern provinces." They also know it under the name of its capital town *Shen-Tzzin* or *Mukden* which is the place of residence of the *Tzzoon-Doo* who governs the entire territory with the powers of a Viceroy. On the north-west, north and north-east Manchuria adjoins the Russian possessions.† On the south-east it runs conterminous with Corea and on the south its coast-line is washed by the waters of the Yellow Sea, which breaks into the continent in two gulfs respectively named the Gulf of Korea and the Gulf of *Liao-Doon*. On the west and south-west the limits of Manchuria have been fixed by a line which separates it from the *Aimak* of *Tzetsen-Khan*, from Inner Mongolia and the province of Chi-Li. Towards the west the frontier-line, after crossing the river Liao-He, follows the mountain crest whereon, at some time or other, the Emperor Kan-Si planted the so-called "willow hedge", or *Lu-Tiao-Byan*, with the object of shutting off the sacred portions of his native land from the adjoining Mongol territory. A similar fence was put up to the east of the river Liao-He in order to preserve the sanctity of the Imperial preserves. But, according to the testimony of European travellers, of such works there now remain only traces here and there and principally in those places at which there have been set up the so-called gates or barriers of which some twenty are still to be counted.‡

* The word "Manchu" in the Chinese language is tonically rendered by two hieroglyphics representing the words *Man-Chzi*, which signify "the crowded country of the world." (*Vide* Père Hyacinth's "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire." Part II., p. 1.)

† A detailed description of the frontier-line between Russia and China will be found in the appendices to this work.

‡ According to the account of a certain Chinaman, the fence, above referred to, consisted, more than a hundred years ago, of willow-posts, from two to four feet high, on either side of which a ditch was dug. Another Chinese writer says that these posts subsequently

The entire area of the Viceroyalty of Manchuria, as above defined, covers about 17,104 square miles and yet its population does not, in all probability, exceed 7,000,000 souls, in spite of the great influx of Chinese emigrants who have greatly increased in number, especially during the last 15 or 20 years. In an administrative sense Manchuria is divided into three provinces: *Shen-Tszin* to the south, *Girin* to the north-east, and *Hei-Loon-Tszian* or *Sahalian-Oola* (as the Manchurs call it) to the north-west. Of these three provinces the first-named has the same system of administration as have the other provinces of Inner China, but the two last have been placed under a purely military form of government at the head of which, in the case of both these provinces, is a *Tszian-Tszun* or Commander-in-Chief. But even in these two provinces since the year 1878 the Chinese agricultural population has been placed under civil law.*

In respect of its race composition Manchuria presents great diversity. Thus, the southern province of Shen-Tszin is almost entirely inhabited by a dense Chinese population many of whose towns and villages are known to have existed here from the earliest times. Amongst this population there, however, live Manchurs, Mongols (chiefly towards the west) and Coreans (towards the east). The number of the latter race has especially increased since 1868 when political disturbances in Corea compelled 30,000 families to emigrate to the neighbouring country.† Not finding, however, sufficient free spots here for colonisation, a considerable proportion of these Corean emigrants turned, as do Chinese emigrants, in a northerly direction. The aboriginal Manchurs, who constitute but a small body amongst the other nationalities of Manchuria, (notwithstanding that their ancestors gained possession of the Chinese throne) are to be found in the northern provinces of the Viceroyalty and chiefly along the right bank of the Sungara up to its junction with the Amur and along both banks of the river Moodan-Tszian. They are met with too, but in considerably less number, in other parts of the country, as, for instance, in Russian territory, viz., on the left bank of the Amur, to the south of Blagovaishtshensk.‡ Again on the north-west, in the system of the river Nonni there have settled *Solons* and *Daurs* while eastwards along the rivers Sungara, Usuri

grew up into huge trees; but as there are no forests at all on the mountains on which the fence in question was said to have been erected, it is now difficult to trace any such artificial plantations. (See Father Palladius's "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," on page 50 of Vol. IV. of the Journal of the I. R. G. Society for 1871.)

* During the reign of the Emperor *Yun-Chen* (*i.e.*, from 1722 to 1736) an attempt was made to introduce a general system of civil administration into the whole of Northern Manchuria; in other words, to establish districts and cantons on the same basis as in Inner China. Thus the province of Girin was then called *Yun-Chi-Chei*, Ninguta was called *Tai-Pin-Siyan*, Bodune was renamed *Tun-Pin-Siyan*, and so on; but during the reign of the succeeding Emperor, *Tsian-Loon*, the new names were done away with, and a purely military system of administration was once more established. *Vide* V. P. Vasilieff's "Description of Manchuria," p. 40, and Journal of the I. R. G. Society for 1857, No. XII.

† According to information obtained by the Russian Diplomatic Mission in Pekin.

‡ See description of the Russo-Chinese frontier-line in the Appendices to this work.

and Amur there roam *Gilyaks* or *Fiaks*, *Manegri* and other nomad and sporting *Toongoos* races.* Of these nationalities the *Manchurs* and most of the *Solons* and the *Daurs* are settled people who, after intermarrying with the numerous Chinese emigrants, gradually lose their own distinctive nationality. According to the testimony of European travellers, now even a most experienced ethnologist can with difficulty tell a Manchur from a Chinaman, as the mode of life, language, manners and customs of both are identical. Manchur children are educated in Chinese schools according to the established form laid down for centuries as in the case of the inner provinces of the Empire. It is only owing to the fact that the ruling dynasty belongs to the Manchur stock that the Manchur language has still been preserved as a classical tongue, but only those persons are obliged to learn it who are preparing themselves to receive learned degrees and to enter the highest offices in the State. It is somewhat more difficult for the *Solons* and especially the *Manegri* to become assimilated with the Chinese population, since the latter regard them as plundering races, ascribing to them all the thefts and pillages that have occurred in the northern part of Manchuria.† In a religious sense, the *Toongoos* races chiefly adhere to *Shamanism* the ceremonials of which are minutely detailed in an edict published in the Manchur language at Pekin in 1747.‡ The Chinese undeviatingly follow the ceremonials prescribed by their civil code, and they, at the same time, recognise the teaching of the *Daosi* and *Foists* the followers of two sects which have from ancient times been very widely disseminated throughout the "Middle Kingdom."§ The *Daurs* for the most part profess Buddhism. The influence of European missionaries is still comparatively very weak in Manchuria, so that in this Viceroyalty less frequently than in the richer provinces of the Chinese Empire is a native to be met with who is acquainted with the Christian religion. Amongst the immigrants into Manchuria there is a considerable number of Chinese Mussulmans who live chiefly in the towns where they are engaged in trade and in industries of various kinds.

Manchuria, having thus developed into an integral part of the vast "Middle Kingdom," has become, like the other border-lands of the Chinese Empire, a place of banishment and of military colonisation. And to Manchuria there have steadily flocked, in spite of the strict prohibitions of the Chinese Govt., voluntary immigrants who have come principally from the adjoining provinces of Shan—Doon, Chi-Li and Shan-Si, so that, at present, almost

* The inhabitants of the Trans-Baikal country usually call those *Tongusi* who nomadize along the left bank of the Amur, *Orochens* and those along the right bank of the same river, *Manegri* or *Mangiri*. But in other parts of Siberia both are known under the common designation of *Tongusi*. And yet this designation is met with neither in the Manchur nor in the Mongol dialects. Père Hyacinth suggests a query: "Has not the term 'Toongoos,' which means 'pig,' come from the fact that these aborigines inaugurate their Shamanistic ceremonies principally with the slaughter of pigs?" ("Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire," by Père Hyacinth, Part II., p. 1.)

† Veyrugin, "Compendium of the Geography, Topography, and Statistics of Asia." No. XIV. of 1885, p. 103.

‡ Père Hyacinth, "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire," Part II., p. 13.

§ Père Hyacinth, "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire," Part II., p. 13.

the whole of the southern portion of Manchuria, in respect of density of population, is now not far behind the inner provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the colonisation of the two northern provinces of the same Viceroyalty has gone on considerably more slowly and this because a comparatively cold climate (especially in the province of He-Loon-Tszian), and a mountainous surface covered with thick forests, have always demanded much greater exertions in agricultural operations than in the southern provinces. Meanwhile the economic development of the northern portions of the Viceroyalty, from a purely military and political point of view, has always been the aim of the Chinese Government. Thus, we know that the northern province of Manchuria was formed towards the end of the XVIIth century chiefly with the object of opposing a forward movement of Russian Cossacks from an easterly direction. With the same object the Emperor Kan-Si then founded the towns of Aigun or Hei-Loon-Tszian, Morgen and Tsitsigar and placed in them garrisons under the command of a special *Tszian-Tszoon*, whose place of residence was firstly at Aigun and then at Morgen but now it is at Tsitsigar, although the name of the province has remained what it was before. And yet the development of the regular civil life of this province of the Viceroyalty, as also in the greater part of the province of Girin, has gone on very slowly, so that the majority of the immigrant population is still composed either of convicts or of ordinary fugitive offenders or of voluntary exiles from Inner China who have come hither either to seek fortunes in gold mining or to search for the valuable root of the *jen-shen*. This unpromising community has not unfrequently comprised large robber bands whose inroads have carried terror not only amongst the peaceful inhabitants of the province but also in the midst of the Imperial troops on the occasion of collisions and this because these predatory bands have almost always come off as conquerors. Amongst the number of such bands those who go by the name of *Ma-Tszoei* or "the mounted robbers" and especially the so-called *Hoon-Hoo-Tszi* proved a special source of terror to the country, in the beginning of the second half of the present century, *i.e.*, at a time when the greater part of the Chinese military forces in Manchuria had been diverted to the inner provinces of the Empire in order to assist in quelling the *Tai-Pin* insurrection. During that period the robber bands in question seized entire towns and villages and ruled them as though they were the lawful possessors of a conquered country.* After the suppression of the *Tai-Pin* rebellion and the restoration of a normal condition of affairs in Manchuria, the Government of the *Bogdo-Khan* decided to permit voluntary colonists to settle in the country and it even furnished such persons with material assistance in establishing themselves in their new lands. Accordingly the influx of Chinese immigrants to the northern provinces of Manchuria has of late years assumed considerable proportions and with each succeeding year such a movement has yet more increased. Such settlers, as also their predecessors, are known throughout Manchuria under the name of *Man-Tszi*. Those of them who have come from Shan-Doon, Chi-Li and other parts of Inner

* *Vide* information furnished by the Russian Diplomatic Mission in Pekin.

China are principally engaged in agricultural pursuits, whilst the immigrants from the province of Shan-Si have remained true to their trading proclivities, and have generally followed in Manchuria, as they did in their own country, the callings of money-lenders or bankers. Hence these new comers hold almost the whole of the trade of their adopted country in their own hands.*

Simultaneously with the measures which have been adopted by the Chinese Government for the economic development of Manchuria there have also been undertaken active steps for the reconstitution of the armed forces of the Viceroyalty. For instance, when the first Manchur Emperor ascended the throne of the Chinese Empire he converted the whole male population of his own race into a hereditary fighting class which should serve as a bulwark to his dynasty and at the same time retain possession of his fatherland in case the Manchurs should ever be driven out of China. This newly constituted military force he divided into eight fighting units which he called "the Eight Standards" so as to distinguish them from the purely Chinese troops of the "Green Standard" who garrison the inner provinces of the Empire and who are under the immediate orders of each of the Viceroys of the several Chinese provinces, for service within the limits of their own administrations. Into the composition, however, of these Manchur troops there have constantly entered other of the native races of the country such as *Solons*, *Daurs*, *Sibos* and others. The general numerical strength of such fresh additions has been included in the lists of the pure Manchurs and the whole force for the three provinces of Manchuria may now be put down at 280,000 men.† The members of the entire body of Manchurs, enrolled under "The Eight Standards," are permitted, in a time of peace, to pursue their own avocations and they can only be called upon to furnish a stipulated number of soldiers for the ranks of the Chinese army when the demands of the Central Govt. require such assistance. Up to the year 1850 the armament of these Manchur troops consisted exclusively of bows and arrows and it was only in the towns of Girin and Tsitsigar that there was maintained a body of 674 men who were armed with flint lock muskets and with guns of Chinese manufacture.‡ Nevertheless even with such a primitive style of armament the Manchurs of the "Eight Standards" for a long time constituted the best fighting material of the Chinese Empire so that bodies of them have often been sent to the inner provinces of the "Middle Kingdom" and even further westwards for the purpose of quelling insurrections. But political events in China of late years, as, for instance, the *Tai-Pin* rebellion and then the insurrection of the *Doongans*, revealed the complete insufficiency of these privileged soldiers. Then, again, the collision with Russia which threatened China in 1880 on the subject of the Kuldjan tract and the war between China and France over the question of Tonkin and finally the increased activity in the colonisation of the Russian frontiers adjoining the

* Father Palladius's "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 68.

† *Vide* information furnished by the Russian Diplomatic Mission in Pekin.

‡ V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 56.

maritime provinces of the "Middle Kingdom" have compelled the Government of the *Bogdo-Khan* to enter upon a thorough reorganization and rearmament of the military forces of Manchuria. And so, during the last ten years, the Chinese Government has made extensive purchases of breech-loading rifles and it has built at Girin a powder and a rifle factory, after the European style, in addition to setting up a gun foundry at the same place. It has also constructed a line of telegraph for a distance of more than 2,000 miles through Manchurian territory and, lastly, for the proper training of the Manchur troops, specially instructed officers have been appointed with orders to teach 5,000 Manchurs the art of war, according to European notions, and the men so taught have been distributed as instructors to the several parts of the Viceroyalty. In addition, too, to the existing local garrisons, there have been formed, out of the infantry and cavalry stationed in the towns of Mukden and Tsitsigar, special detachments which, according to the measure of their training in the modern science of war, should serve as cadres for the gradual reorganization of the whole of the Manchur troops.*

Of the fortified places on the coast of Manchuria the most important at this time is the port of *Li* or, as Europeans call it, "Port Arthur." A fort has here been recently constructed which stands at the south-western end of the Gulf of Corea and which is well armed with Krupp guns. It has a garrison of 10,000 men. Here too, under the guidance of European engineers, dry docks are being constructed for the repair of war vessels.

Amongst the other more or less seriously important fortified points along the coast line of Manchuria are Shan-Hai-Hooan and Nu-Chooan on the shores of the Gulf of Liao-Doon.†

PROVINCES OF THE VICEROYALTY OF MANCHURIA.

PROVINCE OF SHEN-TSZIN.

The area of this province covers about 2,633 sq. miles, and its population, according to the Chinese official returns for the year 1882, numbers 4,243,260 souls.

District of Mukden.

Mukden, in the Manchur dialect, or Shen-Tszin as the Chinese call it, is the same as Shen-Yan and Fin-Tiyan-*Foo*. As the centre of the district administration it is the Capital of Manchuria and the principal town of the province of Shen-Tszin. Here, as at Pekin, there are, in addition to Palace officials, Special Ministers, at the head of which is a *Tszoon-Doo* or Governor-General who exercises the powers of a Viceroy. There are also at Mukden temples dedicated to "Heaven and Earth," the Tai-Miao, etc., etc. From ancient times the town of Mukden has played an important part in the history of Manchuria. Thus, during the dynasties of Liao and Tszin, it was known under the name of Shen-*Choi*, and during the dynasty of Yuan it bore the name of Shen-Yan, a name which, Father Palladius

* *Vide* information furnished by the Russian Diplomatic Mission in Pekin; and an official report to the *Bogdo-Khan*, published in the *Pekin Gazette* of the 14th August, 1886.

† See preceding reference.

tells us, it still preserves. Up to the beginning of the present dynasty the town of Mukden belonged to China but it was subsequently annexed by the Manchur, Tai-Tszoo, who, in 1626, made it his place of residence, under the Manchur name of Mukden, this name having the same signification as the Chinese *Shen-Tzzin*.* Still the name Mukden, though it has been adopted by foreigners, is never used by the native population. The same remark applies to *Shen-Tzzin* and to Fin-Tian-*Foo* since these designations are only employed in official communications. The most generally used name for this town is *Shen-Yan* or simply *Tzzin* i.e. "the capital."†

The town of Mukden is considered sacred by the present ruling dynasty of China because, in its immediate neighbourhood, stands the burial-place of the first Manchur Khans. Indeed, all the rulers of this house up to the *Bogdo-Khan*, Tszia-Tsin (1796-1820), considered it their duty to visit the tombs of their ancestors at least once in their lives but after the death of Tszia-Tsin such pilgrimages ceased. This circumstance may, perhaps, be explained by the bad state of the road which connects the capital of Manchuria with Pekin, a road which, in former times, was kept in excellent repair.

Mukden is situated in the valley of the river Yui-He and it lies at an altitude of about 160 ft. It is distant from Pekin 480 miles and from the maritime port of In-Tszi 120 miles. Its neighbourhood is fertile and has a dense population, but it is distinguished for a complete absence of forest growth. Situated at the junction of the main routes leading into Manchuria from Inner China and Corea, Mukden is a great trading and industrial centre. The town is surrounded by a wall of beaten clay with a circumference of 11½ miles. Inside this inclosure there is another wall built of brick and furnished with towers and embrasures. The circumference of this inner wall exceeds 3 miles. This part of the town is the more thickly populated and in it is centred the chief trading activity. The streets too of this quarter are regularly laid out and are flanked with numerous shops and storehouses. Moreover they are kept far cleaner than are those of Pekin. The population of Mukden, according to the American missionary Dr. Williamson, comprises 180,000 souls of whom the greater majority are Chinese.

CANTONS AND THEIR TOWNS (SIAN).

Chen-De.

Liao-Yan-*Choi*.—This town lies 40 miles to the south of Mukden on the main road leading to the maritime port of In-Tszi. From the Vth Century and up to the beginning of the present ruling dynasty of China the town of Liao-Yan-*Choi* had always been the chief centre of the Manchur territory called Liao-Doon, but in the year 1622 there was founded, at a distance of 2½ miles from it, on the river Tai-Tszi-He, a new capital of Manchuria which was called *Down-Tzzin* (the Eastern Capital). This town was soon afterwards abandoned although for a

* V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 11.

† Archimandrite Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtchensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 42.

certain time during the reign of the present dynasty it continued to rank as a *foo* or district town.*

The town of Liao-Yan-*Choi* is encircled by a wall over which rises a lofty pagoda which can be seen for a long distance. The place is famous for its extensive manufacture of household furniture and coffins.

Hai-Chen.—This town which lies 73½ miles to the south of Mukden has direct communication, on the one side with the maritime port of In-Tszi, and, on the other, with the large trading mart of *Fin-Hooan-Chen* which stands on the river Tsao-He, an affluent of the Ya-Loo-Tszian. To this place Chinese and Corean merchants come three times every year for the purpose of exchanging their produce. The neighbourhood of Hai-Chen is famous for its mineral springs and for its considerable trade in cotton. To this district, in an administrative sense, belongs the town of Nu-Chooan with its advanced port of In-Tszi,† which ever since the annexation of the Usuri country by Russia has proved to be almost the only practicable exit to the sea on the side of Manchuria. The name "In-Tszi" signifies "Military Camp" and certainly from the earliest times this place has principally served for this very purpose. But since the opening of the port, in 1860, to foreign trade the place has acquired a very great commercial importance. Moreover its population has very rapidly increased, and now numbers 60,000 souls. The river Liao-He is ice-bound for more than three months in the year, and during that time communication between In-Tszi and the other Chinese ports is interrupted. Nevertheless the trade returns of the port have reached considerable proportions and are even still gradually increasing, as can be seen by the following figures:

	Value in Silver Roubles.				
	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.
Imported European goods	3,586,788	3,642,982	4,135,802	4,570,348	4,921,676
,, Chinese ,,	2,529,780	2,590,580	3,284,334	2,938,034	3,259,718
Exports of local manufactured goods	7,251,836	7,826,952	8,246,168	9,148,942	9,053,190
Total value of imports and of exports	13,368,404	14,060,514	15,666,304	16,657,324	17,234,584
Port dues on returned goods sent for sale to other markets	13,250,364	14,025,296	15,626,988	16,596,232	17,202,432

The chief articles of export comprise various sorts of beans and of pressed bean cakes which are sent to the southern provinces of China as manure for the fields. The other exports consist of tobacco, hemp, oil-cake, raw silk, coal, etc. In exchange for these, Manchuria receives woollen and silken webs, tea, sugar-candy, various *articles de luxe*, such as porcelain, bamboo, bronze and other manufactured wares and also opium,

* V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," pp. 15 and 16.

† Nu-Chooan is 30 miles higher up the river than In-Tszi.—W. E. G.

the import of which, however, has of late considerably fallen off, in consequence of the development of poppy cultivation in Manchuria itself.

Hai-Pin.—This town, which is picturesquely situated on rising ground at some little distance from the north-east shore of the Gulf of Liao-Doon, carries on a considerable trade in agricultural produce, chiefly in cattle.

Foo-*Choi.*—In this canton agriculture is largely carried on.

Kai-Yuan.—This town lies at a distance of about 66¾ miles to the north-east of Mukden on the main road which leads to Girin. According to information obtained by the American missionary, Dr. Williamson, Kai-Yuan has a population of 35,000 souls. In ancient times this town marked the site of a frontier outpost between the possessions of the races dwelling in this part of the country, viz. the *Ooryanks* on the one side and the *Choorchi* on the other. During the Yuan dynasty this place was the capital of the province but its name was then *Kai-Yuan-Loo.**

Tay-Lin.—This town which is scattered about a wide valley close to the mountain ridge of the same name, is encircled by suburbs and, according to the American missionary, Dr. Williamson, has a population of 20,000. Its streets are extraordinarily animated because of the numbers of men who are employed in working up the iron ore which is found in the neighbouring mountains, whose name *Tay-Lin* or "the Iron" mountains† indicate the wealth of iron which is found in them. In days gone by this town went by the name of In-*Choi* i.e. "the silver circle," since, in addition to iron, there is a great deal of silver ore as well, but now the mining of this metal has been forbidden throughout Manchuria.‡

Sin-Tszin-*Tin.*—This town lies at a distance of 90 miles to the east of Mukden and is famous only as having been at one time the Capital of the Manchur Sovereigns, whose place of burial still exists at a distance of 3½ miles to the north-west of the town.

Sin-Min-*Tin* presents one of the most animated trade marts on the main route leading from Pekin to Mukden. The American missionary, Dr. Williamson, says that it has a population of 30,000 souls.

Su-Yan-*Tin.*—This is an old Manchur town which is famous for its marble quarries. It carries on a considerable trade with the maritime port of Ta-Koo-Shan (Anglicè Taku) which stands on the lower course of the river Da-Yan-He and which has a population of 35,000 souls.

Tzin-Choi-*Tin.*—This town lies on the south-western shore of the Liao-Doon Peninsula. Its population is chiefly engaged in fisheries.

CHAN-TOO-TIN.

DISTRICT OF TSZIN-CHOI.

Tszin-Choi-*Foo*, the chief town of the district, lies at a distance of 16⅔rds miles from the north-western corner of the Gulf of Liao-Doon. It stands on the river Siao-Lin-He. Owing to its proximity to the sea on the one side and to the main road leading from Pekin to Mukden on the other,

* Archimandrite Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 48. V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 17.

† See first of the above references, p. 46.

‡ V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 49.

Tszin-Choi-*Foo* is considered to be one of the most important industrial and trading centres in Southern Manchuria. According to the testimony of European travellers this town is well built and has a very animated and business-like appearance.

Cantons and their Towns (Sian).

Tszin-Sian.

Hooan-Nin is situated at the foot of some mountains of the same name which are classed amongst the sacred places of China. During the Tszin dynasty this town was the centre of the district administration.*

Nin-Yuan-*Choi*.—This town lies close to the western shore of the Gulf of Liao-Doon, at a distance of 43½ miles from Tszin-Choi-*Foo*. It is encircled by a high stone wall and it is one of the largest trading points on the road leading through the Shan-Hai-Hooan barrier to Mukden.

I-*Choi*.—This town is a large trade mart in Southern Manchuria for the sale of grain produce which is conveyed in boats down the river Da-Lin-He to the Gulf of Liao-Doon, where it is transshipped into sea-going vessels bound for the ports of Inner China.

PROVINCE OF GIRIN.

The area of this province covers about 4,937 square miles but its probable population can scarcely exceed 3,700,000 souls.

Circles.

Girin which is the capital of the province and the centre of the Circle administration was founded in 1673 and soon afterwards it became, instead of Ninguta, the centre of the administration of the whole of Manchuria, as from Girin it was found most practicable for Chinese troops to operate against the Russians who were at that time establishing themselves on the Amur.† The local inhabitants usually call this town by the Chinese name of Chooan-Chan (signifying dockyard) or simply *Chan*‡ because here are constructed the Government vessels for the navigation of the river Sungara. The town of Girin lies in a small mountain valley at an altitude of about 650 ft. Towards the east it lies open to the bank of the Sungara which is here called the *Girin-Oola* but on the other side it is flanked by a wall built partly of kiln bricks and partly of sun-burnt bricks. The entire area of the town of Girin, excluding its vast suburb, which lies to the north-east, covers four square miles. The walls of the town are about 14 ft. high, their width at the top being 28 inches and at the base 7 ft. Outside the wall there is a wide ditch in which the rain water collects and this is constantly covered with slime.§ As regards its interior construction Girin in

* V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 18.

† V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 18.

‡ The Chinese have adopted their own geographical names almost throughout the whole of Manchuria, and these names have been taken into use by the native population. (Father Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 49.)

§ Baralaash, "Compendium of the Geography, Topography, and Statistics of Asia," No. 1, p. 151.

no way differs from any other Chinese town: its narrow and dirty streets are paved with worn out wooden blocks and are flanked by numerous shops, eating-houses, idol temples, etc. Mr. Barabash, who visited Girin in 1882, puts the population down at from 80 to 100,000 souls,* of whom the greater number are Chinese, but there are also many Mussulmans whom the local inhabitants usually call *Hoban-Hoba-Tszi i.e.* "the red-bearded people" or simply *Hoba-Tszi*. The neighbourhood of Girin is covered with numerous villages and farms interspersed amongst small groves and isolated trees. Three miles to the west of the town rises up Mount *Van-Tszi-Shan* or *Ven-De-He* whereon every spring and autumn offerings are made to the Spirit of the Chan-Bo-Shan mountain range.

Towards Girin converge the main routes which lead to Northern Manchuria both from the direction of Inner China and Russian territory.

Girin lies at a distance of about 350 miles from the port of In-Tszi and 323½ miles from the Russian harbour of Posiet, on the direct road viâ the village of Omoso. On the side of the river Amur, besides land routes, Girin has, as we have already mentioned in our general sketch of Manchuria, water communication along the course of the rivers Sungara and Nonni. From Pekin Girin is distant 750 miles. From the following Russian frontier-posts the distances are: Tsuruhaitoo on the Arguna 700 miles: from Blagovaishtshensk on the Amur nearly the same distance viz. 666⅔ miles. Occupying as it does a central position in Manchuria, Girin has the largest population and is the largest trade centre in the two northern provinces of Manchuria.

The chief article of the trade of Girin is tobacco, which is cultivated in this circle on a vast scale and is sent in large quantities to the inner markets of the Empire, where it is known under the name of *Hoban-Doon-Yai-Tszi* or "the leaves of Manchuria" and where it is highly prized for its excellent flavour.†

In former days the province of Girin was famous also for an abundance of the valuable root called "*jen-shen*" which distinguished Manchurs were obliged to collect for the Imperial Court and princes. Now, however, the search for this plant is carried out almost exclusively by those Chinese who have transferred their trade in this root to the Russian frontier districts along the course of the Usuri and to the Kentei mountains.

The position of Girin, with regard to the Russian frontier-line which shuts in Manchuria on the north and east, gives it a special importance in a strategical sense, and consequently there are here concentrated the greater part of the military forces of Manchuria, and also the necessary

* The Corean Christian, Kimlai-Kim, who travelled through Northern Manchuria in 1844, estimated the population of Girin at 150,000; and the American missionary, Dr. Williamson, who visited the place still later, reckoned it at 120,000. (*Vide* Krapotkin's "Two Journeys to Manchuria in 1864," p. 100.)

† "As Girin is approached," writes the Archimandrite Palladius, "the increased use of tobacco by the inhabitants of both sexes is especially noticeable: even children, who can scarcely walk, have their own pipes, their parents themselves teaching them to smoke. On the other hand, the use of opium is here less prevalent than in the interior of China." (*Vide* the Archimandrite Palladius's "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk and across Manchuria in 1870," p. 49.)

equipment for them. The Chinese troops are quartered in fortified camps to the south of the town, on the right bank of the river, and at a distance of 2¾ miles to the north of the camp there is a large rifle factory, built on the European plan, which supplies the whole of the troops in Manchuria with breech-loading rifles. More recently too the Chinese have begun to construct a powder-factory and a cartridge laboratory. The coal required for these works is obtained at a point which is distant from the town of Girin from 26⅔ to 33¼ miles.* Girin is in telegraphic communication with Pekin and also with the maritime ports of In-Tszi and Port Arthur, as well as with the town of Hoon-Choon which lies equidistant from the Russian frontier and from Sëul in Corea.

Chan Choon or *Shan-Doo* (the Upper Capital)† lies close to the frontier-line which divides Manchuria from Inner Mongolia. Not far from it and to the north-east stands the populous village of *Kwoan-Chen-Tszi* which is known as one of the largest trading marts in the country whereat is exchanged the produce of the nomad Mongol population for the manufactured goods of Manchuria and of China Proper.

San-Sin, or *Han-Hala* as it is called in the Manchur language, lies in a small valley formed by the mountains close to the junction of the rivers Moodan-Tszian and Sungara. This town was founded about the year 1716, and is encircled by a rampart with a circumference of about 1⅔ miles.‡ The distance from here to Girin is considered to be 312 miles by land and by water, to the mouth of the Sungara, about 233½ miles. During the flood season the town of San-Si is subject to inundation so that its inhabitants are obliged to move away from the river bank and to go closer to the mountains. The population of San-Sin is computed, by Messrs. De Le Brunière and Krapotkin, at 10,000, but the American Missionary, Dr. Williamson, estimates it at 15,000, nearly ⅓rd of whom are Mussulmans.

The town of San-Sin is regarded as of great importance by the neighbouring nomad tribes who, in the month of July of each year, collect here in large numbers for the purpose of bartering the results of their hunting expeditions for various agricultural products. In a strategical sense the town of San-Sin has a certain measure of importance as a point at which converge the roads leading from those parts of Russian territory which run conterminous with North-Eastern Manchuria. Consequently, at a point 26⅔ miles below this town, the Chinese have built on the right bank of the Sungara an earthwork mounted with guns of modern construction.§

Ningouta which, up the year 1676, was the chief administrative centre of Northern Manchuria,‖ stands, on the left bank of the river Moodan-Tszian, in a valley rising to a height of 1390 ft. above the level of the sea.¶

* Barabash, "Compendium of the Geography, Topography and Statistics of Asia," No. 1, p. 100.

† It is supposed that this town received this name because the Kidan Khans made it one of their places of residence. (Father Palladius.)

‡ V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 25.

§ Barabash, "Compendium of the Geography, Topography and Statistics of Asia," Part I., pp. 97, 139.

‖ V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 22.

¶ According to the determinations of Mr. Barabash.

Ningoota is distant from Girin 180 miles and about the same distance from the Russian maritime port of Posiet by the direct road viâ the town of Hoon-Choon, but by another road which leads from Ningoota eastwards to the Poltava frontier post the distance to Posiet is reckoned to be about 158⅔ miles. The neighbourhood of Ningoota is built over with a large number of detached villages and other habitations. The town itself, which has no encircling wall, consists of crooked, narrow and dirty streets through which a vehicle can with difficulty make its way. Its houses are, for the most part, built of beaten clay but there are also to be seen not a few stone buildings as also some of kiln-burnt bricks.

Mr. Barabash, who visited Ningoota in 1882, estimates its population at 10,000 souls. At that time the local garrison consisted of three *liantzi*, but besides these there were in a fortified camp, 20 miles from the town, nine more *liantzi* quartered in separate *impans*.*

Alchooka or Aje-He, as this town is also called from the river of this name on which it stands, lies at a distance of about 200 miles to the north of Girin. The town of Alchooka is divided into two separate parts, called respectively the "Old" and the "New" towns. The latter was built in the year 1729. At a point 1½rd miles to the south of Alchooka or Aje-He are the ruins of the old town which the Academician Vasilieff supposes was the old capital of the Tszin dynasty, its name being Hoi-Nin-foo.† The population of Alchooka or Aje-He is estimated by the American missionary, Dr. Williamson, at 40,000 souls, of whom the greater part are Manchurs. At a point which is not far from the mouth of the river Aje-He, on the opposite bank of the Sungara, stood an old fort called Hoo-Lan-Chen, the neighbourhood of which was at one time thickly populated and it is still famous for its great fertility.

Bodoone or Beidoone, also called *Sin-Chen* or "the new town" lies at a distance of about 175⅓ miles to the north-west of Girin and 20 miles to the south of the junction of the rivers Nonni and Sungara. It stands on a sandy plain at an altitude of 480 ft. above sea-level. At a distance of 8½ miles to the north of this again stands the old town of Bodoone, which has dwindled to a small scattered village. This at one time bore the name of Narhoon. *Bodoone* or *Sin-Chen* lies within a wall with a circumference of 2½ miles. The main street of the town presents a busy scene and is flanked with shops, but Father Palladius, who was here in 1870, says it then had a poverty-stricken appearance. The neighbourhood is, generally speaking, a desert waste, for it is only here and there that cultivated fields and detached farm-houses are to be seen.‡ Nevertheless the American Missionary, Dr. Williamson, puts the population of the town alone at 30,000 souls.§

Hoon-Choon.—This is the nearest town of Manchuria to the Russian

* "Compendium of the Geography, Topography and Statistics of Asia," Part I., pp. 48, 97, 147.

† V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 25.

‡ Archimandrite Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtchensk and across Manchuria in 1870," p. 82.

§ Elisée Réclus, "Géographie Universelle," Tome VII., p. 203.

frontier line in the Southern Usuri country from which it is distant 16⅔ miles. The town stands on a river of the same name which falls into the *Toomen-Tyzian*. *Hoon-Choon* is surrounded by a wall of beaten clay and has a population of from 2 to 3000. At a point 1½ miles from it on the road which leads to Ningoota there is a Chinese fortified camp, consisting of four *impans*, which stand at intervals of about ½ mile from each other. In each of these *impans* there is one *liantsi* and one other *liantsi* is quartered in the town itself. The immediate neighbourhood of *Hoon-Choon* was not long ago a desert waste but it is now becoming rapidly populated, so that all about the town there are springing up numerous small villages and detached farm-houses.*

PROVINCE OF HEI-LOON-TSZAIN.

The area of this province covers about 9,534 sq. miles and its population may approximately be reckoned at 1,060,000 souls.

Circles.

Tsitsigar, or *Chichikar*, also called *Tsichagari*, is the capital of the province and the centre of the circle administration. The local inhabitants usually call it *Bookooi*, from the name of the village, which once stood on the same site. The town of *Tsitsigar* lies in a valley on the left bank of the river Nonni at an altitude of about 510 ft.† The distance from here to Mukden is reckoned at about 620 miles and from the Russian frontier posts at Tsuruhaitoo and Blagovaishtshensk, (both of which have a strategical importance) the distance is 350 and 310 miles respectively. *Tsitsigar*, besides being in communication with Pekin viâ Girin and Mukden, is connected also with the capital of the Chinese Empire by a more direct route which leads through Inner Mongolia to the gates of *Si-Fin-Koi* in the Great Wall. By this route, which is about 800 miles in length, postal runners and express messages are chiefly sent. *Tsitsigar* is encircled by a wall of beaten clay and its interior construction in no way differs from that of other Chinese towns. Its buildings are constructed, for the most part, of sun-burnt bricks, its streets are narrow and dirty and are flanked by numerous shops, eating-houses etc. etc. Mr. Yevtugin, who visited *Tsitsigar* in 1884, puts its population down at 30,000 souls, of whom the greater part are Chinese but there are also many Muhammadans who are called *Doon-Hoi* and *Si-Hoi*, *i.e.* "Western" and "Eastern" Mussulmans, according to the particular quarter of the town in which they live. The *Doon-Hoi* Muhammadans belong to the number of free settlers from the inner provinces of China, the *Si-Hoi* Mussulmans, on the other hand, comprise banished offenders. Neither of these communities will have anything to say to the other and both therefore have their own mosques.‡ *Tsitsigar* serves as the principal place of banishment of privileged offenders,

* Barabash, "Compendium of the Geography, Topography and Statistics of Asia," Part I., pp. 53, 156, 157.

† As determined by Dr. Fritsche.

‡ Father Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 99.

of whom there were, in 1870, 3,000. Such persons are allowed to move about freely, the sole supervision over them being confined to an inspection once a month.* The heaviest punishment for this class of offenders is considered to be the handing of them over to the Manchur troops of the "Green Standard" for a term or in perpetuity. The Archimandrite Palladius tells us that the entire conscript population of the Tsitsigar province numbered, in 1870, 30,000 families. Under the jurisdiction of the circle headman there are the *bootkhans* or sporting tribes of *Dauri*, *Solons*, *Barhoos*, *Orochens* and *Bilars* who, in June and July of each year, come in considerable numbers to Tsitsigar for the purpose of bringing to the Chinese treasury tribute in the shape of a large quantity of sable furs, sometimes as many as 5,500 skins. In return for these they receive from the local Chinese authorities gifts of grain, trinkets etc. etc. At such a season, Tsitsigar becomes one huge market place in which a brisk trade is carried on in agricultural produce and the spoils of hunting expeditions which are exchanged for Chinese manufactured goods and the products of rural industry.

Under the jurisdiction too of the *Tsz'ian-Tsz'un* of Tsitsigar is the Mongol† townlet of *Hailar* which lies at an altitude of about 1,650 ft. on the western slope of the "Greater Hingan" range on banks of the river Iben-Gol and not far from the point at which this river is joined by its chief affluent the Hailar. According to Mr. Yevtugin the townlet of Hailar covers but a small area which is encircled by a wall. It has but one street which is flanked by shops belonging to Chinese merchants who here store up the wares which they keep for distribution amongst the Mongol nomads. Outside the town there are two Buddhist temples and also several scores of *Yurtas* (or felt tents). At a point 5½ miles to the south of the townlet of Hailar some barracks have been built for the occupation of 500 Mongol soldiers.

Morgen lies at a distance of about 150 miles to the north-east of Tsitsigar in the valley of the upper course of the river Nonni, at an altitude of about 690 ft.‡ Between 1691 and 1700 Morgen was the residence of a *Tsz'ian-Tsz'un* but now it is the headquarters of a *Foo-Doo*-Toon§ who administers the entire circle in which Morgen is situated. The town of Morgen is not a large one but it has several regularly laid out streets flanked by a small number of shops. The citadel stands apart and is encircled by a timber palisading through the openings in which may be seen an earthen rampart, which is pierced for guns. Within this stronghold are the quarters of the local officials, the barracks of the garrison, a college and an idol temple, the rest of the town being quite a ruin.‖ Mr. Yevtugin, who visited Morgen in 1884, says that the population does not exceed 2,000 souls whilst the neighbourhood has a very desert-like appearance.

Aigun or *Aikhun*, also called *Sahalian-Oola-Hoto* or *Hei-Leon-Tsz'ian*,

* Father Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 99.

† As determined by Dr. Fritsche. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 29.

‖ Archimandrite Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk and across Manchuria in 1870," pp. 112, 113.

lies on the right bank of the Amur at a distance of 20 miles to the south of Blagovaishtshensk and of about 290 miles to the north-east of Tsitsigar. Aigun was built in the year 1684* and for about 7 years it was the place of residence of a *Tzzian-Tzun* or military governor of the northern province which was formed during the reign of the Emperor Kan-Si who gave both to the province and the town the name of *Hei-Loon-Tzzian*, a designation which it continued to preserve even after the central administration had been transferred to Tsitsigar.

Aigun lies scattered along the bank of the Amur like a huge village and contains 10,000 inhabitants amongst whom are several hundreds of Chinese Mussulmans who have their own mosque. In the centre of the town a small fort has been built which is enclosed by a timber palisading similar to that in the town of Morgen. This fort contains the quarters of the administrative officials, the garrison and it also serves as the headquarters of the *Foo-Doo-Toon* under whose jurisdiction is the Chinese population that dwells on the Russian bank of the Amur. Aigun is the centre of trade with the surrounding nomad races: it carries on too a large trade in cattle and grain produce which are sent off in great quantities from Manchuria to the Russian gold mines along the course of the Amur.

* V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 29.

DUTCH SUCCESS IN ACHEEN AND ITS LESSONS.

By A. G. C. van Duyl.

More than eighteen months have passed since the Dutch Colonial Government has so successfully shaped its policy in Atjèh (Acheen) in accordance with the observations, inferences and advice of the learned Arabic scholar, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, a list of whose works will be published in my next article.

It is still too early to speak with confidence of the future. Even the best men may blunder when they have to deal with so many unknown, or imperfectly known quantities as the Dutch have in Atjèh and even a small blunder, under such circumstances, may lead to utterly unforeseen and untoward consequences. But as far as an opinion may be formed at this moment, there is every reason for satisfaction with the results already obtained by the present policy of the Dutch in dealing with Muhamadans. Thousands of Atjèhnese now live peacefully in that part of the country which is protected by Dutch military posts. Against these posts some harmless desultory shots may have been fired, but for the last few months they have never been seriously attacked. In the villages outside the Dutch lines small bands of marauders, now and then, may have appeared, but they were soon driven out by the native followers of "the auxiliary chiefs." The number of these auxiliary chiefs is daily augmenting and so it seems that the whole country is gradually settling down. Of course there is a wide difference between this situation and one in which "the Company," as the Dutch Government is still generally called amongst natives, universally is acknowledged as the supreme power. But much already will be gained if the present condition is allowed to consolidate. In the long run the advantages of a really good and equitable administration must become obvious to a people whose history is only a long series of internal strifes and, generally speaking, no people are easier to rule than these tribes of the Indian archipelago as soon as they perceive the blessings of a steady, impartial Government, meting out equal justice to all and protecting the weak ones against the tyranny and arbitrariness of the high and mighty. It is also very significant that the difficulties which met the Dutch troops at the outset in the campaign on the island of Lombok, made no perceptible impression in Atjèh. It might have been supposed that the reverse of some of the Dutch troops in Lombok would revive the agitation in the Atjèh part of the island of Sumatra. Nothing of the sort was observed and now that the expedition against Lombok has ended with such signal and complete success, the belief in the overwhelming power of "the Company" must have grown immensely and bear its fruits in again strengthening the hands of the secular, customary, or Adat-chiefs and of the peace-party generally in proportion with the waning influence for evil of the fanatical religious leaders ever ready to mislead their followers into a religious war. The lesson of the

success, under Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's guidance, of the present Dutch policy, may also not be without importance to other Christian countries that have to deal with Muhamadans.

ATJÈH AND THE ATJÈHNESE.

[ACHEEN AND THE ACHEENESE.]

Atjèh is the name of a capital, of a country and of a people. But it is not a capital, a country or a people in the European sense of the word. There has been for centuries—and there is yet somewhere—a Sultan of Atjèh. By outsiders he was believed to be the head of the State. Really there never existed a State and the authority of the Sultan never went much further than the confines of his Dalam, or palace. If the kingly authority was recognised and respected by one or more of the inland chiefs, or by those of the sea coast, this never was more than temporary and nominal. And in the traditions of Atjèh there is not a vestige of proof that another state of affairs ever existed. This means, of course, that the kingdom or Sultanate of Atjèh, as it was before the war with Holland, is not to be considered as the venerable ruin of a glorious past. A State, a nation, a people under one powerful ruler never has been in existence in this part of Sumatra. The capital only was the biggest place of the country, the people a conglomeration of natives of nearly the same extraction; the king, one of the Rajas who had assumed the title of Sultan, because nobody could prevent this, or thought it worth while to try. This Sultan never presumed to extend his authority inland, where nothing could be obtained but blows. If perchance he was a very ambitious man, or a ruler of more than ordinary capacity, he tried to gain power along the sea coast and sometimes succeeded for a longer or shorter period.

In fact, these Sultans only were kings of the port of Atjèh, their Dalam being situated upon the principal river. Like the robber-knights of old, who had their castles upon the principal highways, their wealth was principally derived from tolls and taxes and other depredations upon commerce and shipping. If they felt strong enough to go to war with their neighbours, they did not go inland, but preferred to take other castles, viz., ports, meaning more tolls and taxes and generally more extensive opportunities for piracy. The consequence of course was that the inland chiefs did what they liked and that the chiefs upon the sea coast did as the Sultan, taking from commercial and seafaring people whatever they could by fair means or foul.

It is only during the last years that this situation was clearly understood and that the Hollanders realised that they never had been fighting a nation, not to speak of a State, or of a Government, but had to do with a kind of anarchical monster, continually altering its shape and that could never be hit upon the head, because either it had none at all, or so many that one never knew exactly where to strike. And it is not long ago that the first thoroughly reliable analysis of this situation has appeared in print.

Mr. Snouck Hurgronje, LL.D., whose name and learning are known to every orientalist and to whom was offered a chair in the University of

Cambridge, was in Atjèh from July 1891 till February 1892. He went there at the instance of the Netherland Colonial Government to report upon the religious and political situation of the country. His report was presented to the Governor-General on the 23rd May 92 and in the beginning of this year, it was greatly enlarged and edited by order of the colonial Government. (The second volume has just appeared.) It is of this work we wish to give as concise an idea as possible. It will not only afford an insight into the great difficulties, with which the Dutch had to contend, but why they may now hope to be near their end. The study of the work is also of profound interest to every European nation that has relations with Mohammedans. The particulars throw light upon Mohammedanism as it exists in reality, not as it appears in the theories of the learned, who obtain their knowledge mostly from books, not from living amongst Muhammadans.

As a rule in their intercourse with Christians, Mohammedans are not really impressed by our culture, our science, our inventions. Dr. Snouck tells in his "Mecca," that he will never forget the sneer upon the faces of the audience of a Meccan professor when he said that the Gentiles in their arguments against Mohammed appealed to *reason*. "Steamers and telegraphs bring more evil than good and even the Turks with their modern medicine-men do not know of a preservative against death."

As to the political world there is the Sultan of Rûm (Constantinople) and there are also six infidel Sultans, tributary to him. A State having no ambassador at Constantinople—China for instance—does not count as a real State. When people in Mecca hear of a new State—for instance Italy which came into notice by its operations in the Red Sea—the first question asked is: "Waçalu Istambûl?=did they go to Constantinople?" viz: do they have an Ambassador at the Sultan's? If not, it cannot be much.

Of course, many Mohammedans know that there are more than six infidel Sultans and that their obedience to the ruler of Constantinople often leaves much to be desired. But they keep this knowledge to themselves and there always remains a belief that this representation at Constantinople is essential to the existence of these infidel Sultans. The power of Russia stands first in the estimation of the Mohammedan world. They understand its theocratic form of government and even during the fanatical outburst which was a consequence of the last Russian war, the Russian administration of Mohammedan countries was freely praised. The Government of France is considered as one of madmen. In Meccan conversation, especially when Algerians are present, nothing is more in discredit than the "many-headed parliament" which dwells in Paris "the paradise of the infidels" and where the highest interests of the nation are said to be decided "by big words and revolver-shots." Naturally these views are strongest amongst eastern people as they come less in contact with Europeans or only see their weakest sides. The Oriental will never understand a European. He lacks the power to put himself in his place and to follow his way of thinking. But the Oriental is a keen observer and soon understands how to make most of the weak points which, unluckily, most Europeans in Oriental countries display, the more so as they believe the Oriental to

be a simple being, easy to understand, and soon brought to sympathise with European views. In reality, the Orientals are very difficult to understand, not only because they move in such a different sphere from ours, but also because they have the art to appear open, whilst past-masters in concealing their feelings.

When in Mecca Dr. Snouck heard many conversations among people who did not in the least suspect that a European was present. The description of every European, of whatever nation or class was always a caricature. As to sympathy with any European Government the highest they expressed was that things could not be altered and should patiently be endured. Only once he heard a man from Borneo say that the Chinese would long ago have caused them to leave the country, if the Hollanders did not protect them. But this was the one exceptional instance, during a stay of six months, and moreover the man got a snubbing from his comrades for his European leanings.

The religion of Mohammed, as is well known, is essentially warlike. One of its principal objects has always been to convert unbelievers, or to exterminate or subjugate them. In the course of time this hate of the Káfir or unbeliever has toned down, either by long and varied commerce or by becoming accustomed to a bearable, just and powerful Káfir-government. Under such circumstances, most Statesmen and all who get their living by commerce and industry, practically put their Káfir-hate on one side and learn to forget it, whilst lawyers and theologians seek, and of course find, texts which transfer the real sharp contrast between believers and unbelievers into another and better world and as to the actual world only deal with things pertaining to religion in its strictest sense.

The people of Atjèh are not great travellers themselves and not many strangers come to their, far from hospitable, shores. There never had been a question of subjugation by foreigners. On the contrary, when the robbers and pirates of Atjèh came into contact with foreigners they mostly had the better of them. Add to this that of all Mohammedans those of Atjèh are the most conceited, so much so that Mohammedans of other countries, especially Arabs, often stand aghast, when a man of Atjèh is speaking of his "adat" and of other advantages of his country, as if it were quite out of the question that something so eminently perfect could exist anywhere else.

It needs little proof that such a people never could believe that what they considered a handful of Kafirs would not easily be driven back into the sea from whence it came. When this could not be accomplished; when the Dalam was taken, and the Dutch obtained a footing the very complicated organisation of the country came into play. Precisely because it was weak for all purposes of good Government, it was strong against an invading force, just as the bad organization of Spain was strong for guerilla campaigns in the Peninsular wars. Moreover the particular organization of the secular and religious powers respectively in Atjèh must always give great chances to political adventurers. Every man in Atjèh who has some influence owing to wealth and family-relations may hope to become an "Œlèebalang" or "Lord of the soil." If the man has the genius of command,

and the wisdom to treat his followers so that they like him better than the generally very avaricious real Œlèëbalangs, he is already far on the way to success. The Œlèëbalang may be a weak or an old man. In this case it is quite easy for an ambitious adventurer to take his place as lord of the soil. It is not even necessary to drive the real chief out. Bit by bit the power may be taken from him, leaving him in the end only the bare title.

Obviously troublesome times are the most favourable for these adventurers and nothing helps them more than an enterprise against the foreigner. As soon however as they have gained their point they leave off and only rob in the usual and acknowledged manner.

Far more dangerous than these competitors of the worldly powers that be, is another kind of adventurers. As a matter of fact, it depends upon the character of the actual chiefs in possession if the first kind will succeed. Even Teukoe Œma, who from a simple chief in the war, a sort of Subaltern, worked himself up to "Lord of the Sea," *i.e.*, master of nearly the whole west coast of Atjèh, is easily kept at a distance by such an energetic chief as, for instance, the Imám of Teunòm (the Nisero-man).

The men that are really dangerous not only to the Hollanders but to most of the chiefs in Atjèh are those who know how to make their profit by the divergences between the hoekōm (hukm = religious covenant or law) and the adat (customs of the country, customary law).

It is well known, for instance, that Mohammedan law prescribes the installation of Qādhi's (Kádis), wholly independent judges, who have not to ask what government would like to be done, but simply "what is the law of Allah?" There is not one Mohammedan country where anything exists in practice, like this ideal. This is not only because no Mohammedan chief could endure such an independent power, but also because religious law has been evolved in the schools, without taking much account of real life and thus in most cases is practically of no use. This necessitated all Mohammedan chiefs to be their own judges, deciding according to the customs of the country, or as the case may be according to their own pleasure.

All kinds of expedients are resorted to to conceal this departure from the hoekōm.

An Œlèëbalang of Atjèh, for instance, will ask his Kali (Qādhi, Kazi) with much feigned interest, what the hoekōm would decide in such and such a case. After having heard him, he kindly begs his permission to leave just for once the decision to the "Adat." Of course, this permission is always given, but, in most cases, the Kali is not present, as the proceedings are so flagrantly in opposition to religious law that his attendance would be a countenancing of disrespect to the religious law.

As soon as there is any chance of success for the religious law, its representatives try to get the better of the Adat and its followers. Even under ordinary circumstances it is feasible enough to effect such a change. The people of Atjèh, as indeed most Mohammedans, know very well that they are far from exemplary; that their customs and common law are full of mathiët (evil). They think it highly necessary to walk in better ways. Only they are accustomed to sin from their earliest years and, what is

worse, they are accustomed to be left alone by their *ælema's* (Ulemá) or religious men, as long as they do not commit, what is forbidden, in their sacred presence. But then they also know that if you do not become a kafir by *doing* evil, you certainly are one, by praising evil ways and generally by defending those that are walking in them.

No more dangerous man to the power of an Œlèëbalang than one who has the pretension of Peukong Agama, "strengthening religion," which practically means putting the authority of the hoekôm above that of the adat. As all worldly affairs may be brought under the sway of religious law, to strengthen the religion is to take the whole jurisdiction out of the hands of the Œlèëbalang, which would deprive him of most of his income, would not allow him a single one of his amusements, would lose him his followers, in short, would give his power into the hands of the religious man.

This danger is the greater because the Œlèëbalang really is powerless against it. Against a common political adventurer he has means, if he is something of a man. He can make him leave his territory where he has no business. If the worst comes to the worst he can fight him. But the territory of "a man of the revival" is everywhere and by opposing him openly the Œlèëbalang, as it were, would take the defence of evil ways and so become a kafir. He soon would stand alone, as neither his people nor even his immediate followers would run the risk of opposing the preacher. It may truly be said that these men are more dreaded than Allah himself. Most certainly the sins against the law of Allah will be punished hereafter, but then Allah is great and his commiseration and forgiveness are immense. The curse of a preacher, however, is upon you already in this life and, therefore, so much the more to be feared.

In ordinary times and against ordinary men the best thing an Œlèëbalang can do is to get the preacher out of his territory or try to bring him over to his side. When an Ulema (Œlema) is relieved of worldly cares, he mostly keeps quiet and only now and then gives vent to his zeal. Of course, this course is easier with native Œlemas or such Œlemas as make it too apparent that they are actuated by worldly considerations. It may even be possible to find another Œlema, whose views are somewhat different from those of the first one. In such cases part of the population will come in opposition, not as defenders of evil, nor as followers of the œlèëbalang, but as adherents of one religious man against another.

It is quite another matter in extraordinary times and when the preachers are really men out of the common. Essentially and especially when it first came into existence, Islam did not give much relief to individuals. But as soon as the religion spread out of Arabia, not only the prophet himself but some of his descendants and followers also were almost deified. Thus the Sayids, the Sherifs, the founders of Tariqahs (mystic orders) and a lot of other "holy" men were much made of, and very soon after almost every place had its local saint. In Atjeh, a Sayid may do almost anything. In the first place, of course, he may count upon the Œlemas and all men, who wish to be considered as religious. But thousands of ordinary people come to him from all parts of the country. Quite happy if they are only

admitted to kiss the hands of the holy man. Nobody comes without a gift, be it ever so small.

If such a man preaches a revival, and especially if he preaches the Jehád or "holy war" he may get as many followers as he likes, and what is more to the point as much money as he wants. It is now quite easy to understand how hot the position could be made for the Dutch invaders, when they had against them a fanatical and warlike population led by such a chief.

Luckily, there are not many Sayids in Atjèh and amongst them are some whose pretensions of descending from the prophet are very doubtful and who most certainly would not succeed in other parts of the Indian Archipelago where more is known about spurious family papers. Again, the Sayids, who are born in Atjèh, soon take after their mothers. They do not know much of Arabic and its learning. However respected and sometimes dreaded they may be, as members of the religious nobility, they cannot be put upon the same level as Sayids fresh from Arabia. On the other hand, the Arabian Sayids, precisely *because* they are learned and have a great deal more experience and knowledge of worldly affairs, are not at all so conceited as most of their followers. They know very well that the people of Atjèh are not invincible as they believe themselves to be. Consequently, they are more inclined to friendly relations with foreigners and in critical moments give clearly to understand that they prefer an amicable arrangement to continued fighting. This makes them suspicious to their followers, who do not understand their wisdom, and as, of course, the enemy is not over-confident as to the overtures of such a fierce opponent, it may happen that they get between two fires and having enough of the strife leave the country and return to their books. This was the case with Sayid Abdurrahman Záhir, commonly known as Habib Abdurrahman, who during some years in an admirable way centralised all the power of Atjèh. And it may be considered as a proof that this really eminent man considers nothing impossible for a Sayid, when we know that in 1884 he asked leave from the Dutch government to return to Atjèh and act there as a pacifier under its supervision. This notwithstanding he was perfectly aware that the people of Atjèh considered him as a traitor, having played from the beginning into the hands of the "Company." It should be said that this supposition had not the slightest foundation. The Chief saw further than most of his followers and in their own interest tried to make the most of a hopeless situation.

After this Sayid left, the war was continued by other representatives of the clerical party, not seldom in a very desultory way, and always as a guerilla, by more or less strong bands. The configuration and general condition of the country are in themselves an explanation why this war should last so long. Besides, faults were committed; faults almost inevitable as long as the authorities had no clear insight into the condition of the people with which they had to contend. No Mohammedan people is amenable to argument. The only means to cure them of their conceit is to give the impression that the Káfirs are irresistible. Then all other things follow of themselves. This impression was not given in Atjèh, for just when this result was nearly obtained and the Dutch troops moved

unmolested even in the highlands, there was a reversion of policy in high quarters, and the so called system of concentration came into force. This may have been very reasonable in theory, but it did not have the effect which was expected from it. Now, however, that the Muhammadan question has become understood, especially by the study of Dr. Snouck's work, the real way to pacification is much better seen.

It is now clear that the whole power of the present clerical party, the party of the ambitious Œlemas, only exists by this war. No greater blow could be dealt to them than if the Hollanders went quietly away. For then there would be an end to the contributions for the holy war and without these the Ulemas very soon would sink again to their former level. The Adat step by step would regain the influence which it has lost upon a part of the population and the Adat-chiefs (the non-clerical heads of the people) would, as formerly, tell the Ulemas to occupy themselves with their studies and teaching. Only some of the most learned and specially gifted and energetic Ulemas then would try to gain some authority as reformers.

If this view be considered it must be evident, that many men in Atjèh, especially the lords of the soil, when they are not actuated by other motives, cannot be of the thorough-going war-party. As a matter of fact, the war is not one of the whole people. Large portions of the population kept aloof or even saw an advantage in friendly commercial transactions with the Kafirs. Only too much stress should not be laid upon the last-mentioned circumstance. The Dutch soldiers, knowing how treacherous the men of Atjèh generally are, have a good term for this kind of men. They are called "the six-to-six friends" which means that they show themselves upon the markets in the day-time when they are hand-in-glove with the Dutch soldier, but are under strong suspicion of crawling around the posts and shooting at them in the darkness of the night. What is more to the point is that the Ulemas are not only revered but also dreaded. A large part of the population would like nothing better than that their rule came to an end. The Gampôngs (villages) often have to suffer from the robberies of the partisans of the clerical party and even if this were not the case they would like to live in peace and especially no longer to be worried about contributions for the holy war, or pressed into the so-called reserve-service.

To sum up: Kâfir-hate can never be the only motive-power of a people, and so in Atjèh there exists a very strong party, which, however inimical to the Hollanders in a general way, would rejoice if they gained a signal victory over the clerical party and made an end to its rule. The "Houkôm," religious law, may be very well in its way, but, generally speaking, all men desire to return to the Adat, and be left in peace under it.

(*To be continued.*)

CENTRAL ASIAN MATERIAL.—III.

Collected by the Editor.

(Continued from last issue.)

REVELATIONS REGARDING BADAKHSHAN.

Had this paper been printed in 1872-3, the agreement then arrived at with Russia regarding the Russo-Afghan frontier in the direction of the Pamirs might have been less vague. The detailed account given of the names of places and of the affluents of the Oxus, as also of the sinuous course that this river takes in dividing Shignán and Raushan, East and West, and Darwaz North and South, might have saved many of the conjectures alike of the Rawlinson School and of its opponents. The entire topographical knowledge of Badakhshán and surrounding countries which it has been sought to impart for the first time in this account will still remain of value, whilst the rough historical sketch which we are continuing in this issue may throw light on the political game that is now being played between England and Russia. The first attempt likely to be made by Russia is to restore the hereditary chiefs of Raushan and Shignán under her protectorate as a counterpoise to the extension of our influence in Waziristan. This may be followed by the re-establishment of the Badakhshán dynasty, as we encroach further in the South. It was the Siah Posh Kafir, Jamshéd, the nephew of General Feramorz and a major in the Amir Shere Ali's service, whose published adventures in Faizabad, Rosták, etc., first in 1876 dissipated the confusion regarding the whereabouts of Badakhshán and of places in it. In an early issue, we propose to give detailed itineraries from India to Badakhshan. In the meanwhile, travelling M.P.'s, unacquainted with any Oriental language, will lecture experts on those countries and teach their natives how to play Polo.

Rough Historical Sketch of Badakhshán, 1638 to 1872.

Designs and attempts of the Moghal Emperors of India against Balkh and Badakhshán. The descendants of Baber, who ruled in India, never ceased to covet the occupation of their hereditary territories in Transoxiana, Balkh, and Badakhshán. Humáyún invaded Balkh, was baffled and returned to Kabul. His son, Akbar, alone refrained from encroachment on these territories. That prince, having reorganized his Empire in India, studied to preserve peace within, and security from invasion without. He did not covet his neighbour's lands. He was friendly with Abd-ullah Khan, Uzbak, who was master of Badakhshán, promoted commerce between India and Tartary, and, by treaty with Abd-ullah Khan, agreed to acknowledge Káhmard and the Hindu Kush as boundary of his country from Uzbak Chiefs. Jáhangír deputed Hakím Hamám as envoy to Bokhara, and instructed him to take observations as far as banks of Oxus. But the Emperor died soon after his return.

Shah Jahán, son and successor of Jáhangír. He wished to unite his Empire with those possessions of his ancestors, Balkh and Badakhshán.

In 12th year of his reign he proceeded to Kabul to plan invasion of coveted countries. But rulers of Balkh and Bokhára sent to Kabul, and urged that treaty of Akbar and Abd-ullah Khan had been observed, and deprecated its violation now. This proved successful, and Shah Jahán returned to India without invading Balkh. Eventually he determined to recover Taimur and Bábar's possessions.

In 18th year of his reign Shah Jahán despatched 20,000 cavalry under Kulich Khan, Bahádar Khan, Nijábat Khan, and Raja Hari Sing, to Cabul, to invade that place. Next year Shah Jahán arrived at Lahore, and gave chief command to Prince Morád Baksh. Nawab Ali Mardán Khan, Mirza Khán, Shekh Farid of Fatahpur, Multafit Khan, Rajá Tahal Das, Rája Madho Sing, Khalil-ullah Khan, Kulich Khan, and Asálat Khan, all noted commanders, were associated with the Prince; 2,000 spare horses accompanied army, and 50 lakhs Rupees were provided for expenses. Shah Jahán went to Kabul, and started expedition. The Forts of Káhmard and Ghori were captured, and Kunduz taken. Morád Baksh then advanced on Balkh. Bahrám Sultán and Subhán Kuli Khán, sons of Nazar Muhammed Khan, waited on Prince to pay respect. Next day the Prince entered city, and Nazar Muhammad Khan fled, *viâ* Maimana, Hirat, and Mashad, to Persia, leaving 15 lakhs Rs. in hands of conquerors. The authority of Shah Jahán was established, and Khutba read in his name in Balkh. Nazar Muhammad Khan was pursued by Asálat Khan and Báhadur Khan. These Generals went through Maimana and Tirmiz to the Oxus and seized the territories, together with Kubádian, Khitlán, and Kuláb. Next year Morád Baksh returned to Cabul, and Wazir Sád-ullah Khan, was made Govr. of Balkh. The Wazir sent Kulich Khan, Mir-ul-Hassan, Bakhshi, and Nazir Bahádur, against Badakshán, which was easily occupied.

The following officers were appointed to different divisions of Balkh by the Wazir, Sád-ullah Khan:

Raja Pahár Sing, Rustam Khan, Raja Debi Singh, Candar Man Bondela and Muhammad Kásim at Andkho, with 2,000 matchlockmen and 3,000 archers; Shah Beg Khan and Ehtamám Khan at Ghori; Jabbárkúli Gakkhar at Shibarghán; Khushál Beg of Kashghár in territories of Nahr-i-Sarpul, Nahr-i-Shál, and Shang Chárik; Shádmáni Khan at Akhcha; Bahádur Khan, Lohání, at Darahgaz; Aflatún Beg at Haibák; Himmat Khan at Rahát Rez Kán; Nizam Khan at Mazár-i-Sharif; Mírak Beg at Khinján: Uggur Sing, of Cutch, at Farhang; Muhammad Zamán at Arlát; Kásim Beg at Andráb; Mír Karásh Beg and other native Mírs at Kuláb; and Raja Raj Rúp at Kundúz; Sád-ullah Khan then returned to Cabul. The family of Nazar Muhammad Khan were deported to Lahore.

Next year Uzbaks rose against Imperial Governor, and were joined by Nazar Muhammad Khan, who returned from Persia. News having reached Shah Jahán, Prince Aurungzeb was despatched to quell it. Raja Jai Sing and Jáfir Khan accompanied him to Balkh. Meanwhile rebels were joined by the Alamáns and Abd-ul Aziz Khan, chief of Bokhara, and they mustered on Oxus. Aurungzeb placed Bahádur Khan and Kanwar Rám Sing in charge of Balkh, and marched against rebels. At Taimur, Uzbaks

were repulsed across the Oxus. Balkh and Badakhshán remained in possession of Shah Jahán.

Abstract of revenues derived by Shah Jahán from his possessions in Afghanistan and Turkistan :

40 dâms = 1 Shah Junarie Rupee.

Kabul	...	10 crore dâms	
Balkh	...	8	" "
Badakhshán	...	4	" "
Candahar	...	7	" "

1640. In 1057 Balkh and Badakhshán were restored by Shah Jahán to Nazar Muhammad Khan. The Hindu Kush, Ghorband, and Kâhmard were defined boundaries between Afghn. and Turkistan, and Lieutenants of Emperor were recalled.

1644. In year 1061 Nazar Muhammad Khan, disgusted with his son's conduct, abdicated and proceeded to Mecca. Subhán Kuli Khan succeeded. At this period Bokhára was subjected to repeated attacks from Khiva, and the chief of Bokhara's army was held by Mahmúd Bi Atalik Kataghan, descended from Beg Morád of Farghána. He fought against Khan of Khiva with success, and was rewarded by Abd ul-Aziz Khan and Sabhán Kulí Khan with the Government of Badakhshán and Kunduz.

1651. In 1068 the Tájik tribe, who inhabited Yaftal, in Badakhshán, invited Mír Yár Beg Sáhibzáda from Samarkand, and made him Chief. In 2 years his fickle nature made people repent. They rebelled against Mír Yár Beg, built a strong fort at Lái Aba, and raised a man of their tribe, Shah Imád, to chieftainship. Mír Yár Beg then retired to Court of Aurungzeb in India. Shah Imád disgusted people by his tyranny. The people regretted Mír Yár Beg, and sent an Akskál (greybeard) *viâ* Chitrál to India to beg Mír Yár Beg to return. He accepted, and made war on Shah Imád. Shah Imád's son was slain, and he himself fled across Latta Band Mountains to Kunduz. Next year he received a patent from Sabhán Kuli Khan, ruler of Balkh, making him chief of Badakhshán, and his authority was established. He imposed the following taxes :

Per jáwai of grain, two seers ;
From Arghanj Khowah, iron for shoeing his horses ;
1 out of each 40 head of cattle ;
and ground rent from Shopkeepers.

He built a strong fort at Jouzgún, where he made his Capital.

Mír Yár Beg afterwards went to war with Subhán Kuli Khan, because of espousing the cause of Bayat Kara, a General of Balkh Ruler, who rebelling against his master obtained shelter at the Badakhshán Court. The rebel general, with support of Mír Yár Beg, attacked Kisham, belonging to Kunduz then, but now to Badakhshán. Ghází Beg, son of Mír Yar Beg, was taken prisoner. This induced Yár Beg to open negociations with Muhmúd Bi Atálik, the Lieutenant of Balkh ruler, and a treaty was made binding each to respect other's territory. At a meeting after conclusion of treaty Mahmúd Bi, in jest, threatened Mír Yár Beg with a knife, concealed in his boot. Yár Beg, terrified, acknowledged allegiance to Govt.

of Sulimán Kuli. Gházi Beg was restored. Báyat Kara put to death, and his head sent to Balkh, thence to Bokhára.

1675. In 1092 Abd-ul-Aziz Khan, ruler of Bokhara, retired to Mecca, and his brother, Sulimán Kuli Khan, proceeded to Bokhara, and assumed sovereignty over whole of Transoxiana. He placed his sons Sádik Muhammad Khan and Mansur Khan in charge of Balkh.

1679. In 1096 Sádik died, and Balkh was entrusted to Mahmúd Khan Átálík Yúz. Last named was removed next year, and replaced by Jazim Bi Atálík. This year Sulimán received presents from Aurungzeb. The Hindu Kush mountains and Kúhmard were again boundaries between Bokhara, and schemes for commerce were arranged.

1682. The death of Jázim Bi Atálík in 1099 summoned Sabhán Kuli Khan to Balkh. He remembered services of Mahmúd Bi Atálík, Kataghan, in repulsing Chief of Khiva. Therefore he gave him a jágir and title of Amir-ul-Umara, and trusted to his charge Balkh and Bokhára. The rebellion of Mir Yár Beg, who sent back Mahmúd Bi's agents without the tribute, impelled Mahmúd to advance on Badakhshán (1686) in 1103. He besieged fort Jouzgún, and in 10 days Yar Beg purchased peace by tribute for 2 years. These two chiefs soon met again as enemies. Honours of Mahmúd Bi excited envy of Uzbak Karámas at Bokhára; and at their instigation Yár Beg sent parties to maraud in Kunduz. Disturbances were raised also in Maimana, Andkhu, and Shibarghán, in Balkh. Enemies of Mahmúd, impatient of delay, well-nigh caused his ruin. Convinced that Balkh required royal presence, Mahmud Bi having made unnoticed representations, retired. Shahzáda Múkim Khan, son of Sabhan Kuli Khan, was appointed to Balkh, and the Prince started from Bokhára. The Karáma Uzbaks advanced towards him by Kálip route, and Mahmúd Bi did the same *viâ* Daulabád. The Oxus was fixed for meeting, and the Karámas were to seize Mahmúd Bi. They were disappointed. Mahmúd Bi received intimation, and went direct to Balkh, which he gave to Khowaja Abd-ul-Wali Pársa, grandson (daughter's son) of Nazar Muhammad, a former ruler of Balkh. This afforded his enemies means of injuring him with his sovereign; and Prince Mukim returned to Bokhara. Meanwhile the depredations of Mir Yár Beg in Kunduz demanded attention of Mahmúd Bi. Leaving Yár Mahmúd Ming and Nazar Bi Turkmán as ministers of new Amir of Balkh, he proceeded to chastise Mir Yár Beg. He was recalled to Balkh by entreaties of his creature, to deliver him from Subhán Kuli Khan, who had laid siege to Balkh. Mahmúd Bi hastened to his relief with 70 followers, and by night threw himself into the fort.

His presence encouraged the garrison, and in 3 weeks Subhán Kuli Khan raised the siege and returned to Bokhára. Mahmúd Bi returned to Badakhshán frontier, recovered border from Mir Yár Beg, and returned to Balkh. Here he put to death Nazar Bi Turkmán who had instigated inroads of Turkmáns into district of Balkh, and had assassinated Mansúr Khan, son of Subhán Kuli Khan. He also deposed Khowája Abd-ul-Wali, and deported him to India.

1692. In 1109 Mahmúd Bi sent to Bokhára disclaiming ambition for power, and hinting that all his acts were for aggrandizement of Bokhára. He suggested again the location of a Prince at Balkh, and offered himself as Atálik or minister. Subhan Kuli Khan appointed Múkim Khan, his son, Governor of Balkh, and Mahmúd Bi as Atálik.

1695. In 1114 Subhan died. He was succeeded at Bokhara by his son, Abid-ullah Khan. Mukim Khan remained Governor of Balkh.

1695. In 1112 the Sáhibzádas (religious characters) of Samarkand removed relic of prophet from Capital,—his dress, which came from the Turkish Campaign, brought by Amir Táimur to Samarkand. Whilst conveying relic to India were despoiled of it by Mír Yár Beg, who deposited it at Faizábád. A shrine erected here was much resorted to. The Khojas of Badakhshán were made attendants at the shrine.

1699. Mír Yár Beg died in 1118. Badakhshán was divided among 8 sons:

1. Yusaf Ali Khan took Saddah and Pasakoh.
2. Khoja Niaz occupied Bazrurg.
3. Khoja Is-hak, Zardeo, Sarghalán, and Dast-i-Sheva.
4. Shah Ismail from Kisham to Tarkhar, and Wassach to Tangarun.
5. Zia-ud-din. Arghaujkhowah.
6. Mirzakand. Karan and Munjan.
7. Sulaiman Beg. Jirm.
8. Mir-Aibak. Bágh-i-Jirm.

The chief position was assigned to Solaiman Beg. The death of Mír Yár Beg tempted Mahmúd Bi, Kataghan, to encroach on Badakhshán territory. He invaded the country with a strong army. All brothers assisted under command of Solaiman Shah. In decisive battle, brothers proved victorious at Karki, and Mahmúd Bi defeated, returned to Balkh. He died in 1124 (1705), and was succeeded as Atálik by Yusak Bi. This victory bred dissensions among the brothers. Next year 1125 (1706) Khoja Niaz, employed Bába Kamr-ud-din, a rich Tájik, to assassinate his brother Solaimán Beg. But Khoja Niaz succumbed to Yusuf Ali Khan. Latter advanced against Khoja Niaz to avenge Solaiman Beg, and slew Khoja Niaz and Baba Kamr-ud-din. Yusaf Ali Khan assumed supremacy. He invaded Kunduz, and occupied Tálakán, Ishkamish, Ghori, Hazrat Imam, and 17 passes of Munjan. Against Kunduz itself he failed. On his return he was poisoned, through his brother Zia-ud-din, by a man of clan of Taimur Beg, and who lived at Yárkand. Zia-ud-din took supremacy, but Mír Bádshah, son of Yusaf Ali Khan, attacked him in fort Laghárchi to avenge death of his father. Failure of this attack impelled Mír Bádshah to fly. He retired to Kunduz, and was well received by Irdana Beg and Sohrab Beg, sons of Yusuf Bi and Mahmud Bi, who were joint Atáliks in Kunduz. He was supplied with a strong force in Kunduz, with which he attacked Faizábád, and conquered. But he retired on Pasakoh. In aiding Mír Badshah with strong force, Atáliks of Kunduz thought of conquest of Badakhshán, which they occupied, and taking Mirza Bayat, son of Zia-ud-din, prisoner, deported him to Hazrat Imám, in Kunduz. Zia-ud-din collected 10,000 men through Kázi Omaid Kul, head of Ak

Bori Clan, and advanced against Katághans to release his son. No battle ensued, because Mír Badshah was released. The Prince was conducted to Kázi's own house, and Zia-ud-din invited to meet him.

The Kázi had already been seduced by Mír Bádshah, son of Yusuf Ali Khan, who longed to avenge his father, Zia-ud-din. At the first interview he was stabbed. Mirza Bayát was terrified, and, escaping from the Kazi, fled to Argu. Mír Bádshah took Faizabad. He was attacked by Mirza Bayát and Solaimán Khan, son of Shah Sulaimán Beg of Jirm, and, finding himself unable to cope with them, fled to Pasakoh. Faizabad was occupied by Sulaiman Khan, and Mirza Bayát, frustrated, attacked his successful rival. Unsuccessful, he retired to Jirm. An attack made by Mir Badshah on Faizabád about same time also failed. In 4 months Mirza Bayat made another attempt, deposed Solaiman Khan, and assumed sovereignty of Badakhshán.

NOTE.—In 1135 (A.D. 1716) Khodai Nazar Beg led an attack from Kuláb on Kunduz, and, deposing the joint Atáliks, Amraim Beg and Sohrab Beg, usurped the government. The deposed chiefs with their sons fled to Khulur.

NOTE.—1150 (A.D. 1733). Nadir conquered Transoxiana and Balkh, but restored them to Abul-Fair Khan, son of Subhan Kuli Khan. Khodai Nazar Beg was deposed at Kunduz, and replaced by Khizir Beg.

1733. Next year Mirza Bayat, firmly established, drove Mír Bádshah from Pasakoh, and found himself ruler of country. He opened commerce with Cabul, and exported Lajward (*lapis lazuli*) to China. He accumulated treasure. Mirza Bayat was a liberal ruler, but cruel. In his reign women were forbidden from going out of their houses. He was killed in 1160 (1743) by a jealous husband, Tukhta Beg, a slave, but afterwards commander, who suspected the Prince of intrigue with his wife, who was beautiful. On his death, Faizábád was occupied by Mír Bádshah; he was deposed by Solaimán Khan. The deposed chief retired to Lá-i Aba, when he swore not to shave till he had taken Faizábád. This is still a custom in Badakhshán. The vow was fulfilled by Mír Bádshah, with support of Degrez tribe, in 1162 (1745). He was expelled by Solaimán Khan, and died in 1166 (1746). Solaimán died next year.

1748. In 1168 sons of Shah Ghurbat of Shignán disputed sovereignty by attack on Sultán Shah, and obtained some advantage. Eventually he was disappointed.

1749. In 1169 a Colony of Khoja Sayads were driven from Yarkand by Chinese, who occupied E. Turkistan, and emigrated to Badakhshán. With them were families of Kilmáks and Káshgharis. Relying on numbers, these Khojas sought Badakhshán. They were attacked by Sultán Shah, repulsed, and fled to Cabul, where they still are. The massacre of Sayads angered Badakhshán, and they rebelled. The energy of Sultan Shah suppressed it, and ringleaders were punished. Security lulled Sultan Shah into sensuality. Ahmad Shah Durráni despatched his Wázir, Shah Wali Khan, to seize Badakhshán. Sultan Shah submitted, but the relic of prophet was transported to Candahar. The shrine can still be seen near the artillery lines.

(To be continued.)

SEMI-CLASSICAL ORIENTAL EDUCATION.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PANJAB.)

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

PERSIAN SCHOOLS.

The ease and elegance of Persian conquered most of the courts and offices of Asia, just as French was long the universal language of diplomatists and gentlemen in Europe. Its directness and absence of synthesis also, like French, encouraged the spread of popular scepticism in letters, morality, religion and politics, and Persian was the graceful garb in which the gay and the grave clothed falsehood or truth with impunity from a flippant world. It made a man a gentleman, with a delightful soupçon of being also a scholar, than which nothing was, as a rule, more undeserved. For Persian, like English, one of the most analytical of languages, soon competed in public estimation with the true scholarship of Arabic, from which it pirated with a charming candour that invited forgiveness. It then became the link between the man of letters and "the man of the world" till, at last, whoever wished to write for a larger public, wrote in Persian. The graver studies were left to Arabic; but it was agreed that no one could become a good Persian scholar without knowing, at any rate, the elements of the classical language of Muhammadanism. An Urdu poet, who knows Persian, still prefers the latter as the vehicle of his thoughts, partly because it is easier and partly, perhaps, also because he can command an admiring public, each member of which likes to be suspected of, at least, understanding Persian. This sentiment, however, does not apply to women, among whom the tendency to Persian poetry is considered an alarming symptom by male relatives. For them Arabic, which they do not understand, or Urdu, Hindi, Gurmukhi or Perso-Panjabi, which they do understand, and in which religious books for their use are written, are considered to be a sufficient literary accomplishment.

If I have called Persian "semi-classical," it is because it was the greatest element of culture, though not of mental discipline, to the East. Everyone could learn Persian, whilst few had the courage to face Arabic or Sanscrit, to the former of which, however, it was often an introduction. In the words of Hafiz, it was the clay which derived its fragrance from proximity to, and association with, the rose. It is, however, no common clay. Its present decay, as the polite vernacular, or the "language of gentlemen" of the East, is as much to be regretted, as the elimination of the elements of Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit in Urdu or of Sanscrit in Hindi, does not, as is fondly imagined, purify these dialects, but simply reduces them to their pristine barbarism.

In the Panjab, Persian was the language of courts and of the court, though Ranjit Singh conversed by preference in Panjabi and recommended the study of Gurmukhi to those who came near him. Both Hindus and Muhammadans, who wished to have appointments under the State, studied Persian. The host of employés was enormous, as our first Administration Reports will indicate, and there was scarcely a family in the province which had not one or more of its members in Government service, chiefly military. The Muhammadans, moreover, read and taught Persian from religious and social pride, and the teacher's seat was almost entirely monopolised by them. The Hindu castes, especially the Khatris, to whom official employment was traditional, eagerly frequented the Persian schools, even when the Koran was also taught to their Muhammadan fellow-pupils; so strong was the Khatri feeling in favour of Persian, that they, till recently, spurned the study of Hindi or Urdu, for their caste-tradition is to learn whatever will give them official and political power. This is why they are now so eager for the cultivation of what they call "higher English education," if possible at the cost of the State, but, if necessary, at their own cost. Indeed, so deep-rooted is this feeling in the class, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, that aspires to official employment, that we need never have started an Educational Department at all for the spread of English education, just as we need not maintain one at present for that or any other educational purpose, for the official demand for employés acquainted with English or any other language or subject that may be remunerative would have given us a more than sufficient supply for any grade of the administration in which only ability and attainments are required. The Hindu aspirants for office were ever of the persuasion of their masters. We find Hindu Persian writers prefixing their productions with praises of the Muhammadan prophet, or referring to the funerals of their distinguished fellow-countrymen as being "burials," and not the "burnings" abhorred to Muslim prejudice. By wealth chiefly can a Khatri indulge in the practice of the virtues of the Hindu religion, and to acquire wealth, most means were welcome. Therefore, in explaining the preponderance of Hindu over the Muhammadan pupils in the Persian schools of the Panjab, the question of the caste to which the pupils belonged must, in this *as in every other Indian inquiry* affecting the people, be constantly kept in view. Finally, we also find that all the religious books of the Hindus, *in current use*, were translated into Persian, and, subsequently, into Perso-Panjabi, in which form they are still to be met with.

Availing itself of a temporary prejudice of Government against Muhammadans, partly due to a misconception as regards the mutiny, which the Duke of Argyll has clearly proved to have been a Hindu rising, the Educational Department began its operations in the province by trying to oust the Muhammadans from the teacher's seat, and, finding that their schools were attended alike by their co-religionists and by Hindus, endeavoured to supplant them by the introduction of Hindu teachers, and by the absorption of the Persian schools. Of this endeavour, the "Précis and Conclusions" attached to this report, which are based on the reports

of the Educational Department, afford ample and melancholy proof, even long after Government earnestly endeavoured to revive "Muhammadan education." So strongly, if erroneously, did the Muhammadan community believe itself under the disfavour of Government, that its most prominent members gave me their views regarding the appointment of Kazis and other matters, with the injunction not to mention their names. This was in 1872; but the Educational officer who officiated for me suppressed that document, and it does not appear in the collection of opinions then published by Government as regards "Muhammadan education"; still its recommendations have since been reported, and some of them are now carried out.

As regards, however, the absorption of the Persian schools into our educational system, it is a mistake to suppose that the best Maulvis came over to our schools, as is so constantly alleged in our reports. Some of them may have done so, as men will always be found who hope for improvement in a change of masters, but the most respectable, the best paid, and the, otherwise, well-to-do Maulvis stood aloof from our system, as they still do. Far more natural is it to suppose that those teachers only, who had fallen out with their *clientèle*, or who discovered signs of decreasing liberality on their part, or who preferred a fixed salary, however small, to a precarious income depending on their exertions or increasing reputation for learning, should have "come in" to form, much to their subsequent sorrow, the only basis on which an Educational Department of any pretensions could alone start in the Panjab. My own knowledge directly contradicts the allegation that the best indigenous teachers, whether Arabic, Sanscrit or Persian, joined the Government schools, certainly not as a body. The best Oriental scholars are still found presiding over indigenous schools, whilst few of any respectability or learning went over to the Government schools, as long, at least, as their own patrons lived, or their landed endowment was continued. It is absurd to suppose that men will give up incomes from Rs. 10 to Rs. 100 per mensem, or forfeit their reputation for sanctity and philanthropic teaching, in order to identify themselves with the Educational Department of the conqueror and the stranger, on salaries of from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. What formed the basis of the educational operations—and a very sound one it was, considering its other elements—were (with some exceptions) the *flotsam and jetsam*, the *disjecta membra* of the existing indigenous teaching profession. That many of them were competent, only with a few weeks' preparation, to teach the new subjects of history and geography,* and sometimes even arithmetic, only shows that the mental training, elementary though it may have been in some cases, which they had received in Persian or Arabic, or both, was sufficient to enable them to be soon far ahead of their pupils in untried branches of knowledge, and is merely an encouragement for us at the present moment, to utilize the indigenous teachers that still remain, without obliging them to go to, what are, practically, Normal schools only in name.

* A list of names of places, often barbarously rendered in our text-books and unaccompanied by descriptions, has no educational value in the opinion of an indigenous teacher.

Were England conquered by the kindred Prussians, not the most patriotic or the most respectable Englishmen would, especially at first, seek the favour of the conqueror. In India, where the difference in colour, creed, and customs is far greater between the European and the native than that existing between any two European races, all who were not *compelled* to meet members of the ruling race, avoided all intercourse with it, till time had shown the desirability of approximation. As a rule, those who flatter our preconceptions by imitating our manners, are those who, with some noble exceptions, have come into conflict with all that is respectable in their own community. It is for us, therefore, to take the first step to identify the interests of the chiefs, the wealthy, and the religious leaders of native society with the maintenance of our rule, by seeking them out in their seclusion with the profession and practice of good-will towards themselves, when, I believe, that the response will, in spite of persistent previous discouragements, exceed our expectations. I still know native scholars of the greatest merit who would as soon think of abandoning their religion or breaking their caste, as of calling on the officials of a Government erroneously deemed to be bent on the destruction of all that is revered in native traditions and associations.

The present returns of indigenous schools, imperfect as they obviously must be, when it is considered that I have had to collect them, without a staff, in three months, among a heterogenous population, when three years were allotted for a similar purpose, among the more homogeneous people of Bengal, will show what remains of authorship or scholarship in the province. Not to speak of Arabic or Sanscrit, of which the Oriental College is the only seat of learning in any way connected with Government, and which is almost the exclusive monopoly of indigenous schools, even Persian is not taught satisfactorily in Government schools, and all those who wish to make practical use of it in composition, not to speak of the humbler penmanship, have still to engage either an indigenous teacher of Persian, or to attend an indigenous Persian school. Whilst I, therefore, fully admit that a great many Persian indigenous schools have been ruined by their absorption into the departmental schools, and by the cheaper, if greatly inferior, Persian teaching which is now given at the latter institutions, I contest the accuracy of the statement that the best Persian instruction, from humble caligraphy to the highest scholarship, is given in our schools. That education, as I have already stated, is imparted in private and indigenous schools. It is only lately that caligraphy has been raised to any dignity in our primary schools, at the instance of Government and with the resistance, which still continues to be passive, of the department. Yet, without caligraphy, the sister to orthography, the courts and offices will continue to complain of the inelegance and inaccuracy of the papers written by pupils from our schools, and will prefer the nephews of Serishtadars or Munshis, who, with less conceit, have greater clerical aptitude and patience—qualities which have been fostered by the extremely careful and artistic instruction in penmanship—which is the humble beginning, as it is the progressive accompaniment, of studies in Persian schools.

I myself owe a debt of gratitude to those who instructed a somewhat backward caligrapher in the mysteries and elegances of Muhammadan handwritings, which, even in their greatest involutions, preserve the quick and ready teaching of chiefly lineal letters, which the accustomed eye can embrace far more readily and accurately than a scrawl in one of the European characters. The proportions of letters in the Perso-Urdu character in themselves and to one another are determined by fixed and highly artistic rules. At the risk of digression, I would, in this place, desire the consideration of those interested in the subject to my papers, submitted to the Simla Text-book Committee, and to the Senate of the Panjab University College, on the advantages and disadvantages of the so-called Roman-Urdu characters, which only the superficial can imagine as likely or desirable to supplant, *in native use*, the characters of the various languages with which their associations are connected.

It is, however, not with writing, as in the Mahajani schools, that the course of instruction in Persian schools begins, but it is almost simultaneous with seeing, hearing and reading the letters of the alphabet which takes place in the morning, sometimes from 6 to 11, and the writing of the same letters from 1 to 4, when reading is again resumed till 6 or 7; boys who have not done this being kept sometimes till 9 o'clock. The letters are not taught in the confused and wasteful way in books written by European Orientalists, in which they are represented in four columns as "separate," "initial," "medial" and "final," as if the commonest sense could not tell the boy that when a letter is connected with another, it must be connected either on one or the other side of it, and that, if it stands alone, it has not to be so connected, but can even afford a flourish of its own. He is, therefore, only taught the letters as they stand unconnected, is told which letters may not have others added to them, and is then introduced to two letters in combination, and so forth. The writing is a matter of more difficulty, for the pupil has to measure, with certain numbers of prescribed dots, the distances between the proportions of a letter in length, height and breadth. Of course, the easiest plan for learning the letters of the alphabet in every possible combination would be to learn merely the principles which underlie the formation of certain groups of letters, as pointed out in my "Introduction to a Philosophical Grammar of Arabic," and which reduces the difficulty of learning the Urdu-Perso-Arabic characters separately or in combination to less than three hours' work, as I have tried with my students at King's College, London, but I doubt whether the plan would succeed with the teacher of a Persian or Arabic elementary school. As regards writing, however, I can only suggest the adoption of the native system.

The pupil is then introduced to the KHÁLIQ BÁRI, a triglot vocabulary in verse written in one night by the poet Khósro, during the reign of Muhammad Toghluk, it is said, for the son of the keeper of a Serái, where he was staying for the night. It is in Persian, Arabic and the Hindi of his age. The fact that this is the first reading-book (except, in the case of Muhammadan boys, books of religious devotion) in Persian, to which the pupil is introduced, disposes of the repeated allegations in the Educational

Reports that the majority of Persian schools teach without giving the meaning of the text. The distinction of reading first without the translation "*bey-ma'ni*" and, then, with the translation, "*ba-ma'ni*" refers to a different stage, regarding which more further on. There can be no doubt that by the time the boy has mastered the "*Khâliq bâri*" he already possesses a vocabulary, which is almost sufficient to give him the general meaning of what he reads, "*bay-ma'ni*" even if he had not been taught, as he is, to write short Persian sentences in the afternoons of the days on which he reads the *Khâliq bâri*. A specimen of its mode of instruction, which reminds me of *Zumpt's* Latin rules in verse, much to the help of the memory, and of similar versifications adopted in some English schools, may give an indication of the educational value of the book: It begins thus:—

Khâliq,	Bâri	Surjan-hâr		= The Creator, as named by Arabs, Persians and Hindus respectively.
A.*	A. P.	H.		
Wahid	êk	bidâ	Kertâr	= Known to be one God.
one, A.	one, H.	know	God, H.	
Rasûl	Peyghambar	ján	Basht	= The prophet.
Prophet, A.	Prophet, P.	know, H.	Prophet, H.	
Yâr	Dost	bolo	já Ith	= Go on saying "friend" (in the three languages).
friend, P.	friend, P.	say, H.	go, H. Friend, H.	
Rah	Tariq	Sabîl	pahchân	= Know "the road" (of 3 Perso-Arabic words).
road, P.	road, A.	road, A.	discern, H.	
Art	tehu-ka	Marag	ján	= The meaning of the three know to be "road."
meaning, H.	three, H. of, H.	road, H.	know, H.	
Sis hay	Máh	Neyar	Khurshéd	= "Moon" in Hindi is "mah" in Persian; "sun" in Arabic is "khurshed" in Persian.
moon, H. is, H.	moon, P.	sun (great star).	sun, P.	
Kala	ujlá	siâh	sufed	= Black, white (Hindi) is "siah, sufed" in Persian.
black, H.	white, H.	black, P.	white, P.	

Khâliq Bâri, Surjan-hâr.
Wâhid, êk, bidâ Kertâr.
Rasûl, Peyghambar ján Basht.
Yâr Dost, bolo já Ith.

Rah, Tariq, Sabîl, pahchân.
Art, tehuka Marag ján.
Sis hay Máh Neyar Khurshéd.
Kala, ujla, siâh, sufêd.

As the words are marked "A'in," "P" and "H" respectively, there can be little confusion, especially as the teacher explains them in every *second* lesson. The above Hemistichs are in one particular metre, those that follow in another, and so on, so that the boy, unconsciously, learns Prosody before, like Mr. Jourdain with his prose, he is aware of the accomplishment.

He then proceeds to the *Pandnama* of SÂDI, which is in verse, and was obviously intended by that great master for the use of children. In this little book, more commonly known as the KARIMA (as its first line begins with that word) various vices are condemned, and virtues are extolled. It is idle asserting, as is done in some Reports, even including that of the genial Mr. Adam, that no moral instruction is conveyed in Persian schools when the reading and writing of such maxims as are contained in the *Pandnama* are insisted on and tell their own tale, which, as many will be

* "A" stands for "Arabic;" "P" for "Persian;" "H" for "Hindi" now called "Urdu."

able to confirm, are the guiding stars of thousands of ex-pupils of these schools during their after-life and are constantly on their lips. For instance, how often when the advantages of education are pointed out in some Durbar, is there not a chorus of reciters of "an ignorant man cannot know God," or when some marvellous story is told of European inventiveness, the praise of a "Jehandida," is ironically given in tacit reference to the Hemistich "*Jehandida basiar goyed darógh*" = "A man who has seen the world tells many lies"; or "a miser, even if he should be an ascetic, will not enter Paradise," etc.

The pupil then studies the "Dastur-us-sibián," an easy "letter-writer," followed by the "*Amadnama*," exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master, and by frequent repetition committed to memory, a far better plan, in learning languages, than beginning with the rules and exceptions of grammar, as the pupil has already a stock of phrases in his mind to which he can apply some of the rules.

He then reads, in the morning, the GULISTAN of Sádi, containing lessons on life and manners as an exercise chiefly in prose, whilst the afternoon is devoted to the drafting of letters, petitions, and, if more advanced, he may perhaps even compose verses for the criticism of his master. This he does long before he studies Prosody, when, after the preliminary experience, it becomes easier to him than if he had begun with rules and examples. It is true that he first reads the "Gulistán," "*beyma'ni*," "without translation"; but it does not follow that he is perfectly innocent of its meaning, as he certainly must understand the general drift, for it is precisely in the same way that he has read the "Karima" first, without, and then with, the translation, into his own Perso-Panjabi vernacular, of which Urdu is now taking the place.

The art of writing letters by merely resting the paper on the palm of one's hand or on one's knee is acquired, first, by writing on boards, then on pieces of paper which are pasted together with starch, and, finally, on ordinary paper, so that the whole pomp and circumstance of the European method of requiring a chair, table, and inkstand and bending over one's seat are unnecessary to the native writer, who can carry all the paraphernalia of his profession in his waistband, and who can do his work standing or sitting on the ground.

The "Gulistan" is followed by the "BOSTAN," YUSUF and ZULEIKHA, JÁMI's version of the story of Potiphar's wife; the love of MAJNUN and LAILA; the exploits of Alexander the Great as in the SIKANDARNAMA by the inimitable NIZÁMI, "the ANVAR-I-SUHILI" (the lights of Canopus, the Persian improved version of KALILA-O-DAMNA), than which no work can be more replete with instructions of morality and prudence, far beyond the admirable lessons of the Hitopadesa on which it is partly based. The *Bahar-danish*, which is so emphatically condemned in the Educational Reports, is no doubt, as many classical and semi-classical writings of Europe, of "a questionable morality," as stated by one Inspector, or rather of "unquestionable immorality," if its *introduction* is referred to. Considering, however, that *this introduction* only forms 40 pages out of some

360, it seems rather hard to condemn a story of great merit and perfect innocence as of a "*highly immoral tendency*" (see Director's No. 48., dated 22nd September 1881, paragraph 5, section 3, fourth line from the bottom). Considering that the "introduction" has nothing *whatever to do with the main subject of the book*, and that it can be profitably printed or photo-zincographed without it, as the Department has done with expurgated editions of other Persian works, it seems rather hard to pass such a censure on a masterpiece of INAYATULLA, who presented it to the Emperor Shahjehan and whose tomb lies in ruins in front of the Railway station of Lahore, of which, together with Kashmir, he was the Governor. The introduction is called "the fifth Veda" in derision of those philosophers and students who learn "the four Vedas" and do not know the commonest things that are going on in the world around them. It is a Rabelaisian production, written in the best Persian style, but certainly, as Shahjehan remarked, dragging diamonds through the mire and not fit for the mental food of boys, which the body of the book, as certainly, is.

The letters of Abulfazl, addressed to provincial governors or foreign rulers on behalf of Emperor Akbar, as also to his friends and relatives, now finish the *ordinary* course in a good Persian school, and it cannot be doubted that, both as regards style and substance, these letters are, an admirable introduction to further studies or to official employment. Arithmetic is greatly neglected in the ordinary Persian schools, but the Arabic numerals, often also the numerical value of the *Abjad* and the peculiar Persian official cyphering of numbers, called "Raqm" in a special sense, are taught to the great advantage of the future Munshi.

The discipline in Persian schools is maintained by punishments which the master orders, and the pupil carries out; such as standing in a corner; pulling his own ears by passing his hands between his knees—a most uncomfortable position which, when protracted, may become a positive agony; having constantly to get up and sit down, an indoor exercise of some value; being kept beyond the usual school hours; being prevented from going to his meal at the usual time. The switch is also occasionally used, but I doubt whether any of these punishments can be called cruel, as even the ear-performance is, except in very bad cases, not unduly prolonged. Fines are not inflicted.

The teacher, who, according to his abilities, is called either Mian, or Ustád, and addressed by his pupils as "Mianji" or "Moulvi Sahib," is paid in cash and kind; the former by a weekly payment of one or two pice on Thursdays, or by a monthly payment which may range from 1 anna to 4 or 5 rupees; and the latter by subventions of food and presents on the occasion of a marriage in the pupil's family; a present, on commencing or finishing a new book; also one called *Idi* on every great festival, such as the Id-uz-Zuha, Holi, Salono, Id-ul-Fitr, Diwáli, Shab-berát. The competition with Government schools, which charge, comparatively speaking, a smaller fee to non-agriculturists, being chiefly supported by the Cess raised from the all-enduring and generally non-attending agricultural classes, has nearly ruined the Persian Maktabs, and has reduced most of their teachers from incomes of Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per mensem to a pittance

of Rs. 4 or 5, or even 2, supplemented by food. It is thus that, with the most benevolent intentions, we have destroyed one of the humbler professions of great utility to the cause of culture throughout the province.

The Maktabs are now generally held in the teacher's own house, or in the Baitaks and Diwankhanas of *Mahallas* of towns or Chaupáls of villages, the common *rendezvous* of the people. When attached to mosques, they also teach Arabic.

It is almost needless to observe that in such schools the majority of pupils would be Muhammadans, in which case certain religious books of tenets, such as the "Kanz-ul-Musalli," "Rah-i-Niját," "Ahkám-ul-Imám," "Masáil-Subhani" would be taught, though in most mosque schools, which are generally Koran schools, religious books in Arabic would be preferred. Hindus, however, for reasons which have been explained elsewhere, often attend Perso-Koran schools, and even at a purely Muhammadan institution, like Deoband, which makes the knowledge of the Koran obligatory on candidates seeking admission to it, a considerable number of Hindus attend. Nor has their religion ever been tampered with in the least, for the obvious reason that the Persian teacher depends on the good-will of his customers, and that he would forfeit it along with presents, sometimes during the pupil's whole life, if conversions were not of the rarest occurrence. I, therefore, see no evidence of the assertion made in the earliest Educational Report that "the steady growth of Muhammadanism in the Panjab may partly be traced to the advantage taken by the (Muhammadan) teachers of this confidence (of the Hindus)." Muhammadanism has not declined in numbers since annexation; on the contrary, it has largely increased, in spite of our deliberate supersession of Muhammadan teachers. It is natural that Islám should draw to itself all those who desire a simpler faith or greater domestic liberty than is allowed by the older creed of Hinduism which grows, in its turn, not by conversion, but, as already pointed out in my "Dardistan, 1867," by agglomeration of aboriginal tribes or by the restoration to the fold of Buddhists and Sikhs. Indeed, it may be asserted that the effect of the teaching in Government and aided schools is to recruit the ranks of Muhammadanism and of other monotheistic forms of belief, such as Brahmoism, by the accession of the minority, whose natural piety survives the inevitable result of secular teaching in Oriental countries: scepticism, unscrupulous immorality or mysticism. The teaching in Missionary schools, even where it is disliked, has been one of the agencies to maintain the respect of natives for their rulers, who, they saw, were not quite without religion (as the English, *e.g.*, are called in Turkey in consequence of the absence of demonstrativeness in Protestant worship, *inglis* = English, *dinsiz* = without religion) and who, therefore, might possess a sense of justice, although there can be no doubt that Missionary schools unconsciously encourage the growth of Muhammadanism, as a list of Hindu converts to that faith from Government and Missionary schools will show.

THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF PERMANENT AND PERIODICAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE LAND REVENUE IN INDIA.

By Parbati C. Roy, B.A.,
Late Superintendent of Dearah Settlements in Eastern Bengal.

It has always been the avowed policy of the English Government in India to adjust the Land Revenue demand so as "to conduce to the welfare and contentment of the people."*

The permanent settlement of Bengal was effected in 1793 with this object, and the same explanation has been given for the periodical settlements of the other provinces. These two modes of settlement have now been at work for sufficiently long periods to enable us to examine their comparative effects.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, an inquiry was set on foot through the local governments as to the condition of the cultivating classes. In Bengal, as the government had no direct management of the land, there was no policy to support, and so the reports of the Authorities were unbiased. In Eastern Bengal, the cultivating classes were reported to be prosperous; in the remaining parts of Bengal Proper they were said to suffer some distress; but in Behar, where the landless labourers form 40 *per cent.* of the population, their condition was reported to be alarming. In the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, the district officers, after visiting some of the villages, arrived at the conclusion that whatever little distress the *rayats* suffered from was due to their improvidence. In Madras, the task of reporting was entrusted to the Inspector General of Registration, Dewan Bahadur, S. S. Raghava Iyanger, who made copious extracts from old records to show that the *rayats* in that province were in a prosperous condition: he has since been created a C.I.E. Similar reports of a reassuring nature were made from the other provinces. This has satisfied the conscience of Government; and so the demand for a Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of the people of India has been disallowed.

Let us now see how far this finding of the government officials is correct. The pressure of population in Bengal is greater than in any of the other provinces. The density *per* square mile is 471 in Bengal, against 436 in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, 188 in the Punjab, 252 in Madras, and 151 in Bombay. The struggle for existence in Bengal is, therefore, keener than in any of the other provinces. It is a little more than in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, is nearly three times that in the Punjab, twice that in Madras, and little more than three times that in Bombay.

It is an axiomatic truth that offences against property vary with the

* *Statement of the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, during the year 1871-72*, p. 15.

poverty of a people. By invariably associating the decrease of crime with seasons of prosperity, and the increase thereof with those of scarcity, Government has admitted this truth. If, therefore, in one province of India offences against property are invariably greater than in another, it follows that the mass of the population (*viz.*, the agriculturists) are poorer in the former than in the latter. Judged by this test, we can see how the five principal provinces of India—namely, Bengal, the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, Madras and Bombay—stand in relation to one another.

The first year for which Crime-Statistics are separately given for each province, in the "Statistical Abstract relating to British India," is 1886. In that year, Bengal with a population of 66,700,000 had 29,991 cases of dacoity, cattle-theft and ordinary theft; the N.W. Provinces and Oudh with 44,200,000 had 66,025 cases; the Punjab with 18,800,000 had 19,519 cases; Madras with 30,800,000 had 26,983 cases; and Bombay with 16,500,000 had 14,573 cases: this gives 42, 150, 103, 47 and 88 cases respectively *per* 100,000 of the population. In 1891, the figures were:—Bengal, 31,223 cases (pop. 71,300,000); the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, 85,171 cases (pop. 46,900,000); the Punjab, 15,250 cases (pop. 20,800,000); Madras, 27,412 cases (pop. 35,600,000); and Bombay, 10,821 cases (pop. 18,900,000). This gives 44, 180, 71, 75, and 46 cases respectively *per* 100,000 of the population. Compared with Bengal all the other provinces, especially the N.W. Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab, show very large proportions of crime. Though Madras comes next to Bengal in 1886, it occupies the fourth place in 1891. The comparative prosperity of Bengal, shown by the less prevalence of crime, is further established by the fewer number of its prison population. Out of every 100,000 of the population there were in prison—in 1886—22 in Bengal, 46 in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, 59 in the Punjab, 26 in Madras, and 44 in Bombay; and in 1891—22 in Bengal, 61 in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, 59 in the Punjab, 27 in Madras, and 41 in Bombay. In other words, for every man sent to prison in Bengal there were 3 in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, 3 in the Punjab, and 2 in Bombay. Madras is not so bad as the others, coming next to Bengal. The permanently-settled province of Bengal thus stands far ahead of the temporarily-settled provinces,—the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab and Bombay, which suffer from the combined evil effects of a *Zemindari* and a temporary settlement. Bengal also stands superior to Madras, which is directly managed by Government. The less prevalence of crime in Bengal than in Madras cannot be owing to the greater spread of education in the former than in the latter; for the percentage of the population (male) able to read and write is greater in Madras (8) than in Bengal (5).

Bengal, the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, and Madras are representative types of three different kinds of settlement, namely, (1) permanent settlement with *Zemindars*; (2) temporary settlement with village communities and individuals (in Oudh, *Taluqdars*) who collect rents from the cultivators; and (3) temporary settlements with the *ryats* direct. We may, therefore, make a more detailed examination of the condition of the people

of these three provinces. First let us compare Bengal and Madras, with the help of the Registration Returns, as the *rayats* in both these provinces possess transferable rights in their holdings. In Bengal, all occupancy *rayats* who form 99 *per cent.* of the population are entitled to transfer their rights, while in Madras every *rayat* is treated as the proprietor of his holding. The registration of deeds of mortgage and sale relating to immoveable property of the value of Rs. 100 and upwards is compulsory. The total numbers of such deeds registered in 1891 were 93,402 and 71,359, respectively, in Bengal, against 183,416 and 102,573, respectively, in Madras. The population of Bengal being twice that of Madras, it follows from the above that for every Bengali whom necessity drove to mortgage or sell his immoveable property, there were respectively four and three Madrasis in the same condition.

With all the disadvantages of a *Zemindari* settlement, the Bengal *rayat* enjoys greater protection against his rents being increased or his holding sold for arrears of rent than the Madras *rayat*. In Bengal, a landlord cannot raise the rent of his tenant except through the Court; in Madras the *rayat* is completely at the mercy of his landlord, namely, the Government. In Bengal, the landlord must go to the Court before he can realize his arrears of rent; in Madras, the Collector realizes the revenue due from a defaulting *rayat* by a summary process of distraint and sale.

In the *Statement of Moral and Material Progress for* 1864-5, the Government admitted that the original assessment of Madras had been fixed too high, but consoled itself with saying that the reductions and reassessments made of late years were materially improving the position of the cultivators.* Whether that position has been improved, will have appeared from what has been stated above. Coercive processes play an important part in the history of Madras Land Revenue Administration, in 1878-9: "coercive processes were employed more largely than during previous years."† In 1880-1 "more coercion was used for the collection of arrears than in any of the preceding eight years, and personal and landed property was sold to the value of £133,018."‡ In 1891-2, the number of persons whose property was sold was 10,115.§ But the most important fact in connection with these sales is that 42·9 *per cent.* of the holdings sold remained in the hands of Government, for want of bidders, clearly proving that not only had the *rayats* become impoverished, but that the value of agricultural holdings had also greatly declined. But if the *rayats* of Madras are less prosperous than those of Bengal, their compatriots in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh are still less so. While the Madras *rayat* suffers from over-assessment by Government without the intervention of a third party, the N.W. Provinces and Oudh *rayats* suffer all the evils of a *Zemindari* system *plus* those of periodical re-assessments. In 1891-2, the revenue assessed *per* acre for unirrigated cultivated land was Rs. 1-8-8 in Madras; Rs. 1-12-10 in the N.W. Provinces; and Rs. 1-9-10 in Oudh. As in the N.W. Pro-

* *Statement of Moral and Material Progress of India for* 1864-65, p. 18.
† *Idem*, 1878-79, p. 34.
‡ *Idem*, 1880-81, p. 37.
§ *Madras Administration Report for* 1891-92, Part 2, p. 18.

vinces and Oudh the *rayats* paid to their landlords equal amounts for the latter's share of the rent, the actual amounts paid by them were Rs. 3-9-8 and Rs. 3-3-8 *per* acre respectively, *i.e.*, double the amount paid by the Madras *rayat*. As the pressure of population in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh is twice that in Madras, the burden of rent borne by the *rayat* in the former is four times as much as in the latter.

The *rayats* of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh do not enjoy to the same extent as the *rayats* of Bengal the right to transfer their occupancy rights; and so no comparison can be instituted between these two provinces by referring to Registration Returns of deeds of mortgage and sale. It is, however, a significant fact that while, in 1891, there were registered in Bengal 89,024 perpetual leases, there were only 1,856 such leases registered in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh: in other words, for one *rayat* taking a perpetual lease in the latter province, there were 48 *rayats* who took such leases in the former.

The superiority of Bengal over the N.W. Provinces and Oudh is also proved by the greater immunity from molestation by landlords which the *rayats* in the former enjoy. In 1891, there were in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh 7,706 suits for enhancement or abatement of rent,—3,680 suits relating to distraint,—and 131,991 suits for ejectment or recovery of possession, against 998,298 and 751 respectively in Bengal. It will be seen that the number of suits instituted for enhancement, distraint, and ejectment in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh were respectively 8, 12, and 175 times the number instituted in Bengal.

Notwithstanding the many defects of the Permanent Settlement, the comparative prosperity of Bengal is, as the late Lord Lawrence stated at his examination before the last Finance Committee, to be attributed chiefly to the introduction of the Permanent Settlement rather than to the many miscellaneous causes usually adduced to account for it.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS AND NEWS.

NEWS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

Transcaspia.—The native populations have sworn allegiance on the Koran to H.M. the Emperor *Nicholas II.* This is the first time that the Turkomans have sworn allegiance to a Russian sovereign, and their oath was tendered most readily.

The works on the Krasnovodsk section of the Transcaspian railway have been begun and are reported to be progressing rapidly.

The crops have been unusually plentiful and the prosperity of the Russian settlements existing in the valleys of the Kushk, the Tejend and the Sumbar rivers may be considered firmly established. Three more Russian settlements have been founded by General Kuropatkine in the district of Ashkabad, on the Persian frontier.

Bokhara and Khiva.—H.H. the Ameer of Bokhara has despatched a mission to St. Petersburg, on the occasion of the burial ceremonies of the late Czar and the ascension to the Russian throne of H.M. the Emperor *Nicholas II.* The Heir-Apparent of Bokhara has, by deputy and in great state, taken at the mission of Bokhara, the oath of allegiance to H.M. the Emperor *Nicholas II.* and H.H. the Czarewitch, the Grand-Duke Imperial *George.*

The Khan of Khiva has deputed a State mission to St. Petersburg to tender his oath of allegiance.

General Yonoff has been gazetted to the command of the Russian troops garrisoned in Kerki on the Oxus, in the Khanate of Bokhara.

Russian Turkestan.—The native populations have sworn allegiance to the new Emperor.

Early in October, the Minister of the newly-created Department of Agriculture, Privy-Councillor A. S. Yermoloff, visited Transcaspia and Russian Turkestan, to arrange for the establishment of special offices of this Department in Russian Central Asia. The administration of unoccupied and waste lands, which, according to Russian law, are State property, the betterment of agriculture at large, and specially of cotton growing, tobacco culture, viticulture and sericulture, the introduction of improved breeds of cattle and sheep, the improvement of irrigation, are some of the immediate tasks devolving upon these offices.

The direction of the Samarkand-Khojand-Marghilan-Namangan extension of the Transcaspian railway has been definitely settled in detail.

Several new irrigation canals have been dug in the mountainous country of the Chimkand district (to the north of Tashkand), and large tracts of country have been thereby made suitable for culture and colonization.

MADRAS OPINION ON THE COW-KILLING RIOTS.

Much that is misleading, if not mischievous, has appeared about the Cow-killing riots in India, from Lord Lansdowne's speech before he left India, down to interviewing Muhammadans in England. The first showed little knowledge of the people or the subject, and did not calm the feelings of the contending parties. Natives regretted that their rulers knew so little about them and were so ready to threaten rather than trust. English newspapers, which as a rule rightly refrain from deciding on purely native questions that demand the most profound experience of India and her peoples, had deplorable "leaders," into which the mutiny of 1857-8 was needlessly dragged.

As to the interviews with Muhammadans in England, it will suffice to say that they are from naturally prejudiced sources. Many Englishmen, however, support Muhammadans, partly on the "Divide and rule" principle, and from the fact that what little they know of Hinduism or the Hindu is generally derived from Muhammadans.

Bengal editors may have spoken out, but the spirit that animates them is not genuinely Hindu. It is that of "young Bengal" which is partly Mussulman and partly English. Bengal has forsaken true Hinduism, that fine inheritance which, most in India, Madras cherishes. Bengal has been unstable for years, either wandering or following foreign leads. Madras has been silent, but she still maintains the best traditions of ancient India. If we are wise, Madras intellect should be consulted.

It is much to be regretted that some Madras Brahmin has not risen to the occasion and spoken plainly, for there could be no better authority; but this would have involved his casting reproach on the powers that be, which a Madras Hindu's respect for his rulers would never allow.

Now, in India—THE land of Religion and Tradition,—religion cannot be separated, as it is so often in the West, from the daily life of the people. Political life they as yet have none, and we should be madmen to introduce among them our form of it to the prejudice of their religious life. Even in India itself, Madras, notwithstanding the spread of Christianity and of English, is still the stronghold of Caste and of the purest Hinduism. The discipline resulting from Caste and Hindu life in South India prevented the Madras army from rising in 1857-8, and enabled Government to send Madras troops to quell the Bengal Mutiny. This discipline makes Madras the loyal, useful Province she is, and prevents the development of the mischievous spirit which in other parts of India is not so much Hindu as it is a growth of Muhammadan, or of British, cultivation. Hindustani, almost unknown to Madras Hindus, is spoken by Hindus in other parts of the country. Where this Mussulman language prevails and Caste and Hinduism have been weakened, there a foreign spirit enters and makes the Hindu, now and then, mischievous. But Hindu Caste is an ineradicable inheritance, greater than any other influence, and, considering the useful power it has been and is in Madras, it should receive support also in other parts of India.

Hindus are only beginning to paddle timidly on the margin of the modern political sea; and fortunately for themselves, for us and the world,

they cannot, even if they would, do much more. Their beautiful inheritance of child-like faith and obedience makes them the most easily governed nation in the world, and enables us to rule them successfully, even in our blindest ignorance. Their faith and obedience are our chief power in India. We have sometimes done our best to throw down and to destroy the pedestal on which our Indian Empire stands; but we have mercifully been prevented and our well-intended, but ignorant, efforts have glided harmlessly away from institutions hoary with age. So will it be with this storm in a teapot, which blind guides are trying to magnify. The matter should be seen from the Hindu point of view, and its experience and discipline should be trusted. On this the cultivated Brahmin of Madras would be the best authority. He is an English scholar, but also, through superior strength of Caste and Brain, still a real Hindu and not a hybrid.

Western political platforms are unsuitable to India and must yield to the power of religion and tradition. Crude Western make-shifts and dogmas will not do in this old land of culture, where unequalled experience should forbid experiments, the bane of our administration. Here Englishmen are wanted as protectors; but if they weaken their administration, India, which loves and venerates them as the most beneficent power on earth, will no longer require them. The protector of India must be strong. His power lies in, and must come from the people, as common sense indicates, as well as the history of our rule. We did not gain India by the sword, as some are so fond of proclaiming, nor have we kept her by the sword. Knowledge of the people will hold her without more British troops than are required to protect the railways and the frontier. The sword, though necessary to defend, is the worst agency by which to rule the most obedient children in the world, who have been, like no other people, a law unto themselves.

The English army in India might be much reduced. Even now one half is more or less useless from disease. Yet there is absolutely no provision for protecting railways and telegraphs, though for concentration the army depends entirely on them. Where would an English regiment in India be if deserted by its native camp followers? Therefore, as we have done before, we should now use native troops under English officers for all purposes, and this we could safely do, if we understood Caste, the people and the country. Muhammadans would be nowhere if Hindus were properly organized and handled. The proper solution of the contagious disease question in the army is, I think, to have as few English soldiers as possible in the country and these on hills, ready under a system to protect rails and wires. Muhammadans from contact with English, Hindus and civilization are growing physically weaker all over India, and have little left of their old fighting spirit. In the late riots they nearly always suffered most. East Indians, too, might be made better soldiers for India, if understood and properly drilled, than boys from the London slums.

Centuries of perhaps the most beneficent despotism that the world ever saw, that wonderful blend of religious and social life, called CASTE, make the real Hindu the loving slave of his ruler. Despised by Englishmen, this is yet the chief power in India, and it is CASTE that makes Madras, though often silent, so loyal and useful in the land.

A common occurrence in Madras is that scarcely anything will induce native subordinates or servants to turn against a man who has been, or is, their master, though his and their superiors may encourage them to do so. This has often happened to my knowledge. This feeling is innate in Caste, and has not yet been uprooted in Madras by foreign influences.

When men like Professors Max Müller and Monier Williams confess that, after all, they know but little of Hindus, it is not surprising that young Indian officials and British journalists should know infinitely less, and be often misled by the little they know. So, too, the most highly educated Hindu sometimes fails to gauge the depth of British ignorance about himself, or to grasp a subject from a western point of view, so as adequately to represent it to English readers, thoroughly as he understands it. I will endeavour then to treat this Cow-Killing question more from a Hindu point of view than appears yet to have been done.

The following questions and answers will probably throw some light on the subject :—

Were there any cow-killing riots in India before British occupation? Do these riots occur in Native States, or in French, Portuguese, or other "foreign" settlements in India? Were there such riots in British territory before a large number of English troops and people came to India? Do Hindus object to the slaughter of bullocks? Have there been any real Cow-killing riots when due care has been taken to avoid offending the religious feelings of Hindus? Does the Korán or Qanún-i-Islám prescribe the slaughter of cows at the Bukra-Id or any other Mussulman festival?—No! is the answer to all these questions.

Under what circumstances then, and where, do these riots usually occur? *Answer:* When the slaughter of cows has been carried on with the *object* of desecration, or of wounding the religious feeling of Hindus by killing kine near one of their temples, sacred places, or villages, or when the act has been made conspicuous, as a sign of the superiority of the Mussulman religion, supported by British customs; and they occur in British Indian territory, where there is a large demand for beef for British troops, Muhammadans and English people! Who are the contractors for the supply of beef? and who are the butchers? Muhammadans! Where the demand is large and steady, the contractors are usually wealthy and influential men with a numerous following of butchers, a very low class, who did most of the butchery in the mutiny at Cawnpore and elsewhere. Kussai! or Butcher! is used as a term of abuse for "brutal," which such a calling is among people who abhor taking Life! Why have there never been Cow-Killing riots in the Madras Presidency? Because cows are not killed there at Mussulman festivals; less beef is consumed by Muhammadans and Europeans; and care is taken not to offend Hindus. The Hindus of Madras, strong in Caste, instead of declining before Mussulman influence have biased their conquerors, particularly in the Mofussil where there is less British support for the Moslem.

These questions and answers seem to indicate where the responsibility for these riots chiefly lies and also the remedy.

ENGLISHMAN.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

We draw attention to the following statement by the eminent explorer Mr. Hormuzd Rassam (late British Envoy to the King of Abyssinia and First Assistant Political Resident at Aden), with the view of an enquiry being instituted into the management of the British Museum generally, and especially into that of its Oriental Department. As to the conspiracy of silence regarding the services of one to whom Government, the nation, and Assyriological science are so much indebted as they are to Mr. Rassam, we may have an explanation to offer in our next issue.

"It is now more than two years since my lamented friend Sir Henry Layard and myself brought to the notice of the public in the *Times* the misleading representations set forth in the green "Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum" in regard to the Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries, and now the distressing re-arrangement of some of the collections in different parts of the building has aggravated the unhappy confusion.

My intention in reviewing the apparently erroneous descriptions of the different collections and the inaccurate statements as to the several discoveries is not for self-aggrandizement nor for magnifying my efforts in benefiting the national Institution. My only object is to present a correct statement of facts to the general public, especially those who are interested in the historical records discovered by Sir Henry Layard and myself in Assyria and Babylonia.

It is a known fact that, now Sir Henry Layard is no more, I am the only one living who is acquainted with the discovery of all Assyrian and Babylonian palaces and temples, because other agents who were sent out after us by the Trustees of the British Museum were only able to obtain some inscriptions either by purchase or what they could find in Sir Henry Layard's and my diggings. After my death there would not be a soul living who could give an accurate description of the localities of the different ancient sites.

I have already pointed out, in my letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 3rd August, 1892, erroneous statements which were published in the Guide of 1892 in connection with my discoveries. I expected that they would be corrected in a future edition, but I find now that this has not been done. In the new publication which has been issued this year with an appendix the same incorrect statements have been repeated. Some discoveries are assigned to gentlemen who did not discover them; other antiquities are exhibited but it is not shown from where they came, and others are wrongly described with regard to the locality where they were found.

Under the head of "Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities," page xl of the Introduction, my name has again been omitted and the name of a Trustee who has had no share in the discovery of ancient sites has been retained.* I have only to quote the clause referred to and follow it by

* On a former occasion the human-headed bulls obtained from the Khorsabad French diggings had the name of the same Trustee written on their plinth as having "excavated" them; and not until Sir Henry Layard and I exposed the misnomer in the *Times* was the word changed from "excavated" to "obtained."

describing the different discoveries made by me from time to time for the British Museum (which have been most honourably acknowledged by Sir Henry Layard), and leave it to the judgment of the impartial public to find out how far Mr. Maunde Thompson the compiler of the Introduction was justified in classifying my name with "others" who have had no share in any *discoveries*. The passage I allude to reads thus:—

"The museum collection of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities is unrivalled. The excavations prosecuted by Sir Henry Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson and others, on the sites of Ancient Babylon, Nineveh and other sites of Mesopotamia have resulted in the discovery of the remains of temples and palaces, of the sculptures which adorned their walls and courts, of thousands of tablets impressed with the cuneiform writing of Babylonia and Assyria, from which the history and literature of those countries have been largely recovered, and of objects without number which illustrate the life and manners of the people."

The above reads rather strangely seeing that my name has been omitted from the praise bestowed on the value of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities existing at the British Museum, though most of my services to the Trustees were gratuitous, especially when it is well known that I am the only successful explorer, after Sir Henry Layard, who was instrumental in adding largely to the national collection.

On seeing the notice above alluded to, Sir Henry Layard could not refrain from writing in July, 1892, to the *Times* upon the matter; and to show what he thought of the apparent omission of my name I quote his letter to that journal *in extenso* as follows—

"My attention has been called to the notice of the Babylonian and Assyrian collection in the recently published 'Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum.' That notice is in several respects inaccurate; but it is against the great injustice done in it to Mr. Rassam that I desire to protest. At page xl of the introduction it is stated that this 'unrivalled collection' is due to myself, Sir Henry Rawlinson and others, and no mention is made of Mr. Rassam. Sir Henry Rawlinson is the greatest and justly the most renowned of Assyrian scholars. He would, I am convinced, be the last man to wish to deprive another of his share in Assyrian and Babylonian discoveries. He was not an excavator in Assyria, but at one time, in his political capacity as Resident at Baghdad, had a kind of general control over the excavations carried on by Mr. Rassam in the ruins of Nineveh. The colossal human-headed bulls, and 'the two colossal figures of mythological character' in the 'Assyrian transept' were not, as stated on the plinth, excavated by him, but by Mons. Botta, and were, by Sir Henry Rawlinson's directions, 'obtained,' as mentioned in the Guide (p. 80), for the Museum. (By the way, I am at a loss to explain why 'excavated' has been designedly substituted of late for 'discovered' on all the Assyrian antiquities, whilst the latter word has been retained on the antiquities we owe to Sir Charles Newton and others.) Mr. Rassam was a great 'discoverer' and 'excavator,' in the true sense of the words, although his name has been omitted. To him alone we owe the magnificent series of bas-reliefs representing the lion hunt and other subjects of the chase in the 'Assyrian basement,' the priceless bronze gates from Tell Balawat, the wonderful collection of tablets from Abbu-Habba—the site of a very ancient Babylonian city which he discovered—and many other Assyrian and Babylonian monuments of the highest importance now in the Museum, to which his name, however, has not been attached.

"During his employment under the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr. Rassam discovered the remains of five Babylonian palaces and temples, and of three temples and one palace in Assyria, from which most interesting and important remains and inscriptions were obtained. I fear that a deliberate attempt is being made to deprive him of the credit which is his due. I cannot for one moment believe that so distinguished and honourable a body as the Trustees have countenanced this treatment of Mr. Rassam, who

during very many years rendered them the most loyal, the most devoted, and the most disinterested services, and to whom they and the public owe some of the most important and precious monuments and records, illustrative of sacred and profane history, of which they are the guardians."

Though Mr. Thompson, the Principal Librarian, was not appointed to his present post till five years after the British Museum Assyrian and Babylonian explorations came to an end, nevertheless he possesses all the reports of my discoveries with the plans of the different palaces and temples which I found from time to time in Assyria and Babylonia. He cannot therefore say that he did not know anything about them seeing that the Museum has no other plans save what were supplied by Sir Henry Layard and myself.

Sir Henry Layard, whom I assisted during his two expeditions to Assyria and Babylonia, was the discoverer of two Biblical cities, Nineveh and Calah, (the present Nimroud), mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, in which he found the palaces of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assur-nazir-pal, and Tiglath Pileser, wherefrom he obtained the unrivalled collections which now adorn the Nimroud and Koyunjik Galleries.

I myself discovered, during my expedition to Assyria, in 1853, the palace of Assur-bani-pal, commonly known as Sardanapalus, with that Monarch's library, an obelisk of Assur-nazir-pal, portions of two other obelisks, the temple dedicated by Semiramis at Calah to the god Nebo, wherein I found three statues of that deity one of which, about ten feet high, was left there and since destroyed by the Arabs, and a monolith of Shamsi-Rammanu, son of Shalmaneser II. At Kalaa Shirgat (ancient Asshur) I discovered a terra cotta cylinder, (a duplicate of the one found formerly there by Sir Henry Layard), containing the annals of Tiglath Pileser. With the exception of part of Assur-bani-pal's palace all relics are now in the British Museum.

In my different expeditions to Assyria and Babylonia from 1877 to 1882, I discovered in the former country the unique bronze monument of Shalmaneser II. buried in the Mound of Balawat, about fifteen miles to the east of Koyunjik (Nineveh), and also a temple of Assur-nazir-pal. At Nimroud I discovered another temple of the latter monarch from both of which as well as from the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal at Koyunjik I sent to the British Museum innumerable inscribed marble and terra cotta tablets with a large number of terra cotta cylinders, one of which was the finest that has ever been found, containing 1,300 lines of inscription recording the annals of Assur-bani-pal.

During my expeditions to Babylonia I discovered two ancient Biblical cities, Sippara (Sepharvaim) and Cuthah, now called respectively Aboo-Habba and tel-Ibraheem, wherein I found ancient buildings. The most important find I made was, at the former site, of a coffer buried under an asphalt pavement, wherein was deposited the record of the sun-god; the patron deity of the place. I found also the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Birs Nimroud (Borsippa) on the supposed site of the tower of Babel where Nebonidus was supposed to have been in retreat when Cyrus captured Babylon. At the same time I hit upon the remnant of the "great palace" of the kings of Babylon amongst the ruins of what is now called "Imjaileeba," where, as it is supposed, Belshazzar held his impious

feast. I also discovered the site of the famous hanging gardens indicated by the existence of four scientifically built wells. I discovered, moreover, a temple at Tel-Loh in Southern Babylonia, from which place I obtained some inscriptions for the British Museum. I calculate that no less than ten thousand whole and about two hundred thousand fragments of inscribed clay and terra cotta tablets with a large number of entire and broken terra cotta inscribed cylinders were collected and despatched to the British Museum from the different Assyrian and Babylonian sites, especially from Aboo-Habba or Sippara. The latter ruin was, however, only half excavated because, unfortunately, when the term of my Firman expired, in consequence of political complications, the Sublime Porte declined to renew it.

The notices in the said green guide about the country and the collections obtained from Assyria and Babylonia teem with errors, but I will only quote three or four of the most important as regards history for the benefit of those who take an interest in Assyrian discoveries.

The first is on page 84, para. 2 where it is recorded that the Monolith of "Shamshi-Rammanu was brought from the South-west palace Nimroud (No. 110);" whereas I discovered it in the temple of Nebo at the south-east corner of the mound. Then in para. 4 it is said that I had discovered the statues of Nebo "in the ruins of the temple of Adar at Nimroud," but I found them in their own temple in quite a different locality.

On page 90 "(Assyrian Basement)" it is written "The Sculptures arranged in this room belong to the reigns of Sennacherib, B.C. 705-681 and his grand-son Ashur-bani-pal, B.C. 668-626. They were discovered by Mr. Loftus and Mr. Rassam among the ruins of the two palaces at Kouyunjik." The writer has confounded here the periods of the discovery of those two palaces, namely 1850 and 1853, the former by Sir Henry Layard and the latter by me. As a matter of fact Mr. Loftus did not begin his researches in Nineveh until I left the country in May 1854.

In page 130 a leaf of one of the bronze gates of Babylon which I discovered at Birs Nimroud, is described as a "Door-step." It is true that I found it as a stepping stone in the passage that led from the palace of Nabonidus to the temple of Borsippa, but I had not the least doubt that it was placed there after the destruction of Babylon, as it was quite evident from the way it was fixed there that it did not belong originally to the place, being narrower than the entrance to the temple. The future occupiers of the sanctum, who were not as refined as the ancient Babylonians in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, had to fill the vacant space with brick and mortar. Moreover if the said relic be examined it would be found that it is not entire, as the part which went into the socket had been cut off.

The most glaring perversion of an historical record is in the labelling of an inscribed Hittite basalt bowl which was found in Babylon by an Arab digger at the end of 1883, and bought by the British Museum a year afterwards. Dr. Birch, the late Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, knew all about it, and had it published under his authority as such in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology of which he was the President. The inscription was published afterwards as coming from Babylon by Dr. Wright, Major Conder, and Professor Sayce. But for some reason known only to the Principal Librarian the

place of the discovery was suddenly changed from Babylon to Aboo-Habba, which is not the fact, and if the Trustees will take the trouble to search into the matter they will soon find out the cause and origin of the change. I have done my duty in bringing the matter to the notice of the proper authorities and it is left to them to do as they like.

I must further point out the utter confusion in the recent re-arrangement of the sculptures in the Assyrian Basement room. Different collections from the palaces of Tiglath Pileser, Sennacherib, and Assur-bani-pal, are placed without order or classification, and the sculptures from the latter King's edifice are separated in different parts of the building. Of all the bas-reliefs I discovered in that palace not a third is in existence at the British Museum. I believe part of them are in the Louvre in Paris, a part are at the bottom of the Tigris, sunk there with the other French collections from Khorsabad. What I deplore most is, the non-existence of the entire series of ten sculptures belonging to a chamber called the "Susiana room." Also of nine other bas-reliefs which are missing, five from the "Babylon room" and four from the "Arab room."

Though I had discovered the palace of Assur-bani-pal with its valuable library under peculiar circumstances, my name has been omitted from the general description. The site had been assigned by Sir Henry Rawlinson, before I went out to Mossul in 1852, to Mons. Place, the then Agent who was carrying on researches in Assyria for the French National Museum. For fear of the latter stopping my tentative excavations I had to get my workmen to dig at night there, and with all the trouble I had about securing for the British Nation the remains of that palace the credit of that discovery has been over and over again misrepresented and attributed to others. Before the re-arrangement of the sculptures in the Basement room there used to be a plan hung there showing the names of the explorers who discovered the palaces of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal at Koyunjik, but now even that slight indication has been removed.

I have only lately been obliged to write to four different journals to correct certain statements which appeared in those papers in connection with the discovery of Assur-bani-pal's palace and the Assyrian records of the Creation and Deluge. Even soon after I discovered the said palace there was some dispute, when I was far away at Aden, as to its discoverer, and Sir Henry Rawlinson had to write to the *Athenæum* in April, 1856, about it. This letter will show in a great measure the history of the discovery. It was as follows—

"My attention having been drawn to the little notice taken of the services of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, in the article on 'Assyrian Antiquities,' which appeared in last week's *Athenæum*, I hasten to supply the omission. Of Mr. Rassam's employment under Mr. Layard during the early excavations at Nimrûd and Koyunjik, I need say nothing, as the most honourable mention is made of his services throughout Mr. Layard's delightful volumes. I was first brought into connection with him at the end of 1852, when he was commissioned by the Trustees of the British Museum to proceed to Mosul, and placed himself at my disposal for the purpose of taking charge of the excavations which, during the preceding year, had been conducted, either under my personal superintendence or under that of Mr. Christian Rassam and Mr. Hodder. From this time up to May, 1854, I was in constant communication with Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and I am bound to say that not only did he give during that period the most unremitting proofs of his zeal, activity and intelligence, but that to him also belongs almost exclusively the credit of the

discovery of the Northern Palace at Koyunjik, from which were excavated the beautiful collection of marbles recently received at the Museum,—for, discouraged by the ill success which attended all our experimental work at Koyunjik during the year 1853, I, on more occasions than one, recommended a complete abandonment of that locality, and the transfer of the trenches to some other ruins, and it was merely owing to Mr. Rassam's tenacity of purpose that the recommendation was not acted upon. It is true, that on Mr. Rassam's return from Shirgát, in November, 1853, I suggested that a trial should be given to the northern quarter of Koyunjik, before the trenches were finally closed; but if my previous advice had been followed, the trenches would have been already closed, and the trial could not have been made. I thus willingly concede to Mr. Rassam the merit of the discovery of the Palace and of the subsequent excavation of the marbles, and I take no further credit for the collection now received at the Museum than as having acted in the general superintendence of the works, as having selected the particular slabs described in last week's *Athenæum*, transported them from Baghdad to Bussorah, and made the various arrangements connected with their subsequent conveyance to England."

The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Armenian collections of inscribed objects and various other relics deposited in different cases on the upper floor of the British Museum are also without order or proper classification, and I think it will be most difficult for the visitors who take an interest in such antiquities, even with the "Guide" in their possession, to understand the history of a large number of the antiquities exhibited. Babylonian and Assyrian relics are mixed together, and the two coffers I discovered at Balawat and Aboo-Habba which contained important historical records that had been deposited in them before the destruction of the Assyrian and Babylonian Monarchies, are so disconnected as to lose their historical import. The two inscribed marble tablets which were in the Alabaster coffer are exhibited in a case on the top floor, and the casket itself is placed in the Nimroud Gallery down below.

In conclusion, I have to add that as the report has been spread that an important part of my late discoveries have been misappropriated and sold to other Museums it is but right that the British Public should not be defrauded of their right but the stolen property ought to be reclaimed, and those who were the perpetrators of the robbery should receive condign punishment. According to international comity and the law of all nations, even amongst barbarians, stolen property belongs legally to those who can prove their title to it, and I do not think that any civilized nation would refuse to accede to a just demand. In virtue of the Firman granted to me by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan I have the power to prosecute any employé who has been dishonest and have him punished.

I am certain, however, that neither in the Imperial Berlin Museum, nor at the Louvre, do there exist any antiquities which have been stolen, as has been alleged, from our excavations, as I have it on good authority that the first purchase made by the Germans was in 1885, or three years after the British Museum operations ceased.

Whenever I left the country I entrusted the general management of the excavations to Her Majesty's Consul General at Baghdad, but when we were obliged to abandon our operations in July, 1882, I had to dismiss the workmen and the overseers, and neither the Consul General nor I had anything more to do with the explorations in Babylonia.

HORMUZD RASSAM."

A PELASGIC INSCRIPTION ON "THE TOMB OF MIDAS."

Dr. E. Schneider of Constantinople has sent us his reading of the two inscriptions on the rock round the supposed tomb of Midas in Asia Minor. Starting from the hypothesis that the language of the Pelasgi was an archaic form of the modern Albanian, he believes that, just as the latter write their language in Latin or even Greek characters, so did the former adopt the Greek characters, but the inscriptions, which are alleged to belong to the Phrygian epoch, are in the language spoken by them and must not be interpreted by words synonymous with Greek.

The modern Armenians write Turkish in the Armenian characters; the Greeks of Asia Minor also write Turkish, which they speak better than their own language, in Greek "characters." Dr. Schneider writes:

"It is, therefore, possible that the Pelasgi might have written the inscriptions that they have left us *in their own language* though in Greek, Phenician and other characters. Starting from this principle, I read as follows in Albanian the two inscriptions of the tomb of Midas: FIRST INSCRIPTION: *Atès arkiae fakt; a gos gi dai; ga fag tae; fata ktei e daet.* This is read as Albanian: *Hà dêks arkiavé fus; e gost gji dai; na fak tanê; fati kthei prei deks;* of which the translation is as follows: "To Hades (the devourer of the dead) the coffins I have thrown; and the funeral repast to the people (invited) I have given. It was thy destiny! husband of (my) fate; return from the land of the dead." This is, therefore, the inscription of a wife who buries her husband and what still further proves it is that the second inscription is that of the child to its father. SECOND INSCRIPTION: *Baba; ge ge fais; i roi ta foks; kfiga gaf; ga gea dei. In Modern Albanian: Baba! gjè gjè fai; i roi t'kā fus; t'ka fika guf; t'hà dhèa dêit. Translation:* "Father, whom findest thou at fault? I have placed watchers for thee, but thy beauty (vigorous and healthy colour) has been destroyed (extinguished); the Earth has eaten thy nerves (flesh)."

Among the numerous characteristics of these inscriptions, is the word *Fata* which is the name that husband and wife give to each other in Albania; they have no right to call each other by their respective names. The custom also of funeral repasts still exists in Albania as also the sacred notion of tombs that were watched, etc.

My interpretation, of course, conflicts with the English belief that we are dealing with the tomb of Midas and, on the other hand, if the inscriptions were accented, there would be very little difference between the Pelasgic of those days and modern Albanian.—*Q.E.D.*"

Baron H. de Reuter remarks on this: "Dr. Schneider's discovery, if confirmed, will open up an immense field for the workers in the domain of archæology and ethnology. He will indeed have secured a splendid triumph if he has thus solved the riddle that has baffled all travellers from Herodotus to Conder. Moreover if this discovery of Dr. Schneider's be confirmed we should not despair of eventually deciphering the Etruscan language, which would then give us a continuous map of pre-historic racial distribution from the Caucasus to the Alps."

INDIAN LAND AND IRISH POLICY.

In the October issue of the Review, in his Article entitled "Indian Land and Irish Policy," Sir R. Lethbridge mentions me in such a manner as to lead to the conclusion that I am in favour of Permanent Settlements of the Land Revenue after the method of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal. I certainly disapprove of the Madras Settlements which necessitate wholesale evictions of tenants, because they have been badly made, and not because I approve of Lord Cornwallis's measure. My reasons for disapproving of the latter are twofold. I do not object to the principle of a permanent settlement, being fully aware that nothing is more certain to lead to the investment of capital in the soil and the resulting improvement in the condition of the country than a permanency of tenure, but I consider Lord Cornwallis's action to have been premature by about a century. Land in India at that time was nowhere within view of attaining such a stable value as to warrant its position with regard to the demands of the State being made permanent. The force of circumstances, which no one could foresee at the time, was sure to bring about vast changes in the relative values of land in different localities, and it was equally unfair to the State, a very large proportion of the income of which was to be derived from its land revenue, to fix the demands on the basis of the then existing rentals as it was to the landlords. The most ordinary foresight would have shown that at all events markets would change and with them the relative values of landed property, and it would be found now, were local enquiries made, that estates near old markets had hardly improved at all, whilst others affected by new markets that have since sprung up through the force of circumstances had increased in value out of all proportion to the former, quite irrespectively of the labour and capital expended on them. Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement was thus unfair through being premature.

My second objection to Lord Cornwallis's Settlement is the careless manner in which it was carried out, ignoring, or at all events not sufficiently safeguarding, the subordinate rights of the tenantry of the landlords with whom it was made in such a manner as to leave the former at the mercy of the latter, notwithstanding the adverse rights of the tenants properly belonging to them by immemorial Native custom. This is a blot which the most ardent advocates of the Permanent Settlement must surely acknowledge, and the disastrous effects of which subsequent legislation, such as the Bengal Tenancy Act, has in vain endeavoured to remedy because it was too late.

A. Rogers, late Bombay C. S.

We believe that the true story of the Sino-Japanese conflict has yet to be told. Lord Rosebery could, it is alleged, have stopped it at the outset by a word to Japan, which he, at first, wanted to say, but which Mr. Gladstone would not allow him to do. He then told "tales out of School" to the encouragement of Japan and the disaster of China, as Sir Ashmead Bartlett points out in his article in this issue.

MEANING OF THE WORD "KORÁN."

By a curious coincidence, the following letter is completely refuted by an article on the same subject in this issue in connexion with Palmer's Translation of the Korán as also by a most learned and exhaustive excursus by Dr. M. S. Howell, which want of space compels us to postpone to our next number.

"At p. 421 of the October number of the Review, the sense of "*reading*" is assigned to the name *Kurán*.

Now, in the first place, we do not know that the Arab Prophet could read. And in the second place, to understand by "*Kurán*," "the book that pre-eminently deserves to be read," is wholly unscientific and unscholarly. AL KURÁN received its title long before it was a book at all. The Prophet Muhammad neither wrote nor read his sermons. He spoke the admonitory words that came to him; and his attendant Zaid recorded his "inspirations." The Angel Gabriel cannot be supposed to have told the Prophet to "read" that which, though miraculously created, was as yet unwritten in human form. The "IKRÁ"! of Gabriel simply means Recite!, Proclaim! Say!: and "Al Kurán" signifies "The Recitation."

W. T."

The following are some of the passages in which the Korán is referred to in its own pages; which I believe will corroborate, from various standpoints, the view that it means "the reading." Even in the Chapter of "the Enwrapped" the Prophet is told to rise up at night and "chant the Korán chanting," which indicates the monotone in which the Korán is read. This is further explained as meaning "so read what is easy of the Korán." And again in the revelation not to be hurried, Gabriel tells the Prophet "do not move thy tongue thereby to hasten it. It is for us to collect it and to read it and when we read it then follow its reading and again it is for us to explain it." That is precisely the course that is followed when the master reads out the Korán and the pupils read after him, of some of whom in the Chapter of "Rending asunder" it is asked "when the Korán is read to them why do they not adore?" it being said that the good will be given their book in the right hand, but the damned in the left. Again, the Korán is described in the Chapter on "the Zodiacal signs" "nay, it is a glorious Korán in a preserved tablet," and three times in the Chapter on the "moon" it is said: "we have made the Korán easy as a reminder." I would also draw attention to the significance of many chapters of the Korán being prefixed by certain letters of the alphabet—a matter that has not yet been exhaustively examined, e.g.; I would point to "A. L. M.: *that* is the book in which there is no doubt." "A. L. R.: these are the signs of the perspicuous book. Verily we have revealed it, an Arabic Korán.—A. L. R. (Chapter on Jonah) '. . . this Korán could not have been devised by any beside God; but it verifies that which was before it and *details* THE BOOK' . . . the Korán." Again, "the Korán is written in the perspicuous Arabic" and many more passages that might be quoted in support of the truism that the primary and obvious meaning of "Korán" is "reading" and *not* "recitation."

G. W. L.

THE FUTURE ALLIANCE OF JAPAN, CHINA AND KOREA.

"I am much amused at the constant fault-finding of European critics with our imitation of European methods in what is necessary to our progress. They forget that the East does not merely exist in order to supply picturesque, and often inaccurate, descriptions to the European reader of manners different to their own, "to point a moral and to adorn a tale" for every reformer or to be a market for manufactures not required "at home." Just as Europe has borrowed its religion, much of its Art and most of its better feelings from the East, without, at every step, acknowledging its obligation to, or confessing its imitation of, Jews, Saracens, Egyptians or even Greeks, so we too, consider that all true Art, all real science and all civilization belong to the whole world and are not a monopoly of the last channel through which they flow. I do not see why we should not have as good soldiers as Germany and as good sailors as England, for, please observe, we rather *adapt* than *imitate* the excellencies of others. We have not abandoned our language; we still cherish most of our social customs and we still try to understand nature in its many moods. We have no wish to exchange the chivalry and sweet graces of our culture for opposite qualities, simply *because* they are European or to adopt any one religion merely because it is a foreign importation. We all recognize what we owe in literature and culture to China and in Art pottery to Korean masters and we hope that the day may not be distant when China, Korea and Japan may be united in friendly political and commercial co-operation. This requires that not only Korea, but also China should be strong and this cannot be the case nowadays unless both accept what is good in modern civilization. If I understand my fellow countrymen they have no wish to ruin China, though they are much pleased that, instead of having to send Embassies to China even in such questions as that of Formosa, China, at last, sends a Mission to us, whom she had so long treated with undeserved contempt. As to extracting, however, fifty million pounds sterling from already financially crippled China, how could such a demand have leaked out from our own Councils to the European Press? I do not myself believe it and I do not see how and when such a sum could ever be paid.

On the contrary, as the confusion in Korea compelled us to interfere, so as to be in time before Russia completed her Trans-Siberian Railway, it is the New Korea—a many times bigger Korea—the confusion and corruption now reigning in China and that may alone survive the war, that compels us to go on, till the Mantshu Dynasty, *which we do not wish to supplant unless forced to do so*, comes to its senses and discontinues the war. As it gives in early so will our terms of peace be lenient and such as become the Japanese nation.

Indeed, we hope that China, although badly defeated and in spite of the interests of her strong neighbour, will yet be able with the introduction of sound financial, military and other administrative reforms, to re-establish her strength as a nation. This could be done with the assistance and moral support of the powers. And with this revival of national strength, I trust that China will be able to improve her system of communication,

to open up her hidden resources and to bring to vivid life her ancient art and high culture, in which recent Japanese travellers especially in the interior of China have found the origin or explanation of much that we ourselves cherish. As to Chinese culture generally there are already ample views from which people may form or deduce ideas for their own benefit or taste. But let us sincerely hope that China will not break up into anarchy and that the consequent conflicts of powers will be avoided. As a first practical step towards this desirable end, I trust that, if any of the Chinese soldiery be disbanded after the war, they will be paid up, so as to avoid their old practice of preying upon the people and forming a reason for intervention."

A JAPANESE.

HISTORY OF THE ISMAILIS.

I thank you for your encouraging account of my projected work on the Ismailis, which is ready with the exception of a short account of the "A'lia" Section of the Mustaa'li branch and will be published, I hope, a few months hence at the *Bombay Educational Press*.

I will gladly publish a translation of it in English, if educated Europeans will subscribe for it. At present it only enjoys the patronage of the more enlightened members of the Khoja and Bohra communities.

Allow me to point out that in your able biographical sketches of the present and the two preceding Agha Sahibs, the name of Hassan Jalaluddin (Saha) is substituted, by an oversight for that of Hassan Jalaluddin (Nou-Mussalman) in the list of their Highnesses' ancestors. As you know well the former was a mere *Dái*.

As for your Dardistan which is a treasury of information, such as has not been offered to the public for a very long time, I think you will find that the Khojas and other tribes at present residing in Sindh and speaking the Sindhi language offer singular analogies with the Shina stock and language described by you.

BABA GOOL MAHAMMAD.

The Arabic Chair at the University of Cambridge, vacant by the death of Professor Robertson-Smith, has been filled by the appointment of one of the electors, the aged Dr. Rieu, late of the omnivorous British Museum. By what rule or precedent this extraordinary decision could have been justified we are unable to imagine. When, some months ago, it was rumoured that one of the electors, Prof. Bevan, was himself a Candidate, there was, at once, an indignant denial, worthy of that distinguished Scholar. If it became a practice for an elector to a post to be himself elected to it, no Candidate who had any self-respect would compete. It is possible to conceive such an elector, having all the time an eye to the vacant office, damning here a Candidate with faint praise and disparaging there another. As the matter stands, it looks as if Sir Thomas Adams's Professorship of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, were a sinecure given as a reward to the oldest Arabic Scholar obtainable. We feel that the learned public have a right to call on the worthy electors, including Dr. Rieu, for a full and satisfactory explanation of what appears an insult

to the eminent Candidates, among whom were some, at least, as great Arabic Scholars as himself and none, perhaps, from whom more work as a Professor and writer, could not have been reasonably expected, than from a veteran who is said to be 75 years of age. First and foremost in our opinion, was the voluminous author Dr. M. S. Howell, whose Arabic learning has been acknowledged by Government as an honour to the Indian Civil Service. Then there were the practical General Tweedie, for many years Consul-General of Bagdad; the erudite Professor H. Ethé of Aberystwith; the profound Dr. Vollers, Librarian of the Khedivial Library at Cairo; the strong in Arabic, as in name, Mr. S. Arthur Strong, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and others known to fame, among whom may be mentioned Professor Salmoné. The British Museum also had, what now appears to have been a second string to its bow, Mr. A. G. Ellis, the Arabic Assistant in an Oriental Department, which is under the charge of a Professor of a language of "the *Far* East," when it is "the *Near* East" that has influenced the culture of Europe. It is alleged that the reason for appointing Dr. Rieu was because the electors could not get a majority among themselves for any one Candidate. Whom did Dr. Rieu vote for? Unless what appears to be a job is as inexplicable, as it seems to be inexcusable, we certainly expect an answer from the electors who bear the distinguished names of the Vice-Chancellor of the Cambridge University; Dr. C. Taylor, Master of St. John's; Dr. Kirkpatrick; Professor Driver; Dr. C. Rieu; Professor Cowell; Professor Bevan; Mr. W. A. Wright and Mr. E. G. Browne.

We are glad to hear that a special Chair of Arabic has been founded at the University of Geneva, and that Professor E. Montet has been appointed to it. This great Scholar had been teaching this language as a labour of love in connexion with his Courses of Lectures on Hebrew and Aramaic. Now the teaching of the Arabic language and literature has become officially recognised, and Professor E. Montet, most deservedly, has been put in charge of all the Shemitic languages. We rejoice to find that true Orientalism is thus developing at the University of Geneva, and that the choice of that learned body has fallen on one whose conscientiousness prevented his joining an Oriental Congress held in that city as long as it seemed to be opposed to the statutory principles of which Prof. Montet was an earnest advocate, and which have now been accepted by both parties concerned in the question. At the same time, we do not see how the University could have made any other choice considering that it is to Professor Montet that Arabic studies owe their development at Geneva. His absence from the Shemitic Section of the Oriental Congress in that city was, no doubt, one of the reasons of the poverty of its work, though its Aryan Section appears, on the whole, to have produced important papers, worthy of an occasion on which Geneva displayed its most brilliant hospitality.

The veteran Linguist, Prof. G. F. Nicholl, who, rare among Orientalists, combines Arabic with Sanscrit Scholarship, also adds poetic gifts to a

practical turn of mind. He has lately published not only a very useful Grammar of Bengali, to be followed by a Comparative Dictionary of English, Urdu, Hindu and Bengali, but also Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit versions of the Jubilee Ode of Lewis Morris. The "Academy" asked what a native Scholar would think of them and we are happy to endorse the opinion of Mirza Lutf Ali Khan regarding those in the two first-named languages: "I have read," he writes, "the verses of Prof. Nicholl with the greatest pleasure. It is only just to say that he has given life to the verses of Mr. Lewis Morris, for, by clothing their poetic forms in sweet Persian and Arabic, he has breathed a soul into them and is thus deserving of every praise." This is precisely what we think, for to us the English of Mr. Morris's Ode is almost unintelligible and its typical Western imagery seems to us to be utterly unsuited for anything like a literal rendering into any Oriental Language. At all events, a great authority on Sanscrit declares that Mr. Nicholl's Sanscrit version is less difficult to construe than the English original. This we take to be a high compliment. Who would willingly translate, even into French, Mr. Morris's easiest passage:

> "Where soars to-day a coronal of towers:
> The Empire swept along."

However, Mr. Nicholl has given sense and beauty to his translations, and his notes to his versions teem with a profound and quaint learning, that alone would justify our readers in making the acquaintance of this clever production.

The wise remarks of Lord Rosebery in connexion with Madagascar, echoed by the *Times* and the Press generally, as to our French friends not knowing, as we do from our wider experience, the doubtful advantage of having Colonies, shows the tyranny which words still exercise even on leading minds. What the French call "Colonies" and "Colonial expansion" is *not* the "self-governing British Colony" that only wants to be let alone, and, as Max O'Rell alleges, has no desire for even the faintest tie of federation with the other colonies, or the mother-country, except as an after-dinner sentiment. The French by "Colony," generally mean "a Dependency" like *e.g.* India, which certainly would be profitable enough for them, as it is for us. The French Colonial party wants countries that it can exploit for "home" consumption; not to create independent States of French settlers, who want to be defended against foreign attack without contributing to the national exchequer.

An old English Resident at Madagascar writes to say that the natives would rejoice in the French success in order to get rid of the tyranny of the Prime Minister who is the real King of the country. He expects much good from the three C's "Christianity, Commerce and Civilization" which the advent of the French will confer on the great island.

We understand that the British policy to be pursued in future at Teheran will partake more of the *fortiter in re* of the Foreign Department of the Government of India than of the *suaviter in modo* to which European

diplomacy generally has accustomed the Court of Persia. We trust that Sir H. Durand will deserve the kind reception and golden opinions that are telegraphed about him in anticipation of his success, but we think that it will be found that he has yet something to learn from his Colleagues at the British Foreign Office. He has also now the opportunity of really studying that highly cultivated language, Persian, of which report already made him a master in India.

We have much pleasure in giving publicity to the following "statement of principles" of the East India Association. We hope that it will result in a large accession of members to this excellent Society, which has taken no inconsiderable part in the agitation for imposing a 5 p.c. import duty on Manchester cotton goods in the Indian Tariff, though the benefit of the measure at last obtained has been modified by imposing an excise duty on certain yarns manufactured in India. We draw attention to the article and the Memorial of the East India Association on the subject, which appeared in our issue of July 1894.

"The object of the East India Association has been declared to be the promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally. To attain this object the Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all those, who by their position, influence, knowleige of India or administrative experience, are able to render effective assistance, and without whose active and liberal support the work of the Association cannot be accomplished.

"The Association would specially appeal to the Ruling Princes of India, who are the natural exponents of the opinions and wishes of their fellow countrymen, and whose rights and privileges it will ever strive to maintain.

"The Association would appeal to the educated classes of the Indian people with whose aspirations, so far as these are consonant with good sense, moderation and loyalty, it has the warmest sympathy.

"The Council would invite the co-operation of the influential commercial and non-official Englishmen in India, and of the active and retired members of the Government Services, Civil and Military, who have consistently laboured to advance the best interests of the people, and who have helped to consolidate, maintain and defend the Indian Empire.

"The East India Association has no connection with English party politics, and welcomes as members all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of India, whatever their political opinions. Its attitude with reference to Indian questions is strictly conservative in the truest sense; it desires to encourage all wise and well considered projects of social and administrative reform, but, at the same time, to protect the people of India from rash and hasty experiments opposed to the traditions of the country, which disorganize its finances and give rise to opposition, ill-feeling and distrust. It endeavours to view all questions of finance, administration, and social progress from the sole standpoint of regard for the interests of the Indian princes and people whose wishes, sentiments and prejudices should be respected. Lastly, it desires by timely protest addressed to Parliament to hinder or prevent the embarrassment of the administration and the injury to the people of India, which are caused by ill-advised resolutions introduced by members of the House of Commons, who are imperfectly informed on Indian affairs."

Our able reviewer wishes to make an *amende honorable* to Mrs. A. D. Gibson for hinting, rather than affirming, that she might have adorned herself with the feathers of those monks and others who wrote out or corrected for her the Catalogue of the Treasury of Arabic Christian Manuscripts, which we owe to the researches of this highly-gifted lady.

As a matter of fact, no one but herself wrote out a single word of either volume of the *Studia Sinaitica* which we noticed in our last issue, except half a page in 1 Corinthians which is acknowledged in her preface. We are so inundated with the pretentious works of pseudo-Orientalists who, without knowing a word of an Oriental language, glibly write on Muhammadanism, Buddhism or what not, that it is quite refreshing to find one who so entirely owes her reputation only to herself. The help which the monks gave her merely consisted in carrying books and counting pages. Not one of them could read a word of Arabic. Her sister, Mrs. Lewis, revised the proof sheets, and what Mr. Cowley of Oxford contributed a year after, has been conscientiously acknowledged. Professor Robertson-Smith, it is true, read through the first 16 pages of the Epistles, after they were in print with the photographs. We are glad to find that Mrs. Gibson notices the passage in 2nd Corinthians xv. 8 in her notes and our reviewer says that the more he sees of her work the more he is struck with its painstaking scholarship.

So great is the pecuniary success of the Empire of India Exhibition expected to be that the first funds for it, £90,000, were subscribed for it on the spot among the half dozen or so of its promoters.

The article in this issue about the success which the rendition policy has had in making Mysore the model State of India, will, we trust, be the precursor of similar evidence of the good government of other native States that are pillars of our rule in India. By increasing the prestige and position of our Indian Princes, we infinitely raise that of the Queen that rules them. The true Imperialist would like to see the Empress of India with Kings for her feudatories and allies rather than with mediatized and nominal Chiefs.

THE INDIAN CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Before leaving India, the writer of these lines was asked by a body of Conservative Muhammadan and Hindu gentlemen to form a Branch of an "Indian Conservative Association" in England. Its object is so far the same as that of the Conservatives in this country, as it is intended to protect the rights of property and position which are threatened both here and in India. As far as possible the Association will co-operate with the Anglo-Indian officials in all movements for the public good, but it specially endeavours to restore those harmonious relations between the leaders of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities which have hitherto, more than any other agency, preserved peace in India and of which fact most of the Native States are still examples. It will, therefore, advocate the minimizing of the consumption of beef in India and the importation of frozen meats for the use of our troops from Australia and elsewhere. It will promote the representation of Muhammadan minorities as is the case in Native States as also a representation rather by castes and trade-guilds, as the only true bases of Indian Society, than by the election of political busybodies. It will endeavour to promote the cultivation of the ancient Classical Languages of India and the development of the vernaculars through

their means and encourage the study of English more for comparative purposes than as a substitute for the indigenous civilization of the country and it will advocate the international or inter-statal rights and privileges of the Native Chiefs and, generally, maintain the vested interests of Indian Princes against encroachments.

ZOBEHR PASHA AND GENERAL GORDON.

We trust that the efforts to, at last, secure something like justice for Zobehr Pasha will be successful. It is a scandal to treat a man as a prisoner who has rendered his services and it is time that we should, at a long interval, follow the example of amnesty set by the present Czar to political rebels instead of still hunting down mutineers of 1857, of which the recent fiasco of a supposed Nana Sahib is an instance. We have seen the Arabic pamphlet which General Gordon sent us in support of his condemnation of Zobehr Pasha and we found it to be really in Zobehr's favour and entirely disposing of the alleged necessity of General Gessi's executing Zobehr Pasha's son. We have since read the eulogistic remarks of General Gordon regarding a Pasha, without whom it was impossible, in his opinion, to govern the Soudan and we have, finally, seen the brief autobiography and genealogy of the ex-*ditenu* at Gibraltar which goes far to establish his sincerity of purpose. As Englishmen, not Red Indians, we can afford to pardon a political opponent or rather, as he is perfectly innocent, we can release him with a strong injunction "not to do it again." Acts of Oriental mercy would have, just now, in Egypt, a good effect and we would remind our readers of the warnings of Safir Bey in our issue of April 1893.

GRIEVANCES OF NATIVE INDIAN ARMY MEDICAL OFFICERS.

An appeal is in circulation among the native medical officers in our army. The grievance complained of affects so small and so useful a body of men that its redress at the hands of the Secretary of State for India would seem to be quite within the range of practical politics. The appeal points out that all such officers, irrespective of race, have passed the same examination, hold the same rank under commission, have the same duties to perform, the same position to maintain, and the same expenses to incur; that as the compensation allowance has been granted to Europeans and Eurasians, *irrespective of whether actual remittances are made or not*, it is practically a positive and *bonâ fide* increase of salary; that the possession of a legal English Domicile, which is the ground for excluding Natives of India constitutes a racial grievance, which is opposed to the uniformity of treatment accorded to, and exacted from, all such officers irrespective of race; that it is not a real question of domicile, which would exclude Eurasians, but one of refusal to grant an increase of pay to the native Indian officers which has been granted to their European and Eurasian brethren. The appeal emphasizes the need, common to all their classes, of the cost of uniforms, medical instruments and books, mess and other obligatory expenses, and the education of their children; and it shows that

the exclusion of Indians from this allowance is only on verbal and technical grounds, inconsistent with justice and equality of treatment.

DR. PFUNGST AND THEOSOPHY.

We hope to have space in our next issue for some revelations regarding Theosophy, as a science. Dr. Pfungst, who as a poet of the Schopenhauer School, might be deemed to be in sympathy with all genuine manifestations of Buddhism, has composed a paper summarizing the history and literary claims of so-called Theosophy and proving from its own statements that it is no more based on any real Buddhistic teaching than it is on ordinary common sense. The "Westminster Gazette" has rendered good service by exposing the imposture of the "Mahatmas" or "great souls," by which name no person or body of persons was ever called before the ignorance of the adventurers from New York adopted it in India. Dr. Pfungst took the precaution of sending his paper to all the leading Orientalists and it also ran the gauntlet of the criticism of the Scholars assembled at the recently held Geneva Oriental Congress. With one voice they have all condemned the pretensions of Theosophy in its claim to Oriental Scholarship or to anything like being supported by any writings of Buddhism, the very essence of which is to destroy mysticism of every kind, to render even the existence of God a matter which the Buddhist should not examine, much less to invest with more than ordinary human powers a brotherhood in Tibet of whom nobody who has been there knows anything. A greater hoax was never perpetrated on gullible humanity. In short, what is new in Theosophy is not true and what is true is not new. We doubt whether even now Judge, Olcott, Besant, Sinnett and Co. can read or write a single Oriental language. The whole thing is suited more to the West where it had its birth than to the venerable East and we are glad to see that the Mahatmas are either giving way to the ghosts of King and of other old Yankee friends or intend to settle in the United States.

WHERE IS DARDISTAN?

The article of Col. Durand in the *Contemporary Review* on the Eastern Hindukush is, in some respects, a singular instance of supercilious ignorance. The country, "Dardistan," in which he was supposed to represent British interests, does not exist for him under that name, as little, perhaps, as the word "Europe" exists to the Russian Mujik or the very dweller on the Hellespont. Indeed, Colonel Durand places "Dardistan" further away, just as the Turk at Constantinople talks of distant "Frangistan" or "Europe," of which his own country is a part. The Colonel, too, refers glibly to the preservation of ancient legends *mainly in Chitrál*, where they are *least* preserved, whereas he unconsciously betrays the effect of the pernicious influence of the present foreign occupation of the country, in the very instances which he quotes, on the real home of legendary lore, namely Gilgit and the Shiná country generally and, above all, Hunza and Nagyr. Again, his statement that the constant raids of the Chilásis at last provoked our interference is wrong, for the Panjab Administration Reports since 1856 clearly

show that they were the quietest of neighbours. To him, too, as to a recent writer in the *Madras Mail*, the history of Dardistan between 1846 and 1876 may be a blank, although it is within those dates that *inter alia* the discovery of the "races and languages of Dardistan," by the constant writer on the subject, who was deputed in 1866 by the Panjab Government at the instance of the Bengal Asiatic Society, took place and nearly all our information regarding it is due. His friendly relations with the Chiefs and tribes, unfortunately for them, inspired them with confidence in Englishmen and, thereby, facilitated the annexation of their country. If Colonel Durand will attend a little to the Classical authors, which he may be supposed to have admired, read and forgotten at school,—not to speak of Sanscrit writings—he may, perhaps, himself discover the whereabouts of "Dardistan" in which he was our Resident and the barriers of which to Russian progress he has broken down in the construction of military roads and in the alienation of the tribes—not to speak of its being a revelation to him, *after* overthrowing Hunza with which he had meddled for some years, that it was a tributary of China. It is such shallow writers as himself and Knight that divert the British public from the serious study of Oriental subjects, for, as a rule, they have neither the preliminary special education for such a task nor do they study the required Oriental languages, without knowing which all their opinions have as little solid foundation as, say, that of a Chinaman, unacquainted with English, on the people, politics and "legends" of this country. Perhaps, we have now a clue to the writer who, some years ago, asked in a London paper "*What* is Gilgit?"

THE LATE SURGEON-GENERAL H. W. BELLEW.

As the Anglo-Indian, who has retired from India, or is on a visit to England, enters the noble Hall of his congenial London home, the hospitable East India United Service Club, 16, St James's Square, he will be struck with the massive bust, resting on a fine pedestal, of the late Dr. H. W. Bellew, facing that of another immortal Panjabi, the illustrious General Nicholson. This bust is a replica of the original sculpture, executed by the famous sculptor, Mr. John Adams Acton, which is now at the kindred United Service Institution at Simla, where it was formally unveiled by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George White. We quote from the *Pioneer* the remarkable, exhaustive, and suggestive speech which he delivered on that occasion, when Dr. Bellew's son, Lieutenant Dillon Bellew and troops of the admirers of the eminent deceased scholar and explorer were present. We regret that there was no one in London similarly to introduce the replica to the equally large audience that would have assembled to greet it at the East India United Service Club, where there are so many of Dr. Bellew's contemporaries and old friends:

"On Tuesday afternoon, the 25th September 1894, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir George White, unveiled the bust of the late Surgeon-General H. W. Bellew, which has been presented to the United Service Institution, Simla, by Mrs. Bellew. His Excellency in his preliminary remarks said:

"'LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I propose to commence our proceedings this afternoon by reversing the procedure usual on such occasions. I believe it to be the custom to unveil the statue, bust, or picture at the conclusion, and not at the opening of the proceedings; but it appears to me to give an air of unreality to keep what is so intimately connected with the subject of the addresses and the proceedings generally, shrouded in obscurity till all is over. I will, therefore, with your permission, initiate the proceedings by unveiling the bust; so that those who have come here to do honour to the occasion may have the earliest opportunity of seeing the work of art, and by its aid recalling the features of the late Dr. Bellew, which were well known in life to many here.'

"Captain Colomb then withdrew the veil from the bust, and the features, once so well known in military circles in Upper India, were seen to have been accurately reproduced by the sculptor.

"Sir George White then said:

"'In unveiling the bust of the late Surgeon-General Henry Walter Bellew, it is a pleasure to me to have the opportunity of saying a few words in commemoration of the career of one whose life was spent in works of such varied importance and helpfulness to this great Empire; more especially as I believe that with the exception of the literary works which he has left behind him for the education of those who survive him, none of which are of a personal character, little has been written or said of his career.

"'Henry Walter Bellew was born in India in 1833, and he died in England in 1892. He came of a race of soldiers. His father was Assistant Quarter Master General in the Indian service. He was one of the ill-fated Army of Afghanistan, none of whom returned save one, to tell the tale of the terrible disaster that overtook it, in the depths of an Afghan winter of unusual severity, in the snow-bound passes of the Khurd, Kabul and Jagdalak. Young Bellew was thus left fatherless at an age when he could not realise the full extent of the loss he had sustained. He went through the usual curriculum of a boy's education, and as he approached manhood he selected the medical profession as his career in life. He completed his medical studies at St. George's Hospital, and gained his diplomas. In the year 1854, when he was 20 years old, he volunteered to go out to the Crimean War. He thus laid the foundation of that career of adventure and enterprise which he pursued assiduously for the rest of his professional life. He returned from the Crimea in 1855, and was soon after gazetted as Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service.

"'On arrival in India he was posted to the Guides, a regiment that has earned special distinction by the number of officers it has educated who have afterwards become an honour to their country (Applause). The Guides were at that time commanded by Henry Lumsden, who, a year or two later, was selected by the Governor-General in Council to take charge of a special political mission ordered to Kandahar. Although the Commandant had had but short knowledge of the young Assistant Surgeon, he had seen enough of him to select him specially as the Medical Officer of the Mission. The third member of that mission was Peter Lumsden, known to many here as Sir Peter Lumsden, late Member of the Secretary of State's Council at the India Office. This Mission started for Kandahar in the commencement of that year of unhappy memories, 1857. During the Mutiny it remained at Kandahar, and it was in the most critical position, being entirely at the mercy of the Afghans. As day by day accounts were received in Afghanistan of the progress of the mutiny, and that the very existence of the British Raj in India trembled on the balances, it is asserted that Gholam Hyder, the Governor of Kandahar, and son of Dost Mohamed, asked his father whether it would not be politic to put the three British Officers to death. Those who have had opportunities of witnessing the gratitude and even affection with which Afghans reward the successful surgical or medical practitioner by whose skill and humanity they have benefited, will readily understand that the reputation which this clever young surgeon had established amongst the Kandaharis had a large share in saving, not only his own life, but also the lives of the distinguished brothers Lumsden. (Applause.)

"'It would but weary you were I to repeat in detail the various missions and other works in which Dr. Bellew played a more or less important part during the time that

elapsed between the suppression of the Indian Mutiny and the outbreak of the last Afghan war. It will be sufficient here to say that he added to his reputation in each of them.

"'In the year 1879, when the war clouds again gathered over Kabul, Dr. Bellew's well tried acquaintance with the Afghans, and their language, and his knowledge of the politics of Afghanistan, pointed him out to Lord Lytton as the man most fit for the post of Chief Political Officer with the Army of Kabul. This was to him an office of no ordinary difficulty. Conflicting considerations warred in his mind. On the one side were his deep sympathy with the people and the recollection that they had spared his life when many of the more fanatical were anxious to show their sympathy with their mutinous co-religionists in India by wiping out the whole Mission from the Kafirs. On the other hand, Louis Cavagnari had been foully murdered in the streets of Kabul, with the whole of his Mission and escort, in spite of his Ambassadorial office, which is held sacred by the most uncivilised peoples. A great cry for vengeance had arisen, not in India alone, but throughout the length and breadth of England and her Colonies, and an army was ordered to Kabul to demand an account of the blood of our countrymen at the very gates of the blood-stained Bala Hissar. A Mission such as that upon which this army was ordered is not one that can be fulfilled by the sprinkling of rose-water. The sterner duties that devolve on such an expedition are rarely understood, and are often grossly misrepresented by those who are enjoying the calm and quiet security of life in England, and the policy of exacting a life for a life was fiercely attacked in some quarters. Even our system of patient inquiry and regular trial made the pursuit of justice seem too long drawn out. Under such circumstances, the post of the Chief Political Officer was no enviable one.

"'Under the strain of this uncongenial work, and the extremes of the Kabul climate, Dr. Bellew's health quite broke down and he was obliged to return to India. He had steered the political ship through rocks and shoals of unusual complexity, and as it was emerging into quieter waters he was forced to resign the helm to a successor who reaped the reward that was liberally bestowed at the conclusion of the campaign for completed work.

"'THERE CAN BE NO STRONGER PROOF OF THE DISINTERESTED AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED WAY IN WHICH DR. BELLEW CARRIED OUT THE MANY IMPORTANT MISSIONS AND DUTIES ENTRUSTED TO HIM WITHOUT SELF-SEEKING OR TRUCKLING TO THOSE WHO HAVE HONOURS TO BESTOW, THAN THE FACT THAT HE RETIRED FROM THE SERVICE WITH BUT ONE ORDER, THAT OF A COMPANION OF THE STAR OF INDIA. He was an officer of most varied talents and attainments. He was distinguished alike as soldier, surgeon, statesman, ethnologist and linguist. He was a man of the deepest sympathies and of the firmest convictions, and he had the courage of his opinions. (Applause.) His was no changing mood that could adapt itself to the varying requirements of parties in power. Such men, though admirable in their independence of character, are not always the most favourite agents of those whose policy they are forced to carry out. Yet it is the strongest evidence of the sterling quality of his mind that though a keen controversialist, especially on political matters, he was never found complaining of official neglect or posing as a man with a grievance. At the same time he enunciated and advocated what he believed to be the principles of true policy and he adhered to them. Because right was right he followed right, and he deemed it wisdom in its very scorn of personal consequences. (Applause.)

"'Many of those here know that Henry Bellew was brother-in-law to Charles Macgregor. (Applause.) The love of adventure, common to these two men, their honest pursuit of truth and contempt of shams made them kindred in spirit and, it may be, paved the way for their closer relationship in life, and I think all present will agree with me that in India, the field of enterprise of both, it is in accordance with the fitness of things that the marble which reproduces the features of the scholarly surgeon should take its stand in this hall hard by the canvas which recalls to the memory of many of us here the strong face and herculean frame of the sterling soldier. (Applause.) The lives of both were devoted to the service of their country, and were beautiful in this singleness of aim; and it has been our privilege, this afternoon, to see that, here at all events, in death they are not divided.' (Loud applause.)

"Major-General Sir Henry Collen then proposed a vote of thanks to the Commander-in-Chief for having uncovered the bust, and for his eloquent and interesting sketch of Dr. Bellew's career. This was carried, and the proceedings terminated."

THE WOKING MOSQUE.

The last number of the Arabic Monthly of Lahore, the *Nasim-us-sabá*, in reporting the celebration of the last I'd-uz-Zuhá festival (that of "Abraham's sacrifice") at the Woking Mosque gives the following advice to its Muhammadan coreligionists: "To the wise a hint is sufficient"—"This work forcibly draws the most grateful solicitude of Mussulmans to the noble conduct of its founder and builder, for he has satisfied their hearts by the construction of the sacred Mosque at Woking, and has himself discharged the responsibility for the fulfilment of what *they* had promised."

"The generous man when he promises fulfils it." Verily our "faces were lowered before his goodly light." It is as encouraging, as it is surprising, to find such an expression of gratitude from Muhammadans to one, who although not a Mussulman and averse to proselytism of every kind, has sacrificed his means and time to enable them to worship in their own way by building for them the first, if not the only real, Mosque in this country, and by looking after it for the last seven years.

THE WAZIRISTAN EXPEDITION.

Lord Chelmsford writes: "I look upon the present expedition into Waziristan not as an encroachment upon what has been hitherto (as you say) a good recruiting ground; but as the necessary consequence of our late agreement with the Amir, when it was settled that Waziristan was outside the Afghan, and inside the British sphere.

"It seems to me not only logical, but absolutely indispensable, that we should verify our new acquisition; and also bring home to the minds of the Waziris that they have, with the consent of the Amir, come under our rule. It was natural that the Waziris, who really never acknowledged the authority of the Amir, should also resent our entry into their country. It is quite probable that they will make another attack upon our troops; but I feel convinced that they will eventually, and probably in a short space of time, acknowledge our rule and like the Afridis in the Khyber Pass, be willing for a consideration, to safeguard the caravans passing to India along the Tochi and Gomal passes, instead of, as heretofore, plundering them."

THE ANGLO-CHINESE CONVENTION REGARDING THE BURMESE FRONTIER.

General A. R. MacMahon has favoured us with an article (which has, unfortunately, reached us too late for this issue) on the Anglo-Chinese Convention regarding the Burmese Frontier. We are glad to hear from such a master of the subject that, however critical may be the state of

affairs at Peking and neighbouring Provinces, it is not likely to affect so remote a Province as Yunnán and that, in fact, the Authorities there are pushing on the telegraph with feverish haste. His valuable communication not only throws much light on the practical sense which has guided the delimitation of the Anglo-Chinese Frontier, but also on the manner in which Chinese diplomacy had induced us in 1886 to continue the practice of Burma to send to Pekin the decennial mission with produce (the members of the Mission to be Burmese) and to countermand forthwith the Thibet Mission on which we had built such hopes. We regret that we have to postpone an article of such permanent interest and importance to our next issue.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS IN INDIA.

It is much to be regretted that the Muhammadans in clamouring for the suspension of musical accompaniments to Hindu processions when passing a Mosque, should have forgotten that there are about fifty Hindu temples to one Mosque in most of the Indian towns. The Mosque is a religious *rendez-vous* of all Muhammadans, though sometimes when the Shiah or Wahabi sects predominate in any one place, there may be Mosques for their use separate from those of the bulk of "the faithful" of the Sunni community. With the Hindus it is different, for temples are dedicated to various Deities with their own special votaries and do not form congregational centres as with Muhammadans. The consequence, therefore, is that there is scarcely a street in an Indian town that does not contain a Hindu temple of some kind or another. The Muhammadans would, therefore, be "cutting their own throats" if the Legislature gives effect to the desired prohibition, for they will not be able to take out their own musical processions at all, since they cannot go down a street without passing some Hindu temple or other, whereas the Hindu processions could, in case of need, make a *détour* to avoid passing a Mosque. When will the good old days of "live and let live" be restored to Hindus and Muhammadans? Since the patriarchal rule of the Deputy Commissioner of the old school has been abolished and the influence of the natural leaders of the people—the nobility, gentry, and the priests—is on the wane to make room for the *novi homines* of the anglicized generation, there is no easy or beneficent control of the people, and the masses especially are now left to "stew in their own juice." When at Delhi, the Vaishnavis and the Saraogis of the same leading Banya Caste applied to the Local Authorities to prohibit each other's processions, on the ground of their being likely to cause a sanguinary tumult, the "Zila' Sahib" wisely decided to allow *both* sides to hold their respective processions with all the *mise-en-scène* they liked, but he threatened to hold them *both* responsible if there were any disturbance of the public peace. None took place nor has any occurred where the same principle of liberty without license has been conceded to any section of our native fellow-subjects, who, as Lord Lawrence used to say, require their rulers to have "a stick in one hand and a sweetmeat in the other." Indeed, this is more or less human nature all over the world. We cannot see how with the prohibition on

which the Muhammadans insist and which Lord Harris, at all events, seems willing to enforce in the Bombay Presidency, they can even celebrate the Muharram, take out "tazias" or practise other religious or semi-religious festivals without disturbing the worshippers at some Hindu temple or other. And who will decide if Hindus in the neighbourhood of a Mosque were to object to the "call to prayers" or Muhammadans to the blowing of conch-shells as a part of Hindu worship? Let us leave these things to be adjusted by the heads of the communities concerned, and not draw on the Government the accusation that we are actually stirring up the Muhammadans in order "to divide and rule."

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, has been graciously pleased to accept a copy of "Fans of Japan," by Mrs. Charlotte M. Salwey, *née* Birch. This beautifully illustrated monograph on Japanese fans was reviewed in our April number, 1894.

The proposed candidature of Mr. Bhownagree for a "conservative" seat in Parliament is very wisely supported, irrespective of party considerations by the Radicals of the Indian Congress party on the ground that he is "a native of India." We, therefore, see no reason why the more sedate East Indian Association should not give the prestige of its advocacy to one who is likely to further the interests of an Empire for which both political parties profess to care. In theory, perhaps, a representative of an English constituency should not be a Parsi, but when it is remembered that the son of a Portuguese Jew was the most patriotic as well as typically "European" statesman that this country has, probably, ever had, even Lord Salisbury might reconsider his opinions regarding a "black man," especially when he is a good conservative. Sir John Gorst has already chaperoned Moulvi Rafiuddin and we now only require a Hindu to form in our House of Commons "a little India." It is a pity that Lord Meath is now absent at the Riviera; otherwise he might have broken another lance in favour of the admission of Indian Chiefs to the House of Lords, which could be far more useful to India and which, especially if it also attended to the Colonies, would add to the many reasons for its continued existence.

We understand that Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, formerly of the Madras Civil Service, is now engaged on a History of the Deccan, which will shortly be published by Messrs. Luzac and Co.

This distinguished writer has followed up his 1st volume on "Hyderabad" with some articles in the "Christian College Magazine" giving a history of Aurangzeb's last years of civil war between his sons and grandsons which culminated in Asaf Jah founding the Hyderabad kingdom. Major Biddulph states that the title of Nizam became hereditary in Asaf Jah's family in 1748. This is the date of his death, but he founded his dynasty in 1728 and from that year was recognized by the Emperor as

independent and after having defeated one of the Emperor's generals who was sent against him. From the 14th century the Deccan has always been independent until Aurangzeb made the greatest mistake in his reign and crushed the Deccan Kings.

We hear from Egypt that the organization of the Police has been deferred, though its detailed announcement is daily expected. Till this is done, it is premature to compare, even in theory, the former with the new system, as some of our contemporaries have already attempted.

The great Chinese scholar, the Rev. Dr. J. Edkins, has sent us from Shanghai a paper on "the Identity of Asiatic Vocabularies" for which we will try to find space in our next issue. He also writes to us on this subject which engrosses his attention and only notices the war in a post-script, reminding us a little of Professor Garcin de Tassy who wrote his last annual Report on "Hindustani and Hindi Literature" (a task that our Royal Asiatic Society would do well to continue) during the siege of Paris, of which he became aware when a shell burst in his room. Dr. Edkins's post-script runs as follows: "It appears to me that our Government is making too much of the 'Chungching' matter. I do not however know all the particular facts. China is greatly humiliated by her defeats. Her soldiers take their own way and are incapable of being controlled. If Japan resolved to do it, she could on this account conquer as much of China as she wishes. But Russia and England might not permit this."

We have received a Prospectus of a projected Journal, the "*Gurmukh Prakash*," the main object of which is to publish the sacred Sikh hymns, with full etymological and other notes, in 50 parts of 100 pages each in Gurmukhi and English. Dr. Trumpp had, no doubt, brought out an edition of the "Granth," the Bible of the Sikhs, but he paid too little attention to the popular interpretation given him by the two learned Sikhs that the "*Anjuman-i-Panjab*" Society had placed at his disposal; he sacrificed, in many places, sense and tradition, to grammatical strictness or to his philological views. Now, no doubt, the "Granth" is written in a number of Hindi dialects, but this very fact renders it all the more necessary to pay the closest attention not only to the literal, but also to the spiritual, meanings of the sacred inheritance, and we trust that the Editor of the proposed Journal (the English edition of which will only cost 12 Rs. p. a. exclusive of postage) will not only succeed in his task of publishing a complete and accurate version of the "Granth," but also in stimulating the training of Bhais, or Sikh interpreters of the "Granth," who are now dying out for want of encouragement.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; LONDON.

1. *Manual of the Bengali Language*, by G. F. NICHOLL, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, 1894. This very copious and carefully compiled work is a perfect storehouse of useful information. It contains a short Bengali Grammar with Lessons and Exercises, selections from the works of modern writers, from newspapers, and official documents. A brief but useful sketch of the Assamese language is appended.

Space will not permit of a detailed examination of the whole work. It may be observed, however, that, as a rule, the native Grammars are but sorry guides; and it is not a strong argument in favour of any phrase to say that it is used or approved by such a worthless authority. Even the generally admirable Shama Charan wrote nearly half a century ago, and many words and phrases in use in his day are now old-fashioned. This is not, as the author supposes, a conceit of the Young Bengal school but a fact recognised by all qualified judges.

It gives rather a shock to one's feelings to see on p. 165, and again on p. 172 a *Sahib* addressed as *tumi* and *tomár*. Strange too is it to find a collector on p. 179 calling his *sarrishtadar* familiarly *bhái*. Also it may be doubted whether the average Bengali peasant would understand what was meant if he were told *sahishnutá karite* (p. 113) for "keep quiet" or "have patience." The conversations regarding military matters, dinners and waiting at table are not of much use, as there are no Bengali-speaking soldiers in India, and all service connected with the food of Europeans is in the hands of Musulman servants, who almost invariably use Hindustani. Lesson 55 is totally inapplicable, as it refers to the revenue system of the North West Provinces, which is entirely different from that of Bengal. One can only dimly and shudderingly picture the outraged feelings of the Native Press if, as suggested at p. 180, a constable were "put over" a Bengal Zemindar to realize land revenue from him. It seems rather out of place to insert some twenty pages of a treatise on arithmetic, and the selections from advertisements in native papers are not particularly useful. On the whole, however, the book is commendable as a guide to those who wish to learn the written Bengali; and as regards the quantity and variety of its contents it leaves little to be desired.—J. BEAMES.

2. *The Portuguese in India*, by F. C. DANVERS; 2 vols.; 1894. This superbly got up book, enriched with copies of ancient illustrations, is written to meet a long-felt want. The Portuguese dominion in the East—*quantum mutatus ab ille*—was once a glorious undertaking, illustrating the best and worst qualities of human nature, and deserving to succeed though fated to failure. Its full history had not yet been given, though parts of it were well treated in separate books,—among others, in "Albuquerque" (*Rulers of India Series*). Our author begins at B.C. 1100 and comes down to A.D. 1894, treating his subject fully, with perhaps too exuberant an array of details, collected both from published and unpublished sources.

In the main, the history is given consecutively and is well written, including not only India, but the entire expanse of the East, where the Portuguese at one time ruled the whole ocean. One defect in the book is that authorities are not cited on controverted points though a complete list of works consulted is given. Another defect is the retention of the Portuguese travesty of foreign names. We are thus treated to the "Nizama luco" and "the Adil Khan" (who sometimes comes without the article); to Novanaguer, Camboja, and Sofala sometimes with an S at others with a Z. Money, occasionally on the same page, is given variously in Pardâos and Pagodas, Crowns and Ducats; and a similar undefined nomenclature presents vessels as *fustas*, *terrades*, etc. But a graver and most serious defect is the scanty treatment of the religious question, which is all the more remarkable because the author, in the Introduction, names it as one of the principal causes of the swift decadence of Portuguese power. In the book, however, there is but little regarding it. The labours of S. Francis Xavier,—not greater in the conversion of natives than in the reformation of the Portuguese themselves,—S. John de Brito and others like him remain unnoticed: S. Francis, however, is incidentally *named* in a few places, generally in connexion with politics. The inquisition and its doings, the strifes of the friars, the controversy regarding the "Malabar Rites," the quantity and quality of the converts made, are passed over in silence. The Mission of Portuguese (and other) priests to the Court of Akbar at Agra, where the tombstones of many of them still exist in the cemetery of "Santoos," are not mentioned. To read Mr. Danvers, one would think the Marquis de Pombal and not Pope Clement suppressed the Jesuits. The first foundation of the Goa Bishopric is not given. The *Concordat* on the *Padroado* is mentioned twice; but Mr. Danvers seems not to have heard that it has resulted, since 1886, in the establishment of a Hierarchy, in India and Ceylon, of 6 Archbishops and a score of Bishops in subordination to the Archbishop of Goa, Primate of the East. The religious side of Portuguese history in India still remains, therefore, to be treated. But on all other points Mr. Danvers has, with great pains, given us a detailed history of the Portuguese in India; and these two large volumes will long remain a noble monument of his diligence and a rich storehouse of valuable information.*

3. *Bengal MS. Records*, by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I.; 1894. The land-question in Bengal is well known to have undergone many phases and produced varied results before settling down to its present condition. Sir W. Hunter, in a preliminary Essay of 127 pages, gives its history with his usual fulness and accuracy. This portion of his work is of general interest; for it not only relates what measures were at various times enacted regarding land-settlement in Bengal, but it gives also a history of the effects of the system finally adopted. This Sir William holds to have produced disappointing results, both as regards the welfare of the landlords and the

* A good synopsis of this work appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 17th November, and another has been sent to us for publication in the next number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. In the meanwhile, the author has met with the appropriate recognition of being made a Corresponding Member of the important Geographical Society of Lisbon.—Ed.

protection of the cultivators: thus not seldom have our best intentions and efforts resulted in failure. The remainder of the 1st volume, and vols. 2, 3 and 4, are taken up with a detailed list of the Bengal Records connected with the question, dating between the years 1782 and 1807. With infinite pains and skill, our author has condensed here 14,136 letters preserved in the archives of the Calcutta Board of Revenue. These summaries,—each necessarily restricted to the fewest lines possible,—furnish sufficient *data* to indicate the nature of each case and the decision regarding it. As the cases often have an important bearing on various rights in land and the numerous questions arising therefrom, their collection in compact printed form is of the greatest interest to administrators, judges and lawyers in India. For facility of reference—a matter of great consideration amid such a mass of documents,—there are 51 pages of a detailed and carefully compiled Index. We congratulate Sir W. Hunter in having added one more to the many valuable works which he has produced regarding India.

4. *The Buddhism of Tibet*, by L. A. WADDELL, M.B.; 1895. Though we are favoured by the publishers with an early copy of this important work, yet we are unable to give as full a review of it as we would wish, in consequence of our going earlier to press than usual. Our readers are aware, from his articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, that Dr. Waddell is an authority on Tibetan Buddhism, of which he has made a special study, aided by long residence among Lamas and by a knowledge of the language. In these 600 pages he gives a full account of Lamaism, including its history and sects, the degeneration of its tenets and practices from the purer forms of Buddhism, its officials, religious ceremonies and usages, and the manners and customs induced by its peculiar doctrines among the people. Far from being the best and purest form of Buddhism Tibetan Lamaism is largely mixed with idolatry and demon worship. Dr. Waddell's illustrations are numerous; and not the least important of these are the objects used by Lamaism, and the reproduction of some old Tibetan pictures that further enrich the work. Among others, we note the "Wheel of Life" and its explanations, pp. 102 and foll. The minuteness of the details given, the variety of the subjects treated, and the clearness of style combine to render it most interesting; and though Tibet is a distant land to most and closed to almost all Europeans, our author enables us to enter the country, to see its people, and examine their religious observances and beliefs in a manner never before attained. The book deserves a warm welcome.

MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; LONDON.

5. *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, by W. WRIGHT, LL.D.; 1894. Very welcome to Syriac students will be this edition of the late Dr. Wright's article from the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*. It has been brought up to date, and includes a short notice, at p. 13, of the discovery, by Mrs. Lewis, of the Sinai Palimpsest. As this has already been issued by the Cambridge University Press and has excited some attention by the peculiarity of some of its readings, we might have expected a more full account of it,

at least in a postscript. Dr. Wright's list of Syriac authors is very complete, for Syriac literature is limited. He also mentions in his notes many works dealing with Syriac. Here, however, we note some omissions, as, *e.g.* Prof. H. Grimm (of Freiburg, Schweitz): *Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten Ephrems Syrers*, the new Syriac Lexicon now being published by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, and some works issued from the Beyrouth Catholic Press: these recent publications seem to have escaped the editor's attention. The index of Syriac authors at the end of the work will be found very useful; and a similar one, of writers who have dealt with Syriac literature, would have been very acceptable. This work is a valuable handbook for the students of Syriac.

6. *The Religion of the Ancient Semites*, by the late PROF. W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., LL.D.; 1894. The lamented author of this work—the Burnet Lectures for 1888-9,—had but just finished, before his death, their final revision, as they now appear in this new edition: his weak health prevented the publication of the corresponding lectures of 1889-90 and 1890-91. At pages 1 and 2, he clearly states his object: "Behind these positive religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) lies the old unconscious religious tradition, the body of religious usage and belief which cannot be traced to the influence of individual minds, and was not propagated on individual authority, but formed part of that inheritance from the past into which successive generations grew . . . ," to believe and act instinctively as their fathers had done. It is this substratum which he tries to uncover, to describe and to connect with similar observances in other ancient cults, and with its survival in positive religions. This most interesting branch of comparative religion our author treats with a wealth of knowledge and erudition, which renders his book, in spite of some prolixity, extremely charming. We note, however, the defect, not uncommon in writers on such subjects, of defective induction. Conclusions are occasionally drawn from single instances: thus David's excuse for absence from Saul's table proves that heathen family feasts survived in Israel (p. 276). Such instances are occasionally referred to, as established principles: take demoniac trees, p. 185 compared with the reference to p. 133; and the serpent at p. 176 with the reference to p. 168. There are cases also of *non causa pro causa*: thus the water-trial for witches is referred to the belief that holy waters rejected criminals, when it may have arisen from the cunning desire to slay all suspects—witches floating and being burned, others sinking and being drowned; and trees are stated to be necessary in holy places as part of the life of the local god, when their presence is sufficiently explained by the heat of the localities and the need of shade. We indicate these matters only to give the necessary warning that all our author's conclusions and suggestions are not to be trusted implicitly; some, like the alleged existence of Totemism in the Bible, are quite baseless; and the supposition underlying the whole argument, that man, originally without any religion, gradually evolved it for himself unaided by revelation, we consider demonstrably incorrect. Despite all this, our author's work is one of the most important published of late years on religion, and as such we recommend it to all classes of our

readers. It often casts a side-light in unexpected directions. As an instance, we may note the common feasting (referred to *passim*) of a god and his clan, in connexion with the Eucharistic sacrifice.

MESSRS. BLACKWOOD AND SONS.

7. *Asiatic Neighbours*, by S. S. THORBURN; 1894. The neighbours are, of course, Russia, Afghanistan and British India. The author rightly considers that we could defy Russia if we were sure of the loyalty of India; but he also rightly thinks that we have, for some time, been governing India in just the way to destroy this loyalty. He treats these wide subjects with great knowledge and ability. He throws much light on the Waziri and other "frontier" expeditions. He scrutinizes the "forward policy" regarding Afghanistan, and the talk about our holding Kandahar, etc., as if treaties and justice counted for nothing when supposed interests are at stake. The book is most ably written, and points out very clearly and fully the evils of the present system of misgoverning India. All who are interested in that country should peruse this book, the result of much reading and thought combined with a practical knowledge, as an administrative officer, of our North-Western frontier.

MESSRS. S. CALVARY AND CO.: BERLIN.

8. *Untersuchungen über die 'Addâd auf Grund von Stellen in Alt-arabischen Dichtern*, von F. GIESE, Ph. D.; 1894. We do not know whether this learned and suggestive, though short, treatise will advance, whilst attacking, Prof. Abel's theory regarding the innate opposite senses which one and the same word has in Language, but there is no doubt that the subject has long occupied the attention of native Arabic Scholars. In our Arabic Journal, the "Haqâiq," Maulvi Keramat Husain, gave lists of similarly sounding words which meant the same, or the opposite, in various transpositions of the same letters or the introduction of others. Dr. Giese's aim is more modest, for he mainly confines himself to those words for which he can find opposite senses in the ancient Arabian poets. Incidentally, the treatise is very useful as an illustration of various Arabic metres. That a respectable member of a black guard may become a "black-guard" is often a change of popular opinion, that a "host" may be also "a guest," "a friend" and an "enemy" may mark the progress from the date when the "stranger has half a brick heaved at him" to the time when he is "taken in" (in more senses than one) in a Hôtel—that the Arabic "amam" may mean "near, far—great, small," depends on the original *neutral* relations of the word to size or distance, but we think that it will be found that if Drs. Abel and Giese unite their forces and write the "biographies of words" they will discover the "Gegensinn" either at the original birth of words or in their subsequent development, which is as varied as the infinite variety of nature, of human life and of national history.

MESSRS. CASSELL AND CO.; LONDON, PARIS AND MELBOURNE.

9. *Three years with Lobengula and Experiences in S. Africa*, by J. COOPER-CHADWICK; 1894, is a small book of personal adventures, well written and full of interest, describing the country, the roads, the

people and their chiefs, among whom figure conspicuously Khama and the late king of the Matabele. The author's comparatively long stay with Lobengula enables him to give us details of his life and character, which are very welcome; and we must not forget to add to his credit, that Lobengula sent a kindly message to the author on hearing of the sad gun-accident which resulted in the loss of both his hands, and ended his African career. The book is pleasant to read and of deep interest, comprising accounts of fighting, prospecting, mining, travelling, and shooting; and it gives a good map of the country.

MESSRS. W. AND R. CHAMBERS; LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

10. *The White Kaid of the Atlas*, by J. MACLAREN COBBAN; 1895, is a very neat and prettily illustrated volume, containing a well told tale of adventure and daring in Morocco, in which the late and the present Sultan both figure. There is much local colouring, of both scenery and men, to render the book interesting to lovers of Eastern tales; the characters are well drawn, and their doings are well described. The novel is not of the strictly historical type; but it is excellent for its accuracy, lively in its incidents, spirited in its descriptions:—a very pleasant book to read.

MESSRS. CHAPMAN AND HALL; LONDON.

11. *Woman in India*, by MARY FRANCES BILLINGTON; 1894. Travelling regardless of expense, with excellent introductions, and endowed with good faculties of observation, assimilation and description, our authoress gives us a very readable, nay an excellent book on women in India. She deals with those of all religions,—Hindu, Mussulman and Parsee, but only incidentally with Native Christians and Eurasians: of European women in India, except a few in very high places, we get scarcely a glimpse. Her travels were very extensive; but besides her own observations she has judiciously worked up a mass of material furnished to her by competent authorities, and has added many excellent illustrations. She writes in deep sympathy with the natives, and we are glad to find her defending much that hurried travellers and fanatical faddists blindly decry. She makes some very sensible comparisons between Indian and European manners and customs: such comparisons, when fairly drawn, are seldom quite condemnatory of the former. Our authoress gives us details of the ordinary life of Indian women, from the cradle to the grave, and we can testify to her general correctness, though one meets occasional inaccuracies and exaggerations. The whole book is extremely interesting, and all the more so for those who have not visited India. We single out Chapter XI., *On female crime and criminals*. The proportion of female crime to the total is remarkably small: 1 female prisoner to 20.5 males, while in Britain it is as high as 1 to 9.87; and there is seldom a recommittal, except for rare petty larcenies. This strong contrast with female criminals at home is very remarkable; and we unite with our authoress in urging that while providing Indians with necessary medical and other aid and instruction, we should carefully avoid needless interference with the systems which, taken all in all, have produced such desirable results.

MESSRS. CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

12. *Romances of the Old Seraglio*, by H. N. CRELLIN; 1894. Without attaining the inexpressible charm of the old *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, our author gives us a succession of stories well impregnated with the flavour of Eastern ideas and customs. The style is fluent and easy; the narratives graphic and graceful; the plots full of romantic and thrilling incidents. The book, which is exceedingly well illustrated and got up, is charming to read; and its interest is as varied as it is absorbing to the very end. It will pleasantly while away many a weary hour.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; WESTMINSTER.

13. *The Colonization of Indo-China*, by J. CHAILLEY-BERT, translated by *A. B. Brabant*; 1894. The French edition dates from 1892, but the translation, though late, should be welcome to our self-esteem. The French have not been successful colonizers; and while they generally bewail the fact, some at least among them have the courage to admit it bluntly, to seek out the sources of the failure, and to suggest the necessary remedies. Mr. Chailley-Bert is one of these; and for the securing of this patriotic object, he holds up before his fellow-countrymen the example of their *bête noire*, England. He selects as models for future imitation by France our action in Hong-Kong and Burma; he gives a very detailed not to say prolix history of England's dealing with each, and the results of it; he is neither blind to the good effected, nor silent as to the blemishes and defects of our system. He deals specially with the instruments of our success—the men of the Services, who have done so much for Britain in India and the East generally. He is well up in his subjects; treats them, as a rule, fairly; and concludes with suggesting what should be done by France, in imitation of our system, for the future welfare of French Indo-China. In the excellent map of the Trans-Gangetic peninsula which accompanies the book, we note that the French boundary, brought right up to the Mekong, is conterminous for some 150 miles with the British Burman frontier marked up to the same river. The book is deserving of careful perusal, by Englishmen as well as Frenchmen.

14. *Ways and Works in India*, by G. W. MACGEORGE, M.I.C.E.; 1894. The amount of public works undertaken for the public advantage is at least one factor in gauging the benefits conferred on peoples by their governments. The works of ancient and modern times differ considerably on one important point. The latter are more utilitarian and beneficial to the bulk of the people, while the former were, generally speaking, for the private convenience or glorification of individuals or, at most, of classes; for most ancient works, if we except the grand old Roman roads, were mausolea, monuments, temples, and so on. Nowadays, roads, irrigation, railways, reservoirs of pure water, constitute a far better class of works, as conducive to the general weal. Mr. MacGeorge's valuable book details especially the work done by the British Government in India on these lines. The Trigonometrical Survey, roads, canals, railways and water-works are given with considerable detail. It is a book which even those well acquainted with India will read with advantage; for it successively

shows the amount of work done in distant localities, all of which few single persons can know from their own experience. We commend it to the perusal of those who really wish to see what good Britain has done and is doing in her great Dependency; and we hope (but we much fear, in vain) that it may secure a fair hearing from the knot of our educated Indians and Congress-wallas, who will find in its pages many motives for gratitude to a Government which they lose no opportunity to decry and calumniate.

15. *The Migration of Symbols*, by COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA; 1894. This is a tardy but very welcome translation of the author's work in French published in 1892. The title is perhaps more extensive than the work itself, which treats specially of (1) the Gammadion or Swastika, (2) the Tree of Life, and (3) the Winged Orb, Caduceus and Trident. These are interspersed with chapters on community of symbols among various races, on the causes of changes in symbolic form and meaning, and on the transmutation of symbols. The Count exhibits in this book the rich stores of his vast erudition on the special subjects he treats; and if he contributes little that is new, he at least collects together all the most valuable archæological data (plentifully illustrated) which would otherwise have to be sought out in many works, in various languages and difficult of access. Sir George Birdwood gives a warmly eulogistic Introduction, which only repays in kind the author's own opinion of Sir George:—a migration to Europe of the Mutual Admiration Society of India. Despite this eulogy, however, we have failed to detect that ultra-scientific method, that conclusiveness of argument, or that definite determination of controverted points which, on Sir George's recommendation, we expected to find in our learned author's exposition. There are many instances of defective reasoning, and many more of undue induction on insufficient data. As an instance of the latter we note the Madonna of Sorrows, p. 86, and of the former the drum and axe of Shiva, p. 178. All this, however, is merely saying that the book is not perfect,—a defect in all human works. It is nevertheless a thorough, comprehensive, erudite and scholarly exposition of a most fascinating study; and we specially note the charts of the migration of the *Swastika* at p. 81, and of the Sacred Tree at p. 160.

MESSRS. JAMES ELLIOTT AND CO.; LONDON.

16. *The Transcendental Universe*, by C. J. HARRISON; 1894, is a collection of 6 lectures on Occultism and Theosophy, delivered in 1893 before the "Berean Society." Mahatmas (we note from it) are a myth; Mr. Sinnett is distinctly wrong; Madame Blavatsky is more than wrong, even a deceiver. There is the admixture, usual in such books, of "hidden knowledge,"—"initiates,"—"need of gradual enlightenment,"—"danger of divulgation," and so on, with historical travesties, reckless statements, interlarding of Christian phraseology and ostentation of scientific terminology. Regarding religions and beliefs it is useless to criticize statements; but with science it is different; there we are treated to "physical intellectuality,"—"spiral figures of ∞,"—"conical spheroids," etc. Five is the evil number and 7 the perfect number; "the pentacle reversed is a favourite figure with black magicians (where, of course, come the Papacy

and the Jesuits) who use it to concentrate their will currents and project them with fatal effect against those whom they wish to injure. It is intimately connected with Lunar influence" (p. 120): Jehovah is a lunar God. A great number of words are used in senses differing from those given in dictionaries; and a great deal is said about what Theosophy could tell but may not reveal. Those interested in this subject will find it ably treated by our author.

THE ENGLISH SANSKRIT PRESS; CALCUTTA.

17. *Vásudeva Vijayam, revised and enlarged by Rámo Nátha Tarkaratna.* The Vásudeva Vijayam professes to be a Mahákavya. If a Mlechchha may presume to give an opinion, Pandit Rámo Nátha Tarkaratna has succeeded admirably in catching the spirit of the compositions which go by the name of Mahákávyas or Epics. The style of these poems is somewhat artificial, and perhaps a little too flowery for Western tastes. But there seem to be indications that our author has dipped into European poetry. Some of the stanzas are certainly very beautiful, and the whole poem is carefully finished and polished. The *lima labor* has not been spared. The result is a work which, we cannot help thinking, must meet with the approval of the author's learned countrymen.

The subject of the poem is the war between Krishna and Indra for the possession of the Párijáta tree, which was produced by Krishna when, with the help of the Daityas, he churned the sea of milk, using the mountain Mandara as a churning-stick. Nárada, who is often represented in Indian poetry as loving to stir up strife, comes and represents to Krishna that Indra had acted wrongly in carrying off this tree which Krishna had been the main agent in producing (IInd Canto, stanza 20). He accordingly tries to induce Krishna to redemand the tree, and produces one marvellously fragrant flower from it, which he had obtained by propitiating Indra's gardeners. For, as the Sage Nárada states, in the most pathetic way, Indra, though entreated over and over again, had refused to give him a single flower. However, Krishna is deaf to the suggestions of Nárada. He observes, "Since I, the younger brother of Indra, am obedient to his orders, and very much attached and devoted to him, when the blameless one shall be pleased with me, he will no doubt then of his own accord give me all." But Nárada "the strife-maker" is not so easily disposed of. He determines to work through female influence. He instigates a lady named Kalávati to deal with Satya-bhámá one of the wives of Krishna. Kalávati informs her that Nárada had brought the flower in order to present it to her, and that Krishna had snatched it away, and placed it in the hair of Rukmiṇi, a rival wife. Satya-bhámá, or Satyá, as she seems to be called by the poet, is irritated by the *spreta injuria formæ*, and has an attack of "nerves." After sandalwood and the other remedies usually employed in these cases have failed, Krishna is sent for. He at last takes a mighty oath, "If I do not easily disperse the hosts of the gods, and conquer the monarch of the gods by the might of my valour, and bring back, O fair one, the Párijáta tree, may you be, O lovely one, estranged from me as much as you please." Accordingly Krishna lays the

matter before his council, and an ambassador is sent. But Indra, the king of the gods, refuses to surrender the tree, and Krishṇa marches against him. After the army of Indra has been reduced to straits, Krishṇa and Indra meet in single combat; but just as Krishṇa is about to hurl his terrible discus, Brahmá intervenes as a peace-maker.

Matters are arranged amicably. "Indra gave to the enemy of Madhu (Krishṇa) the Párijáta-tree, the ornament of the city of the gods, that fulfils all the wishes of petitioners, as if it were his own manifested glory." The principal charm of this book lies in its descriptions. That of Krishṇa's city of Dvárakà in the first book, and of the sunrise in the fifth, may be instanced. But Indian scenery, Indian vegetation, and the conditions of Indian life altogether are hardly intelligible to Europeans. European poets deal in roses and nightingales, and Hindu poets in lotuses and Brahmany ducks. The moon befriends one kind of lotus, and the sun another. All these allusions are perfectly natural, but they make thorny the path of the translator.

We cannot take leave of Pandit Rámа Nátha Tarkaratna, without congratulating him on the skill with which he wields the ancient classical language of India. Probably few of our English pandits could, in these degenerate modern days, write a poem of equal length in Virgilian hexameters without leaving "Priscian a little scratched."—C. H. Tawney.

Mr. Alexander Gardner; Paisley and London.

18. *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, by E. W. Lane; 1894. Though more than half a century has elapsed since the accomplished translator of the "Arabian Nights" published this elaborate description of Egypt and its people, it still remains unequalled by any subsequent work. It is plentifully illustrated and well got up. Every detail of Muhammadan social and religious life is carefully given and the author's long residence in Egypt, with an intimate knowledge of Arabic, enabled him to do this with an exactitude and correctness difficult to attain. His pages simply make the Egyptians live before your eyes; and hence they are not only charming to read but instructive to study. There have been many political changes in Egypt since the author wrote, which have necessarily affected, to some degree, the social and religious observances here described. But these changes scarcely go beyond individuals and especially officials, leaving the bulk of the people and especially their purely religious traits in much the same condition as then. Hence this reprint is quite as valuable as was the first publication, because even what has ceased to be or has become obsolete is preserved here as an historical study, while what continues is presented with the exactness of detail and richness of colour of the old Dutch painters. We warmly recommend it to our readers.

The Imperial Institute; London.

19. *The Year Book of the Imperial Institute, for 1894*, is a bulky volume, like its two predecessors, giving the history, constitution and statistics of the United Kingdom and all its Colonies and Dependencies. It is

essentially a reprint of the former issues, with emendations and additions, bringing down the information which it conveys to the end of 1893. This date, however, is not reached in all cases. Many of the West Indian Islands are treated only down to 1892; and as information regarding Western Australia ends unaccountably with the year 1892, thus omitting the important gold discoveries and doings of 1893, the book can scarcely be said to be quite up to date. It is rather late, too, to publish, in October, 1894, statistics of Indian trade only down to 31st March, 1894: the variations of trade in the first six months of the current financial year would have been useful in many points, notably as showing that the partial dislocation, naturally caused by the closing of the Indian mints to free private coinage of silver, was beginning already to right itself. Yet as the previous issues have here been carefully revised by competent writers, the present volume is still of great value as an authoritative and correct exposition of the state of affairs and trade in the British Empire.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

20. *Ten Weeks in Egypt and Palestine*, by CATHERINE JANEWAY; 1894. Every one travels now-a-days, and all who travel write books; hence this pleasant little volume recording a scamper through two interesting countries. Nothing new is told and the incidents of travel, under the guidance of Messrs. Cook and Sons, are anything but exciting. Our authoress is an unsophisticated traveller. The charming *naïveté* with which she tells us (p. 56) that even if she had the ability to read hieroglyphics "it would require days" to understand the inscriptions at Edfou, is equalled by the parallel between Thebes built on both sides of the Nile and "London and Westminster" (p. 59). Visitors to mosques, it appears, can now enter with slippers tied over their boots; why they enter at all, when the architecture can be admired from the outside, we fail to see. At p. 87, she tells us of the Gizeh pyramids: "This group of pyramids are (*sic*) the most ancient and, I believe, the largest"! At p. 121 we have a new explanation of the camel and the eye of the needle, which we commend to Biblical archæologists. At p. 150, Jerome spends "the greater part of his life" at Bethlehem. The book, which is well illustrated, will be found amusing as well as interesting.

M. ERNEST LEROUX; PARIS.

21. *Les Pélasges et leur Descendants*, per EDOUARD SCHNEIDER; 1894. While fully agreeing with the author as to the ethnological relations and racial kinship between the Pelasgi and Phrygians, and possibly even Thracians, Lydians etc., I think that he has stretched geological and philological theories to breaking point to justify his *a priori* inspirations. It has been said that "faith can remove mountains," but Dr. Schneider's enthusiasm has for convenience' sake submerged a continent, and his references to the pre-supposed Primate of Pliocene times are scarcely justifiable from a scientific point of view. The great probabilities are that the Albanian is not of Aryan stock; nevertheless it does not in any way justify the supposition that the Shkyptars are Autocthones. But many of our

author's assertions and conclusions seem very far fetched. For instance, his statement of the existence of an important Egyptian colony in the Peloponnesus has, so far as my humble knowledge goes, no historical or archæological justification; and I question very much whether Egyptians ever entered that country in a body, except perhaps after the victorious expeditions of User Tesen in the twelfth dynasty.

Again, according to Dr. Schneider, the Lycians and Lydians were both related to and descended from the Pelasgi. Now while there is reason to suspect that an affinity existed between the inhabitants of Caria, Lydia and Mysia, there is stronger reason to believe that the Lycians were of a totally distinct stock. So far as regards his ethnological reasoning.

With reference to Dr. Schneider's philological conclusions, some of them appear very strange; as for example his derivation of "Pyrrha." If one considers the meaning of the Sanscrit roots designating the members of the family group, one is struck by their simple and direct reference to the specific office discharged by each member in the domestic circle, and it is inconceivable that the Albanian, who, even according to Dr. Schneider's work, was evidently not endowed with the philosophical insight of the Aryan, should have gone so far afield to find what I might characterise as a "fin de siècle" nomenclature.—H. DE REUTER.

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

22. *Ballads of the Marathas*, by H. A. ACKWORTH; 1894. We have perused this book with great pleasure and can recommend it to our readers. The Introduction of xxxvii pages forms a valuable essay on the Maratha race, language and literature; and the conclusion of the work consists of some ten pages of interesting notes. Between the two lie ten Maratha Ballads (each with its brief historical introduction), recounting the popular version of the doughty deeds of their leaders and the notable battles in their history. The ballads are well chosen; and excellent too is Mr. Ackworth's rendering of them into correct and smooth English verse. He varies his metre of course; and if he fails to attain the spirit and dash of Macaulay, he often reminds his readers of the grace and ease of Sir Walter Scott. But Mr. Ackworth gives us more than a mere translation of incidents of Indian history into good English verse; for these ballads are specimens of the popular literature of an important Indian race; and they are extremely interesting from their giving us an insight into Maratha thought, language and sentiment.

23. *Chips from a German Workshop*, by F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. Vol. I; 1894. We have received the first volume of the 2nd Edition of Professor Max Müller's charming "Chips from a German Workshop" to which he has, unfortunately, added his polemical speech at the Oriental Congress of 1891, and other matters which are now, we believe, at rest. His other pages, it is needless to say, deserve perpetuation, and we hope that his proposal regarding a School of Oriental Languages may soon become a reality, for what is now so called in connexion with the Imperial Institute is scarcely the promise of an Oriental School like that of Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. We cannot do justice in this issue to this delightful volume

or criticize such papers as "Frederick III.," "What to do with our old people," and other essays that will receive a treatment worthy of them in our next issue, though our dissent from some of the views may be as great as our admiration is for the "Chips" as a collection.

MESSRS. LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

24. *Western Asia according to the most recent discoveries*, by C. P. TIELE; 1894. This is the learned Professor's Rectorial address to the Leyden University in 1893, condensing the results of the Tel el Amarna tablets, and urging the necessity of increased study of ancient Oriental literature. The professor's grasp of his subject is very evident, and his deductions from the materials commented on worthy of all attention.

25. *Bibliographical List of Books on Africa and the East published in England*, 1892-4, furnishes a useful catalogue of such publications between the dates of the two Oriental Congresses of London 1892 and Geneva 1894. We miss several important books, but the list is fairly full and accurate. It would have been an advantage to add the names of the publishers of the works, for direct reference by purchasers.

26. السبع المعلقات: *The Seven Poems*; translated from the Arabic, by CAPT. F. E. JOHNSON, R.A. This handy volume decidedly supplies a great want for those who make a serious study of Arabic, and who consequently desire to possess some knowledge of early Arab poetry, which philologically, and in some other respects, is quite as important as are the literary productions of later Islamitic times. Much has been written in praise of the famous "Seven Poems" suspended in the Temple at Mecca; but in spite of their importance to which we have referred and their beauty of diction, it is rarely that students in this country care to include these poems—the Mu'allaqât—in their course of reading. Texts and translations are as conspicuous by their rarity as by their great cost. The excellent edition by Arnold (*Septem Mu'allakât carmina antiquissima Arabum, ed. Fr. Aug. Arnold, Lipsiæ, MDCCCL.*) is practically not to be purchased, and the more recent edition of Dr. Ludwig Abel (Berlin, 1890) consists of the text only, with a glossary and vocabulary added, and it is also much more expensive than Capt. Johnson's volume and not so convenient in other respects. An introduction by the learned Shaikh Faizullabhai, B.A., of the Bombay University, considerably enhances the value of Capt. Johnson's painstaking and excellent translation. The grammatical, historical, geographical and other notes, comments and explanations are ample and thorough. They are remarkably well arranged; mostly immediately under each line of Arabic that is translated and to which they refer. Except perhaps for the Indian want of elegance in the style of the printing, the book deserves every praise and will be found especially valuable to those who pursue their Arabic studies without the constant help of a teacher—and for the Mu'allaqât competent teachers are rare.—H. L.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

27. *Preservation of Health in India*, by SIR JOSEPH FAYRER, K.C.S.I.; 1894. This little book reproduces a lecture delivered at Cooper's Hill

College, in which, after a description of the physical geography of India, Dr. Fayrer gives, in a discursive style, some excellent advice regarding health. He seems an enemy of tobacco; and regarding alcohol he gives out a rather uncertain sound; yet most people rightly think that both these gifts of nature can be used in moderation with advantage and pleasure even in India. Strangely enough, almost the first time in the book that the author gives the very necessary instruction of sending for the nearest medical aid, is at p. 40, regarding cholera,—just the one case in which it is almost absolutely useless. We recommend the book to those living in India and those about to go there, as a simple and useful guide for the preservation of one of nature's greatest blessings—that in comparison with which and without which all others are of little account.

28. *Commercial Geography*, by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A.; 1894. After a definition of Commercial Geography, our author introduces us to the physical, political and other conditions regulating products, industries and commerce; and then dealing successively with food-stuffs and textile and mineral materials and manufactures, he concludes with a commercial account of the chief countries of the world. The final table of "Money in use in the principal foreign countries" furnishes a good test of thoroughness and utility. We note, however, that the Mexican Dollar is not mentioned, and that the Italian *Lira* is divided into *Centimes* instead of *Centesimi*, though the fractions of the *Peso* are correctly given as *Centimos*. West Australia is called "the most backward of the Continental Colonies"—can it be that this is why it alone can show a financial surplus, and escaped the late financial disasters? Among the products of India (with which are grouped Burma and Ceylon) gold and precious stones are omitted. The main lines of trade-routes also should, we think, have been stated. Of such deficiencies there are several. Yet a vast mass of commercially important facts and figures has been collected, which makes the book valuable to merchants and their clerks, to whom it is of the greatest importance to have a thorough knowledge of the commercial conditions and capabilities of the world.

29. *Tales of the Punjab*, by F. A. Steele; 1894. In this dainty little volume, which is beautifully illustrated by Mr. J. Lockwood Kipling, Mrs. Steele gives to readers in England a goodly collection of simple but interesting tales as told in the Punjab by the people themselves. They were originally published in India, and belong to the Folk-lore class, and deal with talking animals and fairies and spirits, and so on. Of some we have heard variants in other parts of India: thus the Lambikin in the drum is, at Delhi, an old woman. The story of Little Anklebone does not read as quite complete in Mrs. Steele's narration. To the tales, Mrs. Steele has added a large quantity of Notes, including an analysis of the stories for facilitating their study according to the requirements of the Folk-lore Society. These notes are of great interest; and they show Mrs. Steele to be not only an excellent narrator but also a careful student. The tales themselves will be found very interesting to all classes of readers, though it follows, as a matter of course, that in such a collection the interest must differ in degree in different parts.

30. *Rhymes of Rajputana*, by Col. G. H. Trevor, C.S.I.; 1894. The publishers have done their best for this book, in type and paper, and its elegant binding of white vellum and gold. But the Indian saying holds good: *Neem na mitha hu, sij gurh ghee sē* (watering with sugar and butter will not sweeten a bitter fruit). Col. Trevor gives us plenty of rhymes and deals much with Rajputana legends and stories, old and new; but he lacks the poet's taste, the divine *afflatus*; and his laboured verses are neither clear in recital nor artistic in form. Except for the jingle, they might be taken for so much bald prose. And yet the subjects of many of these tales might well have roused to fire the most phlegmatic of versifiers.

Mysore Government Press; Bangalore, India.

31. *Report of the Administration of Mysore*, 1886-7 to 1890-91; 1894, deals voluminously with the second lustre of the native administration. It shows a continual amelioration in the Judicial, Administrative, and Financial branches, with reference to the last of which we note the foregoing, by the British Government, of the covenanted subsidy till the year 1896-7—a remission which has been of great help to the Mysore Government, especially in the Public Works Department. Medical relief, vaccination and education show marked progress. The statistics furnished by the Report convey a mass of valuable information, and are as elaborately and carefully compiled as those of our own Government. We must congratulate the Maharaja and the Diwan Saheb on having furnished in Mysore one more instance of a native Government quite as efficient and beneficent as any in the world.

New Imperial Press; Lahore, India.

32. *Lahore, its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, by Sayad Muhammad Latif, Khan Bahadur; 1892. The ancient capital of the Punjab finds in the author of this well-got-up volume a worthy historian who makes use of both native and European sources for his compilation. He writes in excellent English; and the book, besides a rough map of the locality, has a large number of illustrations, chiefly of buildings and sculptures, which if they bear traces of the imperfection of lithographic art, suffice to convey a fair idea of the things they portray. The letter-press contains descriptions of nearly all the important buildings, ancient and modern, in and about Lahore: these are so numerous that many an old resident of the city will find mentioned here places which he does not know but which he should have visited. The description of the Central Museum is detailed and interesting; and the artist has often caught very successfully the exact expression in the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures, which form its chief glory. Very interesting, too, is the short account given of the leading native families of Lahore, in which list several persons well known to us are noted as having passed to the great majority. Many inscriptions, several forming interesting chronograms, are given, both in original and in translation. The book is invaluable as a thorough local guide to the visitor and resident at Lahore; and both Murray and Baedeker would find in its pages much that is important to add to their more concise

guides. To Anglo-Indians who have lived in the Punjab it will have a special charm; to those who have not seen Lahore it will partly compensate for lost opportunity: and the general reader will find here a well-written book, which conveys a good idea, by word and picture, of an important Indian city, and which it is a pleasure to read.

The account of the aims of the Punjab University is correctly stated, though it seems carefully to omit the name and labours of its real founder, in accordance with human gratitude and the native proverb that "when the house is built, the carpenter is forgotten." It is also not explained that the present "Anjuman-i-Itihad, Punjab" is the once famous "Anjuman-i-Punjab," founded in 1865, that has more largely influenced the Punjab and through it Indian progress than any other literary or political society in that country.

MESSRS. GEORGE NEWNES, LTD.; STRAND, LONDON.

33. *Shafts from an Eastern Quiver*, by C. J. MANSFORD, B.A. Reprinted from the *Strand Magazine*, and therefore well written and well illustrated, this pretty book consists of twelve tales, the scenes of which are laid successively in Arabia, Persia (2), Afghanistan, India (2), Ceylon, an Indo-Malay island, Burma, Siam, Formosa and Siberia. They narrate the wild adventures, marvellous prowess, daring deeds, astonishing escapes, and wonderful success of two Englishmen and their Arab attendant. In such tales it is absurd to look at the plot and the details with the prosaic eye of probability and likelihood. It is quite enough that they suppose no absolute impossibility. These *Shafts* are very brilliant; and once begun the reader must devour tale after tale, for their narrative is pleasant and their fascination extreme. They do not profess to describe places, people and customs: they are children of the imagination—dreamily grand, and thrillingly exciting.

MR. D. NUTT: LONDON.

34. *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia, or Notes on 450 Embryo Writings and Scripts*, by TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE; 1894. This learned work is a companion volume to the same author's *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, reviewed by us in our No. of October, 1894. Like that it is full of much erudite information, always interesting but not always to the point,—deals with many speculations and hypotheses with more or less unstable bases,—and shows the same incompleteness of form and want of order. The Introduction makes the reason evident: "The present work is made up of several parts which have been printed successively since 1885 . . . the result in the work is a great inequality." Just so: nay more,—nothing definite is even attempted. Not one kind of writing is traced to its origin and left with a definite date: and it is absurd to treat, in a work on the *beginning* of writing, of a script which was non-existent so late as A.D. 698. The mass of materials which Prof. de Lacouperie's scholarly diligence has accumulated is presented in very crude and undigested form, and it needs long and careful study, supplemented from other and more dogmatic sources, to render it of any practical worth. It

would have tended more to the fame of the learned author had he done this himself, and given a thoroughly digested work on this difficult subject, instead of stringing together several sets of detached papers, of more or less excellence, which fail signally to blend into a complete and harmonized whole. We had the same fault to find with the other book, and we would gladly welcome a recasting of the two works by the gifted author, who while omitting irrelevancies might with advantage add summaries of the results of his work.*

35. *Studies in Biblical Archæology*, by JOSEPH JACOBS; 1894, comprises seven articles written by the author at various times and in several periodicals, from 1885 to 1890. Of these the two first, dated 1889 and 1890, mark the progress of Biblical archæology and comparative religion, especially insisting on the points where failure or deficiency is conspicuous. The third, on Junior Right, is an ingenious attempt to explain how, in the Old Testament, younger sons so often take the lead over their elder brothers: it is easy, however, to refer the cases on which the author relies for proofs to other causes than the general one which he adopts—that there was a time when the youngest, who stayed with the father, succeeded the father, the elders having all departed and established families of their own. In the fourth paper, on Totemism in the Bible, he rightly denies any proof of its asserted existence; yet his elaborate list of names suggesting Totemism will be found very useful by various classes of students. The fifth paper, on the Nethinim, is perhaps the best in the series, establishing, from original deductions, what was the parentage of those degraded persons. The sixth compares Prov. xxx. with some Indian sources, showing extreme similarity. The last article, on the Revised Old Testament, was good at its date (1885); but after 9 years it should, if published at all, have dealt in fuller details both with the good that was done and the evil which was retained in that version. The Introduction, in which the author comments up to date on his work, is very interesting, ; and this collection of essays will be read with pleasure and advantage by Biblical students.

36. *The Russian Jews*, by LEO ERRERA, translated from the French by *Bella Löwy*; 1894. The wholesale and systematized persecution of the Jews in Russia has earned the well-merited disgust of all rightly thinking men; but though the expatriation of hundreds of thousands in which it has resulted is matter of public notoriety, the details of the tyranny and the extent of the injury effected by it are not generally known. Professor Errera's book furnishes us the necessary details. He gives a history of the Russian Jews and of their position at various times and under various governments; and he shows that they had been comparatively well off, till the heavy hand of the late Tsar was brought down upon this unfortunate race by M. Pobédonostsev. We refer our readers to this book, where chapter and verse are given for the oppressive ordinances issued and the harrowing details resulting therefrom, and where the charges brought against the Russian Jews are examined and refuted. These pages are a

* Since our notice was written, this eminent scholar has passed away to his rest; and though we have nothing to change in our judgment of his book, we offer to his memory our tribute of admiration for his great learning and good qualities.

grim commentary on the chorus of praises everywhere sung over the late Tsar's death by the Press. In closing it one cannot but think that if the ancient *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* was often an injustice against truth, its modern travesty—*de mortuis omne quod bonum*—deserves yet greater condemnation. We hope this book will find many readers and educate public opinion into international action against this shameless persecution.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON.

37. *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*: October, 1894, is even more than usually full of interesting matter. Dr. F. J. Bliss gives his second report on the excavations in Jerusalem, which have already shown important discoveries. Herr Baurath von Schich contributes some very important if short notes on Jerusalem; and Prof. J. Glaisher gives a table of meteorological observations in 1886. Mr. E. Davis' Siloam and later Palestinian Inscriptions;—P. J. Baldensperger's translation of the popular Arabic story "The Birth of Abu Zaid;"—the Rev. W. F. Birch's Zion and Akra, south of the Temple; and the continuation of the discussion on the Haematite weight from Samaria, are all important and well-treated subjects. It is no disparagement to these papers, if we give the preference to Mr. M. N. Adler's "Jewish Pilgrims to Palestine." There is no better or more valuable periodical than this Quarterly Statement for those interested in Biblical and Palestinian studies. The call for pecuniary help for continuing the Jerusalem excavations should meet a generous response, and the general Fund a continuous and energetic support.

MESSRS. PARTRIDGE AND CO.

38. *Reginald Heber*, by ARTHUR MONTEFIORE. A good life of this popular author and missionary was certainly much needed; and we congratulate Mr. Montefiore on producing an excellent one of its kind; for it is clearly impossible to do adequate justice, in 160 small pages, to Heber, the traveller, poet, publicist, scholar, parson and missionary Bishop. His character is well sketched, and the chief incidents of his life are given in as ample detail as the size of the volume allowed, though some pages are wasted in declamation, as at p. 9, or in irrelevant matter like pp. 80 and 81. It is as author that Heber suffers in this biography; and we certainly think that it would have been advantageously extended to 200 pages with specimens of Heber's writings—poems, reviews, sermons, and especially passages from his travels, which comprised Norway, Sweden, and Russia down to the Black Sea. Even with this drawback the book, which is well illustrated and well written, can be recommended as an excellent biography of a man whose name is still dear in England and India, and wherever the English language is spoken.

MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; LONDON.

39. *The Nurseries of Cholera*, by ERNEST HART, D.C.L.; 1894. This pamphlet, reprinted from the *British Medical Journal*, contains a graphic description of the sanitary arrangements at Hurdwar, in 1891, which

effectually prevented any outbreak of cholera at that well-known centre of disease-dissemination. With that fact in hand, Dr. Hart describes the Meccan pilgrimage, and strenuously advocates the adoption of similar measures to render innocuous that other centre of disease. He gives the result of the cholera conference of 1894 at Paris, and urges educated Muhammadans to help in getting up a sound public opinion, that may enable the Sultan of Turkey to take the necessary steps for securing a much-needed sanitary reform in the Hedjaz. We wish him every success in this; but we are surprised to see him pin his faith exclusively to the water-dissemination theory of cholera. While admitting that this is very generally the cause, the writer of this review, as a member of a profession which stands side by side with the medical during every cholera outbreak, must express his emphatic conviction that the disease can be introduced otherwise also into a locality—as, *e.g.*, Dugshai in 1894, and that its capricious attacks, sometimes in geometrical patterns, among the barrack-room *cots* point to the existence of other means of infection besides the water supply. The recent cholera outbreak in Lucknow, decimating one regiment while the other escaped infection, emphasizes the same belief. Regarding this fell disease, all adduced theories are incomplete, taken singly; and the water theory needs strengthening by the aerial. It is a mistake to neglect any important factor in so serious a matter; and the cause of real sanitary and medical science suffers by such partial statements. The pamphlet, which is illustrated with views of Hurdwar and Mecca, is deserving of every attention.

MESSRS. E. STANFORD; LONDON.

40. *The Geographical Journal* (Vol. iv., No. 4, Oct. 1894) contains several papers of commanding interest, among which we may specify Dr. Gregory's Physical Geography of British East Africa.—J. Theodore Bent's Expedition to the Hadramaut, and Mr. Scott Elliot's Expedition to Ruwenzori. The number will be read with pleasure by all interested in Geographical studies.

41. *Australasia, Vol. II.: Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes*, by F. H. H. GUILLEMARD, M.A., M.D.; 1894. This well-known geographical publisher has now issued the second volume of his series of Compendia of Geography and Travels. It treats, in a stout 8vo. of 576 pages with numerous elaborate maps and excellent illustrations, of the vast expanse of islands embraced in its title. This part of the world's surface is comparatively but little known, not to say genetally unknown. All are familiar with the names of Malacca and of the larger islands, like Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, etc.; but most persons have much to learn regarding even these, while the smaller islands and groups of islands are practically unknown lands. Dr. Guillemard is a competent and safe guide to a knowledge of these archipelagoes, the extent of which is as gigantic as is vast the mass of material that they furnish to the students of many sciences, among which we note geology, anthropology, ethnography, folk-lore, philology, botany, etc. The study of these groups raises many a difficult scientific question, even when it helps to solve various others.

We can recommend this book as one which while it furnishes students with much and varied information, brought down to date, regarding these numerous lands and their interesting people, is at the same time well written and entertaining to the general reader.

MR. ELLIOT STOCK; LONDON.

42. *The Humour and Pathos of Anglo-Indian Life*, by J. E. MAYER, M.D.; 1895. There must be a growing demand for Anglo-Indian literature, if we are to judge from the number and variety of the books on Anglo-Indian life which are poured out by the press in a continuous stream. This book consists of 11 disconnected sketches, of which none is of superlative worth and several are extremely trivial. There are grave sins against taste and delicacy; in several cases, officers and ladies of high standing are made to act and speak as such persons generally do not do; impossible details are found, as, *e.g.* at p. 196, where, when the officers meet the General to hear a solemn wigging, Col. P. "places his hands behind him, having his *dress coat-tails* spread"! There is some strange surgical practice at p. 238; and at p. 153, when an officer falls ill at a race-stand, though a doctor is standing by, he does not attend the stricken man, and nothing is done except conveying him to his house and sending for the Asst.-Surgeon! Pathos we have been unable to find; and the humour, such as it is, is laboured, feeble and dull; but the book is readable and pleasant if not fascinating and instructive.

43. *Are Foreign Missions doing any Good?* (1894). This small book presents the case for foreign missions (chiefly in India and Polynesia), in the most rose-coloured light possible. The great points are that more interest is taken in this matter in general and especially by great personages, and that more money is given, and more publicity is secured for results. These results the author classes as external and spiritual. The former he thinks are preparing the ground to a great extent; and the latter are far vaster, both in extent and quality, than is generally believed. He does not invoke History, which shows that the conversion of nations has been sudden or none at all. Nor is he otherwise fair: he entirely omits notice of important publications on the opposite side, as those in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of Oct. 1890, and in *The Fortnightly Review*. But the little book is of importance as showing all that can be, in any way, adduced as the good results, direct and indirect, of Foreign Missions, if not all over the world, at least in certain portions of it.

MESSRS. SWAN SONNENSCHEIN AND CO.; LONDON.

44. *Progress in Language*, by OTTO JESPERSEN, PH.D.; 1894. It has been hitherto generally believed that the more elaborate the accidence and the more varied the grammatical construction of a language, the more perfect it was, for beauty of expression, variety of composition and value as a means of education. Prolixity might make the language more difficult to acquire and to wield with dexterity; and occasionally its elaborate structure might cause circumlocution in diction, as, *e.g.*, when

two persons of different sex formed the subject of a complex sentence; but ambiguity was avoided; and the multiplicity of detail, far from being considered a defect, was held to be a great advantage in training the intellect and memory, and especially in teaching exactness and precision. Prof. Jespersen thinks differently. Taking English especially as a text for his theme, he points to the gradual simplification of grammar as a great mark of the real progress which a language makes towards perfection. His knowledge of English and his wide acquaintance with its literature are simply marvellous in a foreigner; and his general appreciation of our tongue as a very perfect vehicle for expressing thoughts and ideas is highly gratifying. The learned professor, who is an accomplished philologist, propounds a new theory regarding the origin and development of languages. The theories till now advanced he considers as failing to command assent. They start with *imagining* how man, previously without any language, began his first attempts to form articulate speech. He suggests that we should first study the principles on which modern languages have proceeded from older stocks, and that by a comparison of several such we should lay down the general rules on which human language has developed itself, as a matter of *fact*. These rules worked backwards would form a trustworthy guide. Our space will not permit our giving a few samples of our learned author's treatment of language-forms, or of his closely reasoned deductions from established points. For these we must remit our readers to the book itself, which they will find as instructive as it is far removed from the dryness characteristic of most philological treatises: it furnishes material for deep thought, and may almost be called a new starting-point in philology.

MESSRS. WARD, LOCK AND BOWDEN; LONDON, NEW YORK AND MELBOURNE.

45. *War in Korea*, by J. MORRIS; 1894. This is a book written evidently for the occasion, by an enthusiastic admirer of Japan and the Japanese. Much can be learned from it regarding Korea and China; but its interest centres mainly in its placing the Japanese side at its best. This partiality is carried so far that the author fails to see any wrong in the wanton attack of an independent State on the pretext of dictating internal reforms, or in the deliberate sinking of the *Kowshing* before any declaration of war. He is careful not to commit himself as a prophet; and he writes as indifferently of the probable results of an attack by the Chinese on Tokio as of one by the Japanese on Peking. It is sure to be read with interest in the present juncture by all classes of readers.

MESSRS. F. WARNE AND CO.; LONDON.

46. *John Bull and Co.*, by MAX O'RELL; 1894. Written in this popular author's usual style, this book gives an account of his visit to Canada, the United States, Australasia and South Africa. It contains a good deal of smart writing and laboured pleasantry,—of shrewd penetration and superficial observation,—of graphic description and exaggerated caricature,—of fulsome praise and of severe blame sometimes well and at

others not at all deserved. That praise, being judiciously laid on, is sure to be read with pleasure by English readers, and will make the book a favourite. Among other of our faults, the author has very indignant denunciations of snobbery, which he considers an impossible vice for a Frenchman. He, however, has somehow contrived to imbibe a large dose of it; how dearly he does love live Lords and Ladies, and how perfect and charming they are! Of Canada, he has much good to tell us; of Australia, much that is bad; and South Africa he believes disposed soon to separate from England. We know him to be wrong in this, and believe him wrong in many other points of detail,—an insecure guide to follow. But the book is sparkling, amusing and pleasant to read; and its lessons are all the more valuable as conveying the impression of the Anglo-Saxon race and Empire on an intelligent Frenchman, not quite so prejudiced against us as most of his fellow-countrymen are. The book is plentifully illustrated.

MR. WHALEY; DAWSON CHAMBERS, DUBLIN.

47. *Homeward Songs by the Way*, by A. E., is a small collection of short poems on more or less mystical and metaphysical subjects; and, like those subjects, they are often hazy and wrapped in mystery. As a specimen we select, p. 22, "*Pain*:"

"Men have made them gods of love,
Sungods, givers of the rain,
Deities of hill and grove;
I have made a god of Pain.

"Of my god I know this much,
And in singing I repeat,
Though there's anguish in his touch,
Yet his soul within is sweet."

It is a good specimen of our author's matter and style.

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48. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, by CHARLES J. RODGERS, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, etc., 8vo., Calcutta, 1894. We have to announce the appearance of the first part of this Catalogue, by which Mr. Rodgers will further advance the subject that he has so fully made his own. This part, extending to 172 pages, contains the coins of the Sultans of Delhi and their contemporaries in Bengal, Gujarat, Jaunpúr, Málwa, the Dekkan and Kashmír. There is no historical introduction, not even an account of the formation of the collection. Both are usually considered indispensable parts of a coin catalogue; but in the case of an official publication Mr. Rodgers is not, we expect, altogether a free agent. There are three plates of coins, photo-etched at the Survey of India office. These are mostly smudgy and indistinct; whether the fault of the coins or the process, we do not know. We understand that the plates have been produced entirely under the direction of the authorities at the Museum in Calcutta. There are two other Parts required to complete the work.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to thank Mr. J. L. Bowes, Consul for Japan at Liverpool, for the beautifully illustrated Handbook to the Bowes Museum of Japanese Art Work at Streatham Towers, Liverpool, to which we have much pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers, who should visit the museum, when

they have the opportunity. There is a companion pamphlet on the Gardens of Uyeno and Asakusa, as illustrated on a pair of framed rolls in Mr. Bowes' Picture Gallery.

Out of Egypt, by P. HENNINGWAY (Elkin Mathews, Vigo St., London), is a series of sketches chiefly of low life and uninteresting incidents in Egypt, well written.

Just before going to press, we have received from Messrs. H. S. Nichols and Co., of Soho Square, London, the Library edition (12 vols.) of SIR R. F. BURTON's translation of the old *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, under the title of "*The thousand nights and a night.*" With it is the prospectus of a series of 65 engravings illustrating the tales, including a portrait of Sir Richard. These are from oil pictures expressly prepared for this work by Mr. Albert Letchford. Nothing need be said of the excellence of this translation of a renowned classical Arabic work; except that although a faithful reprint of Sir Richard's private edition, it omits certain love-passages, of a somewhat too literal, rather than literary, description. The volumes are issued in excellent paper, type and binding by the enterprising publishers, who have bestowed on the public a New Year's gift, which is a gem of Art, a work of surpassing learning and an *édition de luxe* which is within reach of even the less wealthy.

We have to thank Messrs. Reuther and Richard of Berlin for the first *fasciculus* of a promising Assyrian Dictionary.

We have also to acknowledge, with thanks:—1. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisbon*;—2. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wein*;—3. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome);—4. *Biblia*, the American magazine of Oriental Research (Meriden: Conn., U.S.A.);—5. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles: Soc. Belge de Librairie);—6. *The Review of Reviews*, by W. T. Stead;—7. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—8. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, U.S.A.);—9. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—10. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—11. *The Strand Magazine*, and 12. *The Picture Magazine*—both excellent as usual;—13. *Tung Pao*, the bi-monthly Chinese Magazine of Professors G. Schlegel and H. Cordier (Leyden: E. J. Brill);—14. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—15. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—16. *Marine et Colonies* (Paris);—17. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York);—18. *Public Opinion* (London);—19. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart);—20. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—21. *India* (London);—22. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—23. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest);—24. *The Yale Review* (New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.);—25. *The Eastern Bimetallic League* (Shanghai);—26. *L'Oriente*, the Quarterly issued by the Real Istituto Orientale of Naples;—27. A pamphlet by the President of that Institute, L. Nocentini, on the Chinese claim to the discovery of America;—28. The Inaugural address of Señor Don A. Almagro y Cardeñas (Seville);—29. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable), with two remarkable articles, one by Mrs. Cornelia Sorabji—a Pleader—against interference with the women of India, and another on the piety of a Hindu Saint to which the leader of Dravidian Missions, the Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., bears a touching testimony;—30. *Vergleichende Erdkunde u. Alttestamentlich Geographische Weltgeschichte* (Gotha).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Viceroy, like the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the Lieut.-Governors of Bengal, the N.W. Provinces and the Punjab have made their winter tours, which may be said to have culminated in the grand Durbar at Lahore, with an assemblage of nearly 18,000 troops. Sir C. Elliott had visited Khatmandu where he was well received, and witnessed a review of 12,000 Gurkhas. Of the delimitations consequent on the Durand mission, that of the Beluchistan frontier is satisfactorily completed; and that of the Asmar frontier will, at last, after several hitches, begin. The party under Mr. Bruce sent for the delimitation of the Waziri country has had a serious engagement at Wano with mainly the Mahsudi section, with heavy loss on both sides. The first brigade against the Mahsud Waziris is advancing against Kunigaram and the second from Jandola expects being opposed at Datoi near Makin, the headquarters of the Mahsuds. Sir W. Lockhart has assumed the command of the expedition in person. We refer our readers to the articles on Waziristan in this issue. Lord Sandhurst is to succeed Lord Harris at Bombay.

A 5 per cent. duty is to be imposed, from the 15th of January, on Manchester cotton goods entering India, although the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, with only two dissentient voices, protested to the last against it. The petition of the Behar Zemindars against the Cadastral Survey has been rejected by the Secretary of State. A bill is to be introduced into the Viceregal Council for the Licensing of Religious Processions. The reorganization of the troops in India into army corps proceeds as proposed. From April 1st, the whole Indian army will be under the commander-in-chief the present commanders retaining Bombay and Madras, while Sir W. Lockhart gets the Punjab and Sir W. Elles the Bengal command; the headquarters of the last are to be at Cawnpore in the N.W. Provinces! The Madras army is to be formed with class regiments and companies; and the recruiting districts are to be: 1. *Bangalore* (Mysore, Coorg and the Neilgherries), 2. *Secunderabad* (Nizam's territories and northern ports), 3. *Belgaum* (S. Mahratta country, Anantapur, Kuddapah and Kurnool), 4. *Trichinopoly* (N. and S. Arcot, Chingleput, Coimbatore, Salem, Tanjore, Madras, Madura and Tinnivelly districts). A scheme for the civil employment of pensioners of the Native army is being worked at the Adjutant-General's office.

The rains this year have been abnormal, and besides other places already noted, there have been exceptional floods at Lucknow, Azimgarh and Jaunpur. A very successful Horse fair was held at Quetta; and the cattle fair at Amritsar had 42,000 cattle, 4,500 horses, 2,000 camels and 1,500 mules. The native merchants of Delhi have organized a "Punjab Chamber of Commerce." Bhai Ram Singh who was employed by Her Majesty for decorating Osborne, has been appointed Vice-Principal of the

Mayo Art School at Lahore. The following figures are from various reports: The number of factories in India (Assam being excluded) was 653, employing 317,000 persons, 242,400 males, 45,600 females, and 19,000 children. In the four years ending 1891-2, educational institutions increased from 127,000 to 141,000 and pupils from 3,343,000 to 3,856,000. The increase was 18% in Muhammadans, 12% in Hindus, and 27% in females. Boys were 1 in 9 and girls 1 in 50. Fees increased 31%, while payment from public money rose from Rs. 1,170,000 to Rs. 1,940,000. To primary education Rs. 550,000, and to training of teachers Rs. 600,000. There were 97,109 primary schools with 2,890,824 pupils,—4,962 secondary with 488,261,—147 colleges with 16,731. A scheme for the reorganization of the Educational Department has been submitted to the Secretary of State. The European army in India out of a total of over 70,000 had 22,369 abstainers or nearly a third. The net income tax for 1893-4 was Rs. 4,172,181, against 4,045,195; the number paying it 110,483 against 108,815; outstanding balances, including penalties, were Rs. 266,987 against Rs. 248,747,—of these, Rs. 60,742 were good, Rs. 86,781 bad, and Rs. 119,464 doubtful. The Jails' Report gave 1 prisoner for 3,000 of the population: the totals were 88,262 with 2,637 females, against 88,570 with 2,781 females in 1892-3. Out of 100 prisoners there were 63·9 Hindus, 26·24 Mussulmans, 6·89 Jains and Buddhists, 1·23 Christians, and 1·74 "all others." In 1893, deaths from wild beasts and snake bites were respectively 2,804 and 21,213 against the previous year's 2,963 and 19,025: in cattle 90,254 against 81,668. Snakes destroyed, at a cost of Rs. 12,607, were 117,120 against 84,784.

The Indian trade report gave

Exports.		*Imports.*	
Merchandize ...	Rs. 1,064,475,900	Merchandize ...	Rs. 739,569,570
Gold	25,052,840	Gold	31,465,300
Silver	15,194,530	Silver	152,787,260
Totals	Rs. 1,104,723,270		Rs. 923,822,130
Totals for 1892-3	1,134,649,910		796,128,840

The totals of merchandize with specie show still an excess of Exports over Imports of Rs. 180,901,140; but if merchandize only be calculated, the Exports exceed the Imports by no less than Rs. 324,906,330.

The treasury cash balances were, at the end of October, Rs. 175,092,000 against Rs. 163,403,000 in 1892-3, and Rs. 102,093,000 in 1891-2.

In Madras Rs. 14,500 have been sanctioned for epigraphical research. Rs. 83,000 are given for plant and tools for the new Chinar cantonment in the Kurram; Rs. 24,900 for the Dera Ismail,—Tank,—Murtaza road; Rs. 7,500 for deepening the foundations of the bridges over the Kherosi and Derwesh Kheyl *nullahs;* Rs. 377,000 to strengthen the bridge at Lahore. The Rutlam-Dohad section of the Godhra-Rutlam Railway was opened for traffic. A chord line is to connect Rohri-Khundia, Rampur, Kotri and Amerkot; and the Delhi-Bhatinda Railway is offered to private contract. A curious rock-cut cave has been discovered near

Calicut, and an inscribed copper-plate, with large copper seal attached, was discovered at the village of Banskhera, Shajehanpur; it dates from King Harshavardhana of Sthanvisvara near Thanesur, A.D. 604-640, who reigned over parts of North and Central India.

A native lady near Dacca has given three donations, of Rs. 90,000 each, for a native school, a hospital and a temple, all for the Dacca District. Babu Jagat Bandhu Bhose gives Rs. 20,000 for a dispensary in his village of Dandishat; Bai Dinbai Nusserwanji Patel has built a sanatorium at Dumas near Surat, at a cost of Rs. 75,000 and has renewed her offer of Rs. 750,000 for a free Library in Bombay. Rao Bahadur Dewan Metharam Gidumal, a Scindh Zemindar, has given Rs. 15,000 for quarters for students from Scindh attending the Scindh Arts College. Babu Ishwara Chandra Hazra of Amragori (Howrah) has given Rs. 12,000 for a dispensary in his native village, besides the grant of a building. Maharaja Pertab Narain Singh of Ajodhia (Faizabad) has founded a Sanskrit Library at a cost of Rs. 16,000; and Pundit Munna Lal Tewari of Cawnpore has given a house and garden with Rs. 35,000 for the Vedic School at Cawnpore, besides a monthly sum of Rs. 300.

In the NATIVE STATES we have to congratulate His Highness Maharaja Scindia on his formal accession to full powers in his State. The Jodhpur chief has nominated two Muhammadan members to the Council of State, to help in allaying religious ferments. The Rana of Jhallawur has appointed Mir-munshi Chattervedi Premanand to be his Dewan. The Khan of Khelat has been invested a G.C.I.E. From several reports we give the following:—Duplicate experiments of a very interesting character have for 7 years been conducted in Dumraon with deep soil turning ploughs: the result gives a marked increase in both grain and straw. At the annual Mysore assembly, the gross revenue was announced at Rs. 16,922,000; expenditure Rs. 13,962,000: surplus Rs. 2,960,000. There was an increase of 208,000 acres in cultivated lands, while deposits in the Savings Banks had increased from Rs. 400,000 in 1881 to Rs. 2,800,000. State banks are being established to help agriculturalists. The Mysore Oriental Library acquired 337 Sanskrit MSS., including Katyayani's Bridhad-yajurvidhana. It printed two volumes of Taittiriya Samhita with the commentary of Bhatacharkara, and one volume of the Dhaturvritti of Madhavacharya, a rare work on Sanskrit grammar. During last summer 10 Indian chiefs went to reside at Mount Abu, which promises to become a favourite resort. The temple of Nathdwara was robbed of Rs. 200,000 worth of jewellery,—a similar sacrilege having occurred earlier at Nagarcoil, as also at Khundapur (S. Canara) when the booty was calculated at Rs. 690,000. In Indore, the annual revenue was given at Rs. 7,443,711, expenditure at Rs. 6,867,243, surplus Rs. 576,468. Arrears of revenue, which during 30 years had accumulated to Rs. 55,700,000, are now only Rs. 2,900,000. Rs. 1,000,000 have been spent on the Holkar State Railway. In Kashmir, the vines have suffered from phylloxera, and experiments have been tried with the American vines and with buddings on the local wild vines; but as yet with little success. The Bapat inquiry at Baroda is not yet concluded, but whether guilty or not, it must ruin the unfortunate man by law

expenses. In Hyderabad, the Vicar-ul-Umrah has been confirmed in office as Prime Minister, the Nizam, besides a very rich Khillat, girding him with his own sword. Disturbances have recurred at Nyagarh (near Kuttack). Sri Raja Gojapati Rao, C.I.E., of Vizagapatam has been invested with the order of St. Gregory for his many kindnesses to the Catholic Missions, as H. H. of Travancore has already been. The French Government have sent out a special artist, M. Antoine Druet to study Indian art; he begins with Ceylon.

While the Bengal transfrontier trade (with Nepal and Tibet) has declined, that of BURMA has increased 25%. Owing to absurdly restrictive measures, the revenue from opium has fallen from Rs. 2,675,000 (for 64,127 *seers*) to Rs. 1,875,000 (44,995 *seers*); smuggling has increased; 48,000 *tolahs* were seized against 18,000; and there is an increased consumption of *ganja* and other intoxicants. The Chief Commissioner, far from seeing his error, urges magistrates to renewed and more stringent action. He has also issued a circular almost indiscriminately censuring magistrates and the police: Convictions are only 53 to 59%; in one district, of 156 accused only 76 were sent to trial and of these only 22 were convicted; magistrates must remember that they are executive as well as judicial officers, and in this former capacity should help police officers. The Deputy Commissioners are more specially censured; and several officers are threatened with transfers.

In AFGHANISTAN, the Amir, after a severe illness, is again able to attend to State Affairs, and after a kind reception at Kabul has permitted Mr. Curzon to return to India, *viâ* Kandahar. The Amir has accepted the Queen's invitation to visit England, but his health and the state of affairs in Afghanistan may render it inadvisable for him to do so.

In Ceylon, in the ruins of Ioweli, Anaradhapura, a gold alms-bowl was discovered, with several pearls, a crystal shrine and some bones, probably relics. A new cable is to be laid between India and Ceylon, each country bearing half the expense. The Exchange compensation comes to only Rs. 370,000 instead of the estimated Rs. 500,000. A sterling loan of £500,000 was covered seven times over—93% being taken at 100/16s. The Bandarawela railway, soon after its opening was blocked by a landslip of 2,000 tons of rock, but is again in working order. The Military contribution has risen from Rs. 999,900 in 1884, to Rs. 1,171,344 in 1893.

In the STRAITS' SETTLEMENTS, the reduction by £10,000 in the Colonial Defence contribution is more than neutralized by making the Colony pay £20,000 for barracks now being built. This means a virtual increase of £10,000 on the already crushing burden of last year, while there is a deficit of £28,000 for 1895. Public works have had to be stopped, various offices reduced, and education starved. The vote was carried exclusively by the official majority in council, who showed, however, a better feeling in abstaining from voting on the Exchange Compensation allowance, the non-official members alone granting 3s. per $ up to half the salary. The SELANGOR railway has been opened to Kuala Kubu; and Wolfram (Tungstate of Iron and Manganese) has been found in PERAK in large quantities.

SIAM has paid frcs. 150,000 as an indemnity to Mdme. Grosjurin. Mr.

Maurice de Bunsen has been appointed our agent at Bangkok; in that capital, the Tramway Co. is paying 6% dividends. The Anglo-French frontier Commission meets with the new year at Mung Xieng. M. Pavie will be accompanied by MM. Pontalis and Lugan. Our officers are Mr. James Scott, C.I.E., from Bangkok, Col. Woodthorpe, R.E., Mr. N. Warry, Adviser on Chinese affairs in Burma, with Lieuts. Ryder and Stirling: the escort consists of 140 soldiers and 3 native officers, under Capt. Caulfield. The object is solely the joint collection of information for transmission to the respective governments, as the final negotiations are reserved for London and Paris.

M. de Lanessan has returned to his post, and more troops have been despatched from France. A further French aggression has occurred: a Luang Probang chief under French "protection" on the left bank of the Mekong (recently seized by France) has now transferred himself to the *right* bank, where he rules at will, in open violation of the late treaty. "Pirates" seem still active, 1,200 of them, in spite of patrols, attacked a train near Hanoi, killed the contractor and carried off MM. Chesnay and Login, whom they have since released. A change has been made in its Constitution: the Governor General is to have a council of 7 official and 4 non-official members to help in deliberating on tariffs, public works, etc.: all decisions must, however, be confirmed by the French Minister for the Colonies.

Fighting still continues in the DUTCH EAST INDIES with the Balinese, but their stronghold had been captured after some slight reverses. Manilla in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS had suffered damages to $500,000 from a fire.

HONG-KONG trade has undergone serious dislocation from the Sino-Japanese war. A committee appointed for financial purposes recommends a reduction in expenditure of $78,624: nothing more is possible. The new British Dollar is expected to be in use immediately.

In JAPAN, the newly elected Diet met, composed of 100 supporters and 149 opponents of Government, with 39 Independents; but they enthusiastically voted a loan of £100,000,000 for the war, besides £50,000,000 from the surplus. A considerable part of this sum had already been drawn upon before the end of October. The daily expenditure was reckoned then at about £60,000 *per diem* and was continually increasing.

KOREA though overrun is not yet subdued and a guerrilla war occupies many Japanese troops, who in some cases have had severe fighting. The Chief of the Council appointed by them at Seoul has been summarily assassinated; the king is a prisoner and a cypher; and his father, the aged and terrible Tai Wen Kun, on whom the Japanese fell back, they have had to depose and put under restraint.

The war continues between Japan and China. A sanguinary naval action at the Yalu, was followed by the Japanese forcing the passage of that river. Port Arthur has also been captured. A detailed account of the war is given in Sir Ashmead Bartlett's article in this issue. The Chinese overtures for peace through Mr. Detring have not been recognised by Japan. Rebellion has meanwhile sprung up in a Chinese province, and fears are entertained of a complete disorganization. Taking advantage of

China's troubles, Russia has denounced the treaty of 1856, and France has insisted on and obtained leave to re-establish under official recognition her former flourishing missions at Bouga, Bathong and Yerka-lo in East Tibet. Muhammad Nazim, chief of the Kunjutis [Hunza] has sent the yearly tribute, 1 *tael* 5 *mori* of gold dust, to Le Tsung Ping, *Taotai* of Kashgar: the return presents were two pieces of Imperial satin.

The Russian forces near Vladivostock continue to be increased, and a section of the Railway, 224 miles has been opened from that town to Spassraye. In the Pamirs, some Russian troops crossed the Murghab in August, entered the valleys of the Ghund and Shaks Darya, demanding the evacuation of the country on the right bank of the Panja river. Some shots were exchanged. On reporting the occurrence to Kabul the Afghans were ordered to retire behind the Panja; the Russians had already retired, but they say that even Roshan has now been evacuated by the Afghans. The proposed railway from Merv to Penjdeh, (130 miles, nearly half-way to Herat) is to extend via Charjui, along the left bank of the Oxus to Kerki, 140 miles from Mazar-i-Sherif.

Greek emigrants in the Caucasus, distressed by the exactions of the authorities, are petitioning their own government for grants of land in Thessaly to enable them to return to their country.

The relations of PERSIA with Russia are daily becoming more close, and the weaker power suffers in consequence. The refusal of sanction to any railways (except to one from Teheran for 30 kilom. to some coal mines granted to a Frenchman) is due to the *veto* of Russia, which, under pretext of resisting English encroachments, prevents the development of the resources of the country. A carriage road has been already made from Ashkabad to Kuchan and another is progressing in Russian hands from Teheran to Pir-i-Bazar. Russia has the right of free navigation in the Sefid Rud and the Lake Enzeli, and has secured, by direct influence over the Shah, the right of *veto* for 15 years on all railway projects. A consul has been installed at Meshed, Art. 7 of the treaty of Akhal Khorassan being cited in support—the said article applying only to *frontier* places, which Meshed is not *yet*. Sir H. Mortimer Durand has taken up his post as Ambassador at Teheran. Feuds among the Bakhtiari tribes have caused the Zil-es-Sultan to take them under his special protection: he has nominated Isfandiar Khan to be their Ilkhani or chief.

An Armenian outbreak at Sassoum is alleged to have been suppressed with greatly unnecessary barbarity, and a commission of enquiry has been appointed to investigate the matter. A mining Engineer has been sent to explore the province of Angora, Asia Minor, where, besides 83 mines already worked, more are presumed. The Sea of Marmora, under the belief that its formation was disturbed by the recent earthquakes, has been surveyed by Russian officers. The Turkish finances are reported sound and good, though last year's increase has not been quite maintained. There was an increase of expenditure caused by raising the salaries of officials, which is likely to lead to greater efficiency of administration. The increase in revenue, T.35 %, gave a total increase of £T.33,975, of

which 30,332 were absorbed in the increased expenditure, leaving 3,643 as a net surplus. The French Co. have secured a renewal to the year 1919 of the monopoly of Turkish light-houses, offering to pay, instead of the present 20 %, 50 % of the charges levied, which are complained of as excessive. The Beyreuth Waterworks Co. have been refused an extension of their concession; the Government will work it themselves. A fire had done much damage in the Chikuli quarter of Haskuey, a suburb of Constantinople. The medical students of the Gulhané college had been giving trouble: they are to be transferred to a new edifice near the Haidar Pasha Hospital. A report on the primary schools of Constantinople gives 291 Mussulman schools with 15,165 pupils of whom 6,830 were girls: certificates were given to 437 pupils, including 134 girls. As the export of antiquities is forbidden, the Museum has received 47 cases of antiquities from the American and 12,000 inscribed clay tablets from the French diggings, while the Turkish excavations at Sepharvaim have yielded about 50,000 inscribed objects. Two black basalt inscribed statues have been found. The Arabs discovered a large chamber full of inscribed clay tablets, which they sold to brokers: part were sent to Paris and London, before the remainder were seized by the Turks for the Constantinople Museum. Russia has secured a bust of Herod I. discovered at Jerusalem, where the new excavations under the Palestine Exploration Fund are yielding excellent results. Hassan Bey, Governor General of the Hedjaz has been granted the rank of a Vizier. Another rising is said to have occurred in Yemen.

Though CYPRUS is not to be given up by the British Government, the garrison is permanently reduced to an ineffective atom, notwithstanding a popular petition for its maintenance as a source of prosperity for the island. Limasol has suffered from a severe inundation, the loss being 22 lives, £50,000 and 150 houses destroyed.

His Highness the Khedive of EGYPT has gone to Cairo for the winter. The Police department is being reorganized: the English Inspector General retires; the police are placed under the Judicial Dept. for the detection of crime and under the *Mudirs* or local governors for the maintenance of peace and order. To counterbalance the loss of the suppressed office, there will be a British Adviser to the Minister of the Interior: Mr. J. L. Gorst has been appointed; and it is hoped that this new arrangement will lessen the former friction between the European inspectors and the native officials. Col. G. Lloyd has been posted as Governor of Suakim, and Col. A. Hunter of the Frontier province. The newspapers enjoying French protection have been urged by the French to moderate their tone. The cotton crop this year is 5,500,000 *kantars*, an increase of 3 %. The Egypt Exploration fund reports receipts £1,773, and expenditure £2,416.

M. René Millet has replaced M. Charles Rouvier as Resident General at TUNIS, where a railway line has been opened from Biserta to Jedeidah. Trade which had already shrunk in 1893, has suffered further fall.

In MOROCCO, Mr. Satow, who went to Fez to present the carriage and pair of English horses sent by Her Majesty, was well received; and the German Minister also is there seeking redress for the murder of a German

subject. The Sultan's authority is not yet firmly established. He has, however, paid $400,000 to Spain and requested time to fulfil his obligations. A force of 100 infantry and 700 cavalry, under Mulai Amiri, sent to demarcate the neutral zone around Melilla, are opposed by the Riffs, who refuse to yield. Meanwhile Melilla has been provided with powerful electric search-lights, and its fortifications are being strengthened, as are those also of Ceuta and Xafarinas.

The French Foreign Office have published a new map of French Africa, the trade of which with France is given as frcs. 497,000,000. In this connexion, we note that while the British sphere of influence extends over 2,200,120 square miles, and the German over 884,810, the French exceeds the total of both, by 341,860 sq. m. being 3,426,790 sq. m.

The Governor of Dahomey has concluded treaties with various chiefs in the interior; and a *cordon* of French military posts now surrounds SIERRA LEONE, diverting trade and preventing even supplies of food stuffs. The delimitation of LAGOS with French Porto Novo is progressing under Mr. A. G. Fowler. The CAMEROONS flogging cases have been investigated, and though Herr Leist, who admitted some facts while pleading necessity, was acquitted on most points, he has been removed and his salary docked 20 %.

CAPE COLONY has joined the Postal Union, with this year. The yield of wine, from ravages by phylloxera, was 2,000,000 gallons—only ⅓ of former years. The new loan of £500,000 at 3 % has been floated very successfully; and the Trans-continental telegraph is open to Blantyre. S. African diamonds for 1893 reached £2,820,000, the net amount for dividends being £1,250,000. The Zululand revenue for 1893 was £43,666, expenditure £28,854: assets exceed liabilities by £37,688: there were 857 European residents.

During a conference on neutral territory, near Volkrust, between Sir H. Loch and President Kruger, the latter, in reply to an address, said the Transvaal had already made all possible concessions regarding Swaziland. The republic wants particularly to get to the sea.

Mr. J. F. Newton, C.M.G., deputed to investigate the origin of the Matabele war, states in his report, that the Matabele had already, on 9th and 18th July first raided Mashonaland; Dr. Jameson arrived only on the 17th and in next day's conference gave them 1 hour to retire. They attacked a Kraal and were returning with booty, but did not fire the first shot: the sergeant of the advance guard did. They made no resistance, and no massacre took place. The accusations made were all proved to be false. The South Africa Co. is to take over all the territory up to the Zambesi, exclusive of Nyassaland, which remains under its own commissioner, Mr. H. H. Johnstone, who suggests Nyassaland as peculiarly suited for Hindu colonization. During the troubles at Lourenço Marques, 6,000 Maputas offered to help the Portuguese.

The UGANDA Protectorate is extended to Unyoro, where Kaba Rega attacked Fort Hoima and was repulsed with loss. The Propaganda has sent as Vicar Apostolic of "The Upper Nile," which includes Uganda,

Bishop Hanlon, who, from the name, seems a British subject. He may act as a slight restraint on the White Fathers.

There has been some fighting near Witu against raiding Somalis. Father Rossignoli, whose escape from Omdurman had been successfully effected by the Egyptian Intelligence Department, has reached Cairo, and says that the Dervishes certainly mean to attack Kassala.

The French *Ultimatum* having been rejected by MADAGASCAR, an expedition has been voted by the Chambers,—15,000 troops under General Duchêsne and a credit of £2,600,000 for the expenses, which, as the island furnishes no sufficient carriage, must include charges for 8,000 porters at least: £120,000 are voted for a cable between Madagascar and Mozambique.

Between AUSTRALIA and the United Kingdom the postage is reduced to 2d. per ½ oz. The Colonial Defence Conference recently held at Sydney has asked for the loan of an Engineer officer to supervise the Australian fortifications. The new VICTORIAN government under Hon. G. Turner, includes both Australian Federation and Inter-Colonial Free trade in its programme. The general elections returned 65 Protectionists, against 14 free traders, the rest being in favour of a 20 % duty. The revenue for the quarter ending September 30 was £1,536,000, a decrease of £18,000 on the year before; Customs and miscellaneous receipts increased, while railway income, stamps etc. fell,—the Excise showing a decrease of £22,000. The estimated deficit of £528,000 is to be met by further taxation.

The NEW SOUTH WALES revised estimates give the revenue for 1894, at £9,416,000 and expenditure £9,733,000, the former being £470,000 less and the latter £305,000 more than the first. The deficit for the year will be £373,000, making a total deficit of £1,465,000. For the first half of 1895, revenue is estimated at £4,581,000, expenditure at £4,681,000, the estimate deficiency on June 30 1895 being £1,356,000. Sir G. Dibbs before resigning office had proposed to the Governor-General to make some additions to the Legislative Council: his refusal to do so has been approved by the Colonial Office. The returns to end of September gave the revenue at £2,288,000, a decrease of £110,000—there was an increase in customs but a decrease in land-revenues and railway returns.

In SOUTH AUSTRALIA, the same quarter's report gave revenue at £500,000, a decrease of £36,000 chiefly in the Postal and Telegraph Departments in territorial and railway returns. At Mona Station, water was struck at a depth of 2,350 ft. and was flowing at the rate of 2,000,000 gallons a day; several more borings are in progress.

The WEST AUSTRALIA annual account announced an increase of 20 % in revenue and of 4 % in expenditure. The credit balance had increased by £40,400; the public debt was £3,128,000; the current year's revenue estimate was £961,670, expenditure £934,508, surplus £27,162, profit on railways £54,000. £130,000 were devoted to public buildings; £47,000 to roads; and a meteorological observatory is in construction.

In the North territory, an experiment is being tried with Date palms from Algiers, those of Indian growth having failed. Camels, which are being largely employed at Coolgardie are becoming acclimatized in Australia, where great attention to breeding has made them larger in frame, sounder in wind and limb, and greater weight carriers. There are 10,000 at work in Australia. The Central Depôt is at Fort Augusta, 260 miles N. of Adelaide. This is the result of 25 years.

NEW ZEALAND has been visited with earthquakes, and the volcano of Ambrym (New Hebrides) has been very active. The *Wairarapa* was wrecked on a reef with a loss of 111 passengers and 34 of the crew,—121 being saved.

The report on FIJI for 1893, gave the estimated revenue at £72,406 and actual at £76,774; expenditure estimated, £70,447, actual £74,543, the surplus was practically *nil*. The public debt was reduced by £5,636; and since 1889 both the floating liabilities and the debt to the British Government have been largely reduced.

CANADA has sent Mr. J. S. Larke to Australia to act as her Commissioner. Six tenders have been received for the Pacific Cable, covering the proposed 8 routes, and all under the estimate of £2,000,000. Necker island has been found useless for cable purposes; but Bird Island, 200 miles north of Honolulu, finds more favour; and Hawaii is said to offer an annual subsidy of £7,000. A loan of £2,250,000, chiefly to serve for the conversion of debt, has been successfully floated. A statue of Sir J. Macdonald has been unveiled in Queen's Park, Toronto. The exports for October exceeded by $800,000 those in last year. In the first 10 months of 1894 Canadian cheese was exported to the sum of £2,098,471 against £1,960,129 in 1893; complaints are, however, made of the mixture of summer and autumn cheeses, to obviate which fraud it is proposed to stamp each cheese with its date of manufacture. The Franco-Canadian treaty has been ratified. As the restrictions in Canadian cattle trade continue with Britain, 400 head were landed in good condition at S. Malo in France, where a valuable trade may arise. The number of horses exported to England has doubled, this year. Immense quantities of apples also have come—one vessel alone bringing 7,000 barrels,—and large consignments of turkeys and geese. It is proposed to extend the present Halifax-Bermuda cable to Jamaica; but, as usual the Colonial Office offers obstructions.

The total catch of Seals by British vessels was 95,048. The elections in NEWFOUNDLAND returned only 13 Government members against 21 supporters of Sir W. Whiteway. The result has been a reconstitution of the Government, with Messrs. D. J. Green as Premier and Attorney-General, Hopwood as Colonial Secretary, and J. P. Thompson as Financial Secretary.

In the WEST INDIES, Sir H. Blake will continue to act, till 1897 as Governor of Jamaica.

The report for 1893 for BARBADOS gave revenue £161,730; expenditure £164,333; public debt £30,100; and population 185,000. Imports were £1,372,536 against £1,081,570 in 1892, and exports £1,243,082

against £926,571. Of these, imports to the United States were £501,620 and to the United Kingdom £583,086; and the exports respectively were £755,464, and £141,942.

The frontier of BRITISH GUIANA was invaded by a body of Venezuelans. The output of gold from this colony in 1893-4 was 137,822 oz. against 138,279,—a decrease of 475 oz. In 1884 it was only 250 oz.; in 1886 it rose to 6,000 oz.; in 1890, to 32,000; and in 1891-92 to 110,500 oz.

Sir R. Hamilton's report on DOMINICA attributes its backward and unsatisfactory condition to its dependence on the Leeward Islands. He suggests a union of all the West India services, and an eventual federation of all for general purposes, but with separate local administrations. This being too large a dose of sense for the Colonial Office to swallow all at once, Dominica is to have a local administrator, but its dependence on the Leeward Islands is to continue, and the rest of Sir R. Hamilton's recommendations go for naught.

Our *Obituary* this quarter notes the deaths of, Surgeon-Genl. J. H. Orr, C.B. (Mutiny);—Sirdar Sir Asad Khan, K.C.I.E., Chief of the Baluch Sarawan tribe;—Babu Nilmoney Mitter, Fellow of the Calcutta University, a well-known architect;—Rao Bahadur Daji Gungaji, J.P., Supdt. Bombay Reserve Police;—Sir Sanford Freeling, K.C.M.G., successively governor of several colonies and last of Trinidad;—M. Jugga Rao Pillay, B.A., LL.B. of the Madras High Court;—Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, ex-Premier and Lt.-Governor of Quebec;—the Hon. F. Wood, Legislative Councillor of New Brunswick;—H.H. the Dowager Maharani of Gwalior;—Fodi Silah, a West African Chief lately at war with us;—Lady Robinson, wife of the Governor of Hong Kong;—the young Kamar Sahib of Patiala;—Genl. Sir D. Wood, R.A., K.C.B., (Kaffir, Crimea, and Mutiny wars);—the Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Stephens, G.C.M.G., Chief Justice, President of the Legislative Council and Lt.-Governor of Sydney;—Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie, a celebrated Sinologist;—Maj.-Genl. J. D. Swinburn (Mutiny, and Afghanistan 1879);—Marshal Nafiz Pasha, President of the Judicial section of the Turkish War Office;—Lt. Baert of the Congo State;—Prof. James Darmesteter, a great Oriental scholar;—Sir Pertab Singh, the well-known banker and Hony. Magistrate of Dera Doon;—Ven. Hussey B. Macartney, D.D., Dean of Melbourne;—the Malayan scholar Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk;—Rev. Father Epping, S.J., a learned Orientalist who, with Father Strassmeyer, S.J., wrote an Assyrian astronomy and chronology;—Lt.-Genl. R. J. Eager, C.B. (Afghanistan 1841, Crimea, and China), Chevalier of the Legion of Honour;—Lady Wingate;—the Hon. Nawab Mir Muhammad Ali Khan, of Faridpur, Bengal;—Noahuke, last chief of the Heretonga Maoris, and Henaré Matua, chief of Porangahu;—the Hon. Robert Hart, Legislative Council of N. Zealand;—W. Huddlestone, C.S.I., late of the Madras Council;—the Hon. Honoré Mercier, ex-Premier of Quebec;—His Imperial Majesty Alexander II., Czar of all the Russias and ruler of extensive territories in Asia;—C. E. Kane, of the *Times of India*;—Muncherji Hormuzji Cama, a notable leader among Bombay Parsees;—the wife of the Raja Kumar Sahib of Faridkot;—Mahadeo

Chimnaji Apte of the Bombay Bar, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar;—Prof. C. Carpmael, late Director of the Canadian Meteorological Service;—Sir D. A. Lange of the Suez Canal;—Lt.-Gen. P. Smith, C.B., (Egyptian Campaign);—Surgeon Walter Dickson, R.N., (Antarctic Expedition of 1844-5, Baltic operations of the Crimean War, Mutiny, China War of 1859-60);—the Rt. Rev. Bishop Raimondi, Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong, where he laboured 35 years;—Oscar L. Fraser of the Indian Museum, Calcutta;—Genl. Sir P. MacDougal, K.C.M.G. (Crimea);—Viscount Monk, Governor-General of Canada, 1861-7;—the Swiss Orientalist, Rev. S. C. Malan, D.D., Vicar of Broad Windsor;—Major-Gen. C. Armstrong, (Crimea, Mutiny, and, after the amputation of one leg, the Umbeyla Campaign);—M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the world-renowned Engineer of the Suez Canal;—Sureya Pasha, Chief Secretary of His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey;—Sir C. Newton, the distinguished archæologist;—Mgr. Mikirtitch, Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia;—Sir John S. D. Thompson, K.C.M.G., Premier of Canada, who died suddenly at Windsor, while visiting Her Majesty;—Genl. Gordon Caulfeild (Punjab Campaign 1888);—Uduram Mulchand of Korach, formerly of the Bombay Council.

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INDIA IN 1895.*

By Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K.C.S.I.

The title of the paper which I have the honour to read to you this afternoon may, at first sight, appear too wide and indeed ambitious for the brief space of time at my disposal. Indian questions are one and all of great complexity, and the conditions which govern them are unfamiliar to English audiences. Superficiality is dangerous; and dogmatism is disagreeable, unless the well ordered foundations of our convictions are laid bare. I would thus hasten to assure you that my sole object this afternoon is the modest one of calling your attention to those Indian problems which, at the present time, seem to be of the most immediate and pressing importance, especially with regard to the relations between England and her Indian Empire. If then I am necessarily superficial, I trust that you will remember that each of the subjects I touch upon might well occupy a separate lecture, and that I do no more than summarize them in this opening address of the Session of an Association which professes to interest itself with all subjects that concern the welfare and progress of the inhabitants of India.

I would first observe that with the year 1895 India enters upon a distinctly new phase of her strange and wonderful story. The war between Japan and China is

* Full text of the lecture delivered to the East India Association on the 6th of March, 1895, at the Westminster Town Hall, the Duke of Devonshire being in the Chair. For speeches of His Grace, Lord Roberts and others, see account of Meeting in this Review under "Proceedings of the East India Association."—Ed.

still in progress; but whenever the end comes and whatever unsuspected dramatic possibilities may be in store for us, it cannot be doubted that a new power of the first rank has arisen in the East, and that China has received so rude a shaking that she may decide to abandon her hostile reserve and enter the family of civilized nations. She will not do this willingly; but the compulsion of events may be too strong for her. There will then be a strange awakening in Eastern Asia. The valley of dry bones will stir with new life. The redistribution of power, the opening of China, the industrial development of the East, the eager competition of Japan, will have the deepest and most vital interest for both England and India. I do not yet see sufficient signs that we have realized the gravity of the situation: that we are resolved to hold the great advantages which naturally attach to our present commercial supremacy in the East; that we have determined by wise association and forethought to avoid the dangers with which the stimulated industrial competition of both China and Japan threatens us. Then, in financial matters, India has reached a crisis in her history, and the year 1895 must see a change of policy or great and wide reaching disaster.

One thing over which the well-wishers of India can truly rejoice is that the year 1895 opens with a full, free and generous expression of the House of Commons, in the recent debate on the Cotton duties, that India is not to be tossed lightly on the wave of English party politics or that justice to India is to be measured by the advisability of acquiring or detaching a few votes in the House. I do not at all blame Sir Henry James for having brought forward the grievances of Lancashire, his own constituents. It was well that this should have been done so ably. But it was also well that the House of Commons, without reference to party, should have rejected the claim of one class of English manufacturers to influence the financial policy of India in their favour. Mr. Fowler, the Secretary of State, will be held in honourable remembrance for his

action throughout this matter. His speech on the Indian amendment to the address was also conceived in the spirit of true statesmanship, and within the last few days he has accomplished the difficult task of placing the whole of the Opium Commission charges on the English treasury. So on behalf of this Association, which has no connection with party, and only desires justice to India, I tender Mr. Fowler our respectful acknowledgments.

FINANCE.

The first subject which I must touch upon is finance, but I will not weary those of you who have not studied the complicated questions of currency and exchange and will only detain you a few minutes.

However dull the subject may seem, it is the duty of everyone, man or woman, to try to understand the causes which make for the advantage or loss of the British empire and to obtain clear ideas on the subject of the currency. It is the difference to India between prosperity and bankruptcy; and it is equally important to England, where low prices may be, as Sir William Harcourt insists, a boon to the working classes, but will cease to be so when prices fall so low (and in some cases they have so fallen) as to compel farmers to abandon their farms and manufacturers to close their mills, when the working classes will be left by their cynical friends to enjoy low prices in company with starvation.

My own personal conviction is that in bimetallism alone is the complete remedy to be found for the serious financial difficulties of England and India. This measure, as you are aware, would secure, by international agreement, the opening of the mints of the leading commercial nations to the unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at such fixed ratio as may be mutually agreed upon amongst them. Within the last few months, the chances of the triumph of bimetallism have much improved. In the House of Commons a resolution has been carried in favour of a reference to an international conference and both in France,

Germany, Holland and America is the tide of public opinion setting strongly in the same direction. England has hitherto stood out, but the difficulties and distressed condition of our agricultural and industrial classes, no less than the rapidly appreciating value of gold, imperatively call for a remedy and an adjustment of our system of currency. Germany has been suffering acutely from the same cause and together with France, is notoriously only waiting for a signal from England to join earnestly in an international convention. Conventions with regard to postal matters, telegraphs, extradition, copyrights, etc., have hitherto been internationally concluded and worked successfully with hardly any friction. The contracting parties have faithfully abided by and carried out the conditions upon which the conventions have been based and to a practical mind there seems no reason to anticipate any departure from these civilized modes of unravelling international difficulties for the universal benefit.

The issue to be determined by the Congress is whether it is possible to maintain a fixed ratio between gold and silver and if so what the fixed ratio should be. Lord Farrer is anxious to know what this ratio should be before the conference meets which is a little premature at the same time bimetallists have always seemed to me as unwarrantably averse to fixing this ratio. I believe the exact figure is of small importance, seeing that the depreciation of silver is an artificial one and is not due to the relative production of gold and silver. But the proposal of Mr. Edward Sassoon, in yesterday's *Times*, to fix an average rate of 23½ to 1, for quinquennial automatic revision is worth consideration.

The urgency of finding a remedy for the demoralization of the currency does not press so heavily on self-contained countries like France and Germany, as it does upon England with her world-wide commerce and indissolubly bound as she is to India, a silver using country with a vast population. To us the solution of the difficulty is a matter of life and death, like the riddles propounded by

the Sphinx which the traveller had to correctly answer or be devoured. Unless we are prepared to see with indifference the dislocation of the whole of our Eastern trade; and China and Japan profiting at our expense by the new development of the Eastern world, while our own mills and factories are closed, we must, by even desperate remedies, stop the fluctuation in exchange which renders the Indian financial position impossible.

The attempts of the Government to deal with the disease have so far been in the direction of an alleviation rather than a cure. The Secretary of State in his recent speeches in Parliament, seems to be satisfied with the effect of the financial measures adopted with a view of staving off bankruptcy and it may be admitted that they have arrested a violent and ruinous fall in the value of the rupee. Roughly speaking, the Indian Government have been able to meet their gold obligations with a saving of twopence in the rupee, representing 16 per cent. The unsatisfactory feature of the situation however, is the severe drop in the price of silver, which the closing of the mints seems to have brought about. This grave shrinkage in the coining value of the rupee, constitutes a serious menace to the ultimate success of the experiment. It is difficult however, to decide how far the closing of the mints is responsible, or how far the action of owners of silver mines in curtailing their output.

Another most unsatisfactory point in the situation is the volume of gold that has been shipped from India, the natives being apparently induced to part with their hoards of gold, by the appreciated value of gold relative to silver. When it is remembered that the central point of the policy embodied in the recent currency measure, was the necessity, and as it was thought, the extreme probability of attracting rather than depleting the reserve gold in the country, the importance of the absolute failure so far to attract gold to India, need hardly be insisted upon.

Then as to the policy pursued by the Secretary of State in the disposal of his bills on India. The limit placed on the sale of the weekly allotments of rupees, seems of ques-

tionable wisdom, especially at a time of the year when the export season is in full work and when there is a regular demand for remittance from London. The result has been that, although prices obtained for these bills have been somewhat better than we assume would otherwise have been the case, the Indian Council has fallen into arrears with the amount announced to be sold and it seems like purchasing temporary ease at the cost of future perturbation in the rates of exchange; for the impression created in the public mind must be that these arrears, constituting as they do a millstone round the neck of the Secretary of State, can only be removed by either raising a fresh sterling loan, when the gold obligations, already overwhelming, would be added to, or the amount of rupees to be sold during the next financial year would have to be largely increased.

The only monometallic proposal which seems to promise any measure of success, is that which was put forward in a paper advocating the closure of the mints, read before this Association, in June 1888. India has now an artificial standard of valuation, dependent not on the value of silver, but on the quantity of rupees in circulation, a quantity moreover, subject to increase or decrease at the discretion of the Government, without legislative enactment. Monopoly rupees can never be effective gold standard money until they can be changed into gold at a rate fixed by law. Such an effective standard will be sooner reached and with a smaller call on the gold stock of the world if, instead of replacing rupees with gold coin, uncoined gold is held in reserve to correct any redundancy in the rupee circulation which may exist. However ingenious may be this proposal, put forward by a man of the highest financial authority, the time seems to me to have passed for any other than the bimetallic remedy, and I rejoice to believe that the world is rapidly coming to the same conclusion. Should this remedy be refused to India she must work out her own salvation—which may perhaps be best secured by placing a duty on silver in inverse ratio to the price, monthly changes in the rate being made in accordance with the value quotations.

TAXATION AND THE POWER OF IMPOSING NEW.

With regard to the capacity of the Indian people to bear new taxation there is a word to be said. Certain speakers in the House of Commons are pleased to assert that the condition of the people of India is one of extreme poverty and that the burthen of taxation is more than they can bear; that the proceeds of this taxation is employed on useless military expenditure and mischievous frontier wars; that one-fifth of the population has only one meal a day; that the cultivating class have no savings and no stores of food and die in millions in time of famine and that it is impossible to tax further a population which is paying in proportion nearly double what is taken from the wealthy inhabitants of England. Now I would observe that in my opinion, and I do not question the good faith of the enthusiasts who differ from me, this view is a strangely mistaken one. India is a poor country in the sense that all countries mainly dependent on agriculture are poor. The people of India are poor if you take an arbitrary and foreign standard of wealth and poverty. But I venture to say that you will find, in this city of London in one day, more bitter, grinding, hopeless poverty, more squalor, more misery, than the most inquisitive of M.P.'s will see during the whole of his cold weather tour in India. There are no people more industrious, sober and frugal, except in their marriage expenses, than those of India. They are easily contented for their wants are few. Living in a climate which, except in the north, neither requires animal food nor warm clothing nor alcoholic stimulant; where the habitual food is maize, wheat or rice, and the habitual drink water, it is obvious that the wants and expenditure of the Indian cannot be compared with those of the English peasant or artisan. They are poor but they are not miserable; and poverty under the bright sunshine is more tolerable than in the English frost and fog. I remember a fairly intelligent M.P. who visited me at Indore, who was much distressed at the evidence of poverty in the children running about naked. I told him that he might as reasonably have lamented the

poverty of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. As to the one-fifth of the population which only has one meal a day, I have never come across it. In ordinary times the Indian peasant has a sufficiency of the simple food which is all he requires; and although in a country like India, the food supply is only in exceptional years largely in excess of the demand, famines are less destructive and widespread than of old, owing to the action of the Government which by costly public works, roads, railways and canals has not only brought vast areas into profitable cultivation but has rendered easy the transport of grain from prosperous districts to those suffering from drought. Before the days of British rule, periodical famines used to devastate the country, and native rulers accepted the loss and destruction as the act of God and as without remedy. But now, each year, the area of irrigated and protected land is increased; each year the danger of famine, however scanty may be the rainfall, is diminished, and I look forward with confidence to the time when we may proudly say that it is impossible for any one to die of starvation in India. That would indeed be a noble subject for pride. The poverty of India is only comparative. Putting aside exceptional seasons of depression, which affect all parts of the world, India has never been so rich and prosperous as at present. Her population increases with an embarrassing rapidity. Her foreign commerce is 200 millions, entirely created by England, and in 50 years' time, it will be quadrupled. As to the crushing burthen of taxation, I can only say that the Indian peasant, if he be content to buy country cloth and does not drink spirits, need pay no Imperial taxation whatever except a few pence for salt. There are sentimental statesmen who lament this salt duty and devise plans for its abolition. I think its removal would be a mistake, for it would leave the poorest classes altogether untaxed; and however poor a man may be, it is well that he should, equally with the wealthiest, enjoy the privilege of every free citizen, of being taxed for the good of his country.

New taxation is always unpopular, and no Administra-

tion imposes it with a light heart. But when we are told in Parliament that it is impossible to increase Indian taxation, one cannot repress a smile. We have no desire to rival the Mogul emperors in their methods and measures of taxation, but let it be remembered that they were far more unpopular with the mass of the Hindu population than the English can ever be. They taxed everything: the hearth, the plough-share, the cattle, birth, marriage, and they would have taxed death itself had that not been reserved for Western financiers. Their poll tax fell at three rates on the non-Muhammadan population £4, £2, and £1 annually, paid by each adult male. This tax alone, and it was one of forty, excluding the land revenue, would bring in to-day, at the lowest rate, an amount exceeding the whole British taxation of India.

But the resources of civilization are not yet exhausted and the Government must consider how the necessary money can be raised with least popular discontent. Petroleum is an article on which the duty might be trebled with advantage. Its use is enormously increasing among the Indian people and as it comes entirely from foreign countries with high protective duties of their own, it seems to invite consideration.

Imposts, like the income tax with its minute inquisition into what natives most wish to conceal, namely their wealth and the sources of their wealth, should be avoided. But there would be small objection, except from our Lancashire friends, to raising the Customs duties from five to ten per cent. Indeed this is the first and most obvious resource of the Government. If Lancashire does not like it she must accept bi-metallism. Then there is tobacco. I am not going to say that a tax on tobacco would be popular. It would not. But all the same it would be profitable and may have to be imposed. The great majority of native men and women smoke tobacco, and there is no valid reason that this luxury should be untaxed in India and taxed in England. It is a mere question of policy. The tax should not be imposed on the manufactured drug, but

by a high rate per acre on tobacco cultivation; thus avoiding any direct interference with the consumer. Then there might be a tax on marriages which will specially commend itself to the cynical. In the first place, if such a tax acted in any degree as a check on early marriages and improvidence, it would be a distinct advantage. The universal peace of the Government, the *pax Britannica*, the higher scale of comfort, English medicine and sanitation have so lowered the death rate that the population will soon overtake the food supply. It would be a gain if we could delay a little the marriage which is the inevitable lot of every Oriental, male and female. I do not believe that such a tax would be unpopular. I would impose it on a graduated scale, so rough as to avoid inquisition—say Rs. 10: Rs. 100: Rs. 1,000: Rs. 10,000: and this would be high enough to bring in a considerable revenue. A marriage is the one occasion on which every Indian is prepared to be lavish and for which he will certainly go into debt to the money lender. An extra toll to the Government would not be regarded as a grievance. After all, the marriage of Hindu women only occurs once, and the widow would not, as here, require a second sacrifice. A tax taken once, in a lump sum, is not nearly so odious to any Oriental as a smaller sum taken in many instalments. Even to ourselves the regularity of the tax collectors' demands is a constant annoyance. I do not wish to recommend these particular taxes; but unless the financial system be revised the question of new taxation will have to be seriously considered. I only desire to protest with all my strength against the misrepresentations regarding Indian taxation made in the House of Commons by men who seem to take an evil delight in decrying their own countrymen and the glorious and honourable work which has been accomplished by them in India. Intelligent and philosophical travellers of all nations have expressed their astonishment and admiration at the manner in which the administration of India is conducted. They note the order, prosperity and peace which prevail over the Continent;

the confidence of the people in their rulers, the justice and good faith with which the rulers treat the people. These travellers also realize clearly that in this vast population, ten times as great as that of England, there must be much poverty and distress; but they have freely owned that no rulers have fulfilled their duty to the people more generously than the English, that none have taken from the people so little in taxation and have returned to them so much in public works, absolute security for life and property, free education, free medicine and a free press.

THE OPIUM DUTY.

It is a remarkable thing that at the very moment that the Indian Government is reduced to great financial distress, a certain number of Englishmen misled by a generous sentiment and the national love of meddling should be endeavouring to destroy the revenue from Opium, which is perhaps the most satisfactory item of the Indian Budget. It has all the characteristics of an ideal revenue. It is imposed on a luxury; and is paid in great part by foreign consumers, the Chinese. But whether consumed in India by Sikhs and Rajputs, or in China, it is equally an object of dislike to a large body of respectable and pious people in this country, who think that it is immoral for the Government to hold a monopoly and gain a large slice of its revenue by the growth and sale of this wicked and pernicious drug. I can only say here, that while in charge of Central India, I was in charge of the whole opium revenue of the Government derived from Native States, and two or three millions sterling of this opium money passed through my hands every year. It was my necessary duty to be intimately familiar with the growth, manufacture, use and abuse of opium and my conviction is that it would be a foolish and a wicked thing to interfere with its consumption. As magistrate or judge I have never sentenced a man for a crime committed under the influence of opium. And although opium in excess is bad, as brandy or tea in excess is bad, it is not taken to excess in India; while in China, where the poppy is everywhere grown, and opium generally

used, the Indian drug is merely the luxury of the rich as champagne in England. If the anti-opium society were to endeavour to make the manufacture of beer in England and the importation of French wines penal offences they would be doing a far more sensible and honest thing than by attacking the opium trade; for the evil effects of alcohol, in murder, violence, and prostitution are to be seen on every side.

But even if the use of opium were injurious, instead of being innocuous or beneficial, what right have we to interfere? Are we English so virtuous that we must insist upon the whole world conforming to our ethical code? The Indians enjoyed a high civilization thousands of years before the birth of the Anti-Opium Society, and it is a gross impertinence to interfere with the social usages of a people who have as absolute a right to take opium as we have to enjoy tea and tobacco. A tardy justice has removed the cost of the Opium Commission from the Indian treasury to the English Exchequer, and this is so far an advantage that the House of Commons will be less likely in future to adopt silly proposals, the cost of which will fall on English tax-payers. But it is still hard that you and I should have to pay for this monstrous Commission. There is a pleasant law in India under which people are fined for bringing wanton or vexatious charges; and if these philanthropists were compelled to pay for their vicarious virtue out of their own pockets a great public gain would be secured.

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT.

The question of local self government is one which has of late years received as much attention in India as in Great Britain and Ireland and it would be a mistake to believe that the India Government has at any time been opposed to its reasonable development. Lord Ripon did much to extend it, but he was not the originator of the policy. Fifteen or twenty years before he became Viceroy, municipal and local self government had been firmly and successfully established in the Punjab, by the

public spirit and liberality of Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald McLeod and Sir Henry Davies, the successive governors of the Province. Every city and large town had a representative body of citizens, some nominated and some elected, who administered local business under the general direction of the Magistrate of the district. In 1868 I was the President of the Municipal Committee of Amritsur, the sacred city of the Sikhs and the following year of Lahore the capital of the Punjab, and I can testify to the courage and industry of many of the members, though there certainly was a large proportion of men who took their cue from the President and gave a silent vote on the side of authority. But there was quite as much independence in the Municipal Councils as there is in the House of Commons, where nine-tenths of the members seem to fear the Whip as much as if they were slaves on a Carolina plantation. And there was quite as much work done in the way of sanitation, tree-planting and lighting as could be expected. But the English head of the Committee was the moving spirit and the good people of the Punjab were quite content to follow and did not wish to lead. The consequence was that the President interfered very little and the work was well done. Nowhere in India has local self government been so successful as in the Punjab where it was first started. In Bengal and Madras, where the standard of education is higher and the capacity for self government lower, Municipal and District Committees have been a very doubtful success and many have had to be closed owing to local squabbles and the impossibility of getting the work done. In Calcutta the Municipal Council has been a failure and a scandal, and the reason is that the controlling authority was too weak. It is no use giving the supreme direction of even sewers to people whose medical knowledge is non-existent and who do not believe that dirt and foul smells have any connection with disease. At the same time it is better that people should manage their local affairs badly than not at all, and self government in village and town matters should be

everywhere encouraged under educated and sensible direction.

To those who desire to see in local and municipal councils the germ of future representative institutions for India, for the conduct of public and national affairs, such as legislation, imperial taxation and defence, I would say that India is to-day and will probably for ever remain unsuited for representative Government. The divisions which separate race and caste and creed are too complete for the success of any such experiment. Nor does India desire it. There is doubtless a noisy class who are sufficiently educated to clamour for everything of which they have read in their college text-books. But India, calm, silent and inscrutable, has throughout the ages, only asked for one thing, namely, to be well governed. And this desire, ladies and gentlemen, is the pedestal and base of wisdom. There is no more certain sign of weakness in men or races than the clamour for power which they do not know how to use rightly. For some four thousand years India has enjoyed a fair measure of civilization, and it has been governed, well or badly, by beneficent and tyrannical masters. But she has never yet shown any sympathy for that modern madness known as representative institutions. Even if we accept them as suitable to the Anglo-Saxon race to whom, in England and America, they are both a shibboleth and a fetish, there is no excuse for our pressing them on the acceptance of the Indians, who do not ask for them and for whom they are altogether unfit. This gentle, intelligent and noble race only asks to be well governed by you, the English, whom a strange fortune has made their strong and benevolent rulers.

They do not understand the advantage of going into the streets to count the heads of the ignorant, criminals and paupers, or to invite these to rule over them. Representative institutions are still on their trial. They have done good service to England and America in their time, but even here their virtue seems to be departing, and in France

they never had any virtue at all. Do not force upon Asia institutions which seem everywhere failing in Europe. Our Indian fellow subjects ask to be governed, justly and wisely, but still to be governed; and if the reins of power drop from the nerveless fingers of her rulers, there are others who will quickly pick them up and invite us to step down from the chariot.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

Another branch of this question is the desirability of holding the examinations for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in England and in India. A large amount of excited native feeling has been industriously fostered with regard to it and on the initiative of the House of Commons, the Viceroy and Governors, and Lieutenant Governors were commanded to enquire and report upon a matter regarding which no sensible man connected with the administration of India has ever entertained any doubt whatever. The point at issue can be stated in a few words. The machinery of the Government of India is conducted by a vast number of persons of whom the great majority are rightly natives of India. But the ruling portion of the business, as distinct from the judicial and administrative work, is in the hands of a few hundred highly trained Englishmen who, in the 250 districts which make up British India, hold the supreme control of affairs and are responsible for law and order. The magistrate of the district is the administrative unit, and around him all subordinate ministers revolve.

These appointments together with all the higher posts in the executive service, are obtained by open competitive examination in England, and natives of India, in common with other British subjects, are free to compete and have indeed carried off a considerable number of them. The young Indians of the Government colleges, the budding lawyers and journalists of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, would find it very convenient if they were relieved of the necessity of a tedious and expensive course of study in England by a change in the rules permitting them to be

examined in India at the time that the English candidates were examined in London. But such a change would destroy the very principle of the Civil service, which is that the men who have to govern India and, in the last resort, to maintain our Empire there against a world in arms, must be men who have been trained in England and fed here on imperial traditions.

No sane Government will abandon its vital interests to the care of men who are unwilling or unable to comply with this moderate condition. I would further add, that from my experience of Indian examinations, it would be impossible when the prizes were so high to guard against wholesale fraud; and that the smart or superficial scholars who would flock to competitive examinations would certainly not belong to the ruling, fighting classes of Hindostan to whom alone we can look for brotherly aid in time of storm and danger, when copybooks are thrown into the corner and men begin to take down their swords.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The freedom of the Press from official control is, in this country, a necessity of our social and political life, but there is no reason that the medicine which suits one constitution or cures one disease should be forced as a panacea upon every patient. If we look at the history of modern civilization it seems doubtful whether an absolutely free Press is not an institution which is alone suited to the Anglo-Saxon race in either continent. Here, in England, the sound sense of the people, and a homogeneity which is great though not complete, deprives the liberty of the Press of its chief danger. Our interests in these islands, whatever politicians may say, are the same, and the advantage of one section of the community makes for the good of all. Moreover the law of libel, a weapon as uncertain as the Australian boomerang, keeps the most passionate spirits in check. But in other countries, can it be said that the freedom of the press is altogether an advantage? France, with its blackmailing scandals can hardly be said to be an illustration in

its favour. In India, with an alien government, rival communities and creeds and an undeveloped civilization, the unrestrained liberty of the press is a grave danger. Surely for intelligent human beings there must be some middle path between the iron censorship of Russia and the license of America, where the law of libel is rarely enforced. No educated and cultured Englishmen, certainly none of those engaged in the administration of India would desire to close any safety valve of popular discontent. Allow all possible freedom to honest and temperate criticism of the measures and policy of the Government, and encourage the discussion of every grievance. Freedom of the press such as this is the best security for a Government which only seeks the interests of the people and whose mistakes are made through ignorance of popular sentiment. But, if the government of the Queen is to be efficiently carried on in India, some check must be placed on misrepresentation, malice and treason, which now flourish, like ill weeds, in the columns of the native press. No one who has not had an intimate knowledge of India can have any idea of the terror which these venomous prints cause to native officials; or how fear of attack troubles the course of justice. Many of these papers have only an issue of a few hundred copies and live on plunder as unblushingly as a Sicilian brigand. Many independent princes have complained bitterly to me of their blackmail. Unless they are subsidized they fill their columns with abuse of the chief till he is terrified into compliance with their demands. They are too cautious to put their head in the lion's mouth, so they establish themselves in a British cantonment, or in a British district hard by, and from this city of refuge spread their malicious libels undisturbed by the English Government which has never realized how embittered many of the chief feudatories of the Crown have become by the infamous attacks made upon them by criminals who avail themselves of Government protection. Nor does the Government itself obtain any immunity by its mistaken tolerance. Many of the larger and more im-

portant native papers, edited by men who have received a free education in our schools and colleges, are habitually hostile and often seditious. They studiously misrepresent the motives and acts of the Government, vilify its most honourable officers from the Viceroy downwards and appeal to the ignorance and fanaticism of the population. This is not liberty of the press, it is license in its most dangerous form. There are politicians, I will not say statesmen who argue that a strong Government can afford to despise attacks upon its policy and motives and that its subordinate officials must not be so thin skinned as to wince under undeserved abuse. But these are the counsels of apathy and weakness. Even in a highly civilized community like France, you see how a venal and scurrilous press has driven the President of the Republic from office, and threatens to make all respectable Government impossible. How much more dangerous is it in India to allow seditious appeals to an ignorant and excitable population. If the Indian Government be too timid to protect itself from open sedition and too ungenerous to defend its servants against false and malicious misrepresentation it has surrendered one of the elementary principles of a civilized government, popular or autocratic, and deserves the fate which attends on all rulers who do not know how to govern.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

The last subject which I will mention is the defence of India, which, next to the currency, is of the most pressing importance; and is only inferior to the currency in importance because unless our finance be reorganized and placed on a sound basis we will have no money to increase our army or defend our frontiers. For this reason I would recommend you to disregard those cheese-paring economists who are always in a fever of agitation because India has been over-charged for recruits or troopships or that she has to bear the costs of wars in Burmah or Afghanistan, which have been waged on her behalf, to strengthen her strategical position or to enlarge her borders. These items

are very difficult of adjustment, and I doubt if there is much to complain of. My remembrance is, and many gentlemen in this room can correct me if I am wrong, that the Committee of which a very true and just friend of India, Lord Northbrook was President, decided the other way, that India hardly bore her fair share of the common burthen. But I only refer to these disputes to dismiss them as unworthy the serious attention of patriotic men. We are not going to draw up an exact balance sheet of the advantages and losses which accrue to India or England from their mutual connection. A Parsee Member of the House of Commons in an amendment to the address was very anxious that this should be done and that the British Exchequer should pay some share of the charges for the army and civil service and the cost of Indian wars, proportional to the benefit England derived from India. Most sensible men would imagine that the balance was entirely the other way. What does England gain by India? A precarious living for a few of our sons, who work for what they earn far harder than men in England work, and who retire, poor but with clean hands, to live on a pension which may be equal to the savings of a second-class tradesman. The foreign trade of India: well, trade is not particularly prosperous just now, and such profits as there are fall to the Indians and not to Englishmen. Further, our trade is free, and we take no chances which we do not give to all the world. On the other side of the account, India, with her princes, merchants and peasants, has gained everything by her connection with England. We have given to her every blessing which accompanies freedom and peace; and unless our Parsi friends and critics lived under the strong protection of England, they would not be living in India at all, or only as an outcaste and proscribed race, wearing a special dress, in a special quarter of a few towns, and paying five times as much taxation as that of which they now complain. The Parsees are an eminently worthy, industrious race, wealthy and charitable, well educated and intelligent

citizens. But they do not enlist in our armies. They did not help us to conquer India; and it seems presumptuous in one of their number, who is certainly out of sympathy with his fellow countrymen, to dictate to us the cost at which we should defend it. We all, in this room, know at what outlay we would keep India, which we cannot abandon without disgrace and which we will not lose in fair fight without a free expenditure of the whole strength, energy and treasure of the British Empire. So we will leave those whom it may amuse to squabble over disputed items of account; while we, who have made the Empire, will decide how we may best and most worthily defend it.

But these questions are too large for to-day. I will only say that, in common with all those who are intimate with the North-West Frontier, I think that a solid and invaluable work has been done there and in Biluchistan, by successive Viceroys, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne, ably seconded by Sir Donald Stewart, Lord Roberts, and the late Sir Robert Sandeman, Chief Commissioner of Biluchistan true ruler of men, whose vacant place there is absolutely no one to fill adequately. Do not allow the men who are making up the accounts to tell you the money has been wasted. Not a rupee too much has been spent and very much more will be required when you have money to spare. It was inevitable that frontier defence should be expensive for in the old days, it was impossible, as Sir Henry Davies will testify, to induce the Supreme Government to commence work. I was Secretary to the Punjab Government for many years and I have ridden up and down the frontier from Peshawar to Sind many times. But we could never squeeze money out of the treasury for even the most urgent works. There was not a single metalled road on the whole frontier on which guns could move after heavy rain; the rivers and torrents were unbridged, and there was scarcely any improvement in the vital matter of communications, since the time of the Sikhs. Our cantonments were merely fortified camps, and would

have been of little value but for the force which held them, known to fame as the Punjab Frontier Force, then under the orders of the local Government and now under the Commander in Chief of India, which was inferior to no *corps d'armée* in the world for splendid soldierly qualities of both officers and men. I have seen the armies of most European powers, and among them I cannot call to mind so workmanlike and incomparable a force.

I am delighted to see here my illustrious friend Lord Roberts, who has done more than any man living to make the Indian army a perfect fighting machine, and I am sure that he would confirm my praise of the Punjab Frontier Force.

Now that the borders of Russia have become conterminous with our own—a fact in which there is no reason for anxiety or alarm—a large amount of money has most rightly been spent on border defence and we are far stronger on the North West Frontier than we ever were before. On the question of Russia I will only say this, that I have never been a Russophobe and I do not see why she should not prove an amiable neighbour. There are no doubt stormy petrels on both sides of the border, whose interest is found in fomenting quarrels, and inventing causes of quarrel; but we may, at any rate on this occasion, assume that the friendly sentiments which the new Czar has been pleased to express towards this country, are heartily reciprocated by England who has every desire to live on the most cordial terms with Russia. When we consider the infinite disaster to Russia which would follow failure; the impossibility of her administering India on the modern principles which would alone be tolerable to the people who have enjoyed perfect freedom under the English: it is obvious that a Russian invasion is not a project that will commend itself to sane and responsible statesmen. Russia has a boundless extent of magnificent country, far richer than India, to develop, in Eastern Asia and will have ample employment for both her energy

and treasure; while if the English Foreign Office assists her to obtain an open port in the Pacific, which is a necessity to her it will be doing a very sensible thing.

If we are attacked we shall know very well how to defend ourselves, and Lord Lansdowne, Lord Roberts and their predecessors in office have made defence comparatively easy. Reasonable precautions have been taken, and if they have been expensive this is due to the long neglect of frontier defence which was once perhaps excusable but which would now be foolish and criminal.

A friendly Afghanistan is the second point in our scheme of frontier defence, and this seems to be fairly assured during the life of the present Amir. The Afghans are not an easy people to manage, but they know that we do not want their country, for the reason that we have invariably marched out of it as soon as we possibly could. This confidence is not friendship, but it is probably worth more. As to His Highness the Amir, from the day that, under the Orders of the Government, then represented at the India Office by our noble chairman, I proclaimed him monarch of Afghanistan, he has remained a constant and true friend of the British Government, though he has his difficulties, and mischievous persons, both here and in India, have tried hard to pick a quarrel with him. But his friendship bears the test of time for it is a sensible friendship; founded not on sentiment but conviction. Abdur Rahman is a very able and a very exceptional man. He knows well that it is his interest to remain friends with England, as on no other terms would he remain an independent ruler at all. I hope that he will not come to England on a visit, as he cannot be spared from Kabul and his health is not good: but a warm welcome would be extended to his son, if chosen to represent him, and a public acknowledgment of the youth by England and a guarantee of his succession would be a thoroughly statesmanlike measure.

The next link in the defence of India is formed by the

independent chiefs, the Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs and Thákurs who make up picturesque or Native India. I know it well and have lived in it long, and wish I could talk about it to you to-day. Suffice it to say that the larger chiefs have willingly agreed to contingents from their armies being drilled and officered so as to be able to take their place in line with regiments of the British army, and although this does not give us a large reserve force, it is most valuable as a sign of loyalty and goodwill, and the numbers can be easily increased. We first tried the system of native contingents during the first Afghan war in 1878-79, when the Sikh States furnished detachments of excellent troops who did good service on the frontier and showed admirable discipline under trying circumstances. It must be remembered that a very large proportion of the army of a native state is maintained for purely decorative purposes and would be as useless as the soldiers of a circus in time of war. Some States, especially Sikh and Rajput, maintain a high standard of efficiency. But what the Rajas have been able to do they have done. They are thoroughly well disposed to the Government and loyal to the Queen Empress and only ask for opportunity to do good service.

But after all, Englishmen, it is not to native Rajas, nor to buffer States, nor to lip loyalty that you have been accustomed to trust, when you have got your back against the wall. India can only be adequately defended by the spirit and determination of Englishmen who won and have held the country till now. Your dangers are not from starving peasants or intriguing chiefs, or frontier rivals, but from Parliamentary Government or rather party government, which is cursed with the disease of never knowing its own mind, of never trusting its officials, and which is as frightened at a question in the House of Commons as if it were an earthquake. The consequence is that India has become the happy hunting ground of faddists and charlatans and enthusiasts who are for ever pressing on the

Government their remedies for ills which may not really exist or which they do not understand, till a general feeling of nervous unrest is created in the people while authority is confused and paralysed. But the recent action of the present Secretary of State, Mr. Fowler, who has shown himself both just and strong, has given fresh hope to all the true friends of India; and his success may perhaps encourage other English statesmen to resolutely place India beyond the influence of English party politics.

My last word may appear superfluous but without it this lecture would be incomplete. It is that India is best defended not at Peshawar or Quetta or Herat, but at Portsmouth and Gibraltar. So long as you insist on maintaining absolute supremacy at sea, India will be always secure, however stormy her future; but if you weakly allow that to be wrested from you, India will be lost together with your Colonial Empire, and the sun of England's greatness will set for ever.

THE MANDATE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

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On the 27th December last, in summing up the debate on the Cotton Duties Bill in the Legislative Council of India, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

"It is claimed that Members must be free to speak and vote in this Council for the measure they honestly think best. I can accept that proposition only with the qualification that they duly recognize the responsibility under which they exercise their rights in this Council. Only in an entirely irresponsible body can Members act entirely as their inclination leads them. In a legislative body a man must sit, unless he has a hereditary right, by what in modern parlance is called a *Mandate*; and that mandate must be given by some authority. I need not remind you, that in a parliament a man is not free to act exactly as he pleases. He is distinctly subject to the Mandate he has received from his constituents; and practice has shown that this is not sufficient, but that to make parliamentary government effective, it has been necessary to introduce party management; and the bonds of party in the present day certainly show no signs of being relaxed. Here we have no election and, I am glad to say, no party; but every man, who sits here, sits by the authority and sanction of Parliament; and to say that he can refuse to obey the decisions of Parliament would be absurd. . . . . I speak with some deference after what fell from the Honble. Sir Griffith Evans; but with all respect for his legal authority, I think he is not correct in the view he took that a Member of this Council is unfettered in the vote he gives here."

A "mandate" is a "command," a "precept," a "charge"; and the language just quoted and taken from the official report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council published in "the Gazette of India," has been received in all circles (official and non-official) in that country as a formal intimation that the Additional Members appointed to the Council for the purpose of legislation are expected to accept and support the views and measures of the Executive Government.

In order to examine whether the opinion expressed by the Viceroy is constitutionally sound and supportable upon

considerations of policy, it will be necessary to advert briefly to the constitution of the Legislative Council of India, and to the circumstances of the occasion on which that opinion was expressed.

The Governor-General of India has an Executive Council composed usually of five members. To this Council there have been added, since 1853, certain other members, who all sit only for purposes of legislation. The Legislative Council, therefore, consists of the Members of the Executive Council and these so-called *Additional Members* — who sit together and have equal votes, the Viceroy being the President and having a vote and a casting vote. From 1853 to 1861, the Additional Members were officials, and amongst them was included the Chief Justice of Bengal. In 1861, the Chief Justice ceased to sit in virtue of his office; the number of Additional Members was fixed at not less than six nor more than twelve; and of this number not less than half were to be non-officials. In 1892, the number was increased to not less than ten or more than sixteen—the rule as to the proportion of non-officials still remaining in force—and provision was made for enabling certain public bodies in India to select a limited number of persons, whom the Viceroy might appoint to be non-official members of the Legislative Council. The Additional Members selected from the non-official community have been native noblemen, native gentlemen of ability, and European gentlemen who have made themselves the leaders of the mercantile community. Of the great value of such elements in the discussions of legislative measures there can be no doubt. Vacancies have always been so filled that the Members of the Executive Council *plus* the official Additional Members may form a majority—the non-official Additional Members together forming a minority.

Now there is no difference whatever between the *official Additional* Members and the *non-official Additional* Members, as regards appointment, authority, right and voting power; and whatever obligatory force the supposed mandate

has as regards the former, the same it must have as regards the latter. Amongst the non-official community—Native and European—a seat in the Legislative Council is regarded as an honour. Are the members of this community to understand that this honour is for those only who are ready to sacrifice for its enjoyment their own views of right and expediency? In India there are not two parties; there is no election. The conscientious man, who cannot concur with the Government view, has no expectation of being able to vindicate his opinions upon a change of administration and return to place and honour. If a Government measure involves a conflict between English and Indian interests, he must, retaining his seat in the Council, either vote against his knowledge and conscience and sacrifice the interests of his country, or violate the mandate which called him to honour. No doubt, there is a *third* course possible: he may resign and retire to join the Congress of Discontent, taking with him somewhat to justify its existence and increase its importance. After the discussion in Parliament barely two years ago in favour of extending a modified form of representation to India, this is not, however, a result, which will meet approval with any informed class in England or India.

As regards the *official additional* members, the mandate is a virtual intimation that opinions, however fairly based upon knowledge and experience, had better not be advanced, or, if advanced, cannot be allowed any practical force in opposition to the views and intentions of the Executive Government; that these members are bound to vote with the Government even against their own convictions and consciences; and that their presence in the Council is chiefly for the purpose of providing a counterpoise to inconvenient non-official opposition. Is this the intention of the Acts of Parliament, which contain the written constitution of the Legislative Council? There is not to be found in any of these Acts a sentence or syllable which supports the supposition that it was so intended;

while in the debates of 1861, as reported in Hansard, there is much to show that it was *not*. Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, when introducing the Councils Bill in the House of Commons, said that in the *then* state of public feeling in India it was quite impossible to revert to the state of things in which the Executive Government alone legislated for the country; and throughout the debate upon the bill, at every stage in that House, it was assumed that the Native and other Additional Members were to be called to Council, not to advise but legislatively to decide. The case of a Government measure being successfully opposed by a majority of the Additional Members (official and non-official) was not further contemplated or considered in that House. But when the bill came before the House of Lords, this contingency was clearly foreseen and discussed. The Duke of Argyll saw it and pointed out the safeguard in the provision which empowered the Governor-General to overrule his Council. Earl Grey, in proposing an amendment to keep the power of legislation in the hands of the Governor-General aided by a consultative Council, said of the provisions which ultimately became law:—

"If it were understood that the official members of the Council would in all cases support the measures of the Governor-General, then the Legislative Council would cease to be a deliberative body."

Lord Ellenborough, taking the same side, spoke of "the entire and absolute independence of the gentlemen of the Civil Service," and told the House that

"They might depend on it that they could not induce gentlemen of high character and station in the Civil Service to enter the Council, if it were thoroughly understood that they were always to vote with the Government. There was no independent gentleman in India who would take the appointment on that condition. They would be compelled to resign their situations; and if the Governor-General obtained successors to them, they would be persons of an inferior description, whose opinions would carry no weight, and who would in fact bring discredit on the Council."

Earl de Grey and Ripon disapproved of the idea that these members of the Council should only have a consul-

tative voice in matters of legislation, and pointed out that this was not what Lord Canning recommended,

"But that what he thought necessary was, that these Additional Members of his Council should have full legislative functions; and that to make their functions merely consultative must greatly weaken their responsibility."

He thought that the *official additional* members would generally support the Government: but, contemplating the case of their voting against and defeating a measure brought forward by the Governor-General, he said:—

"If such a case did occur, it would afford tolerably strong grounds for supposing that it was not altogether desirable that the measure should be passed."

With respect to the Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, who sit *ex-officio* in the Legislative Council, the case is different. They form a sort of Cabinet and all may properly support a measure approved by a majority of such Cabinet. As Earl Grey said in the course of the same debate:—

"They are gentlemen who have held high offices in India, who have adopted the public service as a profession, who have devoted their whole lives to this profession; and have risen to high position by long service. It is not to be expected that they would forfeit all that has been gained in the long labour of a life by resigning office, if they did not approve of a measure of the Governor-General."

Let us now see what was the occasion of the Viceroy's enunciation.

It was this. In July 1877, the House of Commons passed a Resolution that the duties then levied upon cotton manufactures imported into India, being protective in their nature, were contrary to sound commercial policy and ought to be taken off as soon as the financial condition of that country permitted. In deference to this Resolution and under the direction of the Secretary of State for India, these import duties were shortly after abolished, a temporary improvement in the finances having rendered this course possible. Very soon after, commenced that serious depreciation of the Rupee, which has involved the Government of India in such grave financial difficulties; and last year it became imperatively

necessary to increase the revenue by new and additional taxation. After careful deliberation it was decided that this taxation should assume the form of a tax upon imports; and an import duty was accordingly imposed by a new Tariff Act upon many articles. It was urged, not without appearance of reason, that as the financial exigencies of India compelled a general duty on imports, cotton manufactures ought not to form an exception; and that even the Resolution of the House of Commons had taken account of financial exigency. This view was openly expressed by the *non-official* Additional Members of the Legislative Council, and was entertained by some of the *official* Additional Members. Under directions from home, however, the exception was maintained. Public opinion in India strongly disapproved of its maintenance, and emphatically expressed its disapprobation through every available outlet. It was then decided to allow the import duty on cotton manufactures; but, in order to obviate the harm of the protection so created, to impose an equivalent excise duty on the cotton manufactures of India. The non-official Members of Council at first protested against this excise duty upon fabrics manufactured for home consumption, and urged its injurious effects upon a young industry. Finally, however, in deference to the wishes of the Home Government, and yielding to the argument that India, being part of the Empire, must share as well the disadvantages as the advantages of a uniform commercial policy, they accepted the position and agreed to the excise duty. The Macaulay of the next century will admire their complaisance and regret that it did not provoke an emulous generosity.

With every desire to give loyal effect to the orders from home, the Financial Member of the Executive Council made a careful personal inquiry as to what classes of cotton piece goods manufactured in India came into competition with similar goods imported; and upon evidence he arrived at the conclusion that yarns of counts below 30 and goods containing yarns below 30 constituted a small proportion of

the imports. The Executive Council of India, therefore, considered that by going down to 24 counts a safe line would be taken between Indian yarns competing with similar imports (and therefore to be subjected to the excise duty in order to obviate the mischief of protection), and yarns not so competing and therefore to be left free of this excise. The Secretary of State, however, had other information to the effect that the counts between 20 and 24, that is, the coarser kinds for which Indian cotton is peculiarly suitable, also competed with the imports from Manchester. To prevent any possibility of the duties being protective, he directed that the excise duty on Indian yarns should begin with counts above 20 instead of 24, as proposed by the Government of India. He had, however, no objection to the Governor-General in Council reserving to himself, in the Act, power to raise the line by executive action, with the consent of Her Majesty's Government, in case experience should afterwards show that it had been drawn unnecessarily low. The Bill was drafted accordingly and laid before the Legislative Council.

Those who were free to form independent opinions reasoned that it was not just to tax men upon a supposition that they would on inquiry be found liable, more especially as there was no provision for a refund of what had been levied, if an inquiry should show their non-liability; that, if there could be any doubt, the subject ought to have the benefit; and that the most that could fairly be done in the interest of the exchequer would be to fix the line at 24, and give the Governor-General in Council power to lower it, if inquiry and experience showed that the limit of 24 was too high to secure the effective operation of the principle accepted. It was said that the mandate of Parliament only went the length of directing that no measure of a protective character should be adopted, but did not, and indeed could not, decide what would, or would not, be protective under the circumstances of any particular case; and that to tax men before they were shown to be liable, was something

like an application of the objectionable practice of hanging a man first, and trying him when this preliminary operation had been completed.

One of the non-official Additional Members, a native gentleman who spoke with much good sense and moderation, accordingly proposed an amendment to the effect that the limit of the excise duty should be fixed at 24 counts, until it was proved that lower Indian counts competed with the imports, in which case a short amending Act could easily be passed.

It was upon the discussion of this amendment that the doctrine of the mandate was enunciated. It is not possible to feel that the doctrine derives any strength from the exigencies of the occasion.

In this discussion the Viceroy and some of the Members of the Executive Council postulated that the decision of Parliament and the direction of Parliament left the Legislative Council of India no option as to the course that must be pursued. A constitutional principle of the gravest import, and a fact upon which depended its application, were at one and the same time assumed without evidence and without argument. As to the constitutional principle, according to lawyers, the power of Parliament is supreme and sovereign. Parliament has the constitutional right to tax India. But many things are constitutionally legal in theory, which are not politically expedient in practice. During the last century Parliament conceived that it had the legal power to tax the American Colonies, but experience showed that it was very inexpedient to do so; and Parliament having been convinced of this inexpediency passed an Act abandoning the right. Now Parliament has passed several Acts, which make over, with certain explicit reservations, full powers of legislation to the Legislative Council of India. Taxation bills are not included amongst the reservations, and it may some day be found a difficult question, whether, while those Acts remain unrepealed and unaltered, Parliament constitutionally can direct, or politi-

cally is wise to direct, what taxes shall be abolished or what imposed in India. Happily the solution of this question is in no way necessary to the present discussion; and most certainly the incident of the amendment did not create an occasion worthy of the determination of such a momentous matter.

It remains to examine whether Parliament propounded any such decision or direction as has been assumed. Parliament, as those acquainted with the elementary principles of the Constitution are aware, consists of the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. Now Parliament so constituted neither decided nor directed; and this may well dispose of the postulate of fact. It is not, however, desirable to leave the matter here, when there is more which may fairly be said.

In July 1877, the House of Commons passed the following Resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this House the Duties now levied upon Cotton Manufactures imported into India, being protective in their nature, are contrary to sound commercial policy, and ought to be repealed without delay, so soon as the financial position of India will permit."

It may be observed in passing that the most eminent statesmen, including Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, have disapproved and condemned abstract resolutions of this kind. In 1853, Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, objected to a motion condemning the Paper Duty as a highly impolitic and inexpedient attempt to hamper the Government by an abstract resolution concerning a tax at a time when it would be impossible to act upon it. In 1861, Mr. Gladstone objected to a similar motion with respect to duties on Hops, as containing an abstract resolution relating to a matter of finance. Without denying the right of the House to pass such a resolution, he characterized it as being a rash innovation on the practice of the House in former days; and the motion was negatived.

Assuming, however, the right of the House to pass such a Resolution, if it see fit, what is its effect when passed? All authorities are agreed that it has not the force of a law. If

it had such force, the means of abolishing the House of Lords were ready to hand. The House by its Resolutions declares its own opinions and purposes. Resolutions are often made the foundations of, or incorporated in, a Bill, which then comes before the Legislature in the usual way. If not thus converted into law, they are according to the custom of Parliament as stated by the best authority, concluded by a prorogation, unless they are concerned with some settled practice of Parliament, when they have been often tacitly observed without renewal in the House which passed them.

If such be the usage and practice of Parliament, can it be contended that the Resolution of July 1877 had any binding force, seventeen years afterwards, in 1894, and notwithstanding the intervening prorogations? If this Resolution were concerned with the repeal of a tax in England, would the Chancellor of the Exchequer have felt himself bound by it under the same circumstances? The American Colonies in the last century objected to the right of the British Parliament to tax them. Dispassionate lawyers, examining the subject when the heat of the controversy had cooled and the consequent events had passed down the historic stream of time, have arrived at the conclusion that on this point they were in error. What would have been their verdict if the taxation had been imposed by a Resolution of the House of Commons?

But we hasten to vindicate the House of Commons which sat in 1877 from the possible imputation of having taken a step, which could not be defended upon Constitutional grounds or arguments derived from policy or expediency. The Resolution of 1877 was a Resolution as to *taking off* a tax—not as to *putting on* a tax. A Resolution of the former kind has no doubt been on some occasions passed by the House of Commons notwithstanding the opinions of its leaders—but a Resolution of the latter kind, seldom or never. If the Resolution of 1877 did not direct or sanction the imposition of an excise duty—much less did it direct

or sanction the imposition of this duty upon those whose liability had not been shown, while a strong case of non-liability was before those, who urged obedience to a mandate never issued. If the House of Commons, which sat in 1877, could be reconstituted to-morrow, who will doubt that a Resolution disclaiming their mandate for the rejection of the reasonable amendment proposed in the Legislative Council of India, would, if moved, be adopted by both parties in the House?

Since this article was written, the House of Commons has by a majority, approximating three to one, rejected the motion made by Sir Henry James to adjourn the House for the purpose of discussing the recent imposition of duties on the importation of cotton manufactures into India. All dispassionate men, who are proud of the true greatness of Great Britain, have rejoiced that the result has been worthy of the occasion; that the feeling and the interests of India, though unrepresented, have not been disregarded or sacrificed; and that Great Britain has proved not unworthy of the high trust which Providence has committed to her care and keeping.

LORD ELGIN ON THE OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

By J. W. Neill, I.C.S.,
Late Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

At the close of the discussion of the Cotton duties bill in the Council of the Governor General at Calcutta, Lord Elgin made some remarks on the obligations of individual members of the Council, which have been the subject of much comment in India, and have been loudly dissented from in different quarters as impugning the independence of the Legislative Council, and denying to the individual councillors the right to vote on every subject according to their judgment and their conscience. The matter is one of very great importance and very considerable public interest, and is well worthy of the attention of those who are interested in Indian affairs or in the relations between the United Kingdom and India. If an attempt is to be made to form a correct judgment on the matter in dispute, it would appear essential first of all to understand properly the constitution of the Government of our great Dependency, though it will not be necessary to enter into a long argument on the subject. With the details of the Government in India we need not at all concern ourselves; it is with the broad features of the Government that our interest lies. India, then, is part and parcel of the British Empire which is governed by Parliament. But India is not directly governed by Parliament. Such a course would be even now impossible, in spite of the facility and rapidity of communication with that country. A Government so far distant, so out of touch with its subordinate officials and so ignorant of the life and of the interests of a large eastern population could not directly govern the millions of India. The Parliament of the United Kingdom, therefore, delegates its powers, both executive and legislative, to a subordinate

Government to be exercised subject to its control. This subordinate Government again consists of two parts—the one part composed of persons residing in England, the Secretary of State and his Council—the other part composed of persons residing in India, namely the Governor General and his Council, consisting of both ordinary members and additional members for making laws and regulations. The form of Government has not materially altered since the time of the East India Company. Before the transfer of the Government to the Crown, the Governor General and his Council held the same position and exercised the same powers in India as they do now, while at home the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India divided the duties and responsibilities appertaining to the Secretary of State and his Council at the present time. The relations between the home part of the Government of India and the Indian part in the time of the Company could never be in doubt. The Government in India was in every respect, as regards its policy and its actions, subject to the orders of the Court of Directors. The Governor General could not set up any policy of his own—but was obliged to conform to the instructions received from home, from his masters the Directors; and when the Company's rule came to an end, all the powers possessed by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors were vested in the Secretary of State, who continues to control and direct the action of the Government of India. He, a member of the Cabinet which is practically chosen by the House of Commons to rule the United Kingdom, is primarily responsible, and, jointly with his colleagues, has to answer, to Parliament for the good government of India; and it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the chief authority should be vested in him. Distinguishing next between the executive and legislative powers which have been delegated by Parliament, the former is in India exercised by the Governor General and his Executive Council, while all legislation is carried on by

the same body re-inforced, however, by certain additional councillors. Before the Act of Parliament 16 and 17 Vict. Cap. 95 passed in 1853, which continued the Government of India for a further period in the hands of the East India Company, the power of legislation was exercised by the Governor General and his executive Council; but by that Act certain other persons were appointed to be members of that Council for and in relation to the exercise of the powers possessed of making laws and regulations, all of whom were to be servants of the Company, except the Chief Justice of Bengal and one of the other Judges of the Supreme Court. It was, however, also provided that no law or regulation made by the Council should have force or be promulgated until it had been assented to by the Governor General, whether he might have been present in Council at the making of it or not.

The transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown made no difference in the constitution of the Council for making laws and regulations; but the Act 24th and 25th Vict. Cap. 67 passed in 1861 introduced a change. It was enacted that

"For the better exercise of the power of making laws and regulations vested in the Governor General in Council, the Governor General shall nominate in addition to the ordinary and extraordinary members . . . such persons not less than six nor more than twelve in number as to him may seem expedient, to be members of Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations only, . . . provided that not less than one half of the persons so nominated shall be non-official persons who at the date of such nomination shall not be in the civil or military service of the Crown in India."

These appointments were to be for two years. The Governor General in Council was authorized to make rules for the conduct of business at meetings of the Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations prior to the first of such meetings; and the rules so made might be subsequently amended at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations, subject to the assent of the Governor General; but it was made lawful for the Secretary of State

in Council to disallow any such rule and render it of no effect. No member or additional member was to be at liberty to introduce, without the sanction of the Governor General, any measure affecting the public debt, the revenues, the religion or religious rites or usages of any class, or the discipline of the army or navy, or the relation of Government with foreign princes or states. The Governor General might assent to any law or regulation made by the Council or withhold his assent, or reserve it for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure; and no law or regulation should have validity until the Governor General had assented or Her Majesty had signified her assent. Even after the Governor General had assented to any law or regulation, Her Majesty might, through the Secretary of State, signify her disallowance of such law. It is unnecessary for the purpose of this paper to go into the question of the extent of the powers of the Governor General in Council to make laws and regulations: they are very ample.

Yet once again since 1861, has the constitution of the Indian Legislative Council been altered by 55 and 56 Vict. Cap. 14, passed in 1892. By this Act the number of additional members of Council to be nominated by the Governor General under the Act of 1861 is left to his discretion but must not be less than ten nor more than sixteen, and the Governor General in Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations shall be made. By this Act also the Governor General in Council is empowered to make rules authorizing, at the meeting of the Legislative Council, the discussion of the annual financial statement of the Governor General in Council and the asking of questions, but under such restrictions and conditions as the rules might prescribe. No member, however, at any such meeting, is permitted to submit or propose any resolution or to divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked under the authority of the Act or rules

made under it. Prior to this the business at meetings of the Council for making laws and regulations was limited to the consideration and enactment of measures introduced into the Council for the purpose of enactment, and no motion might be made or entertained unless it were for leave to introduce some measure or had reference to some measure actually introduced.

Acting on the power conferred on him by the Act of 1892 the Governor General has increased the number of additional members in his Council and has ordained that the nominations to five seats shall be made by him on the recommendation of the following bodies, *viz.*, the non-official additional members of the Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay; the non-official members of the Councils of the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and the N. W. P. and Oudh; and the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce; while other additional non-official members will be nominated at his discretion, in such manner as may appear most suitable with reference to the legislative business and the due representation of the different classes of the community. It may here also be explained that the bulk of the non-official members of the Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant Governors, numbering in each some 7 or 8 members, those whom they do not nominate according to their absolute discretion are appointed on the recommendation of the Municipal Corporations of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta,—of the senates of the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Allahabad,—of Chambers of Commerce or other associations of merchants, manufacturers or tradesmen,—and of groups of municipal committees and District Boards.

When the new arrangements came into force in 1894 the additional members of the Council of the Governor General were 14 in number—of whom four were official members and ten non-official members. One of the earliest measures brought before the Council after the assumption of charge by Lord Elgin was the Indian Tariff Bill. In introducing

it, the Financial member of Council, Mr. Westland, explained briefly the financial situation, and the necessity of meeting an inevitable deficit occasioned by the continued fall in the value of the rupee. A return to Customs duties appeared to furnish the least objectionable means of obtaining the revenue required and a moderate import duty of 5 per cent. was proposed. In the face of the condemnation of Cotton duties as protective by the House of Commons and the difficulty of depriving them of that character by means of an internal excise duty, it was proposed to exclude cotton manufactures from the bill, the more readily as without including them the receipts from customs were estimated to yield the sum required. While the imposition of import duties was unanimously approved, the exception of cotton manufactures was vigorously and hotly condemned by all the non-official additional members, several of the official members also speaking against it. In the end, however, the Financial member carried his point by a narrow majority, after the Viceroy had announced that the Secretary of State had expressed his willingness to consider the question of taxing imported cotton manufactures if that course was called for by the state of the finances and could be deprived of any protective effect. In December last the Financial member submitted to the Legislative Council that, without the aid of the Cotton duties, it would be impossible to make satisfactory arrangements for next year's Budget and that immediate legislation was advisable. He therefore introduced a bill to amend the Indian Tariff Act —and at the same time a Bill for the levy of excise duties on certain cotton goods manufactured in India, stating that the latter was not introduced by the Government of India on its own merits but as the necessary accompaniment of the former measure.

"Her Majesty's Government," he said, "representing the supreme authority in the administration of India and following the instructions of the House of Commons, have stipulated that if we are obliged by stress of finance to impose an import duty on cotton goods, we must deprive it of a protective character by imposing an equivalent duty upon similar goods

manufactured in India to the extent to which these enter into direct competition with goods imported from the United Kingdom. I do not desire to discuss this condition. It is a decision arrived at by an authority which is as capable of pronouncing an opinion on the economic question as the Government of India is, and which has, by the Constitution of the Government of India, the authority to enforce it. The part which the Government of India have taken in the discussion of the subject, has been in the first place to lay before her Majesty's Government such arguments on the subject as occur to themselves or as were communicated to them by various representative bodies in this country; and in the second place after receiving the decision of her Majesty's Government in the matter, which they accept as a fully instructed decision, to consider in what manner they can carry out the requirements of the House of Commons, while at the same time conserving, to the utmost degree consistent with these requirements, the interests of the manufacturers in their country, and avoiding, to the utmost possible extent, all interference with the process of manufacture and production in this country."

He then explained that according to the information of the Government of India nothing below 28's was imported from Manchester, and the Government had proposed to limit their tax to counts higher than 24's. The Secretary of State, on the other hand, believed, from the information obtained by him, that cloth was imported into India which contained, although in combination with finer yarns, yarns of count 24, and considering Her Majesty's Government pledged to the House of Commons to insist on the avoidance of all protection, desired to make 20's the highest free count. The actual truth could only be ascertained by an inquiry of a kind impossible to undertake while a measure like the Excise Bill was known to be under discussion; and the Government had, therefore, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government arranged that on the first introduction of the Bill the line should be fixed at 20's, but that power should be taken to raise it to 24's if it were found after inquiry that woven fabrics imported from Manchester do not, as a matter of fact, contain yarns so coarse. In the subsequent discussion on the Bill, an amendment was proposed by one of the non-official additional members who specially represented the interests of the mill-owners of Bombay, to the effect that the excise duty should not be

taken on counts below 24's. The mover based his action on the strong feeling prevalent in the country and the universal *consensus* of opinion on the subject; and several of the other non-official additional members followed suit, arguing either that the amendment would alleviate the effects of the Bill, or that no case had been made out that the import duty would favour the manufacture of counts lower than 24's. Sir Griffith Evans, in the course of an able speech, remarked:

"I do not suppose that any legislative assembly has ever had such a request made to it,—a request to tax, pending a decision to be come to by the Executive whether the tax is necessary or not. It is an abdication of the power and duties with which this Council has been entrusted by Parliament,—an abdication at the supposed bidding of the Secretary of State. I say supposed bidding;—for though he may have issued orders to the Executive to introduce the Bill in this form, he cannot order this Council to pass it: that depends on the vote of the majority of the members. The ordinary and additional members have equal votes, and each vote has equal value, with a casting vote in the President. I will not discuss now the position of those members of the Executive Council who sit in the statutory Council for making laws. Their position is, from their dual capacity, a complicated and difficult one, and I will leave them to explain it . . . but the unfettered discretion of the Council as a body, so far as its power extends, is undoubted and has been recognised by the Secretary of State over and over again in his published despatches."

He claimed for the additional members of Council, official and non-official, absolute freedom to vote as they might think wisest and best under all circumstances of each particular case,—and that they should decide in each case as practical men with a due sense of responsibility and a due regard for consequences and results. And he continued:

"It is not any strange or dangerous doctrine which I am preaching, nor is it a new one. The power of the Council is well safe-guarded and can be no danger to the State. The Bills we pass do not have the force of law until they receive the assent of the Governor General. He may refuse his assent or refer the matter to Her Majesty. Even if he gives his assent, the Secretary of State can disallow the act and it will then cease to be law. . . . But without the vote of this Council nothing can become law over the whole of India except in certain cases of emergency. We should be careful to maintain the position assigned to us in the Constitution and not to abdicate our functions or to allow the Executive to make laws while we only register them. The Secretary of State and the Executive Council have no legislative powers and cannot be allowed to usurp them."

The last non-official additional member to speak was Mr. Mehta, from Bombay, who protested

"against the principles and policy which seem to me to underlie the provisions of this Bill. That principle and that policy are that the infant industries of India should be strangled in their birth if there is the remotest suspicion of their competing with English manufactures."

He made a special appeal to the official additional members to join in support of the amendment; because, as he asserted, the exchange compensation granted to them had been one main cause of the deficit necessitating the levy of cotton duties; and he ended his speech thus:

"But it is said that if you adopt the amendment—the Secretary of State will veto the new Tariff act. My Lord, there are two senses in which the saying 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's' is true. It is true not only in the sense of rendering to Cæsar his rights and his dues; but it is true also, when it is a question of obligation and responsibilities that lie upon Cæsar. If the grave responsibility lying upon him for the safe administration of the country can, in his opinion, be best discharged by vetoing the Tariff act if the amendment is passed, leave to Cæsar, that is the Secretary of State, to undertake and discharge that responsibility. Why should we usurp it? The Government of Her Majesty's Indian Empire must be carried on; and it will be for him then to decide how to save the country otherwise from the yawning deficit which is being prophesied and which threatens to bring the Empire, I will not say to the verge of bankruptcy—but which will place it in a position of the greatest difficulty and hardship."

Following the non-official members one of the official additional members next spoke, and explained why he proposed to vote for the amendment:

"Understanding myself to be free to exercise my judgment, to the best of my ability, on the merits of the question before us."

None of the ordinary members of Council spoke at any length. The legal member had early in the debate reminded the members that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the introduction of the Bill imposing a duty on imported cotton goods, on the condition that a countervailing duty on local manufactures were imposed, and that having accepted the one act the Council was not at liberty, without a breach of faith, to refuse to give effect to the condition. Sir Anthony MacDonnell insisted:

"We are all placed under an obligation by Parliament, an obligation which, having regard to its origin, weighs as heavily upon the non-official members of this Council as upon the official members—that no measures shall be passed by this Council on this matter which will have a protective effect;"

and he expressed himself satisfied by the evidence that

"If the line be drawn at 24's the measure will not be free from a protective character."

Sir Henry Brackenbury said he thought that Sir Griffiths Evans rightly drew a distinction between those members of the official Council who were appointed as additional members and the ordinary members. The ordinary members were clearly bound to carry out the policy of the Secretary of State. As regards the other members, Sir Henry thought that they would act wisely in accepting the Bill, as the Government was willing that it should pass, and not risk the almost certain loss of it by insisting on the amendment.

Mr. Westland said that Sir Griffiths Evans had described the power of the Council as free and unfettered, and had called upon members to allow no infringement of that freedom. He could not help thinking that this attribute of a quite independent power arose in some measure from the fact that the authority, which in the United Kingdom is the ultimate deciding power in executive matters, is also that which exercises legislative authority; and it was assumed, therefore, that in exercising legislative authority they were in some way an ultimate deciding power, and they ought to be exempted from the consideration of anything that lay outside their own Council chamber. But he believed no legislative Council in the world was able to exercise its functions without regard to some other authority, superior or concurrent. Even the House of Commons accepted amendments of the House of Lords in order to save a Bill. His speech was most conciliatory, but he ended by saying:

"The question before the Council, I am bound to tell you, is a Government question, on which the Government will, for the reasons and on the principles I have explained, exercise the whole of its voting power. But I hope that, after the explanation I have given, I may hope to receive the support also of those members whose opinions on the merits of the point at issue may coincide with those of the mover of the amendment."

It was almost imperative,—in view of the appeals made to the additional members of Council, and to the claim to absolute independence and supremacy made on behalf of the Council, and the right of each individual member to vote according to his judgment on the merits of every question,—that the Governor General should not let the matter pass unnoticed. What he said was this:

"So far as the individual action of my colleagues and myself is concerned, Sir Henry Brackenbury, in the discussions on the last Tariff Bill and again to-day, has said we are bound to obey the orders given by the proper and constitutional authorities. But for my part, I do not think that exhausts the question. It is claimed that members must be free to speak and vote in this Council for the measure they honestly think best. I can accept that proposition only with the qualification that they duly recognise the responsibility under which they exercise their rights in this Council. Only in an entirely irresponsible body can members act entirely as their inclination leads them. In every legislative body, a man must sit, unless he has a hereditary right, by what in modern *parlance* is called a mandate, and that mandate must be given by some authority. I need not remind you that in Parliament a man is not free to act exactly as he pleases; he is distinctly subject to the mandate he has received from his constituents; and practice has shown that even this is not sufficient, but that to make parliamentary Government effective, it has been necessary to introduce party management; and the bonds of party, in the present day, certainly show no signs of being relaxed. Here we have no election, and I am glad to say no party; but every man who sits here sits by the authority and sanction of Parliament; and to say that he can refuse to obey the decisions of Parliament would be absurd. But that is not all. Parliament has provided for the Government of the Indian Empire. The British *Raj* can be provided for in no other way. Parliament has allotted his proper place to the Viceroy, as Head of the Executive in India, and it has given him a Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations which cannot have powers in which he does not share. But the Viceroy admittedly is not invested with supreme authority, which, as I understand it, is, by distinct enactment, entrusted to the Secretary of State and his Council; and to speak of this Council as supreme—if that means that it has independent and unfettered authority, is to say what is not the fact."

After defending the action of the Secretary of State in the matter before the Council, he added:

"Far be it from me to deny that it is within the competence of the Council to throw out any measure. It would be its duty so to act if the public weal were endangered. But as I have endeavoured to point out, the vote of this Council, and as I maintain of every individual member of it, is given under the responsibility of doing nothing to dislocate the complicated machinery by which this great Empire is governed."

These are the remarks to which exception has been taken as stripping the Council of all dignity and independence. Yet it would seem that, without carrying that implication, they contain a far juster view of the position of the Council than appears to be entertained by many of those who sit in it. It is true that Lord Elgin might have expressed himself in a more pointed way and a simpler fashion, and that his allusions to parliament, elections, mandates and party discipline rather obscure than illumine the question he was discussing; but he rightly indicated the limits of the powers of the Council and the duty which the members owe to the source whence they derive their authority, in so far as he enunciated the following propositions as applicable to the Council, (*a*) that neither the Viceroy nor his Council has supreme authority in the Government of India,—(*b*) that only in a wholly irresponsible body can the members act or vote altogether as their inclination leads them.—(*c*) that no member of the Governor General's Council can refuse to obey the decision of Parliament,—and (*d*) that the vote of the Council and of every individual member of it must be given under the responsibility of doing nothing to dislocate the complicated machinery by which the Empire is governed. Let us take these propositions in turn.

No one denies that the Viceroy or Governor General in Council, as representing the Government of the Crown in India, is under the control of the Secretary of State, of the Cabinet or of Parliament; but there seems to be a notion that a distinction may be drawn between the executive and the legislative powers of the Government, and that in exercising the powers of the Executive the Viceroy in Council is subject to a control, from which he is exempt when exercising his power of legislation with the aid of his enlarged Council. But there would appear to be no authority for this. The Legislative Council, as it is usually called, is not a separate Council—it is the Council of the Governor General when it meets for making laws and regulations, on which occasions certain additional members nominated by

the Governor General have the right to sit. These additional members were appointed by parliamentary statute not in order to limit or enlarge the power of the Governor General in Council and not in order that a body of persons chosen by the inhabitants of India should, independently of the Governor General, take part in the legislation of the country, but simply in the words of the statute

"for the better exercise of the power of making laws and regulations vested in the Governor General in Council."

Neither in the wording of the statutes by which additional members were added to the Council of the Governor General assembled for making laws, nor yet in the history of legislation in India is there anything to countenance the notion referred to. The subordination of the Governor General in Council in matters legislative as well as in matters executive has, up to the present time, never been seriously questioned. One might point to many things in connection with the Legislative Council as almost inconsistent with any other view. The fact that the additional members are all nominated by the Governor General, the fact that only a proportion of them are non-officials—the fact that the assent of the Governor General is required for the validity of any law that may be enacted,—the fact that the Secretary of State may *veto* any law that has been passed—the fact that even the rules made by the Council for making laws regarding the conduct of business may be disallowed by the Secretary of State,—all these matters, provided for by Statute, would seem to militate against the claim to supreme, or uncontrolled authority in its own sphere, on the part of the Legislative Council. But taking broader ground, it may be pointed out that it is impossible to separate entirely the executive and the legislative powers. They are not separated in Parliament. The legislative power really implies control of the executive power, or it would be useless to make laws. The executive power is mainly concerned with administration; but administration requires the continued aid of legislation. Is it possible to

believe that the Governor General in Council can carry on the administration of India if he cannot obtain the legislation which he requires? Is it possible for the Secretary of State to be responsible for the good government of India and to be accountable to Parliament, if he cannot control the Government in the exercise of its most important functions? To ask these questions is sufficient. The theory of our constitution is unquestioned. The Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament: his control is affirmed by Act of Parliament; and he must have the means and the power to enforce his views. Parliament, in imposing on him a duty, entrusts him with the authority requisite to discharge it.

Next as to the freedom of members to vote according to their inclinations, or if it is preferred, according to their judgment, on the merits of the particular question before them. It is rarely indeed the case, that a matter discussed in a legislative body can be wholly detached from every other question, that it does not touch other interests and is not complicated by other considerations. All these have to be taken into account in coming to a decision, even on what may seem mere matters of detail, and not of principle. It is probably only in a debating society that a decision could be arrived at on the abstract merits of the subject matter of discussion. In matters of politics, of life, of conduct, of all questions which are not of pure morals, other considerations must be allowed their due weight, and the persons called upon to decide must do their best to reconcile their different responsibilities, and determine their course, after judging of the relative importance of different interests. One consideration must, however, necessarily be paramount with the Legislative Council of India; it cannot, and its members cannot refuse to accept a decision of Parliament. This would appear to be almost self-evident. The power to legislate enjoyed by the Council is derived from Parliament, and it can be withdrawn as it has been delegated. The decision on any point of the sovereign authority—the

supreme legislature,—must constrain and be binding on the subordinate legislative authority. It has been argued that this is not so; that all Government would be reduced to a bureaucracy if because a council is created by Parliament, therefore every member of it is under an obligation to vote according to the real or supposed wishes of a particular Parliament; but that when Parliament creates a council it necessarily entrusts the members of it with the duties and lays upon them the responsibilities that are inherent in their office; that they are entrusted with the responsibility of voting according to their conscience; and that they are bound to exercise their responsibility until it is formally withdrawn. Parliament may override their decision, but it cannot require the members to vote this way, or that; while a man remains a member of the Council it is his duty to vote according to his conscience. This is plausible reasoning, but it is surely undeniable that a subordinate government or legislature must submit to the law of its being. It cannot set up its own will against the will of the power from which it derives its authority. Just as a subordinate legislature is bound to obey a law of the supreme legislature or sovereign power, and can pass no law inconsistent therewith, it must obey a command of the same sovereign power whether that is expressed in the form of a law or not. The form really matters nothing. Nor will it do to say that in the case of Parliament, one Parliament may differ from another, and the decision or command of one may be reversed by another. In the same way a law passed by one might be repealed by another. A subordinate government or legislature must submit itself to the Supreme power as it exists at the moment. It is, of course, impossible to make every one see or do his duty or realize the effects of his action. When it is said that a member of a subordinate legislature cannot refuse to obey the decision of the authority from which it has derived its authority, what is meant is that he ought not to do so: and accordingly the Viceroy finally said that

the vote of the Council and every individual member of it must be given under the responsibility of doing nothing to dislocate the complicated machinery by which the Empire is governed. What would be the result of blind obstinacy, of refusal to submit to constitutional control,—of stubborn unintelligent opposition—if it were not that such a state of things is impossible to contemplate in connexion with the Indian Council? The administration of the country would be thrown out of gear; the action of the Council might have to be annulled; Parliament itself might have to legislate with greater difficulty and with less knowledge; or the delegated powers of legislation might have to be withdrawn and the Council remodelled.

Important as it is, however, that the Council should realize its own limitations and that its members should appreciate the responsibility under which they discharge their duty, it is no less important that the really great part which the Council plays in the Government of India should not be misapprehended or underrated. It is not called upon or required to register decrees forced upon it; nor yet to accept, with submission and in silence, every proposal of the Executive Government. In the circumstances of India almost every proposal for legislation must emanate from the Executive government; but the Government of India has at all times shown itself most anxious to elicit, from all quarters, criticism and discussion of the measures it has introduced into the Council, and it has spared no pains to consult all persons, authorities, associations and public bodies from whom it might expect assistance in the elaboration of the project, or enlightenment as to the manner in which the proposed legislation would be regarded by the people and would actually affect them. In nominating additional members from the non-official community, the Governor General has ever made choice of the men most esteemed among their fellow-citizens for their ability and public spirit, or for the high position and for the respect they enjoy. More recently, as has been seen, some

attempt at representation, though hardly popular representation, has been introduced. With the limitation that the policy and commands of the dominant country, as expressed directly by Parliament or through her Majesty's Government, must not be frustrated or disregarded, every member is free to speak and free to vote as his judgment dictates, on any question either of principle or detail; the greatest independence of speech and action has been indulged in and even encouraged, and a slight acquaintance with the debates in the Council would be sufficient to convince anyone that they are carried on with no more restraint than is customary in any chamber of a like nature. Even the ordinary members of Council who form part of the Executive Government frequently vote on different sides, and there is probably in reality less abstention from voting according to individual judgment than in any political assembly that could be found. The Council has been presided over by many eminent Viceroys: and many eminent civil and military servants of the Crown have sat in it; but no one with an adequate knowledge of India is ignorant of the very distinguished part which the non-official additional members of the Council have played in the past, and the great services which they have rendered. Among them have been both natives of India and Europeans; the former drawn from different parts of India, the latter perhaps more exclusively from Calcutta; and the present Council includes more than one such member who might compare favourably with the most distinguished of his predecessors. They have found scope for their ability, patriotism and independent spirit while yet recognising that the position of India as a dependency makes it incumbent on them to accept, at times, a policy which they may not altogether approve. England having undertaken the Government of India and having declared her policy of carrying on that Government for the good of India, may occasionally have to overrule the popular wish in relation to a policy which she thinks mischievous: but at no time

have the people of England been more determined than at present to fulfil the great trust which they have undertaken. Only the other day, Mr. Goschen declared that just in proportion as he held that India cannot be endowed with such representative institutions as are suited to Europe and such assemblies as we have here, he felt strongly that Parliament was bound to listen to the voice of the Indian people on questions affecting their interests; and he added that he wished India to understand that

"In this House, on both sides, there is a determination that Indian feeling should be considered as much as the feeling of any part of the country."

The words with which Mr. Fowler concluded his admirable speech on the same occasion may also be quoted:

"My right honourable friend has said that India has no representatives in the House. I deny the accuracy of that allegation. The representatives of India in this House are not one or two individuals, not even the section of members who are thought to be experts on the one hand, or those men who have a profound, a deep, and a special interest in Indian affairs on the other. Every member of this House, whether elected by an English or by a Scotch or by an Irish constituency, is a member for India. All the interests of India, personal, political, commercial, financial and social, are committed to the individual and collective responsibility of the House of Commons. I ask the House to discharge that gigantic trust, uninfluenced by any selfish or party feeling, but with wisdom and justice and generosity."

The response which this appeal met with is surely a guarantee to the people of India that the control which Parliament exerts over the Indian legislature will be exercised in the interests of India, and that there is no need to fear that they will be subordinated to those of any other part of the United Kingdom.

CHINA'S FUTURE:

A STUDY.

By Colonel Mark Bell, v.c., c.b.

To gain a knowledge of the China of the past and the present sufficient to form a conception of what she may be in the future as a fighting Power, it is essential that we should call to mind how her army and navy have comported themselves hitherto against organized forces.

This study will, at the same time, give an insight into the character of her people and their modes of thought and action. It will show that their character is typically oriental; wedded to the traditions of race and to habit, and incapable, apparently, of appreciating the advantages of discipline and of exact military training.

Her navy is a creation of the present. Her first essay as a sea power against France sufficed to lead us to expect of her fleet some such drama as we have lately seen enacted in the Yellow Sea, and this factor of strength need not further be referred to. The fate of her navy must be that of every fleet not kept up to the highest pitch of training and efficiency, manned by crews without capable commanders; without discipline and cohesion.

Our wars with China, since the opening of any considerable trade with her, in 1830, have been commercial wars, forced on us by onerous restrictions placed on foreign trade generally, by insults offered to our trade superintendents and contemptuous treatment of foreign merchants. Such treatment stood the case to the Chinese of a victory over the "barbarian" traders, the authorities seizing every opportunity to humiliate them and expel them the country. They were no selfish wars undertaken for selfish ends; but it was Great Britain's wont in those days to take the lead in all enterprise, and to allow the whole of Christendom to enjoy the fruits of it.

Notwithstanding the contemptuous action of the mandarins even at that time there was a party favourable to foreign intercourse, and who advocated it on the grounds of its importance to China, because essential to the Imperial revenue, and of the impossibility of preventing it. They, however, were powerless to overcome the stubborn resistance of the so-called "patriotic" party, strongly averse to all dealings with the "foreign devils," and whose object was to be rid of, to curb, control, and humble, the foreign community.

Such ignominious treatment caused our representative in Canton, in 1838, to warn all traders that they could not reside there with either safety or honour, and forced upon us the war of 1840-41, to obtain redress and reparation for injuries inflicted: it was a just war and was not undertaken, as the Chinese have endeavoured to represent, to force opium upon them.

The result of the war was similar to that of all the wars in which China has engaged with Europeans or with any trained force such as Japan can now put in the field. The Chinese were defeated everywhere and on all occasions; they credited their adversary with being as ignorant of war and as simple-minded as themselves; they pitched tents to represent encampments or threw up conical mounds of earth and whitewashed their tops with the same object; the commanders embezzled the funds provided for defence and the pay of the troops; the Government issued edicts to deceive the people and hide the truth; those of the unsuccessful ministers and generals who did not commit suicide to escape death or degradation submitted themselves voluntarily to their fate, as decreed by the Board of Punishments.

To wear out the "barbarians" by every artifice of diplomacy, truces were made only to be broken and to allow effect to be given to secret instructions to redouble efforts for defence.

As an early result of the war, Hong Kong came into our

possession and direct intercourse between the two countries was agreed to, by treaty, upon an equal footing. This treaty was, however, never ratified; and numerous were yet to be the armistices treacherously arranged, and many reverses and disasters were yet to be suffered before the peace of 1842.

Throughout their operations the Chinese showed an absolute ignorance of the principles of fortification—and this notwithstanding that a Chinese peasant is a born sapper—and of the tactics of defence and attack; the importance of holding the key of a defensive position never struck them; they thought of their front only and left their flanks and rear to look after themselves. Such an operation as escalading had never presented itself as possible to their unoriginal minds, and was regarded as unfair and described as that of walking over walls on sticks; such a want of originality, considering that their towns are all surrounded by high walls, points to a defect in adapting means to an end which is difficult to account for except by admitting a defective intellect due to an education void of all practical utility.

Their favourite practice was to harass; by kidnapping, by drifting fire-rafts against our shipping, and by piracy. To ill-treat those, however, who served us produced its own results: it bound them to us by the strongest of ties, *i.e.*, that of fear from their own countrymen. Individuals displayed great bravery in facing death; in many cases their bravery was that of despair for they fought under the impression that we, like themselves, gave no quarter. Bodies of Tatar troops at times, however, displayed indomitable courage. Such courage was conspicuous at Chapu and Chin-Kiang-fu in 1842; it showed that discipline only was required in directing it, to produce most excellent results; and even their misguided heroism in their acts of suicide and the murder of their own families must raise in us a sentiment of admiration mingled with regret.

Whilst on the subject of bravery we may here add that

the Chinese coolie corps did excellent service at Canton in 1857, carrying ammunition close up to the rear of our columns; and also in 1860, although recruited from the scum of Canton and Hong Kong, they did yeoman service. At the attack of the Peiho forts they showed great bravery holding the ladders in the ditch to allow the French storming party to cross; and throughout the campaign the troops behaved with courageous endurance considering the inferiority of their arms and training.

Led by Gordon the "Ever Victorious Army" showed great gallantry, and, against their fellows, reformed and renewed the attack after a repulse in a manner that would have done great credit to European troops.

Nevertheless on no occasion was any portion of the Chinese troops which had been defeated with slaughter, a second time arrayed against us. It is the nature of a Chinaman to fight until his adversary has proved himself to be the better man; he will then cease all resistance. However brave and obstinate the defence, he will carry it only to a certain point; he will desert his post as soon as the attacker storms the parapet, and will jump overboard so soon as the boarders crowd the deck.

In dealing with this nation of fair words and foul deeds, it was found necessary to seize high officials and hold them as hostages; all prisoners lost were never heard of again, and they were tortured to death.

Our clemency under all provocation eventually resulted in the Chinese adopting a similar conduct towards our prisoners, and caused them to wonder at our forbearance and to dread our power.

Everything showed the insignificance of China's military resources, and our chief difficulty lay in keeping in check the Chinese rabble, ever ready to plunder. Their armies invariably melted away after a defeat; for a Chinese soldier can soon divest himself of all that marks him as such, when he at once becomes indistinguishable from peasant or artisan.

The tedious and desultory operations conducted from 1840 to 1843 showed that such a method of coercing China was of little avail, for disasters, distant from his capital, annoyed his pride but did not materially affect the Emperor and the Central Government who thought only of the vicinity of Peking and the Peiho. So long as negotiations could be prolonged, and the scene of the drama shifted from one distant place to another, so long were they less likely to yield to the inevitable. There is no national patriotic feeling in China, and the peoples of North, Mid, and South China would readily join in an internecine war.

The peace of 1842 was due to the heavy blow struck by the stoppage of the Yang-tse-Kiang trade; a blow aimed at a vital artery, second only to the Peiho. Yet it was the firm belief of those best acquainted with the Chinese character that they would not keep faith with us or hold reluctant intercourse with us, short of such being exacted by the capture of Peking, a judgment which after events proved to be a correct one. Her financial exhaustion alone caused the treaty to be maintained and saved the country from further immediate disasters. Many, however, were the innocent victims offered up to screen the Peking mandarins, who govern China in their own interests. As a result of their inflammatory proclamations patriots arose who sowed the seeds of rebellion and many difficulties, and led to the expedition to Canton in 1846. In 1850 the Taiping rebellion broke out with the object of exterminating the Tatars and restoring a Chinese, the Ming, Dynasty.

Our treaty of 1842 removed many hindrances to British trade and the degrading inequality on which it was conducted, and placed all British subjects under the authority of their own Consuls, as it was impossible to trust to Chinese justice. These advantages were made, by us, to extend to all Christendom.

Still continuous endeavours to exclude the British from Canton caused expeditions to be sent there in 1856-57.

This dispute, however, was treated as a local one and war was not declared against the Empire. Constant evasions of the treaty eventually compelled Great Britain, France, America and Russia to act in accord and to demand of the Chinese that they should establish relations with them on a safe and satisfactory basis. An evasion of this demand led to the expedition to the Peiho in 1858, and to a movement up that river of a combined hostile and diplomatic character.

The Taku forts were taken; Tientsin occupied and a treaty of Peace signed on the 26th June, 1858. Desultory operations still continued around Canton during 1858-59, owing to the action of the "patriots" who harassed the garrison there, by kidnapping and murder.

The expedition to the Peiho in 1859, for the purpose of ratifying the treaty of 1858, found the Peiho closed to it. Its attempt to enter the river was repulsed for want of adequate preparation and arrangements for the assault of the forts; and the Chinese refusing to atone for this outrage or to allow the treaty to be ratified at Peking, the campaign of 1860 was undertaken, the British and French Governments entering into an alliance to enforce the stipulations of the 1858 treaty.

The results of this war cannot be reckoned as other than satisfactory; for since its close China has, by foreign aid, advanced in civilization and become opened out to travel and, to some extent, to trade, which at certain ports is placed under foreign control, and to missionary enterprise.

To have refrained from the war and yet to have maintained our position at the several ports would have been impossible, and to have given up trade with China would have been to injure the people to gratify the pride and prejudice of the official classes. To have attacked any other less vital part of the Empire than Peking, would have been to render the recurrence of hostilities certain. By attacking Peking, the Emperor himself and the Central Government, and not merely a Viceroy and a local government, were humbled; and its occupation went far to prove

to the people the fallacy of the assumption that the Emperor of China rules the world, and that "all the world pays tribute to the Government of China." This belief still lives in inner China.

The campaign of 1860, resulting in the capture of Peking, should be studied attentively, and for a précis of it we refer our readers to "the United Service Journal of India," for it shows, when we compare it and our previous wars with China with what is happening at the present time. that China has made no more real progress in the art of war between 1860 and 1895 than she made between 1840 and 1860. She trusts still to protracted negotiations to gain time; her treatment of prisoners is cruel and barbarous; her fighting tactics and methods are as they ever were: her army, then as now, required only that a man should don a uniform; an undisciplined horde without administration. Her armament was in both cases of guns that she could not serve, and her officers were uninstructed and corrupt "Braves," often anything but courageous. Indeed her means of offence and defence of to-day are as much less efficient than those of older days as the 10" B.L.R. gun is superior to the old 68-pounder. For the former requires a more highly-trained and educated man to serve it than the latter, and a defence by heavy guns is nowadays an abstruse and progressive science which has to keep pace with improvements in electricity, hydraulics and mechanics: is there one single officer or man in the whole of the Chinese army fit to organize such a defence or even to carry out its manual work? Not one! They have trusted to armaments unsuited to their genius—to the rifled musket and cannon; and have forgotten the one thing important,—the training of the men to use them with effect. And so to-day the scenes of 55 years ago are being re-enacted. We are even led to doubt whether the fact is grasped that unless peace is made at once the Japanese will occupy Peking; for the Chinese mind is not as our mind, and it cannot credit an enemy with making known his real intentions, because doing so is considered by a Chinaman to be the acme of

folly. But the Japanese have studied history as well as naval and military tactics and administration, and every move of the campaign before hand; and they know that the capture of Peking is the only convincing sign of China's defeat, and they may insist on dictating terms of peace within its walls.

To enforce treaties and neighbourly conduct on China it is as necessary now, as then, to act as if the gates of Peking were held by an armed force. Under present conditions of government the foreigner will never be other than the "Foreign Devil" and an unwelcome intruder. It may please her ambassadors to remark, as the late Marquis Tseng has done, that "we sometimes hear it asserted that the Chinese strive to avoid intercourse with European nations. This is not so. We do not fear contact with foreign nations: nay, we court it, for we know the advantage of it. But we refuse to have our hand forced. We believe that commerce, etc., to be beneficial, must be a free gift and the spear is not the Moses' rod to make it flow into the great ocean of the world's wants." When he so wrote, he chose to forget history. We should be foolish did we follow his example in this matter and forget the history of foreign intercourse with China, as we have here epitomized it since 1830, otherwise the Powers might again be compelled to force the hand of his nation in the very manner which he so eloquently decries. Far better will it now be to treat with the nation direct and not through its *literati*,—a governing class in its death-throes.

Having depicted China as a military and naval nation since her intercourse with Europeans, and shown to what extent she has been able to develop neighbourly qualities, and powers of defence and offence when left to herself, let us endeavour to ascertain of what she is capable under a better administration.

We judge of an army by the measure of its possession of certain moral and physical qualities and of the capacities of a people to create that army, by a standard of reference not

less severe:—its genius for war. Now to what extent do the Chinese army and people conform to these test qualifications? We, in this part of our study, follow Clauzewitz the talented writer on the "Art of War" whose deeply considered maxims have stood the test of time and are as true to-day as when written some 60 years ago.

The moral forces giving life and vitality to an army are its military virtue, its national feeling and the talents of its commander. The military virtue of an army arises from habit, custom and discipline, and generates courage and enthusiasm and submission to the demands of a higher kind, *viz.*, obedience, order, rule and method. Courage holds the ranks together; and enthusiasm causes brother to clasp the hand of brother, and together to advance to meet danger.

Esprit de corps forms the bond of union between its active forces: it causes an army to preserve its usual formations under the heaviest fire; to dread no imaginary fears; to dispute the ground inch by inch; never to be depressed by defeat. An army imbued with it has its physical powers inured to fatigue; it looks on toil as a means to victory; and it is ever reminded of its duty by the one thought of the honour of its arms.

Military virtue alone can take the place of a talented commander and supply the deficiency of individual talent in leaders; and we may here call to mind how often this virtue has saved a British cause.

Without it an army may become demoralized. If wanting, it can only be supplied by superior leading or popular enthusiasm. It can be generated by only two forces acting conjointly: a succession of wars and great victories, and an activity carried to the highest pitch so that the soldier may learn his powers. The formed soldier is as proud of overcoming toil as of surmounting danger. Once the military virtue of an army becomes a strong tree it will withstand the fiercest storms, and having been once acquired it can be fostered, and will last several generations. Without it

the self-esteem and vanity of an army may go for nothing. In the first instance a well drilled army without this virtue can only gain renown through its leader, and he must act with double caution, until by degrees, by victories and hardships, he can create it. Such a leader is a rare birth; and happy is the country that possesses one in the time of her need!

Let us here put the case of the Japanese and Chinese forces now in the field. Prestige of great victories, strong national sentiment, *esprit de corps* amongst both officers and men, talented commanders, in a word an army imbued with military virtue is pitted against an ill-disciplined mob of hereditary bondsmen without a commander. These considerations, combined with what we have shown China's military virtue to have been since 1840, and the fact, stated as far back as 1890 in the "Asiatic Quarterly," that her army was at that time a negative quantity, will enable us to account for her almost unparalleled disasters, and to judge what the chances of China now are of resisting the advance of a victorious Japan!

It is useless to base an argument on the platitude that the vast latent resources of China in *personnel* and *matériel* must enable her to conquer in the end; for this has been proved to be untrue, time after time, by actual results; and let us not be instrumental in the shooting down of her sons like quail, by inducing her to trust to it. Discipline and training give to their possessor an advantage that neither bravery nor numbers nor both can withstand. Marquis Tseng would now himself admit the fallacy of his statement that 'the strength of a nation is not in the number of soldiers it can arm, etc., but in its toiling millions that provide the sinews of war.' He forgot the value of time and the consequences of the loss of opportunity. A rusted spring requires to be oiled, and time is necessary for its rebound; and a defence by a stubborn resistance is useless if rushed.

As to the possibility of *an army being formed out of her*

people, China's case is most favourable. To prove this, let us here, therefore, consider to what extent the Chinese people possess a "genius for war." Here again we follow Clauzewitz as our safest guide.

Genius for war is the harmonious association of certain powers; courage, sagacity, etc. Every special calling in life requires peculiar qualifications of understanding and soul; and war, being the province of danger, courage, both physical and moral, is the first quality of the warrior; it is the province of physical exertion and suffering—and these under the guidance of the powers of the understanding; it is the province of uncertainty and chance, and requires that quick perception which leads to truth and resolution. This latter is a rare act of courage. The less disciplined the army, the greater must be the skill and resolution of the commander; for he himself must move the ill-oiled machine, the ill-disciplined and ill-trained army, into right actions.

Each grade of command requires its own requisite capacities: and the Chinese soldier, although he may never be fit to lead, may be trained and led. The Chinese peasant, who, until otherwise taught, is docile and respectful to his superiors, with an inborn faith that the decrees and wishes of his Emperor, the "Son of Heaven," but represent on earth the hard fate to which he is bound to bow, carries with him into the ranks a certain amount of natural discipline, which causes him at once to obey and respect authority. Beyond this point his discipline, under officers of his own nationality, never passes, and in all true military discipline he is untrained. Granting obedience readily and naturally and without constraint, as a child to a parent, he will also exact that equivalent of consideration on the part of his military superior which is always conceded to him in civil life,—that is, he will treat his officer as a natural parent, and consider himself at liberty to behave as a child, at times wilful, will behave to his parent. He will fall out of the ranks to talk to a friend or to satisfy his curiosity with

regard to a stranger; will talk in the ranks, and when marching past will "chin-chin" to bystanders. No European traveller in China can help being struck with this national peculiarity. Although the villagers will call him a "foreign devil" and will crowd upon him, enter his private rooms, sit upon his chairs, smoke, touch everything and watch all his motions, yet they will treat him with the respect due to a superior. Soldiers would, in the same manner, crowd into the quarters of their commanding officer if their curiosity prompted them to do so.

The European leader alone can separate the Chinaman from his typical characteristics, superciliousness and egotism, and lead him to victory.

The Chinese peasant fulfils well and naturally many of the conditions required of the rank and file of an army. His physique is excellent; his endurance and frugality leave little to be desired; no people accept a fact so readily or bow so meekly to the superior will; and when well commanded their obedience and discipline are exemplary. Under discipline we have shown that his courage is undoubted. From their ranks can be selected subordinate commanders, but for posts requiring genius for war they will be long unfit. The higher the command the greater the demand on the reasoning and intellectual faculties; and there is no class of Chinamen, either educationally or socially, fit to form its corps of officers. This corps must be drawn from extraneous sources. Such officers as at present exist are chiefly place-men and intriguers, and as the civil mandarin holds his military brother in contempt, he often takes command in time of war, arguing that he who has read about war is more fit to make war than an uneducated military official. War is held in China to be suited only to the unlearned and the barbarian. This consideration should have admitted of their pride long ago accepting the inevitable and permitting the "barbarian" to administer and officer their naval and military forces; but the civil Mandarin who takes precedence and is all powerful is a

mere pedant whose conservative education in the classics, the lore and the maxims of the era of the flood,—an education absolutely void of all practical tuition,—has rendered him unfit for practical life as we understand it; and for forming a well-balanced judgment between faith in the foreigner, and fear of being conquered by him.

It has specially unfitted them, as a body, for becoming adepts in the Art of War which consists in the application of skill in preparing for war by exertion, discipline and the maintenance of naval and military forces and technical schools, departments, arsenals and factories, etc., and the conduct of war in the field, the establishment of martial camps and cantonments, etc. Their natural defects as soldiers, *viz.*, want of conception, promptness and resource when led by men as unoriginal as themselves, become in the rank and file military virtues so soon as the European steps in to lead, to organize and to supply that amount of originality and imagination required to effect military combinations.

A man whose maxim it is "better get wet than run" can never command; nor can he who allows his nail to grow in order to show that he never works be ever useful in the provinces of danger, uncertainty, chance, toil and endurance. The Chinese have never been a conquering people. The military caste is classed with the unlearned, as near akin to the barbarian white, as the despised and rejected of men. It is now time for the despised and rejected foreigner to gather together these latter as brotherly neighbours and train them into a body capable of keeping the peace at home and the enemy from their gates. A Mandarin government can never accomplish so much, and the jealousy that it is found politic to foster between the Tatar and Chinese troops prevents the efficiency of either.

As a class the civil Mandarins are too jealous of their military brothers, and too selfish to inaugurate reform hurtful to themselves; and China's military training and policy are, in consequence, the brain conceptions of these astute *literati*, who have neither a practical knowledge

of the subject nor the faintest idea of the requirements of the Art of War, or what a modern soldier is. They are unable to face the difficulties of reform, and lack courage to improve themselves; for reform must necessitate a complete relinquishment of old traditions and customs, both civil and military.

As in 1860 we hastened from the country to save the Manchu dynasty so again is that dynasty now in jeopardy. Let the Powers now step in for its good and the advantage of China's teeming millions. The dynasty is harmless; not so those who serve it, the Mandarin power, the literary oligarchy, which forms the Central Government and administers the Provinces and holds every responsible and lucrative post in the Kingdom. This body of corrupt and self-seeking officials have been faithless to their country and their Emperor, who should be to them as the "Son of Heaven" and their Father. The class should be deposed as the authors of all evil and the affairs of the people be administered by Europeans. Totally discredited as the class is, the simple Chinaman will gladly accept the situation; he who deals with him in a neighbourly way, gives him commerce, markets for his goods, work in the mines that surround him, peace and plenty, will be to him an inestimable blessing. We have abundant proof of this in the happy hundreds of thousands that have lived under our rule and accumulated wealth in the Straits Settlements and at Hong Kong, etc.

Let Great Britain, then, take the lead as she has hitherto always fearlessly done. Let her persevere in her task of educating China and not, as if unfitted for it, resign it to others.

China is one of our Imperial neighbours, bound to us by ties of commerce and geographical position; and we cannot neglect her without injury to our Imperial interests. The decay of empire can ever be traced to a failure to correspond with its environments, that is to actively sympathize with its neighbours; and we decline to acknowledge that

the Empire is declining. The latent wealth of China is undoubted. She is of greater value than many Indias; her peoples are peaceful, tractable and easily ruled; they are thrifty, good-natured, industrious and simple. I judge them and their country thus from personal knowledge; for I have wandered alone for many thousands of miles through the Flowery Land, admiring its plains, its mountains, its waters, its agriculture, its culture, its arts and, I would I could say, its sciences.

The task of regenerating China is not such a difficult one that we, with our experience gained in India, Egypt, and our Colonies, should shrink from it. This experience alone marks Great Britain to be pre-eminently the Power to lead in it. It will neither be a thankless nor unprofitable one. Quite the reverse: we shall both gain immense mutual advantages. It is essentially a humane one: and we cannot agree with those humanitarians who argue on general postulates that all peoples are equal and equally capable of governing themselves. We might just as well argue that a child can govern itself, as that China can govern herself, and at the same time hold free intercourse with the nations of Europe; or that the Red Indians of America could have produced a United States! or the Aborigines of Australia a New South Wales or Victoria! or the Kafirs, a Cape Colony! Old China is dead, and a new China must arise out of the dead ashes of her corruption. The Chinese nation must be acknowledged to be a fully-developed physical growth; but with a mind so ill-balanced, from a European point of view, as to necessitate tutelage, it may be, to all time.

A Government founded on deceit and corruption,—"having no mind to see nor strength to break,"*—cannot reform itself from within, nor does it want to. It is important to remember that this corrupt administration is recruited from the people themselves, and we may assume that it has on this account alone been so long tolerated: each beggar hopes that he may have a clever son who may

* *Light of Asia.*

rise to a lucrative post, enrich his old parents, and provide for his distant connections.

Intercourse with foreigners has given birth as yet to a very limited public opinion; but it has nevertheless created a judgment sufficient to guide the people's aspirations towards the attainment of a just and progressive government, and to cause them to acknowledge that it can only be attained under a foreign administration. Those amongst them who are Buddhists will readily recognise "the Power divine that leads to good," and that "who thwarts it loses and who serves it gains."* The followers of Confucius, of Laou-tse and of Muhammad will bow to reason and fate.

In days gone by China, under Mandarin rule, was self-contained, wished for no foreign intercourse and, as we have seen, fought against it with all the energy of which such a government was capable; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that her rulers felt themselves unequal to the task of entering into the community of European nations, and at the same time themselves escaping destruction. They fought for selfish reasons and not for the people's good. Now that China cannot maintain even the limited seclusion that has been possible to her since 1860, a Mandarin Government becomes a still greater impossibility. In the last 35, nay, 55 years, she has made no real progress. I have been pelted in Su-chow-fu (near Shanghai) and hooted outside the very gates of the British Embassy at Peking, and that not seven years ago. On leaving Peking for Central China I also left behind me all the veneer of progress that it was thought expedient to display for the edification and amusement of the "Foreign Devil," and I found beyond her walls only the stagnant China of old. Veneer and lacquer best suit the Chinese deceptive character. The necessary force having now been applied by Japan, let this corrupt and discredited Mandarin Government go by the board and let us cut away all its tentacular tackle, all the evils inherent in a corrupt and selfish

* *Light of Asia.*

administration, so that the old hulk, China, may drift clear into tranquil waters and refit.

We have seen that since 1838 the mandarins have betrayed the real interests of their country; their last betrayal constitutes the most gigantic imposition of the age and crowns their incapacity. If their government be kept alive the events of to-day must recur even under worse conditions, for China's next aggressor may be a European power. Such a power would be content with nothing less than giving to the Chinese people the administration that it is their right to enjoy, and this it would itself do by virtue of conquest. I stated in 1890 that the China of to-day could be conquered; and this study will have been in vain if it has not taught us that the China of the future, if left to herself, will be an equally facile prey to any first-class European Power.

It is incompatible with our Imperial interests that we should allow the existing balance of power in the East to be disturbed, and the present time should be to us a peculiarly anxious one. Should a renewed lease of life, which God forbid, be granted to the Mandarin Government, we must take up in the far East the position,—a most ruinous one,—of a strong man armed, so that we may be ever ready to prevent any Power, European or Asiatic, gaining in China a predominance of force sufficient to imperil our Australasian Colonies and India. We are apt to forget that one motive for French activity in the East is her jealousy of these growing Colonies, and that their prosperity lies in their peaceful growth, in the opening up of their resources; and in the increase of their numbers.* It is time that these Colonies seriously considered what they may be called upon to do in the Pacific seas in the future. The Anglo-Saxon nation must move continuously in the

* And in this connexion there is no reason why wages and prices in Australia should not now approximate to those in Great Britain, the cost of living in both countries being about the same, and so admit of her present expenditure on labour being readjusted so as to produce greater results.

straight and onward path of progress that leads to life in this world as in the next. It must not be too greatly influenced by the present environment of the cradle of its race, rent asunder by dread of destruction of the Empire, nor adopt a drifting policy, for fear of the consequences of activity. But in so far as no good can be foreseen from the renewal of a corrupt and discredited administration but evil only, it should not be permitted. The disease is deep and the reformer's knife must cut to its root and eradicate it, however deep-seated, if the body-politic is hereafter to enjoy a healthy and pleasurable existence.

As China cannot guide herself in the path of reform and progress, in the complete annihilation of all exclusiveness, in recruiting and officering and administering her naval and military forces so as to preserve the Eastern balance of power by making herself respected and compelling all intruders to stand off,—and if the Powers of Christendom will not take upon themselves to administer her, another fate may still be hers: for she may yet be so divided between them and Japan as to preserve that balance and give to each what should naturally fall to her lot in the proportion of their material interests in China.

The regeneration and opening up of China by the Powers might be expected to lead to the formation of various departments of administration modelled on that of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs' Department, from which China has reaped such rich harvests. These should include Civil and Judicial, Military, and Naval departments; one of Public Works, of Agriculture and mines, *etc.* Consular Courts would be necessary at the chief centres of trade throughout the empire, and it is a *sine quâ non* that the scope of the Maritime Customs be extended to embrace them; a necessity indicated as urgent five years ago.

The wealth to be opened up to the world by such controlled departments is so great that Japan need require no other surety than their organization for the payment of the

war indemnity which she deserves; and the resulting prosperity of the people would lead them to rejoice in the consequences of this disastrous war, and to look forward with entire confidence to a peaceful and prosperous future.

With the model referred to as a guide there need be no difficulty in officering these departments, the proportion of nationality in each being based on the value of each nation's trade with China,—a value which seems an altogether just way of determining the stake and interest of each in her development. It would be preferable were the Military and Naval Departments administered each by a distinct nationality, and this should not be an impossibility.

The relation of the controlled departments with the Civil Government, would, with our present knowledge of the working of the Customs' Department, be a matter of little difficulty. The administration of this latter controlled service has resulted in such moral and material good to China, and has shown such devotion to her interests that we can only expect equally good results and devotion to result from the controlled services now put forward as imperatively necessary to China, if she is to remain an independent power at all. That no chief controlling post of trust in such Departments of the State can be given to a mandarin is self-evident; nor can any mandarin be allowed to hamper the European chief; for we have just seen how the greatest deception of the age in the magnitude of its consequences has been perpetrated by them. It cannot be pleaded that the inefficiency of her army, arsenals, factories, *etc.*, the unsatisfactory condition of her fortresses and communications, were unknown; for many have been the warnings given that one and all were beneath contempt.

The Imperial Maritime Customs' Department was forced upon China at the sword's point, and has been the most valued result of our wars with her since 1838; wars undertaken to force upon her civilization, commerce, and sociability, and I have given already the gist of the matter so far as China's intercourse with Foreign nations

being voluntary is concerned. Since its enforcement many have been the indications that its sweets were as gall to her and that she suffered the yoke (for it has been nothing else) less and less willingly and loyally, and that she longed to be rid of all foreign control and sought the rest of exclusiveness—an aim inconsistent with the march of civilization and this age. Such an administration of China as here contemplated would, in the course of several generations, modernize this nation and out of the dead ashes of her old nature would rise, Phœnix-like, the regenerate China of 2000 A.D. when enforced habit shall have germinated into a second nature. A China controlled by the Powers would of necessity be a neutral power with an armed strength sufficient only to preserve peace at home and to safeguard her frontiers. A compromise, if such can be considered desirable, might be a China, with her Naval and Military forces of a strength as above, her departments of Works and Commerce (coast and inland), officered, in the manner of the Customs' Department, by Foreigners, but otherwise left to carry on her own civil administration and foreign affairs. Such a partially controlled China would prosper in proportion as treaty obligations relative to the departments of War, Works and Commerce, *etc.*, were strictly enforced; and this solution of the present difficulty is worthy of consideration only if a completely controlled administration is ruled to be yet impossible. Any trial of it should be contingent on the adoption of the radical reform at once taking place, should it fail in consequence of the impossibility, on a further trial, of dealing with a Mandarin Government. The grip on the Mandarin power must be such as to eliminate its influence *in toto*, if and when necessary.

Of the Christian nations, the Chinese consider the British to be "a good people." They are both trusted and respected, and our mutual interests point to a mutual understanding as attainable, more especially as it is known that we desire only to have a greater commercial interest in

China. Russia and France are regarded with suspicion; the former has too much to gain by China's losses and has already taken advantage of her difficulties to extend her frontiers to her detriment. The latter is credited with casting envious eyes towards the Yunan and Szchwuan Provinces from her recent acquisitions in Tong-King and Siam. The Americans and Germans are trusted as being only commercially interested in China.

So far as China and Japan are concerned we have reached our boundaries in the far East, and as our commercial and political interests and those of China in the Pacific seas are identical, so are also those of Great Britain and Japan. These three powers are, in the East, marked out as each complementary to the other and to be a mutual aid in peaceful progress the one to the others, Britain acting the part of Mentor and elder brother. Nothing should be allowed to jeopardize our positions of chief supplier and carrier to China, and the East; and such an Eastern Alliance is, in consequence, an imperial policy necessitated by geographical position; and that it should become a practical reality would be to the advantage of all nationalities.

The political interests of China and Russia are as divergent as the poles, for the acquisition of Chinese territory by Russia in the Pacific seas is much desired by her in relation to her development—a development which she is naturally straining every nerve to hasten by the completion of the Siberian Railway, and the planting of Colonies along China's frontiers. Commercially they have considerable interest in each other's welfare. Besides scope to continue her work of civilization and peaceful progress in Central and Eastern Asia, Russia requires to border on countries offering at least guarantees of inward peaceful progress and outward peaceful neighbourship. She can never tolerate as a neighbour, a barbarous Korea or a hermit China.

Siberia has an improving future to look forward to. The

Gobi desert is not valueless, nor is it roadless or waterless, and it can be crossed by the iron road at the several points required by land commerce and transport. If there be a future before Siberia what must there be before China! But her movements to inaugurate it are too slow, short-sighted, and cramped in conception and she requires guidance; maybe an interested guidance: and we and the Powers must now be prepared, as indicated, to develop the immense resources of Mid-China and form the Controlled Departments so absolutely essential to her well-being, sure progress and future strength.

The political interests of Japan and Russia are as opposed as those of Russia and China, and this marks Japan and China out as natural allies. Consequently nothing in the conditions of peace to be arranged between these Powers should prevent their being so; all guarantees and concessions must be given to Christendom. Japan does not desire to see either Korea or Manchuria a Russian possession; a coast line replete with harbours in the occupation of a possible foe desirous of still further developments in the interests of her Central Asian possessions. In such an expansion of their Northern neighbour both see death to themselves. But to be effective allies each must be able to play her part; Japan, restlessly acquisitive and progressive in recent years, has done thoroughly well and is prepared for eventualities; and had China done equally well, this lamentable war would never have occurred. Japan knew China better than she knew herself, and gauging her truly knew that she was valueless as an ally and that before she could become such she must be revivified.

China can still save herself from conquest or partition amongst the Powers by seeking immediate peace, placing herself unreservedly under guidance and refusing to listen to the voice of the so-called patriots, as ignorant of the power of a mob to resist an armed force flushed with victory, as they are arrogant,—a voice which has ever, as we have here shown, led her from disaster to disaster.

A Great Britain as Mentor, a regenerate China, and a progressive Japan, allied together in the East, would assure its peaceful development; but until the regeneration of China has made some progress, and is no longer the dream of her statesmen, but a fact acknowledged by the Powers, she must be content to play the part of junior partner in the alliance.

Many are the panaceas that have been put forward for the revival of our diminishing trade, and the resuscitation of silver. None can compare to that of the development of China; and *pari passu* with its progress would our commerce revive, in all its ramifications, of mining, manufactures, transport, *etc.*; and the flow of the white metal be stimulated and its value enhanced.

THE ANGLO-CHINESE CONVENTION AND THE BURMESE FRONTIER.

By General A. R. MacMahon.

A subject of considerable importance at the present time, in connection with the mutual interests of England and China in the Far East, is discussed in the late Convention which arranged that the frontier between Burma and China is to be laid down by a Delimitation Commission, and the conditions of the Border Trade settled so as to protect and encourage international Commerce.

By way of preface, therefore, it will be convenient to recall to the recollection of my readers that the result of our differences with the Lord of the Rising Sun was the incorporation of the remaining portion of the Burman Empire with the British dominions in Farther India. Allowing for Chinese sensitiveness on our becoming close neighbours, the advisability of not giving umbrage to the Son of Heaven, when our best energies were devoted to setting our own house in order, it is not at all easy to account for the ridiculous anxiety to avoid complications which seized the English public soon after the annexation of Upper Burma. So intense was this *quasi* panic, that Lord Salisbury, speaking at the Mansion House in somewhat strained metaphor, considered it expedient, in the Chinese Ambassador's presence, to assure his audience that, in dealing with our inheritance, we should act fully in accord with the rights of China,* a condescension which

* A writer of an article in the "Times" corroborates the claims of China to authority over this region in ancient times. "The Kachins" (he says) "find no place in European cartography, but in the old representations of Burma, just below the empty space which the Kachin hills would now occupy, are the awkward words, 'China-Yunan.' If we turn to the Chinese Empire we find that an elbow of its south-western province protrudes through the rectangular line which bounds the map, and extends into the margin just to the east of where Bhamo, the northern capital of Burma, would come in. China, in fact, not only asserted a suzerainty over the kingdom of Burma, but she claimed that a part of Upper Burma —that is to say, of the hilly skirts of the Irawadi valley, above the 'Second

must have mightily exercised his Celestial imperturbability. His Excellency would have belied his character for astuteness if he made no attempt to profit from our over-anxiety to please his compatriots. He accordingly claimed in effect, although perhaps not with legal precision, that as China held a first mortgage on the property it was not open to the British, as usurpers, to claim equity of redemption. In other words, as the former possessors of Burma were encumbered by the payment of tribute in token of vassalage to China, the English, having taken the place of the Burmese, are bound by this obligation. If this argument be sound, retort the English, by parity of reasoning it might, with equal justice, be applied to similar precedents which occurred in the days of old, unless barred by the Statute of limitations. For we know that China invaded Hindustan and exercised so great an influence over the "Kings of the Five Indies" and other princes as to compel them to do homage and furnish tribute to the Son of Heaven. Now England in course of time, took possession of the realms of these potentates just as she annexed those belonging to the Lord of the White Elephant; and yet so far as is publicly known, no claim has ever been made upon her

Defile'—formed an integral part of the Chinese dominions. Her dotted boundary may be traced on many charts—charts constructed at a time when there was not the remotest idea of the British power coming on the scene."

The Chinese naturally annexed the Bhamo Hinterland so as to secure a free passage for their caravans to the trade outlet on the Irawadi. The rest of Burma, however, probably then escaped subjugation, as it doubtless did in more recent times, less by reason of the courage and resources of the people than the well nigh impracticable character of the wild region which separated their country from the Flowery land. Even Kublai Khan, the Napoleon of the Far East, whose annexation proclivities are proverbial, made an exception in favour of Burma when he had her completely at his mercy at the close of the 13th century, and in the series of wars culminating in the great battle of 1769 his successor adhered to the same policy, though he boasted of having conquered the country. The Celestial diplomatists of old doubtless arrived at the conclusion that rather than incur the responsibilities of annexation it was convenient in the interests of peace to adopt a lofty and rugged range of mountains as frontier between the Flowery land and the Ashé Pyi, the classic name for the Burmese Empire.

for the tribute which, by reason of this procedure, was lost to China. A diplomatist so renowned was, however, not to be put out of countenance by a purely academical argument; and he probably then sowed the seed of negotiations which bore fruit in the precious article of the treaty of 1886, which settled the preposterous question in favour of China.

Whatever be the failings of diplomatists, the charge of sentimentality is perhaps, the very last that would occur to anyone in connection with a class of public servants trained to the unemotional. It puzzles one, therefore, to conjecture why the very matter-of-fact Convention of 1886 should have been greeted with such a flourish of trumpets on both sides—Mr. O'Conor's surrender having been recognised by the bestowal of a C. B., while the Celestials metaphorically hugged themselves with delight at the thought of having achieved a great diplomatic victory! Suffice it to say that the English wished (1) to have a free hand in the settlement of Upper Burma, and (2) to send a Mission to Tibet, agreeably to a clause in the Chifu Convention granting them this privilege. On the other hand the Chinese, supremely indifferent as regards the former, loathed the very notion of the latter,—to them a veritable *bête noire*. Being fully determined to quash it, they craftily made a stalking horse of the tribute question: and, under cover thereof, they succeeded in getting the best of the bargain, as is proved by the following extract from the former document:

Art. 1. "Inasmuch as it has been, the practice of Burma to send decennial missions to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority in Burmah shall send the customary decennial missions, the members of the Missions to be of the Burmese race."

Art. 4. "England consents to countermand the (Tibet) mission forthwith."

In consideration of these concessions the Son of Heaven graciously condescended to grant Home Rule in Burma to the English. His Majesty's representative—a veritable *AH SIN*—played his game very cleverly and, like his

prototype, had other cards up his sleeves! That the English and every other nation should be subject to his Lord and Master was such a foregone conclusion that he cared not to waste valuable time in either propounding the truism, or to transgress the ordinary rules of politeness by bluntly formulating the manifest obligations of the Queen of England, as a tributary ruler, towards the Son of Heaven. The Envoy, therefore, took upon himself the more worthy duty of endeavouring to instil into the Barbarian mind a fact so patent to himself. Mr. O'Conor, apparently, was convinced by Celestial logic, and set his seal to what many Englishmen consider a blunder, which in diplomatic language—as we all know—is "worse than a crime"; and Lord Rosebery, in due course gave his *imprimatur* thereto. Sir Charles Crossthwaite, formerly Chief Commissioner of Burma, admits that the awkward words in Art. I. clearly mean tribute, but argues that the British Minister was wise in his generation when "by a concession of a most shadowy character he secured a substantial benefit for his country!" But does anyone familiar with the workings of the Asiatic mode of thought as regards the "Powers that be," imagine that the fact of Burma being placed under the ægis of even so exalted a potentate as the Chinese Emperor, can compensate England for inevitable damage to her prestige in India and the Far East? Our Government in Downing Street, if it even took this question into consideration at all, apparently was at first perfectly satisfied that it had done right. But during the eight years that have elapsed since this notable event, it occasionally has had certain misgivings. Lord Salisbury, who had an innings when Lord Rosebery retired from office, suggested postponing the mission for ten years from the date of the Convention and thus leaving it to the chapter of accidents to give it its *quietus*. Various other suggestions were made in order to minimise the political importance of the mission by having it carried out by the Local instead of the Supreme Government, and also to ask the Chinese Emperor to relinquish his "pound

of flesh." A robust, if somewhat unscrupulous adviser, again counselled that the Gordian knot should be cut by the English Government shirking its obligations and refusing to despatch the mission, on the plea that it might be misinterpreted by the frontier tribes to the disparagement of England. Nothing was done, however, and it was reasonably anticipated by many that the obnoxious clause in the Treaty of 1886 might be quashed by another in the recent Convention. Their hopes, however, have been disappointed.

So long as the territories of the Lord of the Rising Sun constituted a buffer between our possessions in Farther India and the Middle Kingdom, the susceptibilities of the Celestials hardly came within range of practical politics. But when our frontiers met, we could no longer ignore them, as it was at once evident that the responsibilities of both countries were vastly enhanced by the prolongation of the boundary between Hindustan and China in Central Asia. For whereas heretofore, the formidable though vague barrier of the Himalaya forbade international intercourse excepting by a few difficult passes, no physical impediments now exist between our recently acquired territory and the South western provinces of The Flowery Land,—though the clearly defined red line, so dear to the cartographer, has yet to be marked. For "The Warden of the Marches"—wrote the Marquis Tseng eight years ago—"is now abroad, looking to the security of China's out-lying provinces. . . . . Henceforth any hostile movement against these countries, or any interference with their affairs, will be viewed at Peking as a declaration, on the part of the Power committing it, of a desire to discontinue its friendly relations with the Chinese Government."*

At a farewell banquet given to the Marquis of Lansdowne previous to his departure from India, his Lordship is reported to have said :—

"I ask you to look at the map of India with its 5,000 or 6,000 miles of land frontier, and to consider how few points there are at which you could,

* "The Sleep and the Awakening," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1887.

half a dozen years ago, have said confidently 'Here is our boundary; let us sit down behind it and avoid the condemnation due to those who remove their neighbours' land-marks.' Here and there, for a few miles, the frontier had been distinctly demarcated and could be laid down with confidence; but it is no exaggeration to say that except, at a few occasional points, the frontiers of the Indian Empire, from the Arabian Sea to the little known dependencies of Burma lying beyond the Salween River, have, until quite lately been in what may be termed the fluid state. France has, as we all know, moved forward to the Mekong, and is now separated from us by the very flimsy barrier which the so-called 'buffer' State will provide. China has made considerable advances. Nor have we altogether stood still, for on the eastern side of British India the annexation of Upper Burma has completely altered our position, and has given us a new interest in the Chin-Lushai country, which has become an *enclave* in British territory, and territorial claims extending up to, and even beyond the River Mekong, the left bank of which has, as we know, lately passed under the control of a great European Power."

About a year ago, it was noted in the *Times* that United Burma had sprung into the foremost rank of progressive countries on the globe; her population was increasing more than twice as rapidly as that of Continental India; her material progress was advancing in still greater ratio; her internal trade had more than doubled; Rangoon, her capital, held the proud position of being the sole outlet of territories which would make a first class European country; while our most recent acquisition, which in 1886 was just emerging from barbarism, had achieved the position of one of the most prosperous countries in the Empire. Notwithstanding these advantages, adequate justice cannot be done to her till a remedy be found for the sparseness of her population. It is hoped the Convention may prepare the way.

Chinese ethnic influences, the tendency of which has hitherto been to efface the external characteristics of indigenous races and absorb them into the Celestial element by superior energy and civilisation, long refused to be barred by territoral limitations, and passing the boundaries of the Middle Kingdom, gradually gravitated towards Farther India, where it evinced a pronounced proclivity for amalgamating with the Shans and Burmese, cognate alike in descent and religion. This influence—the best

that Burma could have, *pace* the shade of Lord Dalhousie! —was, no doubt, a potent factor in contributing to the great population which once existed in these regions. When Burma has been connected by rail with China and her internal communications perfected, so as to make the country attractive to immigrants, it is hoped the tide may flow again from the South Western provinces of the Flowery Land, and that its industrious inhabitants, attracted to our thinly peopled districts containing a vast area of highly productive land, available on easy terms of tenure, may, under the ægis of the *pax Britannica*, continue to stiffen the Burmese race, threatened (say some) with annihilation by reason of the disintegration caused by unions with non-cognate aliens from India and elsewhere. The veriest Burmo-phile cannot expect more than this stiffening, and only in those districts where Burmans predominate. There is a vast area of the country, however, to which these remarks are inapplicable, a territory known to the Burmese when we occupied the country, as inhabited by "wild men" who periodically gave them trouble. It is to these we must turn to find a fresh and suitable field for some of "India's surplus millions" who have hitherto been deterred from colonising Burma from its difficulty of access to non-sea-going peoples. A solution, however, of this difficulty will, it is hoped, be found by providing facilities for free communication, by road and rail, between the Brahmaputra and Irawadi valleys, thus offering opportunities for Indian village communities to migrate to Upper Burma and form the *nuclei* of colonies in what has been aptly called "No man's Land" by Lord Lansdowne.

The capabilities of Yünnan and neighbouring provinces, in the matter of profitable commerce, have for many decades, been brought to the notice of the British Mercantile public as a profitable outlet for British industries, which have long languished by reason of keen and successful competition and the imposition of hostile tariffs by foreign countries. With no practical results: for the

merchants have not been induced to put their hands in their own pockets in earnest of their faith in these statements, preferring to apply pressure on a quasi-bankrupt Government which cannot afford to make costly railway experiments in search of a suggested *El Dorado*, in the face of reports from its responsible officials condemning the scheme as an unprofitable investment.* Meanwhile the French have entered the field in anything but friendly rivalry with the English, complicating the situation considerably, inasmuch as Burma, hitherto only known to the outer world as one of our most rising provinces, has now acquired a position of considerable political importance, her *status* being somewhat analogous to that of the Punjab, the former keeping watch and ward against French encroachments on the South eastern frontier, the other performing the same duty in opposition to the Russians on the North West. Burma has consequently become a potent factor in the boundary question of our Indian Empire.

Lord Lansdowne, when presiding on the 18th June last, at the Burma dinner, declared that Burma and Burmese affairs always had a special and absorbing interest in his eyes, from its situation on the East of our Indian Empire, where we come face to face with that great front of barbarism by which that Empire is girdled from the Persian Gulf right round to the Siamese frontier. Here also we come in contact with the great Asiatic Powers which live beyond it, and it always appeared to him a matter of the highest importance that we should use the utmost vigilance in endeavouring to arrive at the clearest understanding as to the position of our frontier in the neighbourhood and as to our relations with them. Our Government, in his Lord-

* According to an Indian paper, Lord Lansdowne, in his speech at Mandalay, could only promise Government aid in cases of private enterprise undertaking these projects. Government waiting on the promotor, and the promotor waiting on the Government, a scheme is thus delayed which would put money in the pockets of both and be of great advantage to Burma and the Empire.

ship's opinion, deserves credit for having, during the past few years, achieved a very considerable amount of progress in arriving at a settlement on this most important question. Noting that the Siamese boundary question has been settled upon a satisfactory and reasonable footing, Lord Lansdowne fully anticipated a like success in connection with the Burma-China frontier, especially as regards the settlement of the comparatively little known tribal country which lies upon our side of the border—a country extremely difficult of access and traversed by the merest apology of a road,—a country as to the geography and outline of which we were almost without trustworthy information of any kind.*

Themselves without any desire to enlarge their own dominions, the Chinese consistently denounced the "earth hunger" of other nations and, at the same time, very clearly let it be known to the outer world that they brooked no interference whatever with their ancient landmarks. But with a new-born liberal spirit that does them infinite credit, they now are far more amenable, as is proved by the result of negotiations on both sides, culminating in the recently signed Convention.

More than eight years having elapsed since it was settled

* Reference to what is now Kachin land occurs in ancient Celestial lore. So far back as the reign of the Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty, a Chinese military commander named Chang Kien, on a diplomatic mission to Bactria, noticed in some of its markets Ssu-ch'uan goods which were said to have been imported through Burma and India. So important did he consider this fact that he persuaded the Emperor to dispatch three exploring expeditions to develop trade between these countries and the Middle Kingdom. Though they were unsuccessful, Chang Kien's idea was not lost sight of; and two centuries later a Chinese entrepôt was established at Bhamô, an historic precedent which tends to prove that the Chinese of that day and indeed their successors up to the date of the Panthay rebellion, 3 decades ago, considered the Irawadi as the natural outlet for trade from their South-Western provinces, and not the more southern route viâ Ss-mau to Rangoon and Moulmein, favoured by Captain Sprye, Mr. Holt Hallet and others. Bhamô is marked on Fra Mauro's celebrated map published in the 15th century, whereon is the memorandum: "*Qui la mercanzia si translata da fiume a fiume per andar in Cataio*"—Here merchandise is transferred from river to river, to pass on to Cathay.

that the frontiers between Burma and China should be marked by a Delimitation Commission, and the arrangements for frontier trade made by a Frontier Trade Commission; and as nothing had been done during this interval, to carry out this arrangement, it was fully realised by both Governments that this important matter brooked no farther delay. When King Thibaw's country was annexed, the whole of the border region was, to all intents and purposes, a *terra incognita*, occupied by rude tribes nominally subject either to the Son of Heaven or the Lord of the White Elephant and sometimes, like wheat between the upper and nether millstone, forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of both potentates.* The situation was no longer tolerable, as neither Power could do justice to its obvious responsibility for the good order of its borderland or the proper development thereof for the welfare of its inhabitants and the

* In the Burmese war of 1824-25 the English first encountered the Kachins upon the *then* convenient, because impassable boundary of mountain and jungle between India and Burma; but now that British territories lie unbroken between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Irawadi, such a barrier would indeed be an anomaly. So roads are being energetically pushed forward in order to bring the whole border region under firm administrative control. The people now called Kachin were then known to us as Singpho a corruption of Chingpaw. They have left behind them traditions of kidnapping propensities even more pronounced than those of their eastern brethren, aggravated mayhap by their practising it on British subjects. Unable to put a stop thereto by stern measures, the English elected to temporise, and by promises of compensation never fulfilled induced the rude clans to release their captives, whom they considered quite as much tangible property as bullocks or goats with other peoples. This Machiavellianism resulted in an appeal to arms and much bloodshed. As the Kachins consider forgiveness of injuries a manifest weakness if not a crime, and revenge so much a virtue that their *vendettas* are often carried on long after the original cause of offence has been forgotten, it says much for the tribes on the Assam frontier that, under a more sympathetic policy, they give little trouble and readily do all that is required of them for the settlement of the country and furthering commerce. These favourable results are indeed highly satisfactory considering that, according to the strict canons of Kachin justice, a life for a life is a law usually meted out with Draconic severity; and that a heavy reckoning might therefore be demanded from the British for the many Kachins who have joined the majority by reason of frontier disputes.

interests of international commerce. Both then, as the *Times* says,

"Have realized all along how desirable it is to substitute definite frontiers and ascertained treaty rights for boundaries resting on loose local traditions and privileges depending on vague local customs."

If the trade settlements were to be postponed till the Delimitation committee should have completed its labours, it was at once seen that another waste of valuable time would be inevitable. The representatives of the High Contracting Powers did the best thing possible under the circumstances. Even with the increased topographical knowledge accumulated during the past few years, at their disposal, they were not in a position to fix even approximately accurate boundaries in many places. They have, therefore, contented themselves with taking advantage of certain well defined points, marked by a river or stream, a parallel of Latitude, and local well defined positions accepted by both sides, subject to a rectification hereafter, as regards minor details, by a subordinate Delimitation Commission, checked by the necessity of appeal to their respective Governments, but sufficiently elastic to subserve all the purposes of that portion of the Convention relating to trade.

The first three articles of this document are devoted to a minute description of the frontier agreed on, which, so far as concerns my readers, may be dispensed with. Article V. stipulates that in consequence of the rectification of frontiers, resulting in territorial concession in Northern Theinni and the cession to China of Kokang, her Britannic Majesty, in consideration of certain claims advanced by China, renounces her suzerain rights over the important states of Munglem and Kiang-Hung, formerly possessed by the Kings of Ava concurrently with the Emperors of China; but, as was the case with Siam in like predicament, that Power is not to hand them over to any other, without the consent of England. Art. VI. states that—

"It is agreed that, in order to avoid any local contention, the alignments of the frontier described in the present convention, and shown on the maps annexed thereto, shall be verified and demarcated, and, in case of its being found defective at any point, rectified by a Joint Commission appointed by the high contracting parties; and that the said Commission shall meet at a place hereafter to be determined on by the two Governments, not later than 12 months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention; and shall terminate its labours in not more than three years from the date of its first meeting. It is understood that any alterations in the alignment, which the Joint Commission may find it necessary to make shall be based on the principle of equivalent compensations, having regard, not only to the extent, but also to the value, of the territory involved. Further, that, should the members of the Commission be unable to agree on any point, the matter of disagreement shall be at once referred to their respective Governments."

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Chief Commissioner of Burma, in reply to an address of welcome presented to him at Bhamô in July last, said he was sanguine that the result of the boundary settlement would be increased security and improved facilities for trade, for it will prove clearly that the British Government has no desire to extend unduly the limit of its jurisdiction, or to view with jealousy the legitimate claims of a friendly neighbour. Our primary object, he urged, is to put a stop to frontier raids and feuds and to bring the border tribes under a strong and settled government, whether the seat thereof be at Calcutta or Pekin.

With this purpose in view, both Governments grant considerable concessions which are to hold good for six years. Thus the British consent to allow Chinese produce and manufactures, with the exception of salt, to enter Burma by land, duty free, and permit British manufactures and Burmese produce, with the exception of rice, to be exported to China by land, on the same terms. They also, in order to promote the frontier trade by encouraging mining enterprise in Yünnan and in the New territorial acquisitions of China, consent to allow Chinese vessels carrying merchandise, ores and minerals of all kinds, and coming from or destined for China, freely to navigate the Irawadi on the same conditions, as to dues and other matters, as British vessels. The Chinese, on the other

hand, though they cannot go so far as to abolish duty on goods imported into China by these routes, consent to a considerable reduction on the amount levied according to the general tariff of the Maritime Customs. It is satisfactory to note that special provision has been made for connecting the telegraph system of both countries as speedily as possible, emphasised by a special Convention.

Not a little allowance must be made for considerable difference of opinion as regards this Convention, especially in connection with territorial concessions. It may, however, be accepted as the result of an honest desire, on the part of the Representatives of both countries, to arrive at a reasonable settlement of a question long in abeyance, hedged about with many difficulties and complicated by varied and conflicting interests. China has undoubtedly secured the lion's share of the border country subject to the recent amicable settlement, while Britain gains compact and useful tracts which, from the administrative point of view, are acknowledged to be of the greatest value. On the whole it may be generally welcomed as a measure calculated to cement the mutual friendly relations which now exist, as well as an important step towards preventing future disagreements between Great Britain and China.

A candid friend informs me that the position of China is now too critical to make the discussion of a Frontier question profitable, as new elements in the case are sure to arise, should the position of the Empire be seriously affected by the present war. I certainly never dreamt the latter could have any bearing on the Chino-Burmese Frontier question; especially when I recalled to mind the vast extent of the Celestial Empire and the remoteness of Pekin from its south-western borders, and that even the officials of Yünnan had not heard of the capture of the capital and the burning of the Summer Palace in 1860 till these notable events had become ancient history. I therefore prefer to pin my faith on the conclusions arrived at by

Baron Richthofen in his paper published in the *Geographical Journal* for December, 1894:

"The independence of the Chinese Empire is unassailable. Even were Japan, as other Asiatic peoples have done ere now, to establish a prince of her land on the throne of Pekin, the new dynasty would be in reality Chinese, as has been the case with the Mongolian and other rulers of the country, which would still remain the old Chinese Empire. The saying of a former American resident at Pekin was a correct one; if one tries to overthrow China, and inflicts upon her what seem to be the deadliest wounds, it is all the same as if one whipped the sea."

In connection with the above admirable treatment of an important subject we would venture to draw attention to one of the features in the social life of China which ensure the stability of its civilization in spite of present vicissitudes and which are a lesson to European culture. We refer to an able account of its family organization by Sir John Gorst whose views corroborate those already so well put forward by Major R. Poore in our issue of July, 1894.

Social Life in China.—Lecturing at Toynbee Hall, on Saturday night, on "The Daily Life of the Chinese Labourer," Sir John Gorst, M.P., said that a study of the social life of the Chinese was especially useful to all who were anxious about social progress and well-being in our own country. The most powerful institution in that country was the family, and the most remarkable thing about the family was that it was able to exercise judicial powers over its members. If a Chinaman committed any minor offence, it was not the magistrate who adjudicated on the matter. The family compensated the injured man and punished the offender by flogging or imprisonment. It was only in graver offences, such as murder, that the culprit was handed over to the judicial authority. The Chinese family maintained its power, because it was inalienably bound up with the land. There were no landlords in China. The land was the property of the State, and the occupier paid a small tax—the only tax which existed—to the State for the land which he occupied. But as this tax had to be paid whether the land was cultivated or not, no one ever took more land than he could cultivate, and the State reserved its right, where the occupier did not use his holding, to take it from him and let someone else have it. The tax varied from 6d. to 1s. 8d. per acre, and the size of the holdings was, on an average, about nine acres. Besides this land every family possessed a holding which could not, under any circumstances, be alienated. This consisted of about two acres, and upon it the family house was built. This would remain in the possession of the family to the remotest generation. So, as every Chinaman was a member of a family and every family had a home, there was no necessity for a Poor Law. All men who failed in the towns had to do was to return to their ancestral homes and resume work upon the land, and the respect which was paid to the aged insured that the old people had the best rooms in the home and were given of the best the family had, and that without old-age pensions, which were not needed among the Chinese. This was no fancy picture of some ideal dreamer, but a state of civilization which had existed for many hundreds of years, and from it, perhaps, some lessons could be learned which would be of service to our own country.—*Times* 19 March 1895.

THE HAUSA ASSOCIATION.

By Sir George Taubman Goldie, K.C.M.G.

The Hausa Association has been formed for the primary purpose of furnishing to all persons of all creeds and races who understand the English language—whether missionaries, administrators, scientific men, explorers or merchants—the means of entering into direct communication with the Hausa-speaking races of Africa. To some of the readers of this Review, much of the following article may be a twice told tale; but probably the statement that the work of the Hausa Association, if successful, will be one of the great factors in the progress of the human race, would be received by the vast majority of educated persons as the exaggerated view of a faddist mounted on his particular hobby. My aim therefore will be mainly to bring this proposition into the cold light of reason and to justify it by facts.

Everyone knows that Hausaland proper lies in the great basin of the Niger, immediately to the south of the Sahara, that it is well populated by an intelligent and industrious race, endowed with literary and artistic tastes, crude enough to our European ideas, but far in advance of any other purely African nation, and that it has been placed within the influence of Great Britain by treaties with native rulers confirmed by international agreements. But it is not generally known that, owing to certain peculiar qualities of the Hausas, there is a "Greater Hausaland" in which their tongue is the *lingua franca*, and that the hopes of civilizing vast regions, covering perhaps one half of Africa, depend on our impressing on the Hausa race our European beliefs in regard to liberty, peace and justice.

My simplest course would be to summarize the voluminous evidence, extending over a long course of years, supplied by the officials of the Chartered Company which has brought within the British sphere of influence an area of about half a million square miles forming the nucleus of "Greerat

Hausaland." But such evidence would be open to suspicion of personal bias. The cobbler is expected to believe that "there is nothing like leather." I shall therefore rest my case on the evidence of a few prominent and independent persons.

Mr. H. H. Johnston's knowledge of Africa is so varied and his experience so great, both as a traveller and a successful administrator in the Dark Continent, that his views will command attention. He said recently at a public meeting that

"In the course of his African travels he had been struck by the greater spread of the Hausa people as travellers and of their language than of any other race in the northern part of Africa. The importance of the Hausa people and their language was shown in the fact that they were beginning to cover the whole of that part of Northern Africa. That nation which was to acquire the greatest control over the Central Sudan, the greatest influence in politics and trade, must first of all acquire a supreme influence over the Hausa people. Fortunately for Great Britain, the Hausa home and all the bulk of the people were within the Niger Territories, which were under British influence. The Hausa tongue was singularly musical, and the language was not difficult to pronounce. The Hausas were a very valuable people to get hold of. Although Mohammedanism had just touched them, they retained an open mind—at any rate, they had little or no fanaticism—and were prepared to discuss all religious questions from a broad standpoint. They were, he said, an extremely industrious people; they did not seem to have inherited the curse of Mohammedanism—a sort of sanctified idleness. They showed a great contrast to the race that at present ruled them, the Fulbe. In Africa there were four great languages, four languages of the present and the future—English, Arabic, Hausa, and Swahili. If we could obtain a mastery over the last three, we should certainly enter more readily into the minds and views of the people of Africa, inasmuch as in the north of Africa Arabic would suffice, to the south of the northern portion Hausa, and south of that again, Swahili. He sincerely hoped some day to see chairs founded in our great Universities for the study of Hausa and Swahili. If we intended to be the dominant power in Africa, we must certainly take up very earnestly the study of those two languages. In taking up languages of that kind, one acquired a knowledge of the minds of the people who spoke them, which one could never obtain through a servile interpreter."

I will next turn to the Napoleon of African travel, Mr. H. M. Stanley. On matters connected with the basin of the Congo, his evidence might be considered as liable to be affected by the natural bias of a discoverer; but no such

objection can be raised to his views on the Hausa people. I quote from the same shorthand report as above. He

"Referred to the Hausas' love of literature, remarking that in his journeys across Africa he never came across any other nation that esteemed a book. All but the Hausas regarded books as rubbish, and on one occasion one of the Congo tribes insisted upon his burning a copy of Shakespeare. The Hausa people covered an enormous territory, and the Hausa language might be said to cover roughly a territory measuring a thousand miles north and south, and a thousand miles east and west. There were various ways of assisting in the civilization of Africa; but he knew of none so silent, so mild, so unobtrusive, and ultimately so effective as that which was proposed by the Hausa Association. We sent missionaries to all lands at great cost. We were not always successful in our efforts, but such success as we obtained was only obtained at great cost of life and patience; but in the new method of the Association there was nothing to alarm the most sensitive or irritate the most capricious. It was the most blameless of all the methods, and it was full of promise of good. To him, so long familiar with Africa, the project was a very taking one. To distribute books among illiterate pagan tribes would be the height of absurdity; but to disseminate them among a people who had been called by all travellers the literary race of Africa seemed as wise as it was statesmanlike. There was every reason to hope that the diffusion of English sentiment, honour, justice, humanity, integrity, and friendship among all men in Hausaland, would contribute greatly in stimulating their intelligence and expanding the minds of the people for whom all travellers entertained such regard. The more commercial agents understood the language of those with whom they hoped to trade, the more welcome they would be, and the less room would there be for distrust and suspicion; and as almost the whole of the Hausa population was in English possessions, it was time we began equipping our consular and commercial agents with a practical knowledge of the language before they set out on their labours. It was the hope of the Association to render proficiency in Hausa as indispensable for commercial success in Western Africa as proficiency in Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic was indispensable for promotion in the Civil Service in the East."

If space permitted I might add the evidence of many other independent travellers; but I have a shorter means of appealing to authority on the subject. Two trustworthy persons have made a special study of African questions from different points of view, but both basing their knowledge on an industrious examination of the existing evidence on the subject.

One of these is Dr. R. N. Cust, whose authority as a philologist will not be disputed. Speaking of the Hausa

tongue in his "Modern Languages of Africa" he says that

"The extent of its field is greater than that of any other language in Central Africa. Moreover, it has a great extra-territorial expansion, and from various causes, especially the dispersion of Hausa slaves among other tribes, it has obtained the rank of Lingua Franca, and it is the general vehicle for communication betwixt tribes speaking different languages. . . . It is important to travellers, merchants, and missionaries betwixt North and Central Africa. . . . It is a magnificent and sonorous language, rich in words, and its grammatical construction is easy and beautiful; it shows a rare symmetry of sound, and consequently a great harmony in the form of words, which few languages could equal or surpass."

My other authority is Major Darwin, M.P., who during his five years in the Intelligence Department of the War Office, had allotted to him the collection of information on matters connected with Africa. To those who know the exceptional opportunities which the Intelligence Department has of obtaining and checking information, and the highly organized method in which its work is conducted, it will be sufficient to say that Major Darwin not only joined the small Executive Committee which directs the operations of the Hausa Association, but has devoted much time and work to urging on the public mind the importance of promoting better intercourse between Great Britain and Hausaland by a thorough study of the Hausa language.

A few facts may be briefly added to show the immense influence of the Hausa race over the northern half of Africa. Everyone familiar with Tripoli and Tunis knows that considerable colonies of Hausas reside there, and that Hausa caravans are constantly arriving at and leaving the shores of the Mediterranean, some 1,600 miles to the north of their capital, Kano, which travellers have designated as "the Manchester of Africa." Their merchants are met in Senegambia, on the shores of the Atlantic, some 1,600 miles to the west of Kano. A constant traffic also passes from Kano in a south westerly direction to the Gulf of Guinea, where Hausas prove the best soldiers in our principal West Coast colonies, the Gold Coast and Lagos. Every year the Hausa caravans are penetrating further

in a south easterly direction into the basin of the Congo. In former days, their still more distant wanderings eastward were chiefly connected with the annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, until the rise of Mahdism blocked the road to the Red Sea. It may perhaps interest some readers to know that about a quarter of a century ago, when travelling from Khartoum to Suakin, I overtook a caravan of about 800 Hausas; and finding that they took as much interest in my companion and myself as we in them, we sacrificed speed to the pleasure of accompanying them. As we had no white servants and were travelling in a style as unostentatious as their own, they soon became intimate, and whiled away the long hours of travel and the too short hours of coffee and pipes in conversation of, to us, the most interesting nature; the sheikh of the caravan and most of the principal men speaking that colloquial Arabic which is the medium of communication in those eastern regions. That religion was a living force in their lives could hardly be doubted, as their pilgrimage would occupy no less than three years: one year to reach Mecca, one year's residence in the Hejaz, and one year on the homeward journey; while the Sheikh and some others were performing their duty for the third time. Yet it is a well ascertained fact that the Hausa race as a whole is only superficially Mohammedan. The mass of the people have professed Islam under the compulsion of their masters, the Fellatahs, and care chiefly for commerce, and even the pilgrims utilize their pious journeys for that purpose. Probably, however, the pilgrimage is undertaken only by those who are exceptionally under the influence of Islam; for no one, watching them at their devotions, could doubt their earnestness. One instance dwells in my mind both from its surrounding circumstances and as showing the combination of religious ardour with entire absence of fanaticism. We had halted in the desert in order to celebrate, so far as I can remember, the smaller *'Id*, better known in Europe as the Ramadan Bairam. After the afternoon prayer, the men of the caravan

formed into a large circle, and, until sunset, gave themselves up to religious frenzy, many of them taking it in turn to perform the *zikr* and other dervish ceremonies within the circle; while their companions encouraged their zeal with the usual wild cries and pious ejaculations. The scene was the more picturesque, as the circle was in the bed of a small hollow, whence rose on every side an amphitheatre of rocks, on which were crowded as spectators some hundreds of Bedouin camel drivers, whose almost naked barbarism, with their long spears and matted hair reeking with sheep fat, formed a marked contrast with the clothed and comparatively civilized Hausa worshippers below. But the striking fact which may justify my recalling a personal reminiscence was that two Christians stood close to this mass of howling enthusiasts without the slightest danger of insult or annoyance. This lesson of tolerance was enforced later on by a proposal on the part of the Sheikh that on their return from the Hejaz, we should accompany them across Africa to their country, an invitation which we were compelled to decline, because he informed us that it would be necessary for us first to embrace Islam, not—as he hastened to add—on account of himself or his companions, but because of the dangers to Christians in the countries which they would have to traverse.

This entire absence of fanaticism, even amongst the select few whose religious zeal directed them to the distant Hejaz rather than to the more profitable markets on the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Guinea, is an important element in considering the use that might be made of the Hausa race in spreading European civilization over one half of Africa. Their commercial instincts, industry, and high degree of intelligence, as attested by such notable and trustworthy authorities as Barth, Baikie and Mr. Joseph Thomson, are other factors which should not be neglected. Let it be assumed for a moment that Great Britain succeeds in freeing the Hausa people, in enforcing peace in Hausaland proper, and in creating security there for life,

liberty and property. What an immense army of unconscious missionaries of civilization would then be provided by these numberless Hausa caravans slowly traversing Africa in every direction, halting for trade at every town, and mixing with the natives in a way impossible to the European, a stranger in appearance, habits and modes of thought!

The question may probably be asked why it is that the Hausa, in spite of his intelligence, is not now a civilizing agent amongst the lower races? In the first place, he is not now free in his own country, which, in the early days of this century, was conquered by an alien and lighter coloured race, known by the three names of Fellatah, Fulbe and Fulani. Various causes have been advanced for the rapid success of the Fellatahs, whose numbers were insignificant compared with the Hausa population. Some attribute it entirely to the warlike qualities of the conquering race, who overran the Central Sudan just as our Scandinavian ancestors overran the western world from England to Sicily. The character which Gibbon quotes as assigned by Malaterra to the Normans applies indeed to the Fellatahs.

"A cunning and revengeful people, eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities; they can stoop to flatter; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion; and in their eager desire for wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercise of hunting" (the Fellatahs hunt man!) "are their delight; but on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience the toil and abstinence of a military life."

On the other hand, the Hausas were and are a commercial people of milder and less astute quality, and their fate under the invasion resembled that of the Peruvians driven like sheep before the soldiers of Pizarro.

Some authorities dwell rather on the religious zeal of the Fellatahs which gave them a disregard of death and a bond of brotherhood in which the seven Hausa States were entirely wanting; and, no doubt, the condition of Hausaland

at the time of the Fellatah invasion was no less distracted than that of Spain when the Moslem, Tarik, landed at Gibraltar and, on the field of Xeres, decided for centuries the fate of the Peninsula. The extraordinary military stimulus excited by religious enthusiasm has been so often and fully proved in history, from the followers of Mohammed down to Cromwell's Ironsides, that considerable weight must be allowed to this cause.

But while not ignoring the force of these and other reasons, I am inclined to think that sufficient importance has not been attached to the more prosaic fact that the Hausas were essentially a pedestrian race, while the Fellatahs were born horsemen, in an open and level country, where undisciplined and ill armed infantry are unable to withstand cavalry. This constant use of the horse has, at a later date, enabled the Fellatah conqueror to extend his rule and slave-raiding incursions over a vast area to the south and south east of Hausaland proper.

But even were the Hausa to resume at once his proper place in his own country, he would not at present fulfil the conditions of an agent of civilization. From time immemorial Africa has suffered from the curse of slavery on which are based all its institutions, and in which the Hausa traders are deeply involved. As slaves are valuable in proportion to their distance from home, every district and almost every town in the Central Sudan is perpetually at war with its neighbours, not from a desire to extend its territories, but simply to obtain slaves to send as tribute to distant suzerains or to sell to passing caravans in exchange for other slaves. The Rev. Charles Robinson, the first Student of the Hausa Association, has just sent home from Zaria, in Hausaland, a striking account, in accord with that of all other travellers, of the horrors resulting from this state of things! He, like so many others, dwells on the natural wealth of the country and the industry of its inhabitants, and shows how these are nullified by the universal prevalence of slave-raiding. The Hausas must be taught

the benefits of freedom and peace, before they can carry the lesson to others.

No doubt, the first requirement is the consolidation of an effective European rule which shall enforce respect for human life and liberty; and although the Hausa Association does not meddle with politics, its work, if successful, will greatly facilitate this preliminary step. But its object is of a more peaceful though not less useful nature. Finding that no sufficient means exist for the acquisition by Englishmen of this important language, it is attempting to provide correct and adequate vocabularies, grammars and translations of a tongue spoken by no less than one-hundredth of the human race, but inaccessible to English students for the want of proper books. Mr. Robinson is also engaged in producing a correct translation into Hausa of the Gospels, and some portions have been already printed in the modified Arabic character which the natives employ; but notwithstanding this, and although the Association numbers several Archbishops, Bishops and clergymen amongst its General Committee, it must not be regarded as a missionary society. Its Committee comprises also men of science, philologists, travellers and others who are all agreed that a knowledge of the Hausa tongue is an essential preliminary to good and effective work of any kind amongst that remarkable race. They appeal to those who feel interested in the movement to aid them both personally and by bringing the subject before the notice of their friends. I do not know, indeed, that I can close this article more appropriately than by stating that the Honorary Financial Secretary of the Association is Mrs. Sinclair, Bonny Glen, Co. Donegal, Ireland.

EAST AFRICA AND THE NILE.

By Anglo-African.

One immediate effect of the settlement with the British East Africa Company, the consequences of which will be awaited with public interest, is that Her Majesty's Government will be no longer in enjoyment of a scapegoat to expiate or excuse their shortcomings in African policy by bearing the responsibility. After the uncompromising opposition given on the occasion of the Railway Survey vote in March 1892 to the policy of the late Ministry, it was embarrassing to succeed to office face to face with the responsibility of dealing with the African question. Many shifts have been resorted to since then to avoid the duty of Government, and the result has been up to the present a waste of time and public money, a loss of *prestige*, and the jeopardising of important national interests which ought to have been safeguarded long since.

Into the merits of the terms of "settlement" to which the shareholders of the Company have been advised by their Directors to submit, it is not the purpose here to enter. Those terms speak for themselves. But before closing the page of history upon the Imperial British East Africa Company, and attempting to forecast the "new era" which a Foreign Office manifesto some time ago outlined in somewhat lofty terms to the Company as being intended to dawn upon the natives of Africa, a few observations relative to the character and career of that Company may not be out of place or without interest. Comparisons are said to be odious, but they are often instructive, and if we compare the British East Africa Company with other cognate bodies which have flourished, and are still flourishing, to advantage, one cannot avoid being struck with one very important point of distinction. The cardinal mistake of the East Africa Company was that—to put it bluntly—of not sufficiently minding its own interests. This error of

negligence is indeed covered by excuses which the British nation and Government have much reason to acknowledge. But the fact remains. Owing to circumstances, now matter of history, which thrust the Company into an invidious position in relation to British interests in East Africa,—to a predominant sense of patriotism which, in that unforeseen situation, subordinated personal interests to public duty,—to a feeling also of implicit reliance that Government would not accept the benefit of private sacrifices without corresponding measures of co-operation and assistance, the Company made itself the agency of the nation rather than the trustee of its own capital. History does justice to a failure that is free from the responsibility of default or incapacity; but it is a melancholy fact that contemporary judgment is not always so equitable. Nothing succeeds like success. In the one case, the result covers many sins; in the other, it takes little account of many virtues. Strict attention to "business," combined with seasonable observance of public virtue not incompatible with the main object, is the method of ensuring success and obtaining all the consideration which accrues only to success. The East Africa Company did not act on this sound principle: hence its misfortunes. The least merited of these is the odium of responsibility sought to be cast upon it by Ministers for their own inaction.

Parliament, in voting money for the survey of the Victoria Nyanza railway line in 1892, did not mean the Report to be pigeon-holed and ignored when made. But Ministers, after the determined hostility they displayed towards the railway policy when in Opposition, have apparently laboured, since coming to office, to frustrate that policy and stultify the vote of the House of Commons. Their standing excuse for inaction has been the alleged difficulty of coming to terms with the chartered Company. That excuse is now removed, and it remains to be seen what will next be done. Government have declared that they will not propose any vote for the railway during the present sessions; but it is

probable they will be called upon for explanations in regard to that decision. Meantime it may be recalled that, as far as the published papers show (and the official correspondence issued by the Directors is very copious), the delay in coming to a settlement with the Company has been due, not to the exorbitant demands of the latter, but to the efforts of the Foreign Office to drive a hard bargain, and to promote this object by discrediting the Company through the paralysis of its work induced by the uncertainty and suspense of protracted negotiations. As long ago as 1892, the Company made proposals to withdraw, which were left unattended to, and a year later, on the invitation of the Foreign Office, the shareholders reluctantly agreed to accept a settlement which, after two years more of successive inaction and haggling, the Government have only succeeded in reducing by some £50,000, regardless of the useless expenditure entailed in the meantime on the other party to the negotiations.

The state of things now ready to be dealt with in Eastern and Equatorial Africa is discreditable to the greatest of colonizing Powers. Seeing how little we have done or attempted, in comparison with their own earnest efforts to turn their acquisitions to good account, our neighbours in that part of the continent have little cause to regard us with jealousy. They may well contemplate our system there with some wonder. The declarations of Government have led us to believe that the removal of the Company was necessary to the establishment of a unified administration in lieu of the four or five heretofore existing. It is to be hoped that such an administration, placed under the local guidance of an official of character and experience, will be inaugurated without delay. The so-called "ministry" at Zanzibar, which as a temporary shift for merely local and municipal purposes may have been sufficiently suitable, is not calculated, either in itself or in its character as the executive of the Sultan of Zanzibar, to meet the requirements of the case. What the scheme of the Foreign Office

for the future administration of East Africa may be has not yet been disclosed, but apparently it must be one of two things. The Zanzibar Protectorate must be extended to the whole of the British territory, or that puppet sovereignty must be extinguished and the whole administered as a British Protectorate under an officer and executive staff appointed by, and responsible to, Her Majesty's Government.

In respect of reality the Sultan of Zanzibar stands no comparison with the King of Uganda, or indeed any independent or semi-independent chief on the mainland. He is simply an Arab youth selected as a figure-head to a moribund state. He has no right to be where he is except the right which, for our own ideas of convenience, we have given him; and no person to whom we do not grant it has any title to succeed him. We have in fact made the throne of Zanzibar a titular office existing at our pleasure, and its abolition at any moment, saving only the life interest of the present occupant in the pension he now enjoys, would be a wrong to no one. The continuance of the office must depend entirely on considerations of British policy. There may be reasons urged for the retention of the Sultanate, which can only be accepted on certain very clear conditions. There are many reasons in favour of the opposite course.

So long as this shadowy sovereignty exists, it entails upon the East Coast grave administrative disabilities and social evils without compensating advantages. Zanzibar—which includes not only the island of that name and Pemba, but a considerable portion of the mainland sea-frontage of British East Africa—is bound by a number of treaties with foreign powers concluded when the Sultan was an independent sovereign. By these treaties we are hampered, though in a less degree yet sufficiently seriously, with the same kind of restrictive capitulations which are a cause of so much embarrassment and mischief in Egypt. In the latter country, however, we cannot get rid of them, while in the Zanzibar dominions they exist merely by our sufferance. Foreigners enjoy facilities for trade and residence, but are

exempt from jurisdiction by the privilege of exterritoriality. Since declaring a Protectorate over Zanzibar the British Government, instead of endeavouring in the interests of the territory to do away with those privileges, has gratuitously added to them that of free transit for merchandise, although the neighbouring foreign States refuse the same privilege to British traders. The incidence of this exceptional system of things is described as follows in a report furnished to Lord Kimberley on the 26th October 1894, by our representative at Berlin, and issued by the Foreign Office in a Blue Book (F.O. 1894 Miscellaneous Series, No. 346):—

"Before leaving German East Africa, there is yet another contrast to which I would wish to call attention. By the Berlin Act the free transit system might, with the consent of the territorial Power, be applied on the African littoral extending from latitude 5 degrees N. to the Zambesi, thereby establishing a sort of free transit local option, which has apparently yet to become popular on the East African coast. Portugal at once declined to have anything to do with it. Germany still retains the original reserves made by the Sultan of Zanzibar before she acquired her part of the mainland. The system is at present applied in the Sultan's possessions between the Rivers Wanga [Umbe] and Juba, including Witu (*i.e.* the coast-line of the English sphere of interest). There is, moreover, no question whatever as to reciprocity between the East African neighbours. A German may import goods into British East Africa in transit for German East Africa, and pay no duty whatever at Mombasa or anywhere else until he reaches German territory, whereas a British trader sending goods through the port of Tanga to a British district in East Africa would have to pay full import duty at the German port of debarkation."

In thus opening the British East African coast to freedom of transit, the absence of any reasonable object for so one-sided an act has exposed the Foreign Office to the charge of penalizing the chartered Company's withdrawal from Uganda (which had then been definitely determined upon) by depriving the Company of the right to levy duties for which it was, under contract, paying, and was compelled notwithstanding this to continue paying without abatement, a fixed annual rent to the Sultan of Zanzibar calculated on the gross Customs' receipts before the introduction of the free transit system.

Foreigners in the Zanzibar territories, besides special

protection for their rights of residence and trade, and exemption from the jurisdiction of local tribunals, enjoy immunity from all kinds of internal taxation for the support of the administration whose advantages they share. When Germany took over her portion of the Sultan's territory, 1st January 1891, she at once extinguished these capitulations, while maintaining the fiscal independence of the coast under the Berlin Act, which Great Britain on her part has voluntarily and unconditionally abandoned. So long as the Sultanate of Zanzibar continues to exist, even in name as at present, the administration of the coast must continue to be hampered by those treaty disabilities. It becomes, therefore, a question whether the phantom sovereignty is worth retaining, at such a cost, for any object of appearance or expediency.

There is, however, another condition attaching to the Zanzibar Sultanate which renders its perpetuation more obnoxious to a powerful British sentiment than any considerations of administrative disability. The Sultan of Zanzibar represents foreign conquest on the East Coast; and it was the domination of the Arabs that planted there Mahomedan law and the institution of slavery. To a Mahomedan sovereignty *per se* there might be no objection if it were a necessary condition of things, but it can hardly be said to be now necessary in East Africa. It is, in fact, more than unnecessary—it is a scandal to this country which voluntarily and needlessly upholds it. Public feeling has chafed against the anomaly for five years past, and the act of extending the jurisdiction of the Sultan, with its concomitants—Mahomedan law and slavery—over the Protectorate of Witu some two years ago, produced an unfavourable and distrustful effect which the assurances that the measure was only temporary have not allayed into acquiescence. The hope that, with a British Protectorate at Zanzibar, and an Executive of British officials acting under the immediate supervision of the British Consul-General and Foreign Office, the existence of slavery would soon be ended, has been disappointed. Left alone, it would seem

that slavery, and the detested traffic that supplies it, enjoy under British protection conditions as favourable to their continued existence as they ever did when the Sultan was independent. It is probable, indeed, that the evil is more favourably circumstanced under the new order of things. British officials, charged with administering the affairs of a small State, first threw away a legitimate and considerable source of revenue by declaring Zanzibar a free port, and then found themselves mainly dependent on the clove tax, a product entirely of slave-labour. Under such circumstances, and with a business community in Zanzibar whose interests are much bound up with the clove plantations as mortgagees, it would not be surprising if British officials became insensibly influenced by their duties and environment, and more prone to sympathise with the system than to extinguish it. A costly and harassing naval service is still maintained to prevent the importation to Zanzibar and Pemba of the fresh slaves constantly needed to supply the mortality of the plantations; but it is worse than a farce to employ our seamen thus in a deadly tropical climate, in the face of the notorious fact that, by treaty with Great Britain, all importation of slaves has been illegal since 1873. It is useless to ignore the truth that the authorities on land connive at the traffic which the cruisers and their boats try in vain to prevent. The alleged scarcity of labour on the clove plantations of Zanzibar and Pemba is plausibly urged as a proof that the importation of slaves is decreasing. It may be well to note the facts here given on unimpeachable authority. It is not labour that is scarcer, but the demand for it that is greater, than twenty years ago. In point of fact more slave labour is now available than ever before, and only in a relative sense can it be said to be scarce. About twenty years ago the plantations were annihilated by a hurricane, and it is only within the last ten years that the new plantations have been yielding full crops. In 1873 the clove crop was not one-third of what it is now, and the labour now needed to pick the crop is consequently three times as great as at the former period. The insuffi-

ciency of labour on the plantations, alleged as evidence of a decline in the slave trade, is caused, therefore, not by a diminished supply but by an increased demand. We can and do stop the export slave trade from the islands, because in doing so the Arab slave owners are ranged on our side. We do not and cannot influence the import, because everyone in Zanzibar is interested in conniving at the introduction of fresh hands. With a narrow channel that can be crossed at night by canoes, and a coast on either side where a landing and shipment can be effected secure from observation or detection, it is an impossibility for our cruisers to affect the importation to any material extent, when the coast and island population are all ranged against them, and the law of 1873 declaring importation illegal remains a dead letter in the hands of the authorities. The same difficulty was experienced formerly when the islands and the mainland were under one government, *i.e.* that of the Sultan. In those days little effective action in compliance with the Treaty of 1873 was to be expected from the Sultan's native officials on the islands, and our success in limiting the importation of slaves was not due to operations on the island shores, but invariably, through the active vigilance of our Agent and Consul-General, to information and warning obtained through spies on the mainland who gave notice of intended shipments. The islands and the mainland being now under different flags, that species of preventive action, once so successful, is precluded, and the channel is full of fishing canoes, which it is impossible to inspect at sea, and these can carry over slaves at night and run them into the various creeks without risk of detection.

Strong interests in Zanzibar against the abolition of slavery make themselves felt by the local officials. The cardinal fact of the situation is the existence of a useless and anomalous administration which depends for a large portion of its revenue on the clove tax. In the general system of British East Africa now about to be inaugurated there ought to be no place for this feeble and obnoxious phantom. When it comes, however, to a question of in-

terests which have grown up under the sanction of law, due regard must be had to principles of justice. If emancipation involves confiscation of such interests we must be prepared to make compensation. But it is not so clear that lawful interests will suffer by the abolition of the status of slavery. The revenue interest of the Zanzibar "State" we unhesitatingly exclude from the category: we should insist that if that puppet sovereignty is to be maintained it must be supported by some other means. The *status* of slavery itself, as is observed in the official Report already quoted, has "but little terror to the native mind," and "exists in its very mildest form in East Africa," where "emancipation is not even wished for by the slaves themselves." "The masters," it is stated, "must maintain their slaves and see after their well-being, and so much is this the rule that the slaves generally have no wish to receive their freedom." These remarks apply to the mainland, where the conditions of servitude are different from those of the pestilential clove plantations on the island. But the most favourable view of the *status* of slavery is darkened by the shadow of the murderous traffic that supplies it, and the evil is one with which it ought to be impossible for any Christian nation—least of all Great Britain—to sanction a *modus vivendi*. The dangers of economic evil, and injustice to individuals, and dislocation of industry, are less than they are painted. The *status* was quietly and finally abolished in India by a legislative Act in 1843; and a similar measure would change the whole character of things in the Zanzibar dominions without dislocating an industry or injuring a private interest. The clove plantations would pay with free labour as well as with that of slaves; and if prices were raised the world's consumption of the product would be in no way affected. On the mainland, as well as on the islands, domestic slaves would enjoy the *status* of freedom without risking, for the independent enjoyment of its dignity, their present security of maintenance on the estates of their masters. To many excellent persons the idea of anything short of the absolute, unconditional and immediate emanci-

pation of all the slaves is hardly tolerable. Their motives are worthy of all honour, but their wisdom is not supported by experience. Such a wholesale change as they contemplate would require provision for the maintenance of a large number of people unacquainted with self-dependence and incapable of independent industrial exertion for the support of themselves and their families. The negro has virtues in servitude that are absent when he attains a state of freedom. Palgrave (as an instance) found this to be the case in a marked degree in Arabia. In Oman, he says (*Central and Eastern Arabia*, Chap. 15),

"Although a negro while living to execute his master's orders, and under his direction, may often display many valuable qualities, and obtain a certain degree of importance, the same negro, when free and his own lord and master, seldom adapts himself to any position in society except the lowest and least intellectual. . . . In two points alone they [the emancipated negroes] maintain a decided superiority, but a superiority of evil bearing; the one point is superstition, the other immorality."

Such was his judgment of a class "reaching a good fourth of the entire population." In Muscat the state of things was no better.

"The negro and mulatto tribe" (he writes, *Ibid.*, Chap. 17) "form one-fifth of the town population, but occupy only the lowest ranges of society, not that any special prejudice or pride in those around them excludes them from place or wealth, but their own idleness, incapacity, and licentiousness. This of the free negroes; those among them who have the advantage of having a master, surpass in every respect their independent brethren, much as a well-trained schoolboy does a ragged runagates street urchin."

The moral of this would certainly appear to point to the advantages of what may be termed a free servitude rather than a demoralised freedom, as the form which emancipation should be made to assume, at least until a new generation arises capable of appreciating the dignity and realising the advantages of social independence. Notwithstanding all that has been done, the taint of the Assiento Contract still hangs about us, and ought to be got rid of without delay.*

* As an example of the practicability of dealing with the question of slavery, the work done in this direction by the British East Africa Company

Whatever administration may be established at the coast, it will need a long arm and a strong one to hold safely the interests of our nation on the Nile. A new and imminent danger has arisen from the transfer of the Congo State to Belgium and the formal recognition by the latter, in the Treaty signed on the 5th of February, of the "pre-emptive" rights of France over the Congo State. Our neighbours have not hesitated to avow that this fact advances them an important step towards controlling the British position in Egypt by means of the command of the Upper Nile. What this command means for Egypt shall be shown on exceptionally high authority. The so-called pre-emptive rights in the event of a sale, given to France in 1884, over the property of the defunct International Association, will have to be established by much stronger arguments and evidence of their origin before they will be recognised by the Powers over the territories of an extensive State subsequently created. It is to be inferred from recent language of Lord Rosebery that the interests of this country are being closely and anxiously attended to. That our interests on the Nile demand all the vigilance that can be bestowed

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is instructive. The Company issued a proclamation, which was assented to by the Arab slave-owners at the coast, declaring members of all protected tribes in the interior, that is, tribes having treaties with the Company, to be free people who could not be held in servitude; and any member of such tribes found in a state of slavery at the coast became *ipso facto* free, without right, on the part of the master, to compensation. Another measure which much weakened the status of slavery was the arrangement made with the Arabs, whereby slaves were given the right to work out their freedom as free labourers at the nominal cost of about £2 16s. Those measures were readily accepted by the Arab slave-owners, which shows how willing they are to agree to the emancipation of their slaves, and how depreciated slave property has become under the action of an Administration avowedly opposed to slavery and the slave trade. In Witu, on assuming the administration of that protectorate, the Company, in agreement with the chiefs and with her Majesty's Government, formally abolished the status of slavery, and decreed the final emancipation of all the slaves by May, 1896. These acts were immediately reversed when Her Majesty's Government placed the Protectorate under the Sultan of Zanzibar on August 1, 1893. Slavery was re-established, and Mahomedan law substituted in the Protectorate for British law.

upon them, the following weighty statements will show, from a lecture by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff at the Royal Institution, on the 25th January last:—

"In 1884, when the expedition up the Nile was first being considered, he was asked by the general officer commanding in Egypt whether there was any possibility of the Mahdi diverting the river in the Soudan and depriving Egypt of its water. He was sure, from information given to him by Sir Samuel Baker, that there was no danger at that time. But what the Mahdi would not do a civilized people could do. A Government official perhaps had no business to talk politics, and the Royal Institution was no place for politics; but he would point out the very evident fact that the civilized possessor of the Upper Nile Valley held Egypt in his grasp. At this moment the Italians were on the eastern edge of that valley—a nation which had been consistently most friendly to us in Egypt. Supposing that they occupied Khartoum, the first thing they would naturally and very properly do would be to spread the waters of the Low Nile over the Soudan; and no nation in Europe understood irrigation so well as the Italians. What then would become of Egypt's cotton crops? They could only be secured by a series of the most costly dams over the river, and the fate of Philæ would surely be sealed then. But, more than this, a civilized nation on the Upper Nile would surely build regulating sluices across the outlet of the Victoria Nyanza, and control that great sea as Manchester controlled Thirlmere. This would probably be an easy operation. Once done, the Nile-supply would be in their hands, and if poor little Egypt had the bad luck to be at war with this people on the upper waters, they might flood Egypt or cut off its water supply at their pleasure. Was it not evident, then, that the Nile from the Victoria Nyanza to the Mediterranean should be under one rule? That time was perhaps not far off."

It is to be hoped so. We do occupy the outlets of the Victoria and Albert Nyanza; but until a railway is made from the East Coast that occupation will be feeble and precarious, and the valley of the Nile down to Khartoum will continue to be exposed to the hostile designs which are openly directed against our possible control. The nation will have abundant cause for anxiety as long as this condition of things is allowed to continue; and now that an unwilling Ministry are without their last and only poor excuse for procrastination, their action should be stimulated by the only form of persuasion to which they are amenable—that of an emphatic and peremptory mandate of public opinion.

4th March, 1895.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

By A. F. Calvert, F.R.G.S.

Western Australia's present notoriety is a matter of very recent date. It is indeed an astonishing circumstance that a dependency of the British Crown, possessing an area twenty times exceeding that of England, should, until quite recently, have been so little known; and she might no doubt have remained in obscurity for an indefinite period, had it not been for the discovery of Gold within her territory. Yet her existence was known centuries before the Union Jack was planted on the shores of Sydney Cove. It is not quite certain by what nation the Great South Land—as it was called—was discovered; but there can be no possible doubt that whichever navigator—French, Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch—first sighted the shore of New Holland, it was the coast of Western Australia which met his eye. England can put forth no possible claim to the discovery; for her ships were very few and her mariners of very small account before the reign of Henry VIII.

The first Englishman who ever set foot on West Australian soil was almost certainly William Dampier, sometimes called the "Learned and Faithful Dampier," sometimes the "Prince of Voyagers," and more commonly the "Buccaneer." He fell in with the land at 16° 50′ S. latitude on January the 4th, 1688; and having made a short examination ashore, he brought back his report to England,—an extremely uncomplimentary report, so far as the inhabitants were concerned and quite as unfavourable regarding the country. He calls the former "the miserablest people in the world," saying that the Hodmadods (Hottentots) are gentlemen in comparison. As to the land, he asserts that the earth affords no food at all. Altogether he was very much disgusted with the place.

Nevertheless, eleven years afterwards, at the bidding of

Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, High Admiral to William III., Dampier who, by the publication of his extraordinary adventures, had become a celebrity in his way, undertook another voyage to New Holland, and this time landed in Western Australia at Shark's Bay 25° S. lat.

His opinions were but slightly more favourable on this occasion. The country did not appear to him so absolutely barren, but as to the natives, his views did not alter for the better. He constantly refers to them in his journal, as "the poor winking people of New Holland." They kept on winking, he says to keep the swarms of flies out of their eyes, and, at all points he touched, he found the same "blinking creatures." The navigator concludes rather humorously that, except for the pleasure of discovering the barrenest spot on the face of the globe, this coast of New Holland would not have charmed him much.

Many years elapse before we hear anything more of Western Australia. Cook's discoveries from 1770 to 1777, were confined to the eastern coast of the great Island Continent, and, after his Journals were published, very naturally a better opinion was formed of the country. Even then, however, eleven years passed before Captain Arthur Phillip arrived at Sydney Cove with three men-of-war, six convict ships, and three store ships carrying about 1,000 souls.

Thus was New South Wales founded in January 1788.

Although our nation were not the first discoverers they certainly were the first explorers of Australia both on her seaboard and throughout her vast inland area. As the result of our investigations we find that in the summer of 1829, Captain Stirling cast anchor off the Western Australian coast, and thereafter founded the Swan River Settlement. And now for a specimen of bad management. The British authorities had taken but little care in providing accommodation for the immigrants; and still less in selecting them from a class fitted for the laborious task of founding a colony. As a writer of the time remarks:—"The ladies and gentlemen who formed the pioneer corps of

settlers, were landed without any greater care for the grave and difficult undertaking of founding a new British province, than if they had gone out on a holiday excursion in the woods."

This was a poor start for the new Settlement. Great suffering and privations were the natural result; and these troubles were aggravated by the selfish aggrandisement of the civil, naval and military officers in charge of the experiment. Western Australia of the present day bears witness in her small population to the mismanagement of that dismal period. British manhood, however, asserted itself and brighter days began to dawn. In 1830 Perth was founded; and 1832 saw the arrival of the first printing press from England. Passing on to 1848, we find that the population amounted to nearly 5,000 souls, and some 7,000 acres of land were under cultivation. The first mineral discovery—viz. coal, had been made, two years previously, by three young surveyors named Gregory.

About this time a demonstration arose on the part of the neighbouring colonists against the importation of convicts into Australia; and it occurred to those who watched over the interests of the infant colony, that it might be well to have their scanty population augmented by a few of these outcasts of society. The Home Government promptly acceded to their request, and a penal settlement was formed at Fremantle. It is a doubtful question, at this long interval of years, whether the settlers benefited or not. It may be noted, however, that a writer in the London *Times* of 1853 remarks:—"The advent of convicts after three years' experience has been found to contribute more to the well-doing of the settlers' pockets than to the detriment of their morals."

Probably the name of Western Australia—of Fremantle at least—was more familiar to English ears during the Convict Period than at any other time before or since, until the recent revelation of her great auriferous wealth. Transportation was finally abolished in 1868; and the

Colony, we may suppose, breathed more freely. John Stephen Hampton, the then Governor, was succeeded by Frederick Aloysius Weld, during whose administration—from 1869 till 1877—telegraphic communication was established. The colony was likewise divided into electoral districts; and this was followed by an election of members for the Legislative Assembly.

To follow the slowly rising fortunes of the struggling colony is delightful reading; but I must pass on rapidly to the period when Sir William F. C. Robinson, G.C.M.G., assumed the Governorship of the Colony for the third time. His return to Perth, in October 1890, marks a very important epoch in the history of Western Australia; for by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, a new Constitution was to be conferred upon her. Hitherto she had been a Crown Colony, with more restricted powers than those enjoyed by the other Australian States, which were self-governing. She had for some years been naturally jealous of the fact that all her Government officials were appointed in Downing Street, and she thought herself quite capable of making her own selections.

On the 21st of October, then, in the year 1890, Western Australia was given powers of managing and controlling her own affairs, her waste lands, mines, minerals, etc., the Crown reserving power to divide the Colony under separate Governors, if deemed advisable.

Such, in a few brief outlines, are the discovery, rise and progress of Western Australia; and it must be said that the story of Swan River Settlement—the original title of the colony—is one of patient endurance and indomitable energy. Sand and scrub, poison-plant and savages, had all to be faced and overcome, and it must be admitted that having gone forward under such hard conditions, she is not likely to retrogress under the smiles of fortune.

Let me now shortly consider the present position and prospects of Western Australia. Her second Parliament is in power under the new Constitution; and it may be

noted that Sir John Forrest has held the post of Premier ever since the colony was granted autonomous Government. The Prime Minister is a native of the colony. In early life he entered the Survey Department, and he has gained for himself imperishable laurels in the field of exploration. He is the author of much useful legislation, and has the interests of his native country at heart. Under his administration prosperity has reigned and increased throughout the land, and no more need be said in this connexion, than that Western Australia is well governed.

Now as to her resources. She has splendid forests in which grow many varieties of trees, which it would be impossible here to enumerate. I may, however, be allowed to contemplate the immense tracts of land covered with the Jarrah and the Karri, two timbers which enter prominently into competition with the other great woods of commerce. If these trees be cut at the proper season, and fully dried before use, there can be no doubt of their extraordinary strength and durability. As to Jarrah it may be mentioned, that the piles supporting the Keeper's quarters at Port Adelaide light-house,—26 in number and measuring about 14 inches square,—which were driven in 1868, are to-day as sound as ever. Both these timbers have been used for paving purposes in London. Testimony has come from the districts of St. Giles, West Strand, Hammersmith, Lambeth, St. Pancras, and elsewhere, as to their even wear and extreme uniformity of quality. More need not be said: the timber of the colony is a valuable and important asset.

Of course it must be recognized that the rude produce of the soil is the mainstay of every community, and here Western Australia will not be wanting, when her population increases. She possesses, however, an area of over five hundred millions of acres and her inhabitants are less than 80,000. She sadly needs the agricultural emigrant; her land-laws are framed so as to offer certain inducements to small farmers who come to settle under the "Homesteads Act;" and recently a Land Bank or Agricultural

Bank, has been established for the purpose of making advances to them. Some 6,000,000 acres are at present under cultivation, while on many pastoral areas, flocks and herds rove in numerous abundance.

Vine and fruit growing is likewise an industry which promises to become a source of permanent wealth to the colony, there being at least 5,000 square miles of territory suitable for viti-culture. The lands now under cultivation yield, on an average, 185 gallons of wine to the acre, but as yet only small fractions of the available districts have been taken up. It has been proved, however, that the soil readily produces the Shiraz, the Verdeilho, the Fontainbleau, the Crystal, the Sweetwater, the Muscatel, the Wortley Hall, the Black Hamburg, together with the Burgundy and Hermitage varieties of grape.

Passing from the soil to the sea, we find that almost the whole length of the coast, amounting to about 2,000 miles, is, to a distance of some thirty to forty miles, bounded by a bank of calcareous or coralline formation, and teems with fish. On the North-west coast, pearl fishing has been carried on, under considerable difficulties, for the last thirty years; yet, notwithstanding the obstacles interposed by a somewhat unfortunate system of enactments, many valuable gems and large quantities of pearl shells have been secured.

What the colony needs are capital and population; and we now have to consider the probabilities of her obtaining these requirements.

It may safely be averred that the discovery of gold in paying quantities throughout her area is more likely to solve the problem than anything else that could have happened. I need not refer to other minerals, among which are silver, copper, lead, zinc and tin. None of these could have accomplished the desired object. To say that gold has a potency of its own, is only to repeat a truism. Although "Island of Gold" "Land of Gold" "*Terra aurifera*" "*Provincia aurifera*," appear in the old charts

and writings showing the bent of the minds of early navigators; and although Welbe, who accompanied Dampier, specifically mentions having come upon gold in Western Australia,—the idea of its existence never seems to have been entertained by the early settlers. It was not until 1840 that lead and copper were found; and in 1846 the Messrs. Gregory discovered coal.

It was the report of the late Mr. E. T. Hardman in August, 1885, which led to the establishment of the gold mining industry in Western Australia. The metal had been seen earlier, it is true, but in very small quantities; and no serious idea was entertained of its becoming a mighty factor in the destiny of the colony. Kimberley was the first of the proclaimed areas under the "Goldfields Act of 1886," and it was immediately the object of a feverish rush. Small capitalists without practical knowledge flung away their money in rash and fruitless speculations. Then came in quick succession debt, mortgage, and bankruptcy, casting blight and ruin over West Australia's first gold-field. It need not be imagined that this distant northern field will always remain under the curse which followed misrepresentation and mismanagement. It is about 150 miles in length, and is well supplied with both water and timber. The bad name it acquired and its remoteness are its chief drawbacks. But other fields were soon discovered and proclaimed.

South-west from Kimberley we have first Pilbarra, a splendid field, embracing in its area the rich districts of Marble Bar, Bamboo Creek, the Nullagine and others, on the latter of which diamonds have been found. I have carefully explored the whole of this district, and can testify to the richness of its reefs.

The Ashburton and Gascoyne are further south and are of less importance. Then bisected by the 28th parallel of latitude we find the Murchison, possibly in some respects the best gold-field of Western Australia. The geological formation of its rocks gives special promise of immense depth and richness of gold deposits.

Still further south lies Yilgarn, within whose boundaries Coolgardie once lay. The latter has lately, however, been proclaimed separately. Yilgarn—which is the native name for white quartz—has always been a very rich field; but it has suffered much from lack of water, which question, however, I shall consider shortly before I close.

West of Yilgarn and stretching into the Great Victorian Desert is situated the great gold-field now known so far and wide,—namely Coolgardie. The story of its discovery has been told many times, so I need not do more than remark that Bayley and Ford did good service to the colony, when they stumbled on the claim which bears the name of the former prospector. It was persistently declared by many, who argued from a curious point of view, that this was the *only* abnormally rich reef on the field. It might have occurred to these people that it was a most improbable circumstance that two men should go out into a wilderness, containing hundreds of thousands of acres, and stumble on the only rich patch on such an area. I have frequently asserted that it was a moral impossibility. So it turned out. Some time elapsed no doubt: and it got to be believed that the theory of Bayley's was a phenomenon never to be repeated. It only wanted *more men and more prospectors* to expose the fallacy. Londonderry turned up—then the Wealth of Nations and the "prodigy faction" were silenced. Coolgardie is a noble field, and will no doubt add to her present golden distinction.

Dundas Hills Gold-field lies due south of the last: it is small, but rich in gold. Mawson and Kilpatrick were the first to find gold in this quarter, and they received the Government reward of £500.

I have now run through roughly speaking about 1,000 miles of territory; and during the entire length of our imaginary travels, it has been seen that gold exists constantly, but at more or less distant intervals. Looking at the map one would imagine that the auriferous areas follow the coast line. This is probably, however, a mere accident,

owing to the natural anxiety of prospectors to keep as far as possible within the range of civilization. As may easily be imagined, every yard the prospector advances into the interior, his danger of perishing in the desert increases. Hence it might lead to an erroneous conclusion regarding the great gold areas of Western Australia, were we to judge merely by what has been done in the way of prospecting and what has been recorded in the shape of proclaimed districts. That there are more great auriferous areas in Western Australia, there can be no doubt. This has been amply proved. Their size, wealth, depth and direction remain to be ascertained.

It is needless to attempt a description of the railway systems which are gradually making this great colony more and more practicable. It is idle to discuss the vexed question as to whether Albany, or Fremantle will prove eventually the chief port of call.

The water question perhaps demands a few words. We all know that if there ran some fine rivers through these sordid deserts, so jealous of the gold which they contain, then affairs would take a very different shape. Springs are comparatively rare; and water can be got only from natural reservoirs and hollows, or by boring deep into the soil. The latter is, of course, the best means of procuring this first necessity of life in constant quantity and good quality. No pains or expense should be spared in conducting such borings on a large scale and in numerous localities; and this main object should be aided by all parties and all politicians. Unfortunately there is danger that this may not be so. Let us hope, however, that party-enmity—of which there seems to be no lack—in the West Australian Parliament may yet yield to the general interest of the colony. It would be a pity, indeed, if a discussion between a Kaufmann's boring apparatus and a diamond drill, should be preferred to action when the fate of the colony hangs in the balance.

A scheme has been formulated by a well known firm of

Mining Engineers, to run tramways through the diggings so as to bring up all ore to the Swan River, where an enormous battery is to be erected. If they can manage it, well and good. The difficulties are greater than is generally supposed.

Finally I would ask those interested in this great, strange, distant territory to glance at the map and see that it embraces nearly a third of the Australian Continent, and if the tracks of the explorers be noted, it will be seen that a few thin red and blue lines, hundreds of miles apart, denote the explorers' tracks. The other Australian colonies are more full of these lines, showing that they have been traversed, surveyed, and reported upon to a much larger extent than the colony of Western Australia. Looking at the map we see the line of Eyre's dreadful trip in 1840, and we note the names of Sir George Grey, Forrest, Gregory and others; but it is almost beyond the power of human imagination to contemplate the millions of acres still lying *unexplored*.

May the hopes of those who build their faith in Western Australia be realized! Much British capital is flowing in that direction, and it would indeed be a pity if her credit were destroyed for the time through the issue of misleading prospectuses by which the confidence of investors would be shaken. Without money, her gold must lie dormant, and without gold, her broad acres must remain uncultivated. With wisdom, honesty and energy she cannot fail to come out as a noble rival to South Africa or any other of the Colonies of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

THE SÁNKHYA PHILOSOPHY.*

By C. H. Tawney.

Professor Garbe has now brought to a close his long series of editions and translations throwing light on the Sánkhya Philosophy by the issue of a volume intended to give a complete account of the system, and calculated to attract readers outside the narrow circle of Sanskrit students. Thanks to the liberality of the Prussian Government and the Academy of Science at Berlin, he was enabled to study Sanskrit philosophy in Benares, under Indian teachers. Although he has utilized all the available material of importance for the comprehension of the Sánkhya system, and its history, he has been enabled to compress his work within moderate limits, by avoiding the comparison of the Sánkhya doctrines with similar ideas in European Philosophy. He has so far departed from this principle as to devote one very interesting chapter to the connexion between the Sánkhya doctrines and Greek Philosophy. We cannot help regretting that he has not discussed in the present volume the relation between the Sánkhya philosophy on the one hand and the Buddhist and Jaina religions on the other. His opinion on this important point will be found on page 109 of the present work :

"This system has in the main supplied the foundations of Buddhism and Jainism, two religions garnished with philosophy, which start from this idea, that this life is nothing but pain, and are perpetually recurring to this idea."

Nevertheless, in the beginning of this treatise on the Sánkhya System, Professor Garbe refers us for information on the relation between the Sánkhya philosophy and Buddhism to another work. He remarks,

"I believe that I have, in the introduction to my translation of the Sánkhya-tattva-kaumudi, demonstrated, by putting together a whole series of points of agreement, the correctness of the indigenous tradition that the Sánkhya system is older than Buddha, and was the chief source that he made use of in founding his religion."

It is obvious that many students who, without being professed Sanskritists, take an interest in Oriental philosophy, will not find the translation to which Professor Garbe refers them procurable at a moment's notice. Such students will welcome the short synopsis of the other philosophical systems of India which the author has placed in the Introduction.

Though Prof. Garbe claims to have adhered throughout his work to the *ipsissima verba* of his authorities, the arrangement of his work is, as he says, "unindisch." He proceeds from the general to the particular, and gradually conducts the reader by flowery paths into the very centre of the jungle of Sánkhya thought. Now that Oriental systems are arousing so much interest in England, such a book as this seems to meet a want. For though the Sánkhya philosophy has few adherents at the present day in India, it has left an indelible impression on Indian literature and Indian religion.

It is, of course, well known to students of Indian systems, that the

* Die Sámkhya-Philosophie, Eine Darstellung des Indischen Rationalismus nach den Quellen von Richard Garbe. Leipzig, Verlag von H. Haessel, 1894.

Sánkhya philosophy is a dualistic system recognising a *prima materia* and a multiplicity of individual souls. The system enumerates 25 principles ultimately evolved from the *prima materia*, which, under the name of Prakṛiti, takes rank as the first principle. Soul is the 25th, being immaterial and spiritual. Liberation is effected by the isolation of the soul from matter.

"The pain in the internal organ ceases to throw its reflection upon the soul; or to use the other illustration, the internal organ affected with pain is no longer illuminated by the light of the soul. . . . The soul, when emancipated, continues as an individual, but in a state of absolute unconsciousness" (p. 325).

The system is characterised by Professor Garbe as pessimistic and decidedly atheistic.

The first thought that will strike the reader may perhaps be one of astonishment as to how such a system ever came to be regarded as orthodox. But the difficulty is met by our author who tells us that

"The Brâhman caste required only one concession,—the recognition of their prerogatives, and of the infallibility of the Véda. Whoever could make up his mind to this concession, was taken and deemed to be orthodox, and so he secured a much larger following of pupils than if he had proclaimed himself a heretic (*nâstika*) by refusing that recognition."

However Professor Garbe is of opinion that there may have been a time when the Sánkhya philosophy, which arose in the East of India, a region not thoroughly "Brahmanized," may have been antagonistic to the orthodox Hindu system. But after the concordat had been once firmly established, the adherents of the Sánkhya system combated the doctrines of the Jain and Buddhist heretics, with much fervour. The real feeling of a conservative Hindu is probably expressed by Váchaspatimiśra, who wrote commentaries on all the six orthodox systems. We quote from Professor Garbe's translation of the Sánkhya-tattva-kaumudi, Váchaspatimiśra's commentary on the Sánkhyakáriká, p. 36, where the commentator is speaking of "trustworthy tradition," which, together with inference and perception, is recognised by the Sánkhya philosophers as a means of knowledge:

"By the word 'trustworthy' the *guasi*-traditions of the Buddhist beggars, of the naked world-salvationists (*Sagatra-mocaka*),* and others, are rejected as of incorrect tenor. The incorrectness of those writings is to be known from the following facts, that they are in evil repute, that they rest upon no firm foundation, that they teach doctrines which conflict with our means of knowledge, and that they are only adopted by some barbarians and people of that kind, by the off-scouring of humanity, creatures like brutes."

In this charming out-pouring of the orthodox Indian heart we have probably the real explanation of the dislike which the Brâhman philosophers entertained for the Buddhists and Jains. Their doctrines were only too popular with the barbarian races, that dwelt outside the Hindu pale.

Professor Garbe has, we think, shown great judgment in giving, early in his book, an account of those portions of the system that are generally Indian (*allgemein-indisch*), that is to say characteristic of the orthodox systems, as well as of the heterodox religions, Buddhism and Jainism. This seems to us specially needful, as we seem to have observed in English books dealing generally with Oriental systems, a tendency to regard as

* The Digambara Jains.

Buddhistic, doctrines which are characteristic of every Indian system, except, perhaps, that of the Chârvâkas or materialists. The doctrines which Prof. Garbe selects as common to all Indian systems are the doctrine of the ever-revolving cycle of births and deaths (*saṃsâra*), and the power of action (*karman*), emancipation during life-time, and the value of asceticism.

It is far beyond our limits to attempt to give a *resumé* of all Prof. Garbe's views. Our object is to point out some of the most striking features in this most complete of all accounts of the Sânkhya system.

The three *Guṇas*, *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, sometimes translated by goodness, passion, and darkness, which are, according to Colebrooke, "not mere accidents of nature, but are of its essence, and enter into its composition" were by him represented by the English word "qualities." Prof. Garbe calls them the three "constituents" of matter. Prof. Jacobi would call them the three "aspects," but is immediately compelled to speak of the "equipoise of the three aspects." It must be admitted that Prof. Garbe seems triumphantly to defend his translation, though he is of opinion that no translation of the term, strictly speaking, is possible. This reminds us of Prof. Max Müller's caution against reading European ideas into Indian philosophies. The variety of products in the material world seems, according to the Sânkhya doctors, to arise from the varying fortunes of the struggle between the three *Guṇas* or constituents. In the same way the peculiarities of human character are accounted for.

"The constituent *Sattva*, when, in the struggle with the two other *Guṇas*, it attains free development, shows itself in the world of objects, as we before saw, by light and lightness; in the subject on the other hand as virtue, self-control, calmness of soul, benevolence, good-nature, purity, happiness, cheerfulness, contentment; as activity of the organs of sense and the intellect; as attainment of supernatural powers. It is therefore predominant in the world of gods. . . .

"*Rajas* displays itself when it overpowers the two other *Guṇas*, in the world of objects as power and movement; in the subject as every kind of pain: as sorrow, care, anxiety, vexation, discontent, dependence; as jealousy, envy, mutability, excitement, passion, desire, love and hatred, malice, quarrelsomeness and censoriousness, impetuosity, savageness, and ill-natured behaviour; but also as ambition, exertion and activity. It is predominant in the world of men.

"When *Tamas* gains the upper hand, it makes itself felt in the world of objects as heaviness, rigidity, and darkness; in the subject as despondency, fear, astonishment, despair, want of sympathy, indecision, delusion, stupidity, ignorance, drunkenness, frenzy, disgust, sluggishness, carelessness, unconsciousness, sleep and faintness; as hard-heartedness, shamelessness, dissoluteness, impurity, wickedness in general, and nihilism.* It predominates in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The most wonderful side of all this theory is, obviously, the reference of human individuality to physical causes" (pp. 215, 216).

The same materialising tendency is shown in the view taken by the Sânkhya philosophers of the internal organ, which is composed of *Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkâra*, and *Manas*. These faculties are conceived of as material, and altogether different from the soul which is spiritual (*geistig*) in its nature. Prof. Garbe remarks that the internal organ of the Sânkhya philosophers occupies the same position in the human organism, as is assigned by modern science to the nervous system, though he is careful to guard himself against being understood to mean, that these Hindu Sages had any

* *Nâstikya.*

idea of the functions of the nervous system. Of these three faculties *Buddhi* is the thinking faculty, or judgment; *Manas* the internal sensory gifted also with the power of wishing. *Ahankára* has been defined by Jacobi, as the faculty by which we consider ourselves to be acting and suffering while we ourselves (that is our souls) are free from anything of the kind for ever."* For this is the secret of the Sánkhya philosophy, that the soul is really not bound at all. Prof. Garbe remarks (p. 328):

"After what has been said above it is clear that discriminating knowledge does not directly remove pain, but only the cause of pain, the non-discrimination of the soul and matter. When the absolute difference between the soul and matter is once recognised, the delusion that the soul is bound, is dispelled; and thereby is brought about the result, that pain is no more reflected in the soul."

This has always seemed to us one of the most unsatisfactory points in the Sánkhya philosophy. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* (vol. lxii. p. 79, note) was not so far wrong when he remarked:

"The notion of a soul which is not bound, but at the same time is bound, because the bondage of the internal organ is reflected in it, is sufficiently absurd, but scarcely more so than 'sensible species' and 'intelligible species' and the other figments of European philosophers."

The hopeless pessimism of the Sánkhya system is clearly brought out by Prof. Garbe:

"All conscious existence is pain. The happiness to which experience seems to bear testimony, does not exist in reality, for even pleasure is intermixed with pain, and leads eventually to pain, therefore it is considered by the discriminating to be a form of pain. But the worst of all pains is the necessity of the return of old age and death in every new existence."

On this point Prof. Garbe refers us to his translation of the Sánkhya-tattva-kaumudi:

"All living creatures without distinction suffer the pain caused by old age and death; the fear of death is common to all, even the worm. This fear expresses itself in the aspiration, 'May I not cease to exist, may I live'! And what calls forth fear is pain; therefore death is pain."

But it might be supposed that bodily pains may be healed with medicines, mental pains dispelled by luxuries and enjoyments, and the pains inflicted by gods and demons averted by charms. "No!" answers the philosopher

* *Buddhi* is also the faculty of resolution. The practical working of the three faculties is admirably illustrated by a passage in the Sánkhya-tattva-kaumudi, which is thus translated by Garbe: "A man in the twilight indistinctly perceives an object by his sense of sight, then he ascertains as follows by the intensified attention of the internal sensory (*manas*): 'there stands a ferocious robber with a bow, which is bent to shoot, with a string drawn back to the ear, on which is set an arrow': then by means of *Ahankára* he decides that this preparation has reference to his own person, saying to himself, 'he is advancing against me;' then by the help of *Buddhi* he arrives at this resolution 'I will hurry away from this place.'"

Another illustration from the same work is characteristically Indian in tone: "As the heads of villages collect the taxes from the heads of families, and pay them over to the Governor of the District, and the Governor of the District to the Controller-General of Finance, and this last to the King, so the outer senses, when they have made their observations report to the internal sensory; the internal sensory, after it has ascertained them, to the *Ahankára*; the *Ahankára*, after it has placed them in relation to the individual, to the *Buddhi*, which plays the part of the Controller-General.

"for these methods are only palliatives, they soothe pain for a short time but they do not eradicate it, and often they fail of their object." However, the Brahman ritualist may point to the fact that religion provides sacrifices and other pious observances, which land the worshipper in heaven. But, apart from the impurity involved in the slaughter of animals in sacrifice, heaven is, as Prof. Garbe and Principal Gough point out, an unsatisfactory place, because there are gradations of happiness even in heaven, and the greater happiness of another produces sorrow in the less happy.* A more important point still is that the joys of heaven are transient, for even the inhabitants of that blissful sphere are also subject to the inexorable law of metempsychosis. Moreover, only rich people can afford the costly observances that produce these transient pleasures. We are thus thrown back upon the discrimination of soul from matter, that effects the liberation of the soul, as our only hope. But to a Western mind even this infallible and absolute method of eradicating pain may, perhaps, seem not altogether satisfactory, inasmuch as there is no hope that all souls will be eventually emancipated, no ἀποκατάστασις πάντων. For the number of souls is infinite. Emancipation means that the tragedy of existence is at end for one individual soul. The dreary cycle of births and deaths continues to revolve. Though the universe may be temporarily destroyed, the fatal tendencies subsist, ready to recommence their terrible work. To quote the concluding words of Prof. Garbe's book:

"However many gods and men may attain the highest object, the world will continue to roll on in accordance with eternal laws, in one ceaseless sorrowful course of mutability and change, for ever and ever."

Perhaps English readers will find Prof. Garbe's chapter on the connexion of the Sánkhya doctrine with Greek philosophy the most interesting chapter in the whole book. Incidentally he is led to consider the relation of Indian philosophy generally to Greek thought.†

In the first place Prof. Garbe points to the absolute identity of the doctrine of the "One that is the All," in the Upanishads and the teaching of the Eleatic philosophers. He compares the view of Thales, the father of Greek Philosophy, that all things arose from water, to the notion current in India in Vedic times, that all things arose from a primeval fluid. He then observes that the fundamental notions of the Sánkhya system are found among the nature-philosophers of Greece. The ἄπειρον of Anaximander is the Prakriti of the Sánkhya system, and the πάντα ῥεῖ of Heraklitus, "the dark philosopher," is a Sánkhya doctrine pure and simple. The same may be said of the doctrine of Empedocles,—"*Ex nihilo nil fit.*" The atheism of Epicurus is defended by Lucretius by very much the same arguments as are used by the Sánkhya doctors. The question is, were these philosophers indebted to India for some of their ideas? On this point Prof. Garbe expresses himself as follows:

"Whether the notions of Greek philosophy above quoted and other notions of the kind are really due to an influence exerted on Greek thought by Indian philosophical

* This notion is characterised by Prof. Garbe in a note to his translation of the Sánkhya-tattva-kaumudí, as "echt Indisch."

† Some resemblances between the tenets of Greek and Indian philosophers are pointed out in vol. lxii. of the *Calcutta Review*, p. 79.

systems, or arose independently in India and Greece because they are founded upon the nature of the human mind, is a question that requires the most careful treatment. I myself incline to the former view, but am averse to committing myself to any decided opinion on the subject."

But with regard to the indebtedness to Indian ideas of one Greek philosopher, namely Pythagoras, Prof. Garbe gives forth no uncertain sound. We are glad to see that he passes a favourable judgment on the really remarkable pamphlet of Von Schroeder, "Pythagoras und die Inder." We ourselves consider that Von Schroeder has proved his case up to the hilt. As Prof. Garbe remarks, isolated resemblances may be set aside, but in the case of Pythagoras we have to deal with a mass of coincidences. They are thus enumerated by Prof. Garbe, who very judiciously, we think, refers his readers to Von Schroeder's work:

"The theory of metempsychosis, which agrees with the Indian doctrine in many and various remarkable details, and cannot have been borrowed by Pythagoras from Egypt, for the obvious reason that Egyptology teaches us that, in spite of the well-known passage in Herodotus, the Egyptians were not acquainted with the doctrine; the noticeable prohibition of the eating of beans; the precept πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμιχεῖν; the doctrine of the five elements; then above all things the so-called Pythagorean doctrine* developed in the Śulva-sútras; the irrational number $\sqrt{2}$; further the whole character of the religious-philosophical society founded by Pythagoras, which is analogous to the Indian orders of that time, as well as the mystical speculation peculiar to the Pythagorean school, which bears a striking resemblance to the phantastic combinations so much affected in the Bráhmaṇa-literature."

We venture to think that Prof. Garbe scarcely attaches sufficient importance to Von Schroeder's explanation of the puzzling word ὅλεας in the enumeration of the five elements, by the Sanskrit word *ákáśa*, though it must be admitted that he mentions it with approval. He differs from Prof. Von Schroeder in thinking that Pythagoras learnt his philosophical ideas not in India, but in Persia from Indian teachers.

The connexion between the philosophy of India on the one hand, and Gnosticism and Neoplatonism on the other has long been admitted. Prof. Garbe has improved considerably on Lassen's treatment of the subject. In particular he takes a pardonable pleasure in pointing out that the centuries, in which Gnosticism was developed, the second and third centuries after Christ, coincide with the most flourishing epoch of the Sánkhya Philosophy in India.

In conclusion we would re-echo the wish expressed by Prof. Garbe in his preface, "May this book do something towards overcoming the indifference felt by European Philosophy for her Indian sister." It seems to us, we must confess, eminently fitted to bring about this result, inasmuch as it is not only painstaking and thorough, but lucid and attractive in form. We possess now two complete accounts of Indian systems, Prof. Garbe's book, and Prof. Deussen's work of which he speaks so highly, "Das System des Vedânta."

* Prof. Garbe, no doubt, refers to the 47th proposition of Euclid. See Chap. III. of Prof. Von Schroeder's work.

MIGRATION OF TALES.

By the same.

Professor Ernst Kuhn of Munich has lately printed, in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, a short paper which will be of interest to all students of folk-lore. It commences with the following observations, which seem to us well founded:—"The question of the transmission of Oriental tales is by no means, as yet, sufficiently cleared up. Even the most thorough-going adherents of Benfey's theory must confess that often the way, in which the most popular and widely diffused stories were brought to the West, is shrouded in darkness. A general reference to the Crusades, the domination of the Mongols, or the intercourse of mediæval merchants cannot blind us to the uncertainty that exists on this point. We are more likely to make some advance towards the solution of this problem, if we follow up carefully the channels of literary intercourse, in regions which have been as yet but little explored. I allude to the edifying literature of the Christian Middle Ages, in the East as well as the West, and the object of these lines is to show the importance of this literature for the history of popular fictions, by means of a striking instance."

The story which Professor Ernst Kuhn traces in Christian literature is one well known in India,—that of the merchant Champaka, published by Professor Weber in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Royal Academy of Science at Berlin, 1883, p. 567 and ff. It is found according to Professor Weber in the Jaimini Bhárata, and in the Kathá Kośa, as has been shown in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI., p. 85, where it is compared with a Norse tale. The story is briefly that of a young man who is declared by a mysterious prophecy to be destined to marry the daughter of a rich man, aristocrat or prince, and is caused to fulfil his destiny, in spite of all the adverse machinations of his future father-in-law, by means of a forged letter substituted by a third person for that originally sent. Now Prof. Kuhn (who perhaps has been led to turn his thoughts in this direction by his studies in the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, on which he has published an exhaustive monograph) has found this identical legend in an Ethiopic and also in an Arabic version. The former he discovered in Bernard Quaritch's catalogue No. 330, London, November 1879. On page 2131 and f. an Ethiopic MS. of the 17th century is described as follows:—"Synaxarion, *i.e.* Acta Sanctorum Ecclesiæ Aethiopum, Aethiopice, square folio, King Theodore's own copy, MS. on vellum with 20 fine paintings, each one conveying some story or incident related in the text, in the original Abyssinian binding."

One of the stories is thus described by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell: "Sack on the water, to the right, contains the body of a child, of poor parents, devoted to Michael. The child had been given for adoption to a powerful neighbour, who had no son of his own, but only a daughter, Waleta. This man having overheard Michael and Gabriel declare that this child would one day inherit his property exposed him on the water in a sack.

A shepherd, coming to water his flock, finds him, and christens him by the name of Thalassion (Θάλασσα). The man, who had exposed him, meets Thalassion, when grown up, purchases him of the shepherd, having discovered who he is, and sends him with a letter to his wife, desiring her to have him slain. Michael meets him (*vide* painting), reveals the contents of the letter, and gives him another of different purport. The wicked man falling from his horse when returning home, is pierced by his sword, and dies. His wife dies of grief, and Thalassion marries Waleta (*vide* the marriage-feast in the picture)." Prof. Ernst Kuhn saw at once that this MS. was really a book of "Services for the festivals of the Archangel Michael, with homilies," and came to the conclusion that the Arabian source of the story in the Aethiopic MS. would probably be found in the Gotha MS. No. 2877, a book on the might and miracles of the Archangel Michael. (W. Pertsch: Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha IV. 549 f.) Accordingly he consulted Herr Pertsch on the subject. That gentleman informed him that the form of the story in the Arabic version differed but little from that in the Aethiopic. "As minor variations," writes Herr Pertsch, "the following may be noted:—1. The rich man is called Markianos, and lives in Palestine. 2. The Archangels Michael and Gabriel, whose conversation the rich man overhears from the roof of his house, which is situated near that of the poor woman, have come at her entreaty to help her, when she is giving birth to the child afterwards called Thalassion. The poor woman had reposed all her faith and her affection in the Archangel Michael. 3. The name of the poor woman is not given, and that of the rich man's daughter is also omitted. 4. For the purpose of exchanging the letters Michael appears in the form of a soldier. It is stated in the substituted letter that Thalassion is a relation of the Greek imperial house, and Markianos orders his wife to marry their daughter to Thalassion, who has already given him 700 gold pieces by way of pledge, and to make over to him all their property. The substituted letter is sealed with the seal of Markianos in order to make it appear genuine. Michael tells Thalassion nothing about the contents of the two letters, and their exchange. 5. Markianos returns home, while the wedding ceremonies are in progress. The catastrophe takes place in the same way as in the Aethiopic version, when Markianos is just a mile distant from his native town, and is informed by a passer by of the reason of the festal display that is being unfolded before his eyes. 6. As soon as his wife hears of the death of her husband, she dies from the shock; so both die in one day."

Prof. Kuhn remarks that it is of course obvious that the Aethiopic and Arabic versions are derived from a Greek original. The fact seems to be that the Christians of the middle ages borrowed Buddhist tales for the purpose of edification, or as we should prefer to put it, borrowed the folk-lore of Magadha and Videha, which was used by both Buddhists and Jains to inculcate moral lessons, and was carried by the former far beyond the boundaries of India. This is our way of putting the matter, for there is nothing in Prof. Kuhn's paper which can fairly lead us to think that he is a partisan of any theory.

In the concluding portion of his paper he traces in European literature certain additions found in the Indian forms of this tale. One is the story of Fulgentius, so well known by Schiller's "Gang nach dem Eisenhammer." Another is that of the tasks imposed by the father-in-law who is determined, at all costs, to destroy his son-in-law.

Prof. Kuhn promises to take up the extensive subject of "Journeys to Heaven and Hell." We must confess that it has often occurred to us that Dante must have read the opening of the Mahávastu or some similar Buddhist treatise, dealing with the punishment of the guilty in the next world. At any rate in the present state of our knowledge, there seems no reason to consider it impossible that he may have had access to some work containing the notions of Indian theologians on this subject. Prof. Kuhn's forthcoming work will probably set this question at rest. At any rate it is sure to throw light on it.

SEVENTH REVIEW ON THE

"SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

THE UPANISHADS, TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER.

(Vols. I. and XV.)

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

Now that this extremely valuable series of translations has expanded into a collection of nearly fifty volumes, each marked by profound erudition and fine critical scholarship, it may be useful to direct attention to two of the earlier texts, as illustrating the objects which the distinguished editor had in view in undertaking so monumental a work.

The volume of translations of the Upanishads with which the series opens must have been somewhat of a disappointment to those who had been in the habit of thinking that the ancient literature of Asia contained treasures of the deepest thought and learning. But it was one of the chief objects of Prof. Max Müller to dissipate this delusion. From the very beginning of the undertaking he has written clearly and unreservedly on this point. In the "Programme" put forth in 1876 he says:—"No doubt there is much in these old books that is startling by its very simplicity and truth, much that is elevated and elevating, much that is beautiful and sublime; but people who have vague ideas of primeval wisdom and the splendour of Eastern poetry will soon find themselves grievously disappointed. It cannot be too strongly stated that the chief, and in many cases, the only interest of the Sacred Books of the East is historical; that much in them is extremely childish, tedious, if not repulsive; and that no one but the historian will be able to understand the important lessons which they teach." At the same time it was pointed out that, with all their faults, these ancient books had a special value for the student of comparative religion. "To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of the religious consciousness of man must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world.'

If it were the editor's design to exhibit, at the outset of his undertaking, one of the most striking examples of that union of the childish and tedious with the hallowing and inspiring which he describes, perhaps no better selection could have been made than the eleven Upanishads translated in these two volumes. They are, it is true, rather too recent in respect of date to show "the dawn of religious consciousness," for they cannot be placed earlier than B.C. 600. At a far earlier date the hymns of the Rig Veda exhibit the dawn of religion in the simple nature worship of a pastoral people; the offensive and defensive alliance between man and god, in which the man gives sacrifices and praise while the god, in return,

grants wealth, success in war and protection from sickness and enemies. This worship, at first conducted by the head of the family, passed into the hands of a special class who alone could properly conduct the ritual as it grew under their hands in complexity and lengthiness. Then the members of this class, raised above the necessity of labouring for their own support by the abundant gifts of their clients, fell to occupying their leisure by speculation on religious topics. The old Vedic hymns serving as the basis for their theology became charged with deep philosophical meanings of which their simple-minded authors little dreamt. Brâhmanas, Upanishads, whole treatises and systems of religion and philosophy arose,—hardly as the dawning of religious consciousness, rather as the stifling of it under masses of cloudy speculation. It is to this stage that the Upanishads belong, and as they are in date very little earlier than the rise of Buddhism, so they occupy in the history of religious development a standpoint very little anterior to the earliest teachings of Gautama himself, to which indeed they undoubtedly paved the way.

Although these Upanishads must, however, be regarded more as philosophical speculations than as natural religious growth, the meditations of sages rather than the belief of the masses, the admirably lucid analysis of the train of thought followed in the Chhândogya Upanishad, which the learned editor gives at p. xxiii. of the preface, will show how primitive and as yet undeveloped those meditations are. The conclusion aimed at is a kind of Pantheism, the identity of the Âtman, the soul, or Self in every human being, with the All-Soul, the Supreme deity of the universe or, as Prof. Max Müller calls it, the Highest Self. "That Highest Self which had become to the ancient Brahmans the goal of all their mental efforts, was looked upon at the same time as the starting point of all phenomenal existence, the root of the world, the only thing that could truly be said to be, to be real and true." This "Highest Self" is called also *Sat*, "that which is." "It alone exists in the beginning and for ever; it has no second . . . the whole creation, the visible and invisible world, all plants, all animals, all men are due to the one Sat, are upheld by it, and will return to it."

Strange and circuitous are the processes by which this idea is enforced, puerile and sometimes even repulsive the illustrations by which it is elucidated. Starting from the "Om,"—that mystic syllable which commences every prayer and every treatise of Hinduism, the reader is enjoined to meditate on, or worship it. Originally meaning merely "yes," this syllable is expanded into the essence of all things. Meditation on it leads to abstraction of thought from all other subjects, and its concentration on the highest object. Then it is perceived that "Om" is the Sâma Veda of which the Chhândogya is an Upanishad. But as the Sâma is said to be the essence of the Rig Veda, which stands for speech while the Sâma stands for life, "Om" may be conceived as "the symbol of all speech and life." This thought leads by a series of steps to the conception of the identity of the self in man with the Highest Self. All sorts of strange stories of the deeds of various ancient Rishis are told in illustration of this great leading principle, and though it is often difficult to see the exact

bearing of each legend, doubtless, in the oral instruction which accompanied the study of this and all other Upanishads, these points were fully explained. Indeed without a very large amount of explanation the meaning of much of this written lore would be entirely unintelligible; even with this help the progress in acquiring knowledge must have been slow, and the knowledge, when acquired, somewhat indefinite and vague. It had no practical effect upon the national religion which took its own course, untouched by these philosophical speculations.

The Aitareya âraṇyaka and its Upanishad give elaborate instructions regarding the performance of certain sacrifices followed by remarks "showing how certain portions" of the Mahâvrata sacrifice "can be made to suggest a deeper meaning, and ought to lead the mind of the sacrificer away from the purely outward ceremonial to meditation on higher objects." Unfortunately the style of these works, tedious, obscure and full of repetitions, does not lend itself to quotation, but the lucid translation and copious notes fully explain the line of thought followed or indicated, which is much the same in fact (though differing in form) as that of the Chhândogya.

These are the two longest and most important of the texts translated. The others, though remarkable for special peculiarities, are perhaps less important. The principal value in fact, from an historical point of view, of all these treatises lies in the fact that, as Oldenberg has shown, they contain the germs of the idea which led eventually to Buddhism. As the learned editor observes, "Buddhism is in many respects the doctrine of the Upanishads carried out to its last consequences, and, what is important, employed as the foundation of a new social system." But the light that broke upon Siddhârtha under the Bodhi tree at Uruvela was not all derived from Hindu philosophy. In spite of its melancholy doctrine that all existence is pain, and that the only hope for mankind lies in escape from existence, there was in the mind of the Buddha a deep sense of sympathy for the sufferings of others, of the need for mutual help and love, of the dignity of self-sacrifice and of the solidarity of mankind, for which we look in vain in the teachings of the exclusive and self-centred Brahmans, and which gilds even the gloomy doctrine of annihilation with a light from a higher source.

Vols. VI. and IX.—THE QURÂN.

Translated by E. H. Palmer, M.A.

(I.—MEANING OF THE WORD "KORAN." BY M. S. HOWELL, C.I.E., Hon. LL.D., Edin., Fellow of the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad.)

European scholars are not agreed in their rendering of *Ikra'* in Ḳur. xcvi, 1, 3. Des Vergers (Vie de Mohammed, p. 12), Lane (Selections from the Ḳurân, p. 60), Rodwell (Korân, pp. 1, 2), and W. T. in his present letter translate it *Recite*; and it is so rendered at p. xxvii of the Introduction to my Arabic Grammar: while Sale (The Korân, p. 494),

Kazimirski (Le Korân, pp. xi, 513, 514), De Meynard (Les Prairies d'Or, vol. iv, p. 133), and our learned Editor in the article criticised by W. T. give it the sense of *Read*. On looking closely into the native authorities I am constrained to admit that the latter rendering is more correct, being in accordance with contemporaneous statements of the Prophet himself, as handed down in authentic tradition. W. T. raises two objections to it, that we have no evidence of the Prophet's ability to read; and that, when this chapter was revealed, the Prophet had no written copy of the Ḳur'ân to read it from. Kazimirski (Le Korân, p. xxix) indeed considers the Angel Gabriel's command "Read" and the Prophet's reply "What shall I read?", mentioned in the second tradition quoted below, to be evidence that he could read; but, on the authority of Al Baiḍâwî's interpretation of الأمي in Ḳur. vii. 156 as "who neither writes nor reads," I am willing to concede that the Prophet was really illiterate. The orthodox answer to W. T.'s objections is that the Prophet was taught by Gabriel to read chapter xcvi, 1—5, from a writing brought to him by the Angel. The *Ṣaḥîḥ* of Al Bukhârî (Krehl's edition, vol. i, p. 4) gives a tradition received from the Mother of the Believers, 'Â'isha, from which I extract the following passage:

"Then the Angel came to him, and said, Read. He said, Then I said to him, I am no reader. Then he took me, and squeezed me so hard that he exhausted me. Afterwards he let me go, and said, Read. I said, I am no reader. Then he took me, and squeezed me the second time so hard that he exhausted me. Afterwards he let me go, and said, Read. Then I said, I am no reader. Then he took me, and squeezed me the third time so hard that he exhausted me. Afterwards he let me go, and said, Read in the name of thy Lord, etc. (Kur. xcvi. 1-3)."

Here the sense *Recite* seems to be inapplicable, because it is difficult to suppose that the Prophet would have professed inability to recite, *i.e.*, repeat from memory, what the Angel might say to him. Another tradition is reported by Ibn Hishâm al Himyarî in his Life of the Apostle (Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 152), and by Aṭ Ṭabarî in his Annals (vol. iii, p. 1149), on the authority of the venerable Follower Abû 'Âṣim 'Ubaid Ibn 'Umair Ibn Ḳatâda al Laithî al Jundaʿî al Makkî, who died in the year 68 according to Ibn Ḳutaiba (*Kitâb al Maʿârif*, p. 222), and Ibn Ḥajar (*Kitâb al Iṣâba*, vol. iii, p. 157), or in 77 according to Ibn Taghrî Bardî (*An Nujûm azZâhira*, vol. i, p. 217). The former date is apparently correct, because Ibn Ḥajar in the *Iṣâba* and the *Taḳrîb* (p. 172) mentions that he died before Ibn 'Umar, meaning, as appears from § 10 of my Arabic Grammar and a Note thereon at p. 12A, the Companion 'Abd Allâh Ibn 'Umar al Ḳuraishî al 'Adawî, who died in 73. This 'Ubaid is said by Ibn Ḥajar to be universally recognised as a trustworthy authority on tradition; and his exact position in the chain of authorities is indicated by Ibn Al Athîr in the *Asad al Ghâba* (vol. iii, p. 353), by Adh Dhahabî in the *Tarâjim* (p. 89), and by Ibn Ḥajar in the two works above mentioned. He was the son of a Companion, and was said by Muslim to have been born in the lifetime of the Prophet, and by Al Bukhârî to have actually seen him, on which account he is admitted by Ibn Al Athîr and Ibn Ḥajar to a place in their Biographical Dictionaries of the Companions. His words are

"The Apostle of God said, Then he," the Angel Gabriel, "brought to me, while I was sleeping, a carpet of brocade, whereon was writing. Then said he, Read. I said, What shall I read? Then he squeezed me with it so hard that I thought it was death. Afterwards he let me go, and said, Read. I said, What shall I read? Then he squeezed me with it so hard that I thought it was death. Afterwards he let me go, and said, Read. I said, What shall I read? saying that only to save myself from him, lest he should repeat what he had done to me. Then said he, Read in the name of thy Lord, etc. (Kur. xcvi, 1-5). Then I read it. And, when it was finished, he departed from me, and I awoke from my dream, and it was as though it had been literally written on my heart."

These traditions and the allusion to *writing* in Ḳur. xcvi, 4, "*Who hath taught* (*writing*) *with the pen*," where بِالْقَلَمِ الْخَطّ is meant, and is said in the *Kashshāf* to have been actually read by Ibn Az Zubair, show that the Prophet was commanded, and indeed compelled, to read chapter xcvi, verses 1—5, from the writing brought to him by the Angel, who not only taught him to read it, but indelibly impressed its characters on his heart. Both traditions are mentioned in the *Itḳān fī 'Ulūm al Ḳur'ān* (7th section) and the *Tārīkh al Khamīs* (vol. i, p. 281). The former work expressly states that what was written on the brocade was chapter xcvi, 1—5; and the latter adds another version of the second tradition, in which the Prophet, on receiving the command to read, is made to reply "What shall I read when I have never read anything?", whereas he could hardly have said that he had never recited, *i.e.*, repeated from memory, anything. Whatever may be the value of these traditions as evidence of the supernatural events described in them, their validity as evidence of the sense attached by the Prophet and his contemporaries to the word *Iḳra'* in chapter xcvi is unquestionable.

W. T. peremptorily lays down that *Ḳur'ān* signifies *recitation*, and that to understand by it the *book that pre-eminently deserves to be read* is "wholly unscientific and unscholarly." On reading this dogmatic assertion one would naturally suppose that scholars are agreed that *Ḳur'ān* means *recitation*, and nothing else. No supposition could be farther from the truth. Scholars are not agreed even upon the derivation and pronunciation of the word, much less upon its signification. When it is used as an infinitive noun, as in Kur. lxxv, 17, 18, it may no doubt mean *recitation*. But, when it is used, as in the article criticised by W. T., to denote the Muhammadan Revelation, its derivation, pronunciation, and signification are much disputed among the learned, whose opinions are collected by AsSuyūṭi in the 17th section of his *Itḳān*, from which I extract the following passage:

"As for the (name) *Ḳur'ān*, it is disputed. Many say that it is a proper name, not derived, peculiar to the Word of God, in which case it is not pronounced with Hamza: and so it is read by Ibn Kathīr, and transmitted from Ash Shāfi'ī, of whom Al Baihaḳī and Al Khaṭīb and others relate that he used to pronounce *Ḳirā'at* with Hamza, but not *Ḳur'ān*, saying that *Al Ḳur'ān* is a name, which is not pronounced with Hamza, not derived from *Ḳirā'at*, but is a name for the Book of God, like *At Taurāt* (the Pentateuch) and *Al Injīl* (the Gospel). But some, among whom is Al Ash'arī, say that it is derived from قَرَنْتُ الشَّيْءَ بِالشَّيْءِ meaning *I joined the thing to the thing*: and that it is so named because of the *junction* of the chapters and verses and letters in it. And Al Farrā says that it is derived from قَرَائِن, because some of its verses are verified by others,

and some resemble others, and they are *contexts*. And, according to both these sayings also, it is without Hamza, and its ق is radical. But Az Zajjāj says that this saying is a mistake, the truth being that omission of the Hamza in it belongs to the category of alleviation, the vowel of the Hamza being transported to the preceding quiescent. Those, however, who say that it is pronounced with Hamza differ. Some, among whom is Al Lihyānī, say that it is an infinitive noun of قَرَأَتْ like رَجَحَانٌ and غُفْرَانٌ, used as a name for the *book read* (or *recited*), being an instance of the use of the infinitive noun to denote the thing *done*. But others, among whom is Az Zajjāj, say that it is a qualificative upon the measure of فُعْلَانٌ derived from قَرْءٌ meaning *collection*, whence قَرَأْتُ الْمَاءَ فِي الْحَوْضِ, *I collected the water in the cistern*, i.e., جَمَعْتُهُ. Abū 'Ubaida says that the Revelation is so named because it is the *collection* of the chapters, one with another; but Ar Rāghib says that every *collection* is not named *Ḳur'ān*, nor is the *collection of every speech* named *Ḳur'ān*; but that the Revelation is so named because it is the *collection of all the sorts of knowledge*. And Ḳutrub relates that it is named *Ḳur'ān* because the reader (or recites) *exhibits* and *manifests* it from his mouth, by derivation from the saying of the Arabs, مَا قَرَأَتِ النَّاقَةُ سَلًى قَطُّ *The she-camel has never cast forth a secundine*, i.e., *has never thrown*, i.e., *dropped, a little one*, i.e., *has never borne*, the Ḳur'ān being *pronounced* and *projected* by the reader (or reciter) from his mouth, and therefore named *Ḳur'ān*. But, according to me, the preferable opinion on this question is the one indicated by Ash Shāfi'ī."

If then *Ḳur'ān* be in the sense of the passive participle of قُرِئَ, as W. T. evidently supposes, contrary to the opinion of AsSuyūṭī, it need not mean *pronounced, i.e., read aloud* or *recited*, but may mean *collected*; and even if it does mean *pronounced*, it need not mean *recited, i.e.*, repeated from memory, but may mean *read out* from the book.

Notices of all the persons and books cited in this article, except Al Khaṭīb and Al Ash'arī, will be found in my Grammar. See the Abbreviations of References, articles I.M, MDh, B, SB, SR, Tr, IKb, IHjr, Is, ITB, AGh, Dh, TR, NS, IAth, K, IKn, TKh, Syt, Shf, Bhk, Fr, Zj, Lh, AU, Ktb; and the account of the Schools of Reading given in pp. 21A—24A of the Notes to Parts II. and III. For Ibn Az Zubair see § 10 and the Note on p. 14, l. 12, at p. 12 A.; and for 'Ā'isha see the Note on p. 398, l. 1, at p. 84 A. As for Al Khaṭīb, he is the celebrated Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al Baghdādī, the Jurist, Traditionist, and Historian, known as Al Khaṭīb (b. 391 or 392, d. 462 or 463), a great Shāfi'ī Doctor, reputed "the Master of the world" in his time, and author of the History of Baghdad and many other profitable works. And Al Ash'arī is Abū-l Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ismā'īl al Ash'arī al Baṣrī, the theologian (b. 260 or 270, d. 324 or 330 or after 330), a descendant of the famous Companion Abū Mūsà al Ash'arī described in the Note on p. 205, l. 22, Part I, of my Grammar, at p. 60 A. He for a long time strenuously advocated the heretical doctrines of the Mu'tazilī sect, including the Creation of the Ḳur'ān; but afterwards made a public recantation, and became a notable champion of the orthodox faith. Perhaps W. T., whose allusion to the Ḳur'ān as "created" proves him to be infected with the same heresy, will follow the edifying example of Al Ash'arī, and abjure his errors.

(II.—THE TRANSLATION. By the same.)

PROFESSOR PALMER laid down for himself the sensible rule of endeavouring to translate "as literally as the difference in structure between the two languages would allow, and, when possible, ... word for word." Sometimes, however, he is a little too literal, even degenerating into vulgar colloquialism, as in Ch. II., v. 274, which he translates "unto the poor, who are straitened in God's way, and cannot *knock about* (يستطيعون ضربا) in the earth"; and sometimes he is betrayed into unnecessary periphrasis, as in Ch. I., v. 7, which he tenders "nor those who err," like "nor of those who go astray" (Sale), "ni de ceux qui s' égarent" (Kazimirski), "and who go not astray" (Rodwell), and "or that go astray" (Muir), instead of the literal and neat "nor of the erring" (Lane). As to his treatment of difficult and obscure passages the Professor gives the following account of his method:

"I have, for the most part, kept to the interpretation of the Arabic Commentator *Bâidhâwî*, and have only followed my own opinion in certain cases, where a word or expression, quite familiar to me from my experience of every-day desert life, appeared to be somewhat strained by these learned schoolmen."

The Commentator here mentioned was the well-known Chief Justice of Shiraz, Nâṣir ad Dîn Abu-lKhair 'Abd Allâh Ibn 'Umar ash Shirâzi al Baiḍâwi, a Shâfi'i lawyer, celebrated for his learning in philology and logic, whose biography is given in the *Ṭabakât ash Shâfi'iya* by Ibn As Subki, in the *Bughyat* by As Suyûṭi, and in other books. He wrote a commentary on Ibn Al Hâjib's famous work, the *Kâfiya*, on syntax; and, after his retirement from the bench, he used to lecture on philology and other sciences at Tabriz, where Al Jârabardi, author of a well-known commentary on Ibn Al Hâjib's treatise, the *Shâfiya*, on etymology, was one of his pupils. His commentary on the *Kur'ân*, being exactly what As Suyûṭi terms it, an "abridgment of the *Kâshshâf*," forms an excellent guide to the interpretation of the sacred volume, and has been admirably edited by Professor Fleischer. It would be interesting to examine the passages in which Professor Palmer seems to have imagined that such knowledge of the language now spoken in the north-western corner of Arabia as he had been able to acquire in the course of his travels in the country between Sinai and Palestine would make him a better judge of the classical idiom preserved in the *Kur'ân* than this celebrated Commentator, who not only had been trained from boyhood in all the traditional philology of the Arabs, but also kept constantly before him as his guide the great, one may almost say exhaustive, exposition of Az Zamakhshari, whose long residence at Makka had made him famous as the "Neighbour of God." But unfortunately the Professor has omitted to specify the passages in which his personal experience has compelled him to dissent from the interpretation of Al Baiḍâwi; nor has he cited one of the words or expressions picked up by him in the Sinaitic desert, which in his judgment outweigh the authority of that erudite philologist. In Ch. XX., v. 32, اشدد به أزري, which means "*Invigorate by him my strength*," أزر signifying, *strength* according to the *Kashshâf*, or *Strengthen by him my back* or *my*

weakness, ظَهْر meaning also *back* or *weakness* according to the *Kāmūs*, is translated "Gird up my loins by him," explained in a note as "Strengthen me," by the Professor, who adds "The idiom is still in common use among the desert Arabs"; but he does not actually say that they use ظَهْر in the sense of *loins*, though no doubt he suggests it. Perhaps he was thinking of شَدَّ إِزَارَهُ *He tightened his waist-wrapper*, a phrase indicating *continence*, and *preparation*, which might be paraphrased by *He girt up his loins*. Again, in Ch. XLII., v. 43, he translates هَلْ إِلَى مَرَدٍّ مِنْ سَبِيلٍ "Is there no"—properly "Is there any"—"way to avert this?" instead of "Is there any way to a return to the world?", the interpretation indicated by Al Baiḍāwi; but the sense of *repelling* or *averting* is assigned to مَرَدّ by Al Baiḍāwi, following Az Zamakhshari, in v. 46; and there is no reason to suppose that the Professor was indebted to his friends in the desert for it in v. 43. After a minute and prolonged search I have been unable to discover a single passage in which the Professor's acquirements in modern Arabic have helped him to a meaning not anticipated by Al Baiḍāwi. In Ch. XXII., v. 64, indeed, he suggests in a note that السَّمَاء may mean "the rain"; but he seems not to have the courage of his convictions, for he tamely follows the Commentators in translating it in the text by "the sky"; and the sense of "rain" was too well known in classical Arabic to be hidden from Al Baiḍāwi. In Ch. XII., v. 18, however, he does venture to act on his own judgment, translating صَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ by "patience is fair," an elementary error in grammar, exposed by Professor Wright so long ago as 1862 in the first edition of his Arabic grammar (vol. ii., p. 186, *rem.*). The proper construction and sense are clearly indicated by Al Baiḍāwi on lines previously laid down by Az Zamakhshari, whose opinion recorded in the *Mufaṣṣal* and the *Kashshāf*, is confirmed and illustrated by the eminent grammarian Ibn Hishām in the *Mughni-l Labīb*. But there is nothing to show whether the Professor's unfortunate deviation from "the interpretation of the Arabic Commentator" in this passage was accidental or deliberate.

The science of grammar among the Arabs is intimately connected with the exegesis of the *Kur'ān*: in fact it originated in their anxiety to preserve the purity of the sacred text. The early grammarians, like Sibawaih, frequently resorted to the *Kur'ān* for authorities in support of their opinions; and later writers, like Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hishām, adopted the practice of exemplifying every proposition of grammar, when possible, by a citation from the "Word of God." There is probably not a difficulty or obscurity in the *Kur'ān* that has not been solved or elucidated by the discussions of the grammarians. Yet Professor Palmer's two volumes do not contain a single reference to their writings, a knowledge of which is necessary for accurate translation. For example, Ibn Hishām lays down in the *Shudhūr adh Dhahab* that the negation conveyed by لَمْ is of three kinds, continuous with the present, as in Ch. XIX., v. 4; discontinuous, as in Ch. LXXVI., v. 1; and perpetual, as in Ch. CXII., vv. 3, 4. The

Professor is right in his rendering of this particle in the last text, "He begets not, and is not begotten. Nor is there like unto Him any one," a negation for all time, past, present, and future; whereas Kazimirski wrongly confines the negation in verse 3 to the past, "Il n'a point enfanté, et n'a point été enfanté," though he uses the right tense in verse 4, "Il n'a point d'égal en qui que ce soit." But the Professor goes wrong in the first text, "And I never was unfortunate in my prayers to thee, my Lord," properly "And I have not been," where he is forced to insert the word "ever" in order to extricate himself from the difficulty produced by his use of the imperfect tense. Nor is he happier in the second text, "Does there not come on man a portion of time when he is nothing worth mentioning?", properly "Did there come" and "he was," the negation not extending over all time, but being confined to the time when man was only seed in the loins of his begetter. In this last text, moreover, the initial particle هَلْ is, with much probability, expounded by the Companion and Commentator 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, first cousin of the Prophet, who admiringly called him the "Translator of the Kur'ān," and by the celebrated grammarians Al Kis'āi, Al Farrā, and Al Mubarrad, as equivalent to قَدْ, the sense being "A portion of time did come on man"; but no hint of this is given by the Professor. Again in Ch. X., v. 72, the words فَأَجْمِعُوا أَمْرَكُمْ وَشُرَكَاءَكُمْ are wrongly translated "Collect then your affairs and your associates," instead of "Resolve then upon your affair with your associates," as expounded by Az Zamakhshari and Al Baiḍāwi. This text is constantly cited in grammars as a stock example of the concomitate object, because, as Ibn 'Akil shows, شُرَكَاءَكُمْ cannot be coupled to أَمْرَكُمْ, since أَجْمَعْتُ شُرَكَائِي is not said, but جَمَعْتُ, which difficulty the Professor evades by translating فَأَجْمِعُوا as though it were فَاجْمَعُوا, a reading attributed to Nāfi', but not even mentioned by the Professor.

The latter speaks (Part I., p. lix.) of Othman's recension of the *Kur'ān* as being the authorised version; but does not state whence he takes the text of that recension. Four excellent, and easily accessible, editions of the *Kur'ān* have been published by European scholars, by Flügel in 1834, by Fleischer with the Commentary of Al Baiḍāwi in 1846, by Lees with the Commentary of Az Zamakhshari in 1856, and by Redslob in 1867. These editions do not always agree; and the Professor omits to state which, if any, of them he takes as his standard. Since he professes to keep to the interpretation, he might be expected to keep to the text of Al Baiḍāwi; but, if so, it is strange that he should substitute the rare reading فَاجْمَعُوا in Ch. X., v. 72, for the established text فَأَجْمِعُوا, in which all four editions agree. The following tradition is related by Al Bukhāri in his *Sahīh* (Krehl's edition, vol. iii., p. 396), and, according to An Nawawi (Biographical Dictionary, Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 372), by Muslim also in his *Sahih*, on the authority of the Follower Masrūk, who died in 62 or 63:—'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr [Ibn Al 'Ās, who died in 53, 63, 65, 67, 68, or 73,] mentioned 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, saying "I shall not cease to love

him: I heard the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) say, Take the *Kur'ān* from four, from 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, and Sālim, and Mu'ādh, and Obayy Ibn Ka'b." It has been conjectured that, by these words, the Prophet may have meant to intimate that, after his death, these four Companions would survive until they remained the sole authorities on the text out of his contemporaries. But this conjecture is refuted by As Suyūṭī, in the 20th Section of the *Itkān*, upon historical grounds, because Sālim was killed in the battle of Al Yamāma (in the year 11), while Mu'ādh died in the reign of 'Umar (13—23), and Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd in that of 'Uthmān (24—35); whereas another great master of reading among the Companions, Zaid Ibn Thābit, survived them a long time (till 41, 43, 44, 45, 51, 53, 54, 55, or 56). As Suyūṭī therefore concludes that the injunction to learn the reading of the *Kur'ān* from these four Companions was intended only for the time in which it was issued; and he proceeds to give an interesting account of the origin of this science among the Companions generally, and of its development by the Followers and their pupils in the schools of Makka, Al Madīna, Al Baṣra, Al Kūfa, and Damascus. It is sufficient here to mention the names of the Masters famous as "the Seven":—Ibn Kathīr (d. 122) at Makka; Nāfi' (d. 169) at Al Madīna; Abū 'Amr Ibn Al 'Alā (d. 154) at Al Baṣra; 'Āṣim (d. 127 or 128), Ḥamza (d. 156), and Al Kisā'ī (d. 189), at Al Kūfa; and Ibn 'Āmir (d. 118) at Damascus. The Professor says (Part I., pp. lviii.-lix.) that the present recension of the *Kur'ān* contains "comparatively few various readings . . . . most of them mere matters of orthography, and the rest . . . . unimportant to the general sense"; and promises that "the last-named will be found mentioned in the notes." Some of the various readings are, no doubt, mere matters of pronunciation, like the dialectic variant نَعِمَّ read by 'Umar and Ibn Mas'ūd, in accordance with the dialect of Kināna, for نِعْمَ *Yes* in Ch. VII., v. 42; and like the uninflected يوم read by Nāfi' in Ch. V., v. 119, and by all the Seven except Abū 'Amr and Ibn Kathīr in Ch. LXXXII., v. 19, for the inflected يومَ: but, as for the readings affecting the sense, they are neither few, nor always unimportant. The Professor indeed indicates only five such readings in his notes (Part II., pp. 54, 84, 126, 173, and 215), naming no authority for any variant; and these particular readings are perhaps not important, if indeed any variation in the sense of passages accepted by millions of the human race as divine revelations can properly be considered unimportant. But the paucity and comparative unimportance of the variants noticed by the Professor are due to his omission of all the more important instances. In Ch. V., v. 8, for example, he translates "O ye who believe, when ye rise up to prayer, wash your faces and your hands as far as the elbows, and wipe your heads, and your feet down to the ankles," apparently reading وَأَرْجُلَكُمْ as coupled to بِرُءُوسِكُمْ; and thus he makes the feet *wiped*, not *washed*. The orthodox practice, however, is to *wash*, not merely *wipe*, the feet; and accordingly وَأَرْجُلَكُمْ in the accusative is read by Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, Al Kisā'ī, and others; and is actually given by Flügel,

Lees, and Redslob; while the reading with the genitive is explained by many as produced by mere vicinity to بِرُؤُوسِكُمْ, the word being constructively in the accusative. Here then a reading supported by the highest authority, affecting an important point of religious ceremonial, is utterly ignored by the Professor, who is thus betrayed into a serious misrepresentation of the orthodox practice. Again in Ch. VII., v. 193, which he translates "Those whom ye call on, other than God, are servants like yourselves" (Part I., p. 162), he omits to notice a reading of the Kûfî Follower Sa'îd Ibn Jubair (d. 95), materially altering, if not exactly reversing, the sense, which then becomes "Those whom ye call on, other than God, are not servants like yourselves, but are inferior to you." And it has been shown that, in Ch. X., v. 72, he either retains, but mistranslates, the reading of the majority فَأَجْمِعُوا; or adopts, without a word of remark, the solitary reading of Nâfi' فَاجْمَعُوا. Nor would it be difficult to adduce other instances of the Professor's omission to mention readings materially affecting the sense.

Various accidental errors, mere slips of the pen or misprints, are observable in these two volumes:—*e.g.*, "*gh*azaba" (Part I., p. lxxviii.) for "*gh*aziba," "*gh*âiral" (on the same page) for "*gh*âiril," and "abzar" (Part I., p. 17) for "abzir." And the transliteration of proper names is often inaccurate, *e.g.*, "Ommaiyat Ibn Half" (on the same page), where a second "m" is inserted in the son's name (Omayya), and an "a" is omitted in the father's name (Khalaf); 'Abd Allah Ibn Ubayy, where the father's name is spelt sometimes correctly with one "b," as in Part I., pp. xxxv. and lxiii., and sometimes incorrectly with two, as in Part II., pp. 74 and 77, while in the Index the two spellings are given in separate articles, as if they represented different names; Dhu-n Navvâs (Part II., p. 327) for Dhû Nu'âs; Raswân (Part I., p. lxix.) for Riswân; "ibn Mug*h*âira" (Part II., pp. 253, 295, 309, 320) for "ibn Mug*h*îra"; "Mârab" (Part II., p. 150) and "Mâreb" (Part II., p. 153) for "Mârib": while "ibn de Mu'hat*t*al" (Part II., p. 74) is a quaint perversion of "ibn al Mu'hat*t*al," which again is misprinted "ibn al Mu'hut*t*al" in the Index (p. 358).

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TRIAL BY ORDEAL IN SIÂM AND THE SIÂMESE LAW OF ORDEALS.

By Captain G. E. Gerini,
Royal Siâmese Service.

I.

Ordeals, in Siâm and the Neighbouring Countries.

The forms of trial by Ordeal anciently used in Siâm were evidently introduced with the codes of Hindû laws known as the Dharmashâstras and the Smṛitis. This is shown by the fact of their corresponding, on the whole, to the forms of Ordeal described in the Hindû law books or practised in India in accordance with ancient tradition. A study, therefore, of the Siâmese Ordeals and a comparison between them and those formerly in use in India, may, besides contributing to establish the approximate date of their introduction, also explain many details of their Hindû prototypes which are either left untouched or are but vaguely referred to in the extant Hindû codes. The prospects of success in this interesting study are all the greater because fortunately there still exists, in the collection of old Siâmese laws, a very detailed one on Ordeals, dating as far back as A.D. 1356, the ascertained authenticity of which constitutes it a sure and valuable standpoint for the retrospective inquiry I purpose to make.

Most of the ancient law treatises of India, as is well known, are singularly silent on Ordeals, though Dr. Bühler has pointed out that the *argumentum a silentio* alone does not prove that they were not in use. Traces of such practices, once prevalent, in various forms, also among other Indo-European races, are visible in the *Vedas*. The *Apastambiya Dharmasûtra* — a solitary instance amongst the older Codes of its class—contains allusions to the use of the "divine proof"; and Manu's *Dharmashâstra* mentions—though very cursorily—ordeals by fire and water. It is, however, only in the later law-books of Yâjñavalkya, Nârada, and Pitâmaha (and more especially in the two latter) that we find distinctly mentioned and summarily described five and even seven kinds of Ordeals recommended not only as tests of an oath as in Manu, but also as proofs of the innocence of the accused in doubtful cases. Yet their application is not in those treatises, as in Siâmese law, extended in particular cases to both parties in a cause; a fact which I attribute more to the customary reticence of the Hindû law-givers on the forms of judicial procedure, which were probably often left to custom, than to a real absence of such a procedure in their ancient law-courts. Whether it was followed, in the latter, down to recent times or not, I am unable to say; but it seems to me that we can infer its ancient existence, first from its being sanctioned by an epitome of the law of procedure purporting to be extracted from a Pâli text of Manu's *Dharmashâstra* imported from Pegu*; and secondly, from the fact of its

* I doubt whether European scholars are aware of this Pâli text of the *Mânava Dharmashâstra* once existing in Pegu from which evidently the Burmese, Siâmese and Cambodian versions have been derived. Fragments of it in the original Pâli are still

being recognised in the ordeals practised in Europe during the middle-ages, which evidently had been introduced with many other customs from Hindû-Aryan lands.

According to this procedure extracted from the Pâli *Dharmashâstra*, when the parties in a cause do not agree as to their statements and challenge each other to an Ordeal, this must be allowed. Again, when the evidence of accuser, accused and their respective witnesses is conflicting or insufficient to establish the case, both accuser and accused are to purify themselves of suspicion (by Ordeal) in each other's presence.

It is further stated in the Siâmese Law of Witnesses, dated Sunday, the 6th June 1350 A.D., art. 29, that, in the event of both parties in a cause being unable to produce any witnesses, alleging that the latter have died or emigrated to some distant place, both must be subjected to the test of an Ordeal to clear the matter, should the importance of the case demand it.* Several other instances in which an Ordeal between the two litigants must be resorted to, will be found in the Law of Ordeals a translation of which will be given later.

An Ordeal is not, however, allowed between a litigant and his witness when the latter's evidence does not corroborate the statements of the former. In such a case the litigant loses, and this because "he has been worsted by his own witness." (Law of Witnesses, art. 18th, and Law of Procedure, art. 8th). A similar principle is laid down in Nârada who

extant in Siâm, which I have for some time been busy collecting and hope to publish so that they may serve for comparison with the Sanskrit text.

The introduction clearly states that:—"*Yañca lôkahitañ atthañ Dhammatatthañ ti pâtaṭañ bhâsitañ Manunâmena mahâ bhisiddha âdito, paramparâbhatañ dâni Râmâdhirâjena patiṭṭhitañ.*" Of course, it may be, and certainly seems to be the compilation of a Buddhist *thera* or law-magistrate, made either in Pegu, Ceylon or even in India before the Brâhmanic revival. This is shown by its eminently Buddhist character and by its beginning with a salutation to the "Three Jewels" of the Buddhist Triad; but it is doubtless based on some *Dharmashâstra* of the Mânava school or, still more likely, on the *Manu-smriti* itself. For it begins with a description of its own origin, an account of the universe at the beginning of the first *kalpa* of creation, and of the birth and life of Manu. Since most of the Siâmese laws dating from A.D. 1350 upwards and even several centuries before that period are based upon it and very often quote extracts from it, we may safely conclude that such a version of the *Dharmashâstra* must have existed long before the vii or viii century in Pegu, where it was probably introduced by the early Buddhist missionaries, with the Buddhist Scriptures, from India or, later on, from Ceylon. This cannot, however, be satisfactorily ascertained until we know for certain in which of the latter two countries this Pâli version was compiled. It would not be at all surprising if it turned out to be the very law-Code used under the reign of Asoka in India, and consisting of a new setting, according to Buddhist views and beliefs, of the old Mânava *Dharmashâstra*. It enumerates 29 heads of dispute instead of 18, as laid down in Manu (viii. 3) and Nârada (i. 10), and it contains other essential differences too long to mention here; but on many points it agrees and even coincides with those two law-Codes.

The tradition is that this Pâli *Dharmashâstra* was imported from Ceylon by Buddhaghosa with the Buddhist Scriptures and their Commentary; but this is mere tradition and the only probable inference from it is, that the date of its introduction to Pegu must have been somewhere about the vth century.

* In such cases Manu, on the other hand, prescribes an oath, viii. 109: "If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and (the judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath."

says (v. 93 and 94): "If a litigant is, by the act of fate, abandoned by his witnesses in a law-suit, the wise will not have him absolved even through an Ordeal." Again, an Ordeal is not allowed when applied for by a litigant who has no witnesses, while the other has witnesses to prove his contention: in this event the party who has no witnesses loses his cause. (Law of Witnesses, art. 17; *cf.* also Manu, viii. 57.)

Siâmese law recognises no case as that stated in Nârada (v. 102, 104 and 105) where the defendant alone (in the absence of witnesses on either side) is required to undergo the Ordeal to free himself from the charge brought against him. Siâmese law is far more equitable: it makes both litigants prove their respective contention by subjecting both to the test, thus preventing the frequent making of false charges.

According to the old law, the Ordeal can be applied to witnesses in 3 cases:—

1st. When a witness is under suspicion of giving false evidence because his statements differ from those of other witnesses, he must clear himself of suspicion by an Ordeal, success in which makes his statements prevail over those of the other witnesses. (Law of Witnesses, art. 5.)

2nd. When the witness belongs to a class who are not allowed as witnesses in the court unless by the consent of both litigants, or in cases where no properly qualified witnesses are available.* After a successful Ordeal, even his statements must be accepted as true. (*Ibid.*, art. 13.)

3rd. When one witness gives evidence corroborating the statements of one of the litigants, and is contradicted and impugned by another witness, both must undergo an Ordeal to ascertain their veracity. (*Ibid.*, art. 50.)

In all cases the evidence of a witness who has successfully passed an Ordeal and thereby purified himself, is preferred to that of other witnesses who have not undergone the same test. (*Ibid.*, art. 8, 12, 13).

In Siâmese law the Ordeal is styled *ph'isât*, derived from the Sanskṛit *Visuddhi* = purity, and *Visodhana* = cleansing, purification: hence the signification of the Siâmese *ph'isât* as a test of purity or means of purification. Water and fire, considered from the highest antiquity as the great purifiers, are naturally used in this form of purgation; wherefore nearly all the Ordeals recommended by Hindû law-givers and sanctioned by Siâmese law, come under the two categories of water or fire Ordeals. To the former belong Ordeals by Diving, Swimming, and Drinking the sacred libation;—to the latter, Carrying fire, Walking over live coals, Dipping the hand or finger in hot oil, molten lead or tin, and the Candle Ordeal. Other tests not directly included under these two heads are nevertheless more or less connected with them.

The seven kinds of Ordeals described by Pitâmaha and partly mentioned by his predecessors Nârada and Yâjñavalkya are:—(1) by balance, (2) by fire, (3) by water, (4) by poison, (5) by the sacred libation, (6) by chewing grains of rice, (7) by taking out a piece of gold from hot oil.

Of the 7 forms of Ordeals sanctioned by the Siâmese law of A.D. 1356,

* Twenty-nine classes of persons who cannot be witnesses are mentioned in Manu, 107 or thereabouts in Nârada, and 33 in the old Siâmese law of witnesses. Among these are fishermen, gamblers, shoemakers (or rather leather makers), prostitutes, etc.

of which I shall give a translation, two correspond to Nos. 2 and 3 of the preceding list, and one to No. 7, with the slight difference that melted lead or tin is substituted for heated oil. Nos. 4, 5 and 6 were also used in Siâm in later times, and though not sanctioned by law, they were employed in law-courts on the responsibility of the judges, and in the privacy of houses. These latter practices, however, were probably introduced at a later date; for had they been known and in favour when the law of 1356 was enacted, they would certainly have been mentioned in it. The omission from this law of these forms as also of the Ordeal by Balance gives us a clue to the date of their introduction in Siâm. In fact, as this law of 1356 and that of witnesses of 1350 are based entirely on the text of the Pâli *Dharmashâstra* already mentioned, we surmise that Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 of the Ordeals mentioned in whole or in part by Yâjñavalkya, Nârada and Pitâmaha and ignored by the laws of Siam, must have been unknown to the author of the Pâli *Dharmashâstra*, the prototype and basis of the Siâmese laws; and, consequently, the Pâli *Dharmashâstra* must be anterior to the Codes of the three Hindû lawgivers named above. Proceeding from this basis, by exclusion, I think we can safely deduce:—

1st. The tests by poison, by the sacred libation and by chewing grains of rice, not mentioned in the Law of Ordeals of A.D. 1356, must have been introduced later into Siâm. Though described by Pitâmaha who lived about the xith century and alluded to by Nârada who, according to Dr. Jolly, flourished between A.D. 400 and 850, they do not appear to have reached Siâm until many centuries later—by no means an improbable view.

2nd. The Ordeal by balance is not found either in the law of 1356 or in its prototype, the Pâli *Dharmashâstra*, whilst it appears in the law code of Nârada and of Yâjñavalkya, his predecessor, who, according to Stenzler lived between A.D. 200-300. Hence it follows that the Pâli Code must be older even than Yâjñavalkya, and can, therefore, claim an antiquity reaching further than the iiid century.

3rd. As the Pâli Code is pervaded by a Buddhist spirit, it must have been compiled in India or Ceylon at some period when Buddhism flourished, and on the basis of a *Dharmasûtra* of the Mânava school, or perhaps on the Mânava *Dharmashâstra* itself, if it already existed then in its present form; and it must have been afterwards brought to Pegu by Buddhist missionaries.

This would carry its antiquity to the time of Asoka, the golden age of Buddhism in India,—*i.e.* about 300 B.C. But as it mentions several more forms of Ordeals than Manu, and there is no tradition of its having been brought by the first Buddhist missionaries despatched about that period to Pegu, it may be put down to a later date. That it can be older than Nârada is quite out of the question, as is proved, besides the reasons given above, by the fact that, like the Mânava *Dharmashâstra*, it mentions only 7 forms of bondage or slavery, whilst Nârada distinguishes as many as 15; and by other coincidences and discrepancies. There is, further, a tradition of its having been imported to Pegu with the Buddhist Scriptures by Buddhaghosa, about A.D. 450. All these circumstances combine to warrant for the Pâli Code the antiquity here claimed for it. And as the form and date

of introduction of the Ordeals mentioned in the law of 1356 are intimately connected with it, we may conclude that these practices became known in Pegu, and thence in Siâm and Cambodia, about the vth century, though they may not have been adopted for some time later. Not much later, however; because in a description of the ancient capital Sukhothai, as it was at the time of the establishment of the Siâmese *Cûla* Era, A.D. 638, it is said that there rose, before the royal Court of Justice, a shrine dedicated to the god Kâla, for Ordeals by fire and water. Moreover, the Life of a famous Court jester of Ayuthia,* who lived about 1000-1050 A.D., mentions a water Ordeal to which I shall revert further on. Other allusions to fire and water Ordeals especially, occur in Siâmese metrical works of a period preceding the xivth century. As these two forms of Ordeal were those most frequently employed in criminal cases as tests of the truthfulness of witnesses, shrines dedicated to the god Kâla, and ponds suitable for Ordeals by diving and swimming were provided near almost all ancient Courts of Justice. Their remains can still be traced in the old capitals of Cambodia and Siâm. They were provided in Bangkok, when it was made the capital, in A.D. 1782; but there is no record of their having ever been used, as trial by Ordeal had then been abandoned. The shrine of Kâla still exists by the side of the Court, and the pond for water Ordeals in front of it was filled in, only a few years ago.

The reasons above given should suffice to show that Ordeals were introduced into Siâm not later than the vth or the viith century; that 7 were legally sanctioned in A.D. 1356 (including the oath of which more anon); and that other tests of minor import, prevalent in India, Pegu, etc., were imported, and still later adopted by the local judiciary and by private persons, having never been, apparently, sanctioned by law. These practices continued in use in Siâm up to the beginning of the present century and in the neighbouring countries until quite recently: some are even now in use in some parts of Lâos and Cambodia.

Though full particulars especially on Ordeals by fire and water are contained in the law of 1356, other forms of these tests are not treated in equal detail, and some are not described at all. Hence I think that an inquiry into the various public and private Ordeals formerly obtaining in Siâm and the neighbouring countries, aided by some explanation from other sources, will prove of interest and will help to remove the obscurity still resting on these antiquated methods of judicial procedure. I shall now, therefore, briefly review each kind of Ordeal.

1. *Ordeal by Fire.*

This seems to have been the most common and the most ancient test employed in India. Everyone knows the touching narrative, in the *Râmâyana*, of this form of Ordeal triumphantly sustained by Sîtâ, when, on her entering the fire, the god Agni issued from the flames, bearing her

* An epitome of it was published in Vol. V., No. 3 of the *T'oung-Pao*, a short time ago, by my friend Dr. O. Frankfurter, who, however, did not establish the date of this personage, named Sri Thanoñ-ch'ai. I have found it in the ancient Chronicles of Siâm, where it is stated that he built a pagoda in 955 Saka, year of the Cock = 1033 A.D.

upon his knees as his own daughter. Manu [viii. 116] relates how Vatsa, accused by his stepbrother of being the offspring of a Sûdra woman, passed through the fire in proof of the falseness of this allegation, and "the fire, the spy of the world, burned not even a hair of his, because of his veracity." Nârada, after stating [v. 103] that "he whom the fire burns not . . . or who meets with no speedy misfortune must be held veracious in his testimony or oath, and is freed from the charge; otherwise he is guilty,"—ordains this test for Kshatriyas and for the rainy season. In describing it he says that it consists in walking slowly—holding in the hands a ball of red-hot iron, wrapped in *aswattha* leaves—through 7 circles, each one foot across, and 32 inches apart. Manu seems to concur, as he states [viii. 114] that the Ordeal consists in carrying fire. But, as we have seen, such was not the ancient Fire-Ordeal of India, to which the test followed in Siâm was most closely allied,—a point, perhaps, which indicates a greater antiquity than that of the tests mentioned by Manu and Nârada. In Siâm, in fact, this Ordeal implied that both accuser and accused should walk, bare-foot, over a 10 inch-thick layer of live coals, placed in a ditch 10 feet long by 20 inches wide and 20 inches deep, whilst officials, marching one on each side of the competitors undergoing the trial, pressed heavily upon their shoulders to prevent them from getting over their task too quickly. La Loubère was of opinion that this weight, so far from exposing them to be burnt, stifled the action of the fire under their feet, and states that "as they (the Siâmese) are accustomed to go with naked feet and have the sole of the foot hard like horn, it is very common that the fire spares them, provided they rest the foot upon the coals; for the way to burn themselves is to go quickly and lightly."

The persons undergoing this Ordeal had to prepare for it by fasts and ablutions, and offerings were made on their behalf to the shrine of Kâla (Yama), the protecting deity of such persons and the regent of the nether regions, to avert their being carried off by his messengers during the dangerous trial. A shed was erected on the spot, whence the judges watched the proceeding, and where they feasted at the expense of the competitors. Immediately before the trial, the protection of the various deities of the Buddhist pantheon was invoked, followed by a solemn adjuration, in which the wrath of the deities, demons and goblins was imprecated upon him who stated a falsehood, and upon those, whether celestial, human or diabolical, who might in any manner assist him.* The glowing coals having meanwhile been placed in the ditch, the two antagonists purified by ablutions, wearing round their heads the *mangala* diadem, with protective strings of unspun cotton tied to their wrists, were conducted to the fiery chasm and the gong gave the signal for beginning the trial. Of the parties, he whose soles showed no signs of blistering after the Ordeal and

* There are a few verses of a similar imprecation in Nârada, VI, intended, no doubt, to be read before the person or persons about to undergo the Ordeal:

10. "Thou, O fire, dwellest in the interior of all creatures, like a witness. Thou only knowest what mortals do not comprehend.

11. "This man is arraigned in a cause and desires acquittal. Therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity." This seems but a fragment of a longer address.

during the following 15 days, was declared the victor. If both passed it unhurt, they subsequently underwent another Ordeal by water; but if both were injured by the fire, both were held guilty. In civil suits their case was dismissed, after both had paid a fine.

Ordeal by fire is mentioned by nearly all early travellers to Siâm, especially by Schouten, Gervaise and La Loubère; but no one gives it even a fairly adequate treatment. Van Vliet mentions that such a test was resorted to in proof of his innocence by a Siâmese mandarin accused of conspiracy, *circ.* A.D. 1635. An isolated case occurred in a law court at Sawankhalôk about 30 years ago; for there was still no decree abrogating the law of 1356, though it has ceased to form part of Siâmese judicial procedure since Bangkok became the capital of Siâm, in A.D. 1782.

2. *Ordeal by Diving.*

This form of trial was formerly used not only in Siâm but also in India, Burma, Cambodia and Lâos, and it still occurs in some places. Nârada ordains it for the hot season and for the Vaisya caste, adding that the water "should be very clear, very cool, free from leeches and mud, broad, not too shallow, and with no strong current." Its depth was not to reach beyond the navel; and the duration of the dive was the time employed by a swift runner to bring back three arrows discharged in succession from a bow of medium strength, *i.e.*, having a range of 600 *angulas*. The accused, after worshipping Yama and Varuṇa, had to plunge under water. If he remained submerged for the prescribed time, he was acquitted; if, however, even a limb emerged above water before the time, he was held guilty.

In Siâm the trial took place in the deeper water of the ponds provided for this purpose or in the river. Two stakes were driven into the bottom, 10 feet apart, for the use of the divers. On the appointed day the two competitors, after worshipping Kâla, Varuṇa and other water-deities as prescribed by Nârada, were led to the edge of the water arrayed as for Fire Ordeals, with the addition of a kind of *cangue* enclosing their necks, and a safety-rope tied round the waist. After suitable invocations to the gods, and solemn adjurations against the guilty,* the two competitors were allowed—no doubt in pursuance of the ancient custom of taking auguries, common to all Tibeto-Burman races—to have a game of cock-fighting, to draw prognostics of their undertaking. This over, they entered the water up to their necks and waited holding their respective stakes, while a horizontal pole was placed across both, from the shoulder of one to that of the other. An official stood by each in readiness to press down their necks under water. This was done at a signal from the gong when both

* See a translation of the text employed for the purpose at the end of the Law of Ordeals. Nârada, VII, has an invocation of a similar tenor:

14. "Because fire arose from water, therefore those who know the precepts of the law ordain purgation to be made especially by water.

15. "Thou art exalted over all gods and art the best means of purification; thou art the producer of creatures, O mighty, pleasant, cool water.

16. "Thou, O water, livest in the interior of all creatures like a witness; thou knowest what men do not comprehend.

17. "This man, arraigned in a cause, dives into thee; therefore mayest thou deliver him lawfully from this perplexity."

were simultaneously immersed, each holding by his pole along which he descended: he who remained longest under water became the victor.

If neither party came up after the expiring of 6 *pâdas* (36 minutes), both were hauled up by their safety-ropes. Here, perhaps, the 6 is a clerical error for 1 *pâda* or 2 *pâdas*, which would reduce the otherwise enormous length of time yet amply test the diving power of any man. Still due allowance, regarding time, should be made for Siâmese proficiency in diving and swimming. La Loubère says: "Everyone practises from his youth to familiarize himself with fire, and to continue a long time under water." In the Life of Srî Thanoñ-ch'ai, the Court-jester already mentioned, an Ordeal by Diving is related between him and a "champion" from Lâos, who could remain under water long enough to plait a basket complete. The buffoon beat the "champion," but only by unfair play.

When this Ordeal was applied to test a suspected person, the time of the dive was fixed by law at 3 *Klâns*, *i.e.*, "exertions" in holding in the breath. It is difficult to tell how long a *Klân* was. If it corresponded to a *prâṇa* (respiration), it would be only 4 seconds, and 3 *Klâns* would make but 12 seconds,—a very poor test indeed. Hence a *Klân* must have meant a longer time. If the person undergoing the Ordeal remained under water for the prescribed time of 3 *Klâns*, he was purged of all suspicion.

Not only in Siâm, but also in the neighbouring countries, the Ordeal by Diving was the most popular and common test of innocence and veracity. Representations of such Ordeals, with puppets moved by machinery, are even now often exhibited among the mechanical toys which usually form one of the attractions of Siâmese festivals. The scene represents a Court of Justice with two persons performing the dive, and it creates much merriment among the crowds to see the artifice of one of the divers, who, on coming up, finds his antagonist still under water, and, seeing himself worsted, hastens to plunge down again in the hope of escaping detection.

No doubt such Ordeals afforded much amusement to the bystanders, who often betted money on the competitor whom they expected to win the trial. Genl. McMahon, in his "Karens of the Golden Chersonese," states that "the Ordeal by water (*i.e.*, by diving) is largely affected by both Burmese and Karens, and many instances are recorded, wherein foolish and infatuated people lose their lives, by submitting thereto. This absurdly superstitious custom . . . is recognized in the criminal procedure pertaining to the *Hlot-daw* or Supreme Court of the King of Burma, where the farce is carried out to a more ridiculous extent owing to the judges occasionally permitting the parties to provide substitutes, thereby defeating the original object of the ceremony, which no doubt was the exposure of the delinquent, who, burdened with a guilty conscience, was supposed less likely to have his wits under control so as to carry him through the ordeal satisfactorily." And he narrates the story of a Persian trader involved in a suit with a Burman who selected a professional diver as his substitute, but the Persian, by securing the services of a pearl-diver, fairly distanced his competitor, and won the case.

Though discontinued in Siam for the last century, Ordeal by Diving

still finds favour among the Lâos; and Bock describes one which he witnessed at Chieng-mâi, as late as the 14th January, 1882 ("Temples and Elephants," p. 233, 234). It took place between two Phyâs, in the *Me-Ping* [Ch'ieng-mâi] river. Proxies, however, were engaged. "Each Phyâ having provided himself with a 'champion' who would do his best to prove his master in the right . . . the two men walked into the river, each with a rope round his waist, which was held by a third man, to prevent them from being carried away by the swift current.* Each man bore some flowers on his head† and a string of leaves round his neck. Amid a breathless silence the two swarthy figures stood awaiting the word to dive; then a splash, and they were lost to view. . . . A few moments later and a shout greeted the appearance of a dark, round object above the water, and the trial was over. It was the head of the losing diver, who had remained under water exactly 2 minutes 15 seconds." Then the other competitor was pulled up "with a record several seconds better than his opponent."

One of the most curious and memorable Ordeals by Diving, the last of its kind perhaps, performed in Siâm, was that mentioned in the local Annals, vol. ii., pp. 548-9. In 1770 A.D., King Tâk defeated the army of a certain rebellious Head-priest of Müang Fâng, capturing a great number of his followers still wearing the yellow robe. Having assembled them he told them that they were all under suspicion, because many of them had sided with the rebel, taken up arms and pillaged the country,—acts rendering them unworthy of further wearing the yellow robes and belonging to the order;—that as it was impossible to distinguish the innocent from the guilty, they would be urged to confess;—that those who avowed their guilt, must immediately doff the yellow robes, and the king would give them a suit of other clothes and set them free;—that those pleading not guilty would have to prove their innocence by diving under water for the prescribed time of 3 *Klâns*;—and that those who, after having protested their innocence, at the moment of the trial changed their minds and confessed their guilt, would be executed.

Many of the priests avowed their fault; but still a good number continued to affirm their innocence and their willingness to prove it by the diving test. The king, therefore, caused a pavilion to be erected as a temporary shrine, canopied with white cloth and hung with white curtains, in which was raised an altar on which *bali* offerings for the devas and goblins were placed. There the king pronounced a solemn invocation and adjuration, to the effect that the merit and virtue (*paramittas*) of the devas who would witness the trial, of the king and of those priests who were not guilty, might protect their lives; and that the devas should cause all who had infringed the rules of the Order and rendered themselves guilty of one of the four *pârâjikas* (offences involving expulsion from the priesthood) to be defeated in the trial, thus making their guilt manifest before the whole world. After this adjuration, the King sat down on a

* In reality for pulling up the divers, as I explained.

† Here the author has evidently mistaken the *mangala* diadem, made of white cotton thread, for a chaplet of white flowers.

chair by the river-bank to watch the proceedings. Many of the priests succeeded in the Ordeal, but others who were not equal to the occasion were ignominiously divested of their robes and then executed. Their remains were thrown into a heap and burnt; their ashes were mixed with *chunam* (lime) and lacquer, and were used to whitewash the *stûpa* containing the sacred relics in *Müang Fäng*.*

* The putty termed *yanuk* here alluded to and used for plastering and whitewashing sacred buildings, is generally made of the ashes of burnt rags mixed with the black varnish obtained from the *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*. It is deemed a meritorious act to give worn clothes and robes for this purpose.

(To be continued.)

THE CHINESE VICEROYALTY OF MANCHURIA.

[*From the Russian of Lieut. Z. Matusowski's "Sketch of the Chinese Empire."*]

TRANSLATED BY LT.-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN.

II.*

IN respect of its orographical construction the surface of Manchuria, which is watered by streams of the oceanic basin, presents a regular system of mountain ridges and valleys which form the eastern descent from the Mongolian plateau, the lowest part of which is the "Greater Hingan" with a trend from N.N.East to S.S.West. This long range, which on the north divides the river systems of the Arguna and Nonni, falls towards the west to an easy slope, but its eastern heights, falling more abruptly on the side of Manchuria, lower the surface of that area so considerably that the greater extent of that country, with the exception of some few mountainous localities, lies considerably below the level of the Desert of Gobi, which is the most depressed portion of the Mongolian plateau. Towards the north the "Greater Hingan" or, to speak more correctly, the *Hin-An-Alin*, runs into the plateau of *Ilkhuri-Alin*, of which the eastern part goes by the name of the "Lesser Hingan," but it is also known to the natives as the *Do-Oose-Alin*. These mountains separate the sources of the rivers Nonni and Sungara from the Amur basin, but, as far as is known, they have no very considerable altitude. Thus the water-parting of the range, where it is crossed by the road which connects the towns of Morgen and Aigun, nowhere rises higher than 1,975 ft.† According to travellers too the peaks of this range tower but little above the passes. On the south-western slopes of the "Lesser Hingan," in the basin of the river Nemor, which falls into the Nonni river through its left bank, there stands, between the towns of Morgen and Tsitsigar, the natural boundary of Uyun-Kholdongi or "the nine hillocks or beacons." It was here that in 1720 and 1721 there occurred an earthquake accompanied by violent subterranean rumblings. Of this remarkable volcanic phenomenon there are detailed accounts in the Chinese official reports based upon an inspection of the locality. These accounts were for the first time communicated to Europeans during the year 1850 by the famous Russian sinologist, V. P. Vasilieff.‡ Father Palladius too who, in 1870, traversed the country on his way to the town of Morgen, which lies to the west of the volcanic region referred to, was informed by the natives who accompanied him that the Chinese call the area in question *Lu-Hooan-Shan* or "the sulphur mountains," from the

* See last "Asiatic Quarterly Review" for the History of Manchuria and for details regarding its races, religions, provinces and towns.—*Ed.*

† "Map of a portion of Northern China, Mongolia, Manchuria, and of the Amur and Usuri country, compiled on the basis of new astronomical and hypsometrical observations made in 1868-72 during twelve different journeys" by Dr. Fritsche.

‡ *Intelligence* of the I.R.G. Society for 1855, No. V.

abundance of sulphur which they contain but which the Chinese Government will not allow to be worked.*

In the south-eastern part of Manchuria, near to the Korean frontier, rises the highest mountain mass in the country. This is known to the Chinese by the name of *Chan-Bo-Shan* and as the *Holmin-Shan-Van-Alin*† to the Manchurs. In both languages the names signify "the long white mountains."

From the most ancient times these mountains have been considered sacred throughout the Extreme East. They are, indeed, the subject of the song of Manchurian poetical writers, including the Emperor *Tsian-Loon*, who have regarded them as the most beautiful country in the world and as their fatherland. The Russian academician, Mr. Vasilieff, too, says, in his account of Manchuria, that "ancient legends ascribe to this locality the origin of many remarkable events, the more so as the most recent Chinese ruling dynasty began and developed here. Consequently these mountains have been a bulwark and a refuge for the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. Hither have they fled when they have lost their political importance, from here began the epochs of their union and from here have they spread in all directions like a copious stream." Nevertheless "out of all the poetical descriptions of Chinese writers regarding the 'Chan-Bo-Shan' range," as the Archimandrite Palladius justly observes, "this much only can be extracted that they are forestless and that, at a certain altitude of their slopes, there is a lake which is shut in on three sides by bare crags." This basin resembles the crater of an extinct volcano, with its mouth facing the south. This crater lies at an altitude of 2,500 ft. below the rocky summits of the mountain mass, having, according to one account, a circumference of 26¾ miles and according to others of from 13½ to 8 miles only.‡

But the most circumstantial information regarding the *Chan-Bo-Shan* mountains has been obtained by the English travellers, James, Younghusband and Fulford who recently succeeded in penetrating to this little known country. According to the explorations of these gentlemen, the slopes of this range take the form of overhanging cliffs covered with pulverised rock of a white colour. In all probability, therefore, it is from this circumstance that the mountains have received their name and not from the existence thereon of perpetual snow, as was, at first, supposed to be the case. And this because during the summer months the snow is confined to occasional patches in the clefts of the hill sides. It was not long ago, indeed, that European geographers reckoned the height of the Chan-Bo-Shan mountains at from 10 to 12,000 ft. above sea level, but from the measurements taken with the aneroid by the above-named travellers the highest peak of the range does not rise above an altitude of

* "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk and across Manchuria in 1870," p. iii., by Father Palladius.

† Père Hyacinth, in his "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire," Part II., p. 2, calls the same mountains *Amba-Shan-Van-Alin*.

‡ *Vide* "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk and across Manchuria in 1870," p. 63, by the Archimandrite Palladius.

7,525 ft., the average height of all the peaks not exceeding from 5 to 6,000 ft.*

Nevertheless the Chan-Bo-Shan mountains are the highest in Manchuria and they give rise to the vast river systems of the Sungara and of the Ya-Loo-Tszian and Tumen-Tszian which flow in opposite directions into the Gulf of Korea and the Sea of Japan. The lake, however, mentioned by Chinese geographers proved from the explorations of Mr. James to be really the bottom of an extinct volcano and to be surrounded by steep serrated peaks. Its diameter, moreover, did not exceed two miles whilst its circumference only measured from about 6 to 6¾ miles. From the northern end of this lake flows one of the eastern sources of the Sungara river. Along the base of the main chain, at an altitude of about 4,500 ft. there stretches a plateau which, in summer time, is covered with a rich vegetation. In the immediate neighbourhood of this plateau there is a hot spring the temperature of whose waters registers 142° Fahrenheit. These waters are said to be very efficacious.†

The spurs of the *Chan-Bo-Shan* mountains between the river-basins that have their origin in the southern extremity of the *Lia-Doon* peninsula and which end at the point at which the Usuri enters the Amur, bear various names. Almost all of them, however, preserve a general trend parallel with and inclining in a north-easterly direction towards the sea coast. Such spurs have the character of a table land and as far as the most recent explorations tell us their general height does not exceed from 3,500 to 4,000 ft. Consequently neither the mountain passes nor the river valleys are, comparatively speaking, much above sea level. Thus the highest pass on the route between the frontier town of Hoon-Chom and Girin has an altitude of only 2,650 ft. Similarly, the height of the water parting between the river Suifoon and Lake Hanki is only 600 ft. above sea level, whilst the altitude of Lake Hanki itself does not exceed 160 ft. In like manner the valley which lies to the west of the junction of the river Sungara and Nonni lies at an altitude of not more than 500 ft. above the sea.‡

The most remarkable mountain elevation in the south-east portion of Manchuria is the frontier range which commands the valley of the river Liao-He. This range takes the name of the town of Hooan-Nin which stands at its base. It is also called *Lu-Shan* or "the six mountains," from the number of terraces by which the north-eastern slopes ascend before their peaks are reached, but the most ancient name of the same range which has been preserved to the present day is *Iwo-Lui*. Under this name, at a period as far back as 2255 B.C.,§ were included the twelve sacred mountains which, according to Chinese returns, served as the custodians of the 12 provinces of the Celestial Empire. In this range stands the tomb of the *Kidan*, Tai-Oozoo; and, as in the case of the Chan-Bo-

* See "Compendium of the Geography, Topography and Statistics relating to Asia," Part XXVI. of 1887, pp. 41 and 42, and "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society."

† *Ibid.*

‡ Determinations of Dr. Fritsche and Mr. Baralash.

§ *Vide* Père Hyacinth's "Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire," Part II., p. 3.

Shan mountains, the Manchurs even now are in the habit of bringing offerings as a recognition of their sanctity. Moreover Chinese historians tell us that on the highest peak of the Ivoo-Lui one of the vassal princes of the *Kidan* sovereignty, Jen-Hooan-Van, who was devoted to science and literature, built for himself a library and a studio where he passed his time in solitude amidst his books, etc., cheered by the sight of the distant ocean.* This circumstance therefore indicates that the average height of the Ivoo-Lui range cannot be anything especially great.

In many places the mountain ranges of the country, with the exception of the southern provinces, are covered with dense forests which the local inhabitants call by the *Toongoos* name of *Vo-tzzi*.† Amongst the several kinds of tree growths these mountains principally abound in oak, cedar, fir, birch, lime, willow, acacia and many other specimens. In such dales wherein, according to the description of the Emperor Kan-Si, the sun's rays‡ rarely penetrate, the leaves, which have fallen from the various trees, century after century, have formed a thick layer in which the rain and spring waters that are held in suspension on the mountain slopes form, in many places, impassable marshes which give rise to countless channels of running water.

The two northern provinces of the Viceroyalty of Manchuria, which scarcely cover 0.85 of the total area of the country, are watered by rivers that belong, with a few exceptions, to the basin of the Amur. The principal of these rivers is the Sungara, which takes its rise in the Chan-Bo-Shan mountains and which, after making several sharp turns, preserves an even course first towards the north-west and then towards the north-east and finally enters the Amur river opposite to the Russian station of Michaelo-Semenovskoi. After, it is joined, at a point 16⅔ miles below the town of Bodune, by the river Nonni, which descends from the Hingan tableland bearing with it a large volume of water, the Sungara becomes a majestic river and bears its turbid waters, through a vast channel that measures from ⅔rd to 1½rd miles wide, with a velocity of 2⅔rd miles an hour in the low-lying country and of 3½rd miles in the more mountainous localities.§

After it issues forth from the last spurs of the Chan-Bo-Shan range, the Sungara flows through a vast plain which on the north terminates almost in the parallel of the town of Bayan-Soosoo. Further down there appear on both banks low spurs which skirt the river for a distance of 46⅔rd miles below the town of San-Sin and then there once more opens out a level country which stretches as far as the Amur. The mountain spurs, however, which skirt the course of the Sungara, recede to a greater or less distance from the river, forming rolling valleys which afford shelter to the

* "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 31, by the Archimandrite Palladius.

† Amongst the Russian settlers in Siberia similar forests usually go by the name of *taiga* or marshy forest tracts.

‡ "Historical Sketch of the Usuri tract in connection with the History of Manchuria," by the Archimandrite Palladius (*vide Journal* of the I.R.G. Society, Vol. VIII. of 1879).

§ *Vide* account by Mr. Barabash in the *Voyennī Sbornik* (Russian Military Magazine) for January, 1874, p. 147.

settled but more or less dense population that inhabits the country between the towns of Hoolan-Chen and San-Sin. All the mountain spurs that lie nearest to the course of the Sungara and especially those which cut up its valleys and gorges are covered with a luxuriant growth of grass and bush vegetation the thickness of which renders certain of the riverain tracts almost impassable. Above the town of San-Sin the mountain slopes are covered with an abundance of various small tree growths among which the following predominate: birch, oak, hazel nut, cork and others. Along the banks of the Sungara there roam wild animals of all kinds such as bears, wolves, raccoons, squirrels, roe deer, etc., etc. Of wild fowl the following are met with in large quantities: herons, cormorants, sea-gulls and various kinds of wild duck.*

The course of the river Sungara is here very tortuous and it also frequently separates into numerous channels† whereby a number of islands are formed which are covered with reeds and such growths. The river bed is very uneven and sinuous, passing frequently from one bank to the other. The water which is of a muddy colour contains large quantities of silt and is extraordinarily turbid so that before it can be used for drinking purposes it has to be filtered. Consequently the inhabitants of the country resort largely to well water. The least depth of the main channel of the Sungara, between its mouth and the town of Girin, a stretch of about 753½ miles, and when the river is at its normal level, is four feet.‡ There is a very brisk movement of Chinese junks over this stretch of the river and at certain points along its banks there may be seen at all seasons of the year whole flotillas of these boats riding at anchor.

We know that as far back as the XVIIth Century the Russian pioneers in the Far East, Poyarkoff, Stephanoff, Sorokin, Habaroff and others knew of the existence of the *Shingala* as the Sungara was called in their day. In 1653 and 1656 the Cossack Stephanoff with his companions twice attempted to ascend the same river but meeting with a Manchur flotilla, with a force of 3,000 men on board, they were obliged to return to the Amur, after a hard row of three days' duration. Two centuries then elapsed and after this there was concluded between Russia and China the Aigun Treaty by which Russian merchants obtained the right to freely navigate the Sungara and to trade with the riverain population. Nevertheless the first Russian merchant, Chebotareff, who made his appearance in the Sungara in 1881, was killed at the town of San-Sin. After him there followed other persons of enterprise as also travellers with scientific objects, as, for example, Krapotkin, Usoltseff, Tchernaiyeff, Khilkovski, Barabash, Plusnin and others, who, although not so unfortunate as Chebotareff, yet were not successful in making more than a short stay in the country during which they had to confine themselves to meagre explorations in the various localities which they visited. But none of

* *Vide* account by Mr. Barabash in the *Voyennï Sbornik* (Russian Military Magazine) for January, 1874, p. 147.

† These branches in some cases leave the main channel of the river for a distance of 5½ miles. *Vide* preceding reference.

‡ *Ibid.*

them ever succeeded in opening up a trade with the people of the country because of the prohibitions of the Chinese authorities who, as is well known, are always disinclined to carry out international obligations.

Like the Sungara, its chief affluent the Nonni or Si-Tszian (called also near its mouth *Sin-Kai-Tszian* or "the New River"), is navigable by vessels with a draught of 5 ft., when the river is at its normal level, as far as Tsitsigar, and during the flood season as far as Morgen. This is what the inhabitants of the country told Mr. Barabash when he went up in a steamer in 1872 as far as the town of Tsitsigar. The level of the river was rising on the occasion referred to, and the soundings taken gave, in some places, a depth of from 2 to 3 ft. and in others of 49 ft.

The mountain ranges of the "Greater and Lesser" Hingan, in which the river Nonni takes its rise under the name of *Non-Oolla*, extend in an easterly and south-westerly direction as far as the town of Tsitsigar. Below this town the Nonni flows across a vast plain the riverain zone of which is in places cut up with steep ravines and is but very sparsely populated. Indeed throughout this large tract of country only an occasional hamlet is met with or else perhaps an isolated rest house. But above the town of Tsitsigar the population is, according to the accounts of Russian travellers, considerably denser. The vegetation too along the lower course of the Nonni is, generally speaking, very scanty and what there is chiefly consists of stunted grass all of one kind and small bushes scattered about over the more elevated localities. On the other hand Mr. Barabash speaks of the Nonni or Non-Oolla as the best fishing river in Manchuria.

Amongst the other larger affluents of the Sungara mention should be made of the Moodan-Tszian or Khorkha, a portion of which is navigable by rafts. All the above named rivers, in connection with the Amur and its tributary the Usuri, on which Russian steamers now ply, must naturally in course of time aid in the development of Russian trade relations with Northern Manchuria.

In Southern Manchuria the more noticeable water systems comprise the Liao-He, the Ya-Loo-Tszian and the Tumen-Tszian, or the Tumen-Oolla, called also the Hao-Li-Tszian, the lower course of which, for a stretch of ten miles, serves as the boundary-line between the Russian possessions and Korea. Of these rivers the most important is the Liao-He, which rises in this south-western extremity of the Greater Hingan. Flowing eastward into Mongolian territory under the name of the Shara-Muren, this river, after entering the limits of Manchuria, takes a Chinese name and after turning sharply towards the south falls into the Gulf of Liao-Doon. At a point 63rd miles from the mouth of the Liao-He stands the populous settlement of In-Tszi which is one of the ports that are open to European trade. In-Tszi is known in the treaties concluded by the various European Powers with China under the name of Nu-Chooan, which really stands 20 miles higher up the river than In-Tszi.* The lower reaches of the Liao-He are navigable by boats drawing about 10 ft. of water, but larger vessels, entering the river from the sea have to take

* Nu-Chooan promises to receive still greater celebrity as the base of fresh Japanese operations in the Gulf of Liao-Doon.—*Translator.*

advantage of flood tides so as to cross the bar and so obtain access to the port of In-Tszi. Further north of Nu-Chooan the Liao-He is navigable in the flood season throughout its course within the limits of Manchuria.

From the most ancient times the valley of the Liao-He river has served as an operating line in the movement of the Chinese in a northerly direction and it is along the same line that the native tribes of Manchuria have frequently passed in the course of their invasions of the territory of the "Middle Kingdom." It is along the same route too that there is now being directed the great stream of emigrants from the inner provinces of the Chinese Empire for the colonisation of the sparsely inhabited northern portions of the *Bogdo-Khan's* dominions.

During the reign of the Emperor Kan-Si when Chinese forces were concentrated on the northern frontier line, in order to threaten the Russians, who were at that time strengthening themselves on the Amur, a project was put forward for the construction of an almost uninterrupted water-way across the whole of Manchuria by which provisions could be furnished to the Chinese troops from the south viz., by the river Liao-He and its affluent the Doon-Liao (or Eastern Liao) thence by a forest road for a distance of 33½ miles and after that again by the rivers I-Toon-He and Sungara.* Although this project has never been carried out yet the fact still remains that it would be possible to establish direct water communication between the Gulf of Liao-Doon and the Amur. The matter, therefore, is undoubtedly deserving of great attention. On the other hand, navigation in Manchuria is generally speaking in a primitive state and the Chinese Government has done scarcely anything to improve it. In like manner, the land communications of the country are, according to the testimony of European travellers, scarcely ever looked to, so that in places they present great difficulties to traffic. The best maintained of the routes is that leading from Pekin and the maritime port of In-Tszi to the town of Mukden, whence the main road turns towards the towns of Girin, Boduné, Tsitsigar, Morgen and so across the water-parting of the Lesser-Hingan to Aigun. From Girin there are roads towards the towns of Hoon-Choon in a south-easterly direction, to Ningut in an easterly direction and San-Sin in a north-easterly direction. The last mentioned route, which connects the extremities of a great bend described by the Sungara river, is generally preferred to the water-way between Girin and San-Sin as it shortens the distance between these two towns by rather more than half. By all these routes, as also by others which lead towards Korea and the Russian frontier stations in the Usuri country the journey is for the most part undertaken in Chinese two-wheeled carts. But traffic over such lines of communication is considerably impeded by the marshy places in the valleys and by the steep ascents and descents of the mountainous localities as also by the numerous small streams all of which are without bridges. Moreover in the forest tracts of the northern provinces of Manchuria there are met with in the summer season innumerable large gadflies and mosquitoes which greatly harass both man and beast. But of

* Archimandrite Palladius, "Road Notes from Pekin to Blagovaishtshensk across Manchuria in 1870," p. 56.

late in proportion as colonization has developed in this part of China the forest areas have been perceptibly reduced and the roads have assumed an improved appearance. The means of transport for the conveyance of heavy loads comprise horses, mules and donkeys whilst in the northern and western parts of the country there are oxen and camels, though mules are even here generally considered the best harness or pack animals.

The climate of Manchuria, especially in the central and southern provinces, is milder than that of the Russian Usuri tract where the temperature in the winter season is generally considerably below that of the same parallel of latitude in Manchuria. This climatic difference is explained by the presence of a cold current of air which blows from the Sea of Okhotsk across the Gulf of Tartary into the Sea of Japan, as also by the considerably greater average height of the Usuri country over that of Manchuria. According to local opinion the climate of that portion of Manchuria which is sheltered by the Sikhota-Alin range and its outlying spurs differs from that of Inner Manchuria within the same parallel of latitude by a whole month.* Thus, in the southern province of Shen-Tszin, which is protected from the cold north winds by the Chan-Bo-Shan mountains and its various ramifications the inhabitants grow cotton, rice, a peculiar kind of indigo and even vines, the branches of which in the winter months are sheltered in trenches. The inhabitants of the same province are likewise engaged in the cultivation of mulberry and oak trees with the leaves of which they feed the silk worms the source of a considerable trade in a special sort of silky web. Of gramineous plants the following are raised throughout Manchuria: wheat, barley, various kinds of millet (especially the Indian, which in Chinese is called *Hao-lian* and is either yellow, white, black or red),† maize or Indian corn, hemp, poppy (for the manufacture of opium), tobacco which, on account of its superior quality, is highly prized throughout China and lastly numerous species of beans, of which the kind called *Soja hispida* is especially cultivated. This kind of bean is cooked with butter and the residue thus obtained is pressed into cakes which are sent in enormous quantities to the southern provinces of the Chinese Empire where they are used as manure. The vegetables and fruit trees of Central and Southern Manchuria are as varied as are the gramineous plants. Of the fruits the pears are especially remarkable and the best kinds are even sent to the Imperial Court of Pekin. Amongst the other numerous plants of which there is an abundance in the mountains of the north-east portion of Manchuria the first place, in respect of its importance as an article of trade, is taken by the famous medicinal root called *jen-shen* (*panax ginseng*) which the Manchurs generally call *orkho-da*, *i.e.* "the king

* Father Palladius, "Historical Sketch of the Usuri Country in connection with the History of Manchuria" (*Journal* of the I.R.G. Society, Vol. VIII. of 1879).

† The white *hao-lian*, known under the name of *Sorghum Vulgare*, is used by the poorer classes of the population as food in place of rice. *Hao-lian* is applied to various uses throughout China; but a sort of whisky is principally distilled from it, whilst the long woody stalks of the plant are used for roofing purposes and also as fences or even as fuel. The more slender stems when mixed with the stalks of green corn are very largely used as fodder for cattle. For horses and mules the stems of the same plant take the place of oats which are but seldom raised in Manchuria.

of grasses." This plant, according to Chinese belief, is a certain cure for every description of ailment and as an aid in the prolongation of human life it is valued above its weight in gold. It is accordingly artificially cultivated in Manchuria and especially in Korea but the cultivated root of the *jen-shen* has a market value which is far below that of the wild species.

Of the domestic animals of Manchuria the most commonly met with is the pig, which, as we know, affords the principal staple of animal food to the population of China. The pig of Manchuria is famed for its good breeding and the quality of its meat and hence this animal is largely exported to the inner provinces of the Empire. In Northern and Central Manchuria where cultivation is as yet comparatively little developed, there roam many wild animals, which afford lucrative gain to sportsmen amongst the native races of the country. Thus, in the mountainous country which is covered for the most part with thick forests there are met with the tiger, panther, bear, wild boar, wolf, fox, squirrel, sable, rock martin, antelope and lastly the deer, the tail of which like the paws of the bear is considered by the Chinese to be a great delicacy. Similarly the young horns of the deer they look upon as a valuable medicine. The ornithological specimens of Manchuria are also very varied and the numerous song birds which are here met with are for the most part analogous to those found in Western Europe. Of the other kinds of birds the hawk and the vulture are noticeable because Manchuria has from of old been famous for these.*

The water system of the country abounds in various specimens of fish but the salmon and the sturgeon are especially remarkable because of their enormous size. The following is also deserving of mention on account of its delicious flavour, viz. the fish which the Chinese call *Hovan-Tzvoan*† but which Dr. Bazilevski classifies as the *elopichthys dauricus*. In the Sungara and in some of the other rivers of Manchuria pearls are found which are sent to the Imperial Court of Pekin.

Of the mineral wealth that is now worked in Manchuria we know of iron, lead and especially coal, the beds of which are principally situated in the Girin circle and in the southern portion of the province of Shen-Tsin. Moreover in spite of the prohibitive law of China respecting the working of gold, this metal is nevertheless obtained in large quantities throughout Manchuria. Thus, in 1870, when Father Palladius visited the country, a party of several thousand men were engaged in gold-mining, in the northern spurs of the Chan-Bo-Shan and the local Chinese authorities were not in a position to disperse this armed band. In like manner other smaller parties were met with in other parts of the country.

* V. P. Vasilieff, "Description of Manchuria," p. 51.
† *Ibid.*, p. 53.

DUTCH SUCCESS IN ACHEEN AND ITS LESSONS.

By A. G. C. van Duyl.

ATJÈH AND THE ATJÈHNESE.

II.

Nobody, perhaps, was so well qualified to advise the Netherlands Government in all matters regarding Mohammedans as Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.* He soon perceived that the thorough understanding of Oriental languages never could be obtained, if they were not guided by the ear as well as by the eye. He went to Jeddah, where he lived five months and thence to Mecca itself, purporting to be a Mohammedan scholar who wanted to perfect his knowledge at the fountain-head of Islâm. He was the fifth European who got there to some purpose† and the first who freely moved in Meccan

* The following are among the works of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje:

De Atjèhers (those of Atjèh) door Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. Deel I. en II. Batavia, Landsdrukkery (colonial printing office, and) Leiden E. J. Brill.

The other works more or less referred to by me in the course of my paper are:

Mekka von Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, mit Bilderatlas (Two volumes, written in German, and an atlas with illustrations, mostly photographs, taken in Mecca by the Author) Haag Martinus Nyhoff. 1888.

A relation of the action of the French vice-consul, causing Dr. S. to leave Mecca, has been given in the "Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung" of 16 Nov. 1885.

Particulars about his voyage to Mecca in: Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin. Band xiv (1887) p. 138.

Der Mahdi in Revue Coloniale Internationale. Tom i. 1886. De Bussy Amsterdam (written in German).

Twee populaire dwalingen (Two popular fallacies, viz. 1° that Hidjra (Hegira) means the flight of Mohammed, whilst really it was a new departure, to begin in Medina.

2° that Mohammedan law requires women to be veiled, whilst really it defends this and the custom is only a fashion not so generally adhered to as is commonly believed. These two papers in) Bydragen tot taal-land-en volkenkunde van Ned. Indië Series, vol. I., p. 356, 1886.

Mecanische Sprichwörter. (Meccan Proverbs in German) same volume, pp. 433-576.

Een rector der Mekkaansche universiteit. (Sejjid ahmed ibn Zênê Dahlân, moefti of the Sjafites and chief of the learned in Mecca. 1886) Bydragen. Series v. vol. ii. pp. 344-404. 1887.

This paper is especially interesting as it contains the views of learned and intelligent Meccans upon contemporary history: the murder of Christians at Jeddah in 1858; anti-slavery measures; the Mahdi; the English in Egypt, etc. Dr. S. whilst in Mecca was very intimate with the Sejjid, who lent him the whole of his manuscript history of Mecca. In most instances it was only given without the four last quaterns as these contained particulars about yet living personages. For the same reason it could not be edited in Mecca. When Dr. S. obtained the manuscript he could not at once find good transcribers and thus was not able to get a copy before he was obliged to leave Mecca. But he obtained a true copy of the whole manuscript through the intermediary of the Dutch vice-consul at Jeddah, Dr. P. H. van der Chys, and of this manuscript he made extensive use in the principal of the above cited publications.

† The Spaniard known as Ali Bey el-Abbari, the Swiss T. L. Burckhardt, the Englishmen R. F. Burton and T. F. Keane.

society, during those months of the year that the population is not wholly pre-occupied by the pilgrims and therefore in an abnormal condition. He remained from February till August 1885 and would have gladly remained longer; going also to Medina, when the pilgrimage was over. Unluckily the chauvinism of a French vice-consul caused his banishment. So well versed however is Dr. S. in the Arabic language, law, and literature, that as long as his identity was not revealed by the Frenchman, he associated upon a footing of equality with the most learned men of Mecca and all topics were freely handled in his presence, as nobody suspected him of being a European.

Of course, one of the subjects which especially interested Dr. Snouck, was the influence of Islām upon the inhabitants of the Dutch East-Indian Colonies, not only because this knowledge obviously might prove very useful, but also because the Jāwah, or inhabitants of Java and adjoining islands are the most numerous (in proportion to the population), the most wealthy and the most serious of the pilgrims and for all these qualities are made much of by the Meccans, who—like most inhabitants of watering-places and other fashionable resorts—have a very keen eye to business and soon know what visitors leave the largest profit.*

Opposite the place where the Doctor lived in Mecca, resided a Sjech (Sheikh) or Strangers-Guide of the Atjèh-pilgrims. This house was a kind of Atjèh-hotel. Dr. Snouck was almost daily in the company of people of Atjèh, who told him a great deal about their country. But of course much more was to be learned in the country itself, whither he was enabled to go after having given some time to the study of the language of the people, which he began in Mecca.†

Atjèh is about as large as Scotland, but Atjèh-proper—Great Atjèh as it is commonly called—is much smaller. It consists principally of what, for convenience' sake, may be called the districts, or provinces, named the XXV, XXVI, and XXVII "Moekim," "Muqim" and as it has the form of a

* Bilād el Jāwah, the country of the Jāwah (plur. Jāwāh) or Jāwi (plur. Jāwah or Jāwyjin) means in Arabia every country inhabited by Malays. This is from Siam and Malacca to New-Guinea. In recent years—and of this more notice might be taken by the English colonial authorities, than appears to be done—pilgrims from the Cape of Good Hope also go to Mecca. They are also called Jāwah, because they are descendants of Malays formerly imported by the Dutch East India Company. There are in Mecca 180 Shēcklis (in this sense guides of foreigners) exclusively for the Malay pilgrims and many of them have between twenty and thirty wakils, or agents. Keane says (p. 94 of his "Six Months in Meccah") "the Malays come in great numbers. . . . So far as I could ascertain the Malay permanent residents in Mecca are limited to but some half-dozen." This is an error, easily explained as Keane only saw these people during the pilgrimage and so could not easily know the difference between pilgrims and residents. Really there are some 2,000 permanent Malay residents, scholars, students, and professors, and also guides and merchants. These people have a good reputation in Mecca, as the Dutch Colonial Government does not allow people to go, unless they prove they have the means. Most of these pilgrims are rather wealthy and generally speaking well educated. It is not the same with pilgrims from India, where it seems no rule is observed and every one is allowed to go.

† As to the language of Atjèh: works of Mr. R. F. H. Langen and a paper of Dr. Snouck in the Review (tydschrift) of Batavia vol. XXXV. pp. 346-442.

triangle it is also called: "the three sides" = *Thiga Sagi.** The three chiefs or Œlèebalang of these Confederations are *then* called *Panglima Sagi*, Sagi-chiefs.

The history of this country has yet to be written. Except what is now indicated nothing really trustworthy about it is known. What is to be got out of native sources cannot be of any use, unless verified by other well-established dates and facts. What is told by the people or written by the learned is mostly adapted to circumstances and in order to prove some theory. So nothing at all can be stated as yet as to the origin of the people. Most certainly Hindoism had some influence and Mohammedanism, most probably came to Atjèh from Hindostan. But of this influence not many vestiges remain and it does not appear that there is much Indian blood in the people of Atjèh. Commerce and shipping, of course, must have brought many strangers to the shores of Atjèh. Most saints, most learned men of the law, many wealthy merchants, numerous scribes and intimates of the Chiefs can be proved to have been foreigners. The Sultans even, since 1723, seem to have been Bouginese. But it is not apparent that this immigration ever was a big factor in the composition of the people. More important was the considerable importation of slaves, principally from Nias. But as far as is known there are no very characteristic differences between one Atjèh and another.

They themselves make a distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders. The first name means especially the population of the largest parts of the XXVI and XXV Moekim; the second the population of the capital and surrounding country. In their language, customs and manners, the people nearest to the Dalam, followed the lead of the Dalam, and of the wealthy Gampôngs† (villages = compounds = Malay, Kampong) round the Dalam. The centre of these Gampôngs, viz., the mosque and market-place with surroundings was called BANDA-ATJÈH and considered as the capital, or rather as the most important place. So the people of these adjoining Gampôngs were, or thought themselves, *banda* (what the Dutch would call *Steedsch*, from Stad = town, and what the English might call *townish*), viz., with town manners, courtly, civilised, gentle. The people further from the Dalam imitated those next to it. In short most of the Lowlanders were or considered themselves *banda*. Those that were not "*banda*," *i.e.*, those that spoke their own dialect and were less gentle, were *douthôn*, provincial people, people with village-manners. *Ourouëng* (orang) *douthôn* and *ourouëng tounông* (Highlanders) are actually almost synonyms. But then the wealthy families even amongst the Highlanders are as *banda* as possible (which is not much to say) and amongst the more outlying Lowlanders not much of the influence of BANDA-ATJÈH is to be seen.

The smallest territorial unit in Atjèh is the Gampông (*malay* = "Kampong") the village. Every house, or conglomeration of houses, belonging to the same family, with the grounds is closed in by a hedge, mostly a double one, with prickly shrubs inside them. Between the

* TH in Atjèh is pronounced as in *think*.

† Probably the origin of the Anglo-Indian "compound," or the enclosure of the servants' residences in connexion with Indian houses, and the enclosures, for instance, in Kimberley, where the Kaffir-miners are kept, as long as their contract lasts.—ED.

hedges of the different estates are the *Jourông*, the paths or public ways, the village-streets. The whole Gampông again is surrounded by a hedge, with gaps opening upon the *rèk*, the public way leading to outlying gardens and other Gampôngs.

There is much reason to suppose that every Gampông formerly was the dwelling of a *Kawôm* (clan) or part of it and the people of one particular Gampông only took wives out of their own Gampông or—and then only by way of exception—out of such a neighbouring Gampông, whose inhabitants were of the same "Kawôm." In those times the head of the Gampông must have been the "Panglima Kawôm," or head of the clan.

In fact there must have been a territorial division like that of the tribes of Israël, or of the Bedawins of Arabia. For, of course, the interest of each clan was to be strong against warlike or predatory inclinations of other clans and this could not have been if the men of one Kawôm lived amongst people of another Kawôm. Afterwards, in more peaceful times, there was not so much danger in intermarriage and the authority of the Panglima Kawôm dwindled away. Nowadays the title does not confer much influence and in any case has nothing whatever to do with the government of the Gampông.

Before we speak of this however it should be remarked that a house in Atjèh is not considered as immoveable property. On the contrary, the buyer of a house is expected to remove it to his own grounds, which may be done in almost no time as the whole structure, however spacious and rather comfortable, is kept together by wooden pegs and pins, as may be seen by some very good illustrations in Dr. Snouck's work. The house or Gampông of the mother remains for ever the house or Gampông of the children. When a daughter marries, she does not leave the house. Either the mother's house is enlarged for her accommodation or a new house is built upon the mother's estate. Thus of course the son who marries goes to the place of his wife. But he is not understood to live there. He in fact only pays longer or shorter visits and is expected never to take any notice of his wife's parents. He never goes into that part of the house where they live and if he comes unexpectedly to see his wife, announces his visit by a slight cough, in order to give her parents time to leave. If there are any necessary transactions between the wife's father and her husband, they meet in the presence of a third person who does the speaking. The real home of the married man is the Gampông of his mother and when not with his wife he lives there in the *meunathah*, the house, where all the unmarried men of the Gampông, strangers and men married in other Gampôngs have to remain during the night. This house is considered as not to be in the Gampông, and often it is really not in it, but just next door to it, surrounded by its own enclosure.

Men, who are known to have illicit intercourse with women of the Gampông, are simply called: *sareueng tamòng Gampông*, viz.: "people coming into the Gampông," which means coming there in the night and this shows that the Gampông is considered as something distinct from the "meunathah."

The government of a "Gampông" is a rather complicated affair and a

description of it, which Dr. Snouk gives amply in his work, would be very interesting as nearly all family affairs: marriage, divorce, education of orphans, migration, etc., are considered as Gampông affairs.

The head of the Gampông, its "father," is the *keutjhik*. His function is hereditary, like almost all functions in Atjèh. Every "keutjhik" however knows that the first of his line was put into power by the "*oelee Calang*," the lord of his district, and that he is revocable at will. That this seldom or never happens and that a keutjhik succeeds in keeping his authority amongst a population, more selfwilled, headstrong, undisciplined and quarrelsome, than any other race in the East-Indian Archipelago, may testify to the personal qualities of most of these functionaries, but is really a proof of the extraordinary force of the "adat," the unwritten, customary law of the country. A "keutjhik" knows very well that he has not to meddle in affairs which are not considered as affairs of the Gampông and that his decisions would be of no avail, if they are unreasonable or unjust. But if he decided that *A* should not sell his rice-field to *B*, or that *C* should not give his daughter in marriage to *D*, or that a certain man should not marry into another Gampông, everybody knows that he is not actuated by personal motives, but must have good reasons. Disobedience would almost be impossible as the decision of the keutjhik would be backed by the majority of the commune. As the function is hereditary, there is of course in every keutjhik family a great deal of traditional knowledge of customs and laws, more so than in most other families. And it is really the great respect for these laws and customs, the authority of the adat, which is the base of the great authority of the keutjhik. It may even be said that the authority of no chief is better established than his.

Theoretically, the keutjhik is not a judge. Lawsuits have to be decided by the Œlèebalang before whose court the keutjhik has to bring them. But as this is a costly method, it is not so very difficult to induce the contending parties to come to a friendly arrangement, when the character of the affair allows of this. In these cases the keutjhik is the arbiter, and the parties pay him part of what they certainly should have to pay if the quarrel went further, before people who do not know them and their wants as well as the head of the Gampông.

No family can migrate to another Gampông, and no family is allowed to come in without leave of the keutjhik. No marriage is allowed without his leave, and there must be a great scarcity of marriageable women in the Gampông before he allows a man to marry into another Gampông. The marriage with a man of another Gampông, of course, is easily acceded to. The rule is to promote as much as possible the welfare of the community.

It should be mentioned here that this "adat" (customary law), restricting the liberty of marriage, is in flagrant opposition with the hoekôm (Hukm), the Mohammedan religious law. Of this conflict we have already spoken in our former article. The great fault of many students of Mohammedanism is that they consider the enactments of the religious law as the rules of Mohammedan life, and do not observe in how many instances these enactments are left in abeyance by the "adat," or the former and actual customs, the customary law of different peoples.

The Gampông has not only a father, but also a "mother," the teungkoe. This title, in Atjèh, universally is given to persons having some religious function, or who are stricter observers of the religious law than other people. Thus the "teungkoe," when the head of a Gampông is meant, is the man who has to take care of the religious wants of the people. But—as an Atjèh proverb has it—if "Hukm and Adat are inseparable" it would not be amiss to add that of these two the principal is the adat.

In fact, in all Mohammedan countries, religious law is considered as really too good for this world, something to be observed as well as you can, but which really will only come into full force hereafter. This is not to be wondered at. Religious law is a product of the schools, without much connection with real life. Thus, practically, and in every country all decisions are taken according to customs, more or less influenced by Mohammedan principles, and this is done with the tacit understanding that the way is always open for an appeal to religious law, which however in most cases is not resorted to.

One of the first duties of the "teungkoe" would be to take care of the meunathah, as this lodging house at the same time is the place where there should be a religious service five times every day. Most of these services are never kept. Those who think about them say their prayers at home, or where they are that moment. Even the evening service is seldom performed. It would be very easy, as then most young men should be in the meunathah. But generally speaking the morals in Atjèh are of such a description that a really religious man would rather avoid coming into the meunathah at this time of the day. Cock fighting and gambling are so to speak the most innocent things going on then.

Indeed, when something is done to the meunathah it is mostly done by the keutjhik, if he chances to be a religious man. The teungkoe has not much to say in the Gampông, which is easily understood, as his functions also are hereditary, and of course a traditional knowledge of the customs of the people (as in the case of the keutjhik) is more easily got at, than knowledge of the written Mohammedan law. If a teungkoe is a learned man he may have some influence. If he is an ignorant he has to act by proxy. But this proxy cannot act without leave of the real teungkoe, who shares the profits with him.

A third element in the Government of the Gampông are the "oureuêng toeha," the elders. They are people of experience, good manners, and of course great in the knowledge of the adat. As the people of Atjèh are passionate lovers of "Moekapat," viz. "palaver," the most insignificant affairs give occasion to a great exchange of opinion in which these elders take a large part. The great trick of all chiefs in Atjèh is to have frequent palavers. The burden of their diplomacy is then to frighten weak opponents, to flatter the strong ones, and generally to give the impression that the proffered plan really was the plan of the congregation, and has been evolved by its wisdom.

According to Mohammedan law each free man has to assist at the Friday service in the Mosque, when this building is situated at a certain distance from his dwelling-place, and no circumstances—which are minutely

described—prevent him. No service is a real Friday service unless there are at least forty people present. When there are not so many only an ordinary daily midday service can be held.

Of course, as soon as Islam penetrated in Atjèh, religious people must have built mosques in every place where they could suppose forty or more people would assist. If some given Gampôngs were too wide apart to build the "meuthigit" [Masjid] or mosque, in one of them, they erected it in a place as much as possible near the centre. When a sufficient number of Gampôngs were very near one another, the "meuthigit" could be built in one of them. The first kind of such a conglomeration of gampôngs could be called a district. The second one would come nearer to our conception of a town. The Atjèhnese call all these conglomerations—which for convenience' sake may be termed Friday-service-circles—moekim (mugim). This Arabic word really means inhabitant, and originally must have been used for the forty or more inhabitants, "moekims," necessary for a Friday service. But, as often is the case in these languages, the original meaning of the word is nearly forgotten, and nowadays the word moekim means a conglomeration of gampôngs (mostly four) sufficient to have one "meuthigit" or mosque.

The head of the moekim is the imeum (Imám), and of course one would suppose that he had only to take care of the meuthigit, like the teungkoe in the Gampông should take care of the meunathah. It may have been so in olden times, but as every function in Atjèh is hereditary, it has the tendency of degenerating in an instrument for making money and gaining power. Religious functions make no difference. Theoretically almost everything can be brought under the religious law, and so here is a very extensive field for everyone whose ambition is not kept in check by the ambition of others. Every chief of some note wants to be an Œlèëbalang, and so it came to pass that the actual imeum do not trouble themselves about the meuthigit, or in any case do this not more than every other Œlèëbalang, who takes some interest in religion. And it may be well to bear in mind what has already been spoken of in the former article, that these imeum, precisely because they are worldly men, but at the same time are connected with religion, are the most dangerous men to strangers, coming into the country with hostile intentions. Still an imeum who wished to play the theologian nowadays would be considered as somewhat ridiculous, so wide have theory and practice already gone asunder. In reality, the imeum is the lieutenant of the Œlèëbalang; he dresses as an Œlèëbalang, and has his armed retinue. And if his lord is a weak man, the imeum virtually takes his place. If not he is the middleman between the Œlèëbalang and the Gampôngs of his particular moekim. In differences between these Gampôngs he plays the same part as the keutjhik has in differences of his gampông-people. Some imeum are quite independent or nearly so, and thus are little Œlèëbalang. Some moekim together form quite independent confederations. And it is far from seldom that an imeum called upon by his Œlèëbalang to assist with his armed men either keeps quiet, or even sends word that he declines to come.

Theoretically the Œlèëbalang are the lords of the soil, the real Rajas. They are the regents and judges, and the chiefs of the army. They do not acknowledge any authority above theirs. The Atjèhnese have no term for what we could call an Œlèëbalang-ship. They speak of "the country of the Œlèëbalang So-and-so," or of the "so-and-so-many moekim." Or they say, for instance, "the seven moekim Baèt," meaning the Œlèëbalang-ship consisting of the seven moekim, whose chief is Teukoe (Sir) Moeda Baèt.

There are in Atjèh, as is well known, three great confederations of Œlèëbalang, one of the xxii Moekim, one of the xxvi moekim, and one of the xxv. They are the three Sagi of the country, and at the head of each confederation is a panglima Sagi. It never has been quite clear what this really means; probably only this, that each confederation has some common interests, and that the three together, by their panglimas, wanted to have some influence, and got it at the choice of the Sultan. But it should ever be kept in mind that in Atjèh all functions are hereditary. Once probably the panglima Sagi was the strongest or most influential of its Œlèëbalangs. But afterwards another Œlèëbalang may have had much more influence than the actual panglima. In any case he had only a voice in really common interests. In all other matters every Œlèëbalang acted as if no chief of the confederation existed.

As to the numbers of moekim, it should be noted that they are not in accordance with reality. In the xxii moekim there really are 49, which is explained by the increase of the population since the name was adopted. In the xxv there are also more than 25 moekim. Only in the xxvi the number does not seem to have altered.

It is quite clear that in this description not much place is left for the Sultan of Atjèh. One of the misconceptions in the first years of the Atjèh war has been, that—naturally enough—it was believed that something could be got by bringing the Sultan to reason, or by transacting business with the so-called Sultan's party. The Sultan's territory never was a big one and even there some chiefs were nearly independent. So much so that the two Œlèëbalang in the Sultan's territory now and then declared war against each other, and alternately were assisted by the Sultan, or some of his subordinates. The Sultan was quite happy when he was not worried by the inland chiefs and he possessed sufficient means of keeping them at a distance. *Some* influence he must have had, but as it amounted to nothing which could lead to real centralisation of authority, in short to the formation of what could be called a *state*, we may leave this part of our enquiry and must refer to the means by which the authority of the real chiefs is exercised and maintained.

As soon as it came to a war with Holland, the Sultan and his court wished nothing better than to give in. But nobody dared to give such advice and every one knew that no one could make any contract binding upon others. There was no resistance by an army. There were only irregular bands under more or less self-elected chiefs. But then almost every man in Atjèh is a soldier, used to arms from his earliest childhood and the country is extremely difficult for regulars. Captive balloons, for

instance, are not of the slightest use, as absolutely nothing is seen from them, the whole country being covered with the most luxuriant green, so much so, that in one of the attacks upon the Dalam, the Dutch troops were at the gate, without being able to know it. Before the Dutch took the Dalam, the Sultan fled. He died shortly afterwards and as another proof of the slight consideration of his functions, it may be adduced that even in the midst of the troubles the people had then, it was not thought necessary to choose a man as his successor. His successor was a mere child and even now that he has attained manhood nothing whatever proves that his court at Kemala has any influence upon the course of affairs, or that the young Sultan means to take any part in the strife. If he goes to war, it will probably be a skirmish against some adjoining Œlèebalang, perhaps about women, or some other futilities. Even the place where the Sultan actually lives had to be gained by an inland war.*

* Saturday, 22nd December, 1894, a telegram was received from Batavia saying:

"The Sultan of Atjèh, Toeankoe Mohammed Daoed (i.e., the young man, who was elected a Sultan after the Dalam was taken, but who, not being, of course, recognised or acknowledged as such by the Dutch authorities, is always called the pretender) who, as is known, resided at Kemala, has left this place in the night with his followers and their women and children, after having set fire to his own house. He is now some hours from Segli. He was forced to do this by the federation Gigben (or Gigieng)."

As the mail had not yet brought more details when this article was corrected for the press, we can only add the following:

Gigieng is upon the north-east coast of Atjèh and we read regarding it, in the annual colonial report for the year 1894:

"Our post at Segli was fired at now and then which made the commander resolve to send an expedition of 75 men (23rd May, 1893) to drive off the bands which regularly showed themselves near the Kampongs Pekan Baroe and Pekan Sot and found assistance amongst the inhabitants of the many Waqf-Kampongs,* who were directed to give their assistance by the pretender. The troops, without sustaining any loss, succeeded in driving the enemy out of his positions.

"It was expected that the friendly dispositions of Toekoe Bintara Kemangan, radja of Gigen and Toekoe Mohammed Panglima Megoi, and of the Œlèebalang of the federation of Gigen—(friendly dispositions proved by their visits to Kotta Radja, the actual capital of the Dutch territory)—might be useful in putting an end to the action of these inimical bands in the said Kampongs. But it was not so. Bintara Kemangan tried, through our mediation, to come to an understanding with Bintara Paleuh, chief of the III. Moekim Gigen. Though a member, since 1885, of the federation Pedir, he appeared not much inclined to act against the war-party which is in favour of continued opposition, —not even when our assistance was offered to him.

"Nothing, too, came from an attempt to bring about better relations between Toekoe radja Paleh of Pedir and his brother Toekoe radja Pedir, as the one wanted to have Kwala Laoeng, which territory the other would not give up."

From this it first appears, in a general way, what a multitude of heads there are in Atjèh and how difficult it must be to bring them under one cap, which, however, is the only way to a permanent pacification; secondly, in connection with the telegram, it appears that concord in Gigen must have increased immensely of late, as now the radja of Gigen seems to have been able to act with success against the war-party and even so far, that the pretender was obliged to leave these parts and go near our posts, which may mean that he seeks our protection.

* Waqf (Ar. Wakeuh) grounds set apart for ever, for some purpose, allowed by Mohammedan law. In Atjèh this is mostly for the service of Mosques. But there are territories, known as Wakeuh, which are at the disposition of the Sultan and of which the actual proprietors may be removed at his pleasure.

Since the work of Dr. Snouck has appeared and his conclusions have been considered by the authorities, some very signal advantages have been gained. The disorderly conduct of some bands of the Ulemas has stimulated the desire of some influential Gampóngs to get rid of them. Overtures were made to the Dutch Government by one of the greatest chiefs, formerly one of the political adventurers of the kind first described, that, under certain conditions and if aided by the Dutch forces, he would undertake to drive the war-party out of some districts. This was agreed to and after the first success the same method was applied to other parts of the country. The system of concentration came to an end and it appeared that the Dutch soldiers were well received by the population wherever they showed themselves. Of course, it was not to be expected that by following this line of conduct the war would suddenly be over. Even the men, who are so to speak in the pay of the Dutch Government, are never wholly to be trusted. One never can be sure, if they do not turn round, as soon as they have gained their special object. And then of course there always still are the irregular bands, who obey only their immediate chief and who live by plundering both friend and foe. As yet, however, there is every reason to believe that affairs are in a new stage and that general peace may be obtained in the course of a few years.

In the meantime, it should not be forgotten that the exertions of the Dutch have put an end to the robberies upon the high-seas, in which the people of Atjèh were special experts. This was the first object of the Dutch expedition and that the war has lasted much longer than was expected when it began, has not been an impediment to gaining at least this very important point.

It should be known that in the first years of the war much time and many words were wasted in trying to come to some understanding with the so-called Sultan's party, whilst really the fight was either with ambitious men who wanted to work their way up by means of the war, or with the heads of the religious revival :—two classes of men playing into each other's hands, and opposing us at the same time.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII., p. 172; July*, 1894).

XXVIII.

ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE AND THE SYRIAN CHURCH IN INDIA.

[Sir Walter Elliot was well acquainted, of course, with the tradition regarding the murder of St. Thomas by Gondophares, one of the later rulers of Bactria. He put together this note to show the grounds on which rested the Madras tradition that St. Thomas was murdered at that place by a native chief, or by a Brahman.—R. S.]

I.—The testimonies for the mission of the apostle St. Thomas into Southern India are the following:—

1. Socrates (*Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. I. c. 29) says that, in the allotment of regions, for the exercise of their labours, among the apostles, St. Thomas took Parthia, St. Matthew Ethiopia, and St. Bartholomew the regions of India adjacent thereto. At this time Parthia, under the dominion of the Arsacidæ, was the most powerful kingdom of Asia, as it had swallowed up those portions of the Syrian territories of the Seleucidæ not subjugated by Rome, and thus acquired their Indian dominions.

2. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, L. III. c. 1) says that such was the tradition of the first five centuries. He farther states (L. V. c. 10) that St. Pantene, in his mission to India, found the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew in the possession of the inhabitants who had received it from St. Bartholomew. The journey of Pantene is supposed to have been made in the year 317 (*see* Pagi *in this year of the Eccles., Annals of Baronius*).

3. So general was this belief that Cave in his *Scriptorum Ecclesias. Hist. lith.* (Oxon. 1740-3) supposes that Manes, the Heresiarch, endeavoured to turn the circumstance to his own credit by sending thither a disciple of the same name in the hope that he might be confounded with the apostle (*Cave, Sæc. tert. in Mane*).

4. It was to counteract these attempts that St. Pantene

undertook his voyage, as already stated on the authority of Eusebius, and that St. Athanasius appointed Numentius Bishop of India (*Sozomene, Eccl. Hist.*, L. II. c. 24; *Socrates*, I. 29).

5. St. Jerome, too (*Ep.* 7) bears testimony to the number of Christians from India who visited him at Jerusalem. We learn from Procopius that the silkworm was introduced into Europe by certain Christian priests from India who presented the eggs of the bombyx to Justinian (*Hist. Misc.*, c. 17); and Cosmas of Alexandria found Christians in great numbers in his journey to India in A.D. 530 (*Indico-pleustes, Chris. op. de mundo, III.* 179).

After this no mention occurs of the state of Christianity in India till the 14th century, when Haito, the Armenian, alludes to the tradition of St. Thomas in his Oriental history, and says that latterly the religion taught by him had much decayed, so that it was then professed in only one city: this Marco Polo had already stated a few years before (L. III. c. 27).

II.—The following relating to St. Thomas are translated from the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*" of Joseph Simon Assemanus (Vol. IV., p. 435).

"1. *Saint Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies.*—All Greek, Latin, and Syriac ecclesiastical records bear testimony, that Thomas was the Apostle of the Indies. Antonius Gouvea (*La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 39), in his 'History of Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa' (L. I. c. 1), relates the preaching of the Apostle, from the tradition of the Christians of Malabar, in the following words: 'In the division of the parts of the earth among the apostles, India fell to the lot of the Apostle Thomas, who first preached in Arabia Felix, and in the island of Dioscuris now called Socotra; thence he proceeded to Cranganore, where the King of Malabar resided. Here happened to the Apostle the adventures narrated in his life by Abdias of Babylon. Having established many churches at Cranganore, he went to Coulan,* a town of

* Quilon, on the Malabar coast.

that part, and brought a large number of people to the faith of Christ. He then retired to the opposite coast of Malabar at present known by the name of Coromandel and stopped at Meliapor* (which the Latins call the town of St. Thomas, and the Syrians *Beth-Thuma*, or *Be-Thuma*, the house of Thomas), where he instructed the king and the people in the Christian mysteries. Proceeding thence to China, he preached the gospel in the city of Camballu and erected churches. But where this city Camballu is, we know not; nor is there extant in China any vestige of it, although by many arguments we might be induced to believe that the gospel was announced in those places. From the ancient records of the diocese of Angamale it would appear, that formerly it was customary to send to that coast a prelate, who bore the title of the Archbishop of the Indies. He had under him two suffragans, one in the island of Socotra, and the other in the region of Masin (as the place is called in the old registers). But St. Thomas having returned from China to the town of Meliapor brought on him the hatred and envy of two Brahmins, who, on account of the conversion of many people to the faith of Christ, raised a great multitude against him, and pursued the Apostle, casting stones: when one of the Brahmins saw him in a half-dying state, he pierced him with a lance and deprived the Apostle of life.' Thus far Gouvea.

"2. But what is related about China and the town of Camballu, Renaudot has overthrown in a work printed in French with the title '*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, Paris*, 1718,' in which, at page 228, he shows that St. Thomas preached in the Indies and not in China. But what Gouvea says to be unknown to him as to where 'the town of Camballu and the region of Masin' were situated, La Croze rightly points out (*History of the Christians of India*, p. 40), that the first was the metropolis of China, and the second the southern part of that empire, called also by the name of Mangi. 'Camballè,' says he,

* Mailapûr—a suburb of Madras adjoining the other southern suburb called "St. Thomé." St. Thomas' Mount lies west of these.—R. S.

'is the metropolis of China, which the Tartars denominate Cambalu, that is the city of the Emperor (concerning which see Marco Polo, L. II. c. 10, and Magaillan, c. 1, p. 6); but Masin is the southern part of China, which by the Oriental writers is commonly called Masin or Matsin.' Thomas, Iaballaha, Jacob, and Denha, Bishops of the Indies, in their relation of Indian affairs, written in 1504, to their Patriarch Elias, join Sina with Masin. 'He next directed the same four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indians, and to the isles of the sea, that are between Dabag, and Sin and Masin.' And further on: 'The Epistle which the Fathers of India, and Sin and Masin, have despatched.' The Arabs, Persians and Turks understand by these two names the whole tract of country in which northern and southern China are comprehended. 'The Eastern writers,' says Herbelot (p. 811) 'in speaking of China in general, call it Tchin and Matchin (Sina and Masina), just as they mean all Tartary when they use the expression Jagiug and Magiug, that is Gog and Magog, of which mention is made in the sacred writings. Some geographers contend that the name Tchin designated northern China, which many hold to be the same as Khathu or Khathai; and that Southern China was called Matchin, under which they include Cochin China, Tonquin, and the kingdoms of Anam, together with Siam and Pegu.'

"3. *Ancient records of the Indian Christians till the arrival of the Portuguese* (p. 441).—Antonius Gouvea and other Portuguese, Italian, French and Spanish writers relate, on the authority of the Malabar Christians, that the following incidents occurred in India, from the death of the Apostle St. Thomas to the year when the Portuguese arrived in that country. The Church, founded in India by St. Thomas (say they, *La Croze*, p. 43), flourished till then, and possessed its own Bishops, Presbyters, Clergy and faithful; but afterwards, when the infidel kings occupied Meliapor and the neighbouring towns, they raised a severe persecution against the Christians. Hence very many

persons retired to the mountains where is situated the region of Malabar, in the southern part of the peninsula this side the Ganges, towards the west, between the kingdom of Deccan on the north and the promontory of Comorin on the south: this extent the Portuguese call *Serra*,* or the mountains, of Malabar. There they found the Christians whom St. Thomas had instructed before proceeding to Meliapor. From these mountains they spread themselves over the territories of Angamale, Cranganore, Coulan, Travancore, Cochin, Cananore, and the lands belonging at present to the king of Calicut, whom they otherwise style the *Samorin* or Emperor. Many privileges were granted to them by the heathen rulers of those provinces; especially by Ceram Perumal, the Emperor of all Malabar, who founded the town of Calicut in A.D. 907 according to Scaliger (L. 5 *de Emend. temp.* p. 525) or in 825 according to Kircher (*Biblioth., Bremen, Fascicul. IV, col.* 5, p. 763). They were certainly invested with the honours of nobility and left to the government of their own Bishops in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. A copy of these privileges was diligently preserved by the Nestorian Bishops until the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar. It was lost, they say, through carelessness when Jacob the Bishop of Angamale delivered it to the Portuguese commissary at Cochin. Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, saw (A.D. 1599) a grant belonging to the Christians of Coulan, written in the Malayalim, Canarese, Bisnagur,† and Tamil languages. In the reign of Ceram Perumal, a certain Thomas, an Armenian, commonly called Thomas Cana (*La Croze*, pp. 46, 49) is reported to have arrived in Malabar. He is said to have had two wives; one at Cranganore, and the other at Angamale. By each of these

* '*Sera*, or more commonly *Chera*.—R. S.

† Vijayanagar. This may mean Telugu; but Canarese would be more appropriately called the Vijayanagar language, though it is true that at one period the Vijayanagar kingdom comprised large portions of the Telugu country. Still in A.D. 1599 the Vijayanagar sovereignty had ceased over the Canarese country.—R. S.

women he had children: but the offspring of the former were styled the nobility, who refused to contract marriages with the descendants of the latter woman or even to admit them to the communion of the Church or to acknowledge their priests; for they held the first to be his lawful wife, and the second only a concubine. From this Thomas, then, all the race of Malabar Christians trace their origin. About a century afterwards, that is A.D. 922,* two Bishops seem to have been despatched from Babylon to India, Sapores and Perozes, whom Gouvea everywhere calls *Mar Habro* and *Mar Prodh*. Being very kindly received by the ruler of Coulan, they erected churches and converted many to the faith of Christ. The same Gouvea writes that the above-mentioned Bishops founded in Coulan the Church of St. Thomas, 733 years before A.D. 1603, that is in A.D. 870. The Nestorian Malabar Christians venerated them as saints. In the Synod of Diampor (*Sess.* 8, *Dec.* 25) the Archbishop of Goa directed that the Churches dedicated to their names whether in the town of Coulan or elsewhere should be consecrated by the title of All Saints, and he interdicted veneration being paid to them until it was established that they were not Nestorians. In process of time, however, the Christians of Coulan and Cochin attained to some consequence, so that they set up a ruler for themselves. Baliartes was the first to reign in Malabar with the title of *King of the Christians of St. Thomas*, and after him, several of his descendants governed the Kingdom, till at last it passed from the Christian to the heathen kings of Diampor, by the law of adoption. The kings of Cochin were Malabar Christians, when the Portuguese first landed at those coasts."

The following relation presents a brief and interesting account of the state of the Syrian Church in India, and of the settlement of the Portuguese in that country in the fifteenth century. The original in Syriac, is published in

* Not 822, as La Croze erroneously places it. For if A.D. 1602 answer to the year 680 of the people of Coulan according to Gouvea, it is plain that this epoch commenced in the year 922 and not in 822 (*Assemanus*). [It really began A.D. 825.—R. S.]

Assemani Biblioth. Orient. (Vol. iii., pp. 90-599), with a Latin version, from which I have made this translation, as literally as practicable. The Manuscript used by Assemanus was written in the Grecian Period 1844, or A.D. 1533, and is marked No. v. of the Syriac Manuscripts of Andreas Scandar preserved in the Vatican Library. (See *Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. ii., p. 487.)

"Trusting in the assistance of God the Lord of all, we write the History of the blessed Indians, and of their arrival at the city of Gazarta Zebedœ.

"Now in the year 1801 of Alexander,* there came three faithful Christian men from the remote regions of India to Mar† Simeon, the Catholicos Patriarch of the East, that they might obtain Bishops for their provinces,—and conduct them thither. One of them, according to the will of the Creator, died on the way; the other two came in safety to the Mar Catholicos then residing in the city of Gazarta Zebedœ;‡ and they were received by him with exceeding joy. One of them was called George, and the other Joseph. Both were ordained priests by the Mar Catholicos, in the holy church of St. George in Gazarta, because they were sufficiently instructed in learning. They were afterwards sent to the convent of the holy and blessed Eugenius.§

* The Syrians compute time by the Grecian Period, in which the year 1801 corresponds to A.D. 1490.

† *Mar:* a Syriac title signifying Lord or Holy (applied generally to Bishops).

‡ Gazarta Zebedœ, is otherwise called Gazarta, that is the Island of *Cardoa*. By the Arabs it is denominated *Gezira*; by Ammianus *Bezabda*; by Jerome *Zabdicene*; and by Masius *Gazerta*. It is an island and city of the river Tigris, situated about 12 miles above Mosul, is nearly 10 miles in circumference, surrounded on all sides by walls. See the Dissertation on the Monophysites, under the article *Gazarta*, and *Assemanus, Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. i., p. 524.

§ In the History of the Nestorian Patriarchs, composed by Mares, in the life of Papas, Eugenius is said to have come to Nisibis from Egypt, to have resided in the mountain of Izlensi, to have prophesied concerning Arius and the Nicene Council, to have travelled over Cherda and Bizebda, and finally to have built a convent, in which he was buried. But in the Syriac Poem of Nedjesu Sobensis (vol. iii., p. 147) that convent is said to have been erected at Beth-Maare, a village subject to Nisibis (*Assemanus*).

Hence they brought two monks bearing the same name—for both had the designation of Raban Joseph—whom the Mar Catholicos consecrated Bishops in the church of St. George: the one he named Thomas,* and the other Joannes. He delivered to them excellent letters patent and other documents, signed and sealed with his ring, and dismissed them with prayers and benedictions, and directed them to proceed to the region of the Indies, together with the Indians. When these four had arrived there in safety, by the help of Christ our Lord, they were received with much gladness by those believers, who met them with joy, carrying in front a copy of the Gospels, a Cross, censers and tapers, and they brought them in, with great pomp and singing of Psalms and hymns. They consecrated altars and ordained many priests, because for a long time they had been in want of Bishops. Mar Joannes, the Bishop, remained in India; but Mar Thomas, his colleague, returning shortly to the Catholicos, carried for him gifts and offerings and a servant.

"It happened that before the return of the Bishop, Mar Thomas, to India, Mar Simeon, the Catholicos, died, and from this temporal and changing life he departed to that eternal and immortal state in the year 1813 of the Greeks (A.D. 1502), and he is buried in the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. May the Lord vouchsafe to grant rest to his soul in the celestial mansions of his kingdom: Amen! Elias, the Catholicos Patriarch, succeeded him, who also took three very excellent monks from the monastery of St. Eugenius. The first of these was Raban David, surnamed the Tall, whom he ordained Metropolitan, and called Mar Jaballaha. The second was named Raban George, whom he consecrated Bishop and directed to be called Mar Denha. The last was Mar Másud, whom he likewise created Bishop and called Mar Jacob. He ordained

* Ludovicus Gusmanus mentions this Thomas in his history of the Indian Expeditions (L. 2 c. 37), and also Athanasius Kircher in *Prodrom.*, p. 112 (*Assemanni*).

all these in the Monastery of St. John* of Egypt, own brother of Saint Achæus, in the territory of Gazarta Zebedœ, in the year of the Greeks 1814. He afterwards charged these very four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indies and to the Islands of the sea that are within Dabag, and Sin, and Masin,† and, by the assistance of Christ, their Lord, they all reached thither in safety, and found Mar John, the Bishop of the Indies, still alive, who exceedingly rejoiced, together with the other worthy believers who dwelt there, at the arrival of the Fathers.

"The next year, they sent letters to Mar Elias the Catholicos, who, however, did not receive them, being prevented by death; and he was buried in the church of Meschinta in the city of Mosul. Mar Simeon was chosen Catholicos in his place. But the letter written from India by the above-mentioned Fathers was after this manner:—

"'*The Epistle which the Fathers of India and Sin and Masin have despatched:—*

"'To another Simeon, and to the Papas of our days, to the Timothy of our age, to the Joshua the son of Nun of our times, and to the Jesu Jabas of our era,‡ to whom was

* Andreas Masius mentions this convent in the preface to the Anaphora of St. Basil. But Mares relates in the life of Bar Baseminus the Patriarch, that John and Achas were the disciples of the holy Eugenius, and that they converted a temple of idols at Bezabdi into a church, where they founded a convent to which was afterwards given the denomination of *Zarnucha* (see vol. ii., pages 537 and 540, concerning the account of John and Achas, in the Menology of the Chaldæans, and regarding the convent situated in the island of Zebedœ). (*Assemanus.*)

† Meaning the Islands that lie contiguous to India and China, where it has been found that Syrians had resided from early times, both by the history of that people, and the celebrated stone monument discovered in the region of China (concerning which see *Assemanus, Biblioth. Orient.* Vol. II. p. 255).

‡ The Patriarch Elias is here addressed by the names of his predecessors, who were noted among that people for the fame of their sanctity or doctrine. Simeon surnamed Bar-saba was a Martyr under Sapor King of the Persians; Papas was the predecessor of this Simeon; Timothy in the year 782 ruled over the Nestorians; Jesus the son of Nun, or Josue Bar-Nun, succeeded

given power in heaven and earth of feeding the flock of Christ, with the rod of Peter which has been transmitted to the times succeeding him;—O blessed people to whom this happened, namely, to possess such a Highpriest and Ruler!—to Mar Elias the Catholicos Patriarch of the East (the mother of the other portions of the world) whom may the Lord establish, comfort, raise, magnify and strengthen for the glory of the Christian religion and for the exaltation of the churches: Amen!—Thy insignificant servants and imperfect disciples, Mar Jaballaha, Mar Thomas, and Mar Jacob, and Denha the pilgrim, contemptible and weak, adore the footstool of thy spotless and holy feet, and beseech for their distress the aid of thy acceptable and efficacious prayers, and with an uplifted voice say in a supplicatory mood, Lord, bless us! Lord, bless us! Lord, bless us!—John also, the tabernacle of God and the treasure of his ministry, saint and chief of saints, Metropolitan Bishop of Atela; and all the holy Fathers, and excellent monks and sacred priests and immaculate Deacons, and chosen believers, and all the Christians dwelling there, may they receive our greeting in the Lord!

"'We now signify for thy sincere delight, that, assisted by divine power and the aid of thy acceptable prayers, we arrived safely and in good health at the blessed lands of the Indians, through the efficacy of heavenly grace. We return thanks to God the Lord of all, who confounds not those who put their trust in him. Here then we were received by the Christians with the greatest joy: and our Father the holy Mar John is still alive, and sends to you much greeting. There are here, about thirty thousand Christian families in communion of faith with us, and they beseech the Lord that he might preserve you in safety.

Timothy. Among others, three persons of the name of Jessijabas, are celebrated—namely, Arzunensis, Gadalensis and Adjabenus (regarding whom see *Assemanus, Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. iii. *passim*, and also Vol. ii., pp. 397-399, 415, 416, 420-433, and 434.

Now they have commenced to erect other churches, and they abound with plenty of all things, and they are gentle and peaceful. The Lord be praised! But the Churches of St. Thomas the Apostle are beginning to be frequented by certain Christians, who are employed in their restoration. They are distant also from the above-mentioned Christians by a journey of nearly 25 days, and they dwell by the sea, in a city called Meliapor,* in the province of Silan, which is one of the provinces of India. For the regions of the Indies are many and powerful; and they occupy a journey of six months, and each kingdom has its own name. Our region also, in which the Christians dwell, is called Malabar, and it has about twenty cities, of which three are celebrated and strong—Carangol, Palor, and Colom,† and others that lie close to these. In all these, likewise, Christians dwell and churches have been constructed; and near at hand lies the great and opulent city Calicut which the idolatrous infidels occupy.

"'This also learn ye, our Fathers; namely, that powerful ships have been sent to these lands of the Indies from the West by the King of the Christians, who are our brethren, the Franks.‡ The voyage lasted a whole year; at first, steering towards the south, they sailed by Chus, that is Ethiopia; whence they came to the countries of the Indies; and having purchased pepper and other commodities, they returned to their people. The way being thus opened and well explored, the above-mentioned King (whom may the Lord preserve in safety) despatched six other large vessels, in which having crossed the sea in 6 months, they landed at the city of Calicut,§ being most

* This evidently points to Madras. The year was 1504. But why Silan?—R. S.

† Cranganore, Quilon.

‡ Meaning the Portuguese, as is evident from the accounts below. By the Eastern nations all Europeans are designated by the name of Franks.

§ This must refer to the fleet of Vasco da Gama, A.D. 1498 or of Cabral, 1500.—R. S.

skilled in the naval art. A great many Ishmaelites* inhabit Calicut, who, roused by a natural hatred against the Christians, began to accuse them to the heathen King, saying that those men had come from the west, and that the city and the region had exceedingly pleased them; wherefore they would return very shortly to their King and bring large forces in ships, whence war and the destruction of the Kingdom would ensue.

"'The infidel king believed the words of the Ishmaelites, and following their advice, he rushed like a foolish person and slew all the above-mentioned Franks whom he found in the city,—70 men, and 5 excellent priests who attended them; for they were not accustomed to undertake a journey or proceed anywhere without priests. The rest who were in the ships, having heaved anchors, departed with extreme sorrow and bitter tears, and came to us Christians in the city of Cocen,† as being near at hand. This place likewise has an infidel King, who, seeing them in deep commotion and great distress, summoned them to him, comforted them, and swore that he would never forsake them. But when the wicked King who had slain their companions became aware of this, he burned with rage, and having collected an immense army, he attacked them. Wherefore the Franks were compelled, together with the King to whom they had fled, to betake themselves to the most fortified castle on that sea coast, where they remained for some days. Then at length Christ compassionated them; a great many ships from the country of those Franks were driven hither, and engaged the King of Calicut in a very grievous war; and applying their engines they cast at him large stones, and killed many men from the army of the wicked King, and drove him and his forces from the sea coast. Thence the Franks departed to the city of Cocen, and built there a

* By the term Ishmaelites the Arabs are understood: the same epithet is generally applied to that people by Armenian historians.

† Cochin. The Portuguese built a factory here in A.D. 1500. Albuquerque landed in 1503. The attack by the Zamorin of Calicut was in 1504.—R. S.

large fort, and strengthened it with a garrison of 300 warlike soldiers of their own nation, of whom some worked the engines, and others were musketeers. There were placed nearly 50 immense engines, and about 100 small ones besides muskets. Meanwhile, the King, their enemy (may his memory perish!), renewed the war. But afterwards engaging in battle, he was conquered through the might of Christ, 3,000 of his men being lost, whom the engines shattered; and he fled to his own city, Calicut. The Franks, therefore, followed him by sea,—for his city is washed by the sea,—they seized him and took and destroyed his ships, and killed about 100 Ishmaelites, and the Captains of the vessels in which they were found. They destroyed the city also with their engines.*

"'Having finished the war, the commander of the above-mentioned Franks came to another city, called Cananor, in the same region of Malabar, to another infidel King, and demanded of him a place in his city where they might freely transact their business, and the men of their nation might reside in future years, landing henceforward at that place. He gave them a spot, and a spacious house, received them with great joy and treated them very kindly. The Christian commander, in return, offered to the King garments embroidered with gold, and stuffs of purple colour. Afterwards having purchased 4,000 tagaras of pepper, he departed to his own country. About 20 men of their nation reside in the city of Cananor. Proceeding to them, after we had arrived from the town Hormizda,† at Cananor, the city of the Indians, we signified to them that we were Christians, and disclosed our condition and rank, and were welcomed by them with extreme gladness. They presented to us splendid robes, and 20 drachms of gold, and praised our journey for the sake of Christ beyond its desert. We remained among them 2½ months, and they directed that, on a fixed day, we should perform the sacred

* This would be Soarez's attack in A.D. 1504.—R. S.

† The town Hormus, or Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. It is called Hermes by Haithon, *Hist. Orient.*, c. vi.

mysteries, that is, celebrate the sacrifice. And they have fixed a place convenient for performing prayer, that is, an Oratory: their priests daily perform and offer the holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite. Wherefore on the Lord's day, Nosardel,* after their priest had celebrated, we also were admitted and performed the mystery: and it greatly pleased their sight. Setting out thence we came to our Christians, who are distant 8 days' journey from that place. The number of the above-mentioned Franks is reckoned about 400 men; and the terror and fear of them fell upon all the infidels and Ishmaelites of those regions. But the country of the Franks is called Portugal, one of the kingdoms of the Franks; and their king is named Emmanuel.† We beseech Emmanuel that he might preserve him.

"'Blame us not, brethren, that we have lengthened out this Epistle, for we wished and desired to signify these things to your excellence. And may the Lord be with us all! Amen!

"'The Epistle was written, and sent from the country of India in the year of the Greeks 1815 (A.D. 1504). Glory and honour and thanksgiving and worship be unto God, now and for ever, and for age of ages! Amen!

"'Finished; praise be to our Lord, and may his mercies be upon us for ages!'"

* The Lord's day, *Nosardel*, is the first Sunday in summer, as the Chaldæans call it, and the seventh after Pentecost, concerning which see the *Service of the Chaldæans*, *Assemanus*, *Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. I., p. 581.

† King Emmanuel, surnamed the Great, reigned in Portugal from A.D. 1495 to 1521.

With reference to the remark in this interesting paper regarding the murder of St. Thomas by a Brahmin at Maliapur, it seems to be more correctly held that King Gondafares, of whom the Woking Museum possesses an inscription, put the Apostle to death.—Ed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES ACT OF 1894.

THE following Memorial was submitted by the Council of the East India Association to the Right Honourable Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India on the 27th February, 1895:

"The humble Memorial of the Council of the East India Association sheweth:—

1. That your Memorialists, in continuation of their memorial dated 14th June last (copy annexed) in which the unfairness of exempting cotton goods from the tariff was pointed out, desire to express their satisfaction at the passing of the Indian Cotton Duties Act of 1894 which substantially grants the relief prayed for.

2. That your Memorialists nevertheless are much disappointed to learn that under the said Act an excise duty has been imposed on yarns made in Indian Mills of any count above 20's. This provision, though apparently logical, appears to them to be specially objectionable for several reasons. Their first and principal objection is that an excise duty *which can only be levied in British India* would act as a measure of protection to mills set up in Native States, where it could not be imposed without an interference by the British Government which would be in the highest degree impolitic. There is, moreover, so little competition between Lancashire and India in this class of goods, that it is impossible to justify a measure which must cause great vexation and annoyance.

3. That in the opinion of your Memoralists this duty has been imposed neither in the interest of the Indian taxpayers nor in the interest of British manufacturers generally; but solely in the interest of *one* class. Such an excise, your memorialists submit, is actually a more serious menace to the industrial development and financial resources of India, than the exemption of cotton goods from import duty. Those resources depend very largely on the vigorous development of industrial and manufacturing enterprises, which best afford employment to the people of India and open up new sources of wealth. But it is obvious that if an excise can be imposed on *one* Indian industry at the dictation of competing manufacturers in England there is nothing to prevent it being levied on almost all indigenous industries, since the bulk of them clearly compete with British manufactures. The not improbable result of such a policy would be to drive such industries into Native States.

4. Your Memorialists earnestly disclaim the intention of recommending anything in the nature of a protective duty, and would not object to the countervailing excise on Indian manufactures if it could be enforced without such grave injustice and harassment to the inhabitants of British India. But they venture to reiterate their argument that the import duty on cotton goods is plainly and admittedly levied as the only possible means of raising a revenue sufficient to save the country from grave financial embarrassment.

5. In conclusion they beg your most serious attention to paragraphs 15, 16, and 17 of their previous Memorial, feeling convinced, as they do, that

nothing could be more detrimental to our rule in India than a widespread belief that the country is not governed with a single eye to its own best interests."

LECTURE ON "INDIA IN 1895," AND DISCUSSION THEREON.

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on the 6th March at the Westminster Town Hall at 3.30 p.m. to hear a paper read by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Chairman of the Council of the Association, on "India in 1895," his Grace the Duke of Devonshire in the Chair.

Amongst those present at the meeting were: General Lord Roberts, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., V.C., Field Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., H. E. the Brazilian Minister, Hon. T. H. Whitehead, Lieut.-General Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Sir Henry and Lady Cunningham, Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Davies, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.I.E., Sir W. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., Sir James Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Sir Richard Paget, Bart., M.P., Sir H. E. Stokes, General I. C. Baillie, Deputy Surgeon-General W. Farquhar, M.D., General Beresford Lovett, C.B., R.E., General J. F. Macandrew, General M'Leod Innes, Deputy Surgeon-General J. C. Penny, M.D., Deputy Surgeon-General James Ross, Surgeon-General E. M. Sinclair, Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrell, Major General F. M. Birch, Major General Trevor, Colonel and Mrs. Benson, Colonel P. W. Bannerman, Colonel and Mrs. Bennett, Colonel C. M. Erskine, Colonel Barrington Foote, Colonel G. L. Fraser, Col. Greig, Colonel W. Hughes Hallett, Surg. Lt. Col. J. Ince, M.D., Colonel Lockwood, M.P., and Mrs. Lockwood, Colonel R. P. Nisbet, C.I.E., Col. E. Ommaney, Colonel Pretyman, Mr. A. B. Mitford, C.B., M.P., Mr. Fleetwood Wood, C.B., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Mr. Syed Sharfaddin Ahmed, Mr. S. W. Ahmed, Monsieur and Madame Blumenthal, Mr. and Mrs. Scarlett Campbell, Mr. A. H. Campbell, Mr. Clement S. Colvin, Sirdar Gundit Singh, Mr. and Mrs. Halsey, Mrs. Leitner, Nawab Niazuddin Khan Bahadoor, Mr. Herbert Praed, Mr. and Mrs. Lesley Probyn, Mr. J. Barr Robertson, Mr. Edward Sassoon, Mr. Seton Karr, M.P., Lady Griffin, Mrs. Glass, Mrs. Bryce, Miss Garford, Mr. and Mrs. John Savile-Lumley, Mrs. Pierrepont, the Honble. Schomberg Macdonell.

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE opened the proceedings with the following remarks:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

"I believe that my duties as Chairman on this occasion will, at all events at this stage of the proceedings, be properly limited to introducing to you Sir Lepel Griffin, who is about to read a paper on Indian subjects.

"Sir Lepel Griffin is well known to all of you as an Indian Civilian of great experience and ability, and I am sure that the paper which, as Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, he is about to read to you, will receive the most careful attention on your part. I have only received a very brief summary of it, but as far as I can judge, he intends to draw your attention to some questions of the most pressing importance connected with Indian Government and Indian politics.

"It would be impossible to deal fully with all these questions within the limits of a single lecture, but his paper will, I doubt not, serve as a fitting

and appropriate basis for others which will, on subsequent occasions, be read by other members of the Association, and papers which will, perhaps, deal in a more detailed and exhaustive manner, with some questions to which he proposes to draw your attention to-day.

"I confess I look with some interest and curiosity to the manner in which Sir Lepel Griffin condenses to-day, as he proposes to do, subjects of such varied interest. He is to consider the effect on India and on Indian policy, of a redistribution of political and commercial power, as the result of the war between China and Japan. He will naturally have something to say about questions of finance; currency and taxation occupying the attention of the Government of India. Also the progress which has been made and the limits within which further progress may be made, in the development of local self-government. The Opium Question, which has excited so much attention on the part of a large section of our community at home. He will also direct your attention to the question of the employment of Natives in the Civil Service, to the influence of the Indian Native Press and above all, a subject which will interest many present in the highest degree, the question of the external and internal defence of India.

"With such a varied and interesting programme before you, I will not take up any more of your time, but simply ask Sir Lepel Griffin to read the paper which he has prepared."

Sir Lepel Griffin then read the paper on "India in 1895," which is printed in full at the beginning of this Review.

At the conclusion of the lecture, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire said:

"Like many others, I doubt not, who are present this evening, I have another engagement which will not permit my remaining here long, and therefore I do not intend, on this occasion, to trespass at any length on your time. But before I invite any gentleman present to discuss any questions which have been referred to by Sir Lepel Griffin, I wish to express the unanimous opinion of this meeting by congratulating Sir Lepel Griffin on the manner in which he has acquitted himself. Although the subjects to which he has referred have been numerous and although some of them have been of great importance and difficulty and although he has not attempted to enter into any minute detail, there is not one on which he has not made some observation which will stimulate thought and lead to further examination. I do not intend to trespass at any length on your time this evening, and it is so long since I had occasion to take any very direct part in questions of Indian administration or policy that I feel myself very little qualified to enter into a discussion of the questions which Sir Lepel Griffin has referred to. I would merely indicate my opinion of what I consider it should be the object of the Association to promote.

The expectations which were formed by those who were responsible for the Government of India nearly 40 years ago, have not been to their full extent realized. Experience has proved that the great change which took place in the system of administration has not induced Parliament to give any very continuous, thorough, or consistent attention to questions of Indian policy and administration. That, Sir Lepel Griffin's remarks may lead us to think, is not a matter of regret. He may be right in thinking

that it is not by means of representative institutions, either here or in India, that India is to be most wisely governed; but from time to time events do occur which tend to call public attention in this country to some subjects of pressing Indian importance and to direct political action in that country. Such a question arose in 1879-80, when questions of Frontier policy became the subject of sharp political conflict between the two great Parties of England.

Again, such a question as the Opium Revenue has stirred the moral feeling of a large section.

The fiscal policy of India and financial necessities have led to the adoption of measures which not only affect a certain number of votes, but which, in the opinion of people in Lancashire, affect in an almost vital degree, one of our national industries. We can hardly expect that when such questions as these arise they can be discussed with perfect impartiality from an Indian point of view. Our financial interests and necessities are so close to us, while India, with all the facilities of improved communication, is still so far off that it would be unreasonable to expect that, when these questions cross our path from time to time, they will be discussed here entirely from an Indian point of view. It has been pointed out, however, by Sir Lepel Griffin that recent debates in Parliament do show that Parliament is disposed to take a just and generous, though not on all occasions a thoroughly instructed view.

In these circumstances, seeing that it is impossible to induce Parliament or public opinion to give a constant, thorough and consistent attention to questions of Indian interest, and that, nevertheless, such questions have from time to time to be dealt with here, it is assuredly most important that public opinion in England should be instructed by those who were most intimately acquainted with the practical working of Indian administration.

There exists and there must exist, a large amount of material which ought to enable the people of this country to form a fairly impartial and instructed view. We have a large number of servants of the Crown who have served the State both in a civil and military capacity. We have also men among us who have visited India and without acquiring Indian feelings and prejudices. There are also a large number of men who have, through commercial or industrial pursuits, obtained a large knowledge of Indian affairs. These, consisting in general of a highly educated and trained class of men, ought to be able to exercise a beneficial influence on public opinion in England if that influence can only be properly organized. It is the province of this Association to organize that opinion, and it is an extremely useful and praiseworthy undertaking.

It is unnecessary to take up more of your time in calling attention to this subject, so I will merely conclude by thanking Sir Lepel Griffin on your behalf and my own for the most interesting and able address which he has given us this evening."

Lord Roberts in proposing a vote of thanks to the Duke of Devonshire for presiding at the meeting said:—

My Lord Duke, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must express my great pleasure at the subject of the address we have had and the opinions which Sir Lepel Griffin has expressed. I would

not for a moment venture to express any opinion on such subjects as taxation, bimetallism, etc. But with regard to Opium, I can testify to its innocuous effect upon the people of India. Sir Lepel Griffin has informed you that as a magistrate and a judge he has never punished a man who had been convicted of any crime committed under the influence of opium. I never remember seeing a man in India the worse for opium, and I have seen hundreds and thousands of soldiers in hospital in India and I never remember seeing one man there on account of opium.

Now I will say a few words with regard to Frontier defence, and I would preface my remarks by saying that only the most ordinary precautions have been taken; the expense has been trifling in comparison with the object gained. Only a few millions have been spent, but with roads, railways, and a few fortifications, with a serviceable army, a friendly Afghanistan under a loyal Amir (whose life I trust may long be spared), with a united and contented population under the guidance of enlightened rulers, I see no reason to fear our being able to defend India and keep it.

Although some of the audience wish to say a few words, I invite you now to thank the Duke of Devonshire for so kindly presiding. We are, indeed, much indebted to his Grace for coming here and it shows the interest which he takes in India, and which, from the words he has addressed to you to-day, he will always continue to take.

Sir Lepel Griffin said:—I wish to add to Lord Roberts' vote of thanks to the Duke of Devonshire one or two words to express, on behalf of the East India Association, our special acknowledgments not only for his presiding here to-day, but also for having recently become a Vice-president of the Association.

I wish, ladies and gentlemen, to invite you to follow so excellent an example. Many of you here are wealthy and our poor subscription would be no burden upon you, while your attention to-day has proved in the most gratifying manner that your interest in India is sincere and that you would be willing to assist those who are devoted to her interests. This Association is altogether free from Party bias or aims, so I can confidently appeal to you all, and we shall welcome ladies quite as eagerly as men to join our Association and increase our power for good.

Mr. M. M. Bhownaggree then addressed the meeting as follows:

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I express my admiration of the way in which Sir Lepel Griffin has treated many of the subjects embraced in his excellent address, and owing especially to certain attempts at disturbance made in the course of the evening by a few young persons, I, as one who himself comes from India, consider it my duty to say with what satisfaction I listened to most of the opinions expressed by Sir Lepel. It is impossible in the time allowed to each speaker to dwell at any length upon them, but I should like to state as briefly as I can my views with regard to the more important topics treated in the address. I cordially unite with Sir Lepel in praising the action of Mr. Fowler with regard to the imposition of duty on Cotton manufactures, and also in not burthening India with the expenses of the Opium Commission. But let it not be forgotten that it was the government of Mr. Fowler's party that yielded to a factious cry for a Commission on Opium, and excepted Cotton manufac-

tures for more than twelve months when every other article of import was subjected to a duty necessitated by the financial condition of India. I point to this fact to show that it is not only to one political party that India should look for justice, and now that it is becoming generally recognised that on main questions India is to be governed from Westminster, as has been made patent more recently by Sir George White's statement that in spite of his own views to the contrary he had to take the mandate of Parliament in submitting to the Council in Calcutta the Contagious Diseases Bill, let the people of India realize that their allegiance is due to both the great political parties in the State. Then with regard to representative Government in India, I agree with the lecturer in thinking that it is not possible. I do not for one moment say that there are not capable individuals fit to exercise the privileges of such a system, but the 280 millions of India's inhabitants are so utterly divided and subdivided in their instincts and interests, that it would be dangerous to attempt government by representation in that country. It is in the hands of the people themselves to fit themselves for such a system by sinking race feeling and distinctions of caste, and when that time comes no power on earth can withhold this privilege. As regards simultaneous examinations, it would be a questionable boon to grant it. Passing examinations is not the only requirement for the exercise of administrative functions. It is the association and home training of the youth of England that fit them for such work, and so long as it is for the good of India that she should be ruled by England so long the admission to the Civil Service could not be made so elastic as to allow of a preponderating number of natives getting into it. In this matter, too, the divisions among the people must be taken seriously into account.

As to the blackmailing, of which journalism is made an instrument by certain low writers, I can bear personal testimony. It was my privilege some years ago to prosecute a few of these men and get them convicted by the High Court at Bombay. There are many capable journalists in India, but still the freedom of the press is much abused by a large portion of ignorant and pedantic writers who easily turn it into licence. I think Sir Lepel Griffin is entitled to the cordial thanks of the sound and moderate thinkers among the people of India for his excellent address."

Mr. Barr Robertson and Mr. Edward Sassoon addressed the meeting on the question of the ratio which it might be convenient to adopt if bimetallism were accepted. The meeting then separated.

Mr. Bhownaggree desires to add the following note:

"If I had had time left for further remarks when I spoke at the meeting, I should have added that I took exception to the remarks of Sir Lepel Griffin about the Parsees in so far as they would appear to assume that that community has any but the most deep feelings of loyalty towards the British Government. The leaders of the Parsee community as well as the bulk of it have never tired of acknowledging the good that Government has done to India. No doubt a few individuals are now and then found to express themselves in a different tone, which gives good reason for such remarks as those of Sir Lepel, but it is unfair to generalise from this and attribute this tone to the Parsees as a body. The action of such individuals and writers is held in detestation by the community, and it is no secret that the Parsees consider their own welfare as well as that of the people of India generally to be bound up with the permanence of British rule in the country."

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, REPORTS AND NEWS.

CENTRAL ASIAN NOTES.

THE following is from the Tiflis journal, *Kavkaz*:

"*Navigation of Steamships upon the Amu-Daria.*—The *Turkestanskaia Viedomosti* gives the following curious details regarding the navigation of the war steamer 'Tsar' on the upper Amu-Daria, above Karki, and other ships upon this Central Asiatic river.

"In the years 1858-9, a small detachment of the Aral flotilla under the flag of A. J. Boutakoff, appeared in the delta of the Amu-Daria to co-operate with the Mission to Khiva of Colonel of the General Staff Ignatieff. In 1873, a detachment of the flotilla again came to the delta of the Amu-Daria, sharing in the Khivan campaign. In 1874, the steamer 'Peroffski,' (Captain-lieutenant Brinkhoff) penetrated the river up to Petro-Alexandrovsk. Then in 1878, the steamer 'Samarkand' under M. Brinkhoff went as far as Khoja-Saleh, and returned thence, solely in obedience to orders, bringing the information that 'the river Amu-Daria even in its upper waters presented no difficulties for navigation.' In the year 1879, Captain-lieutenant Zuboff, who was afterwards mortally wounded by a Turcoman bullet, effected a survey of the navigable qualities of the Amu. He ascended as far as Kesgen-Tugai, lying a little below the mouth of the Kokcha-Daria and a place three versts below the ruined fortification of Faizabad, which marks the limit of the navigable parts of the river. In the year 1883, the Aral flotilla, under the administration of M. G. Cheriaieff, was abolished. In 1884, some materials for the construction of a bridge at Charjui had to be procured from Kazalinska on the Amu-Daria. For this purpose the steamer 'Tashkend' and the sailing barge 'No. 8' were equipped on the Sir-Daria, under Captain of the 2nd rank Brinkhoff. Proceeding at the beginning of November, into the Aral Sea, these vessels were speedily compelled to return to the Sir-Daria, as the wretched little river steamer could scarcely endure the five days' storm and its complete unsuitability for sea navigation was fully proved. In the following autumn these materials were transported in barge 'No. 8' under the same commander.

"In 1887, a new Amu-Daria flotilla was constituted. The navigation of its vessels upon the river did not go higher, in 1894, than Karki.

"During the last autumn it was decided to send a steamer to the extreme limit of the navigable portion of the river. This honour fell to the share of the steamer 'Tsar,' which, under the commander of the flotilla, retired Rear-admiral Baturin, sailed at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 17th September from Karki with a barge in tow, and on the 21st of the same month

arrived at Kilif. The distance between Kilif and Karki is 100 versts (about 67 miles). The length of the voyage is quite clear. The channel above Karki was not known, either to the ship's officers or to the pilot of the steamer, and they stopped several times at local points for their inspection.

"Reporting on this voyage, Rear-admiral Baturin says: 'In the genuine channel from Karki to Kilif, we did not encounter a less depth than 4½ feet; in the whole expanse between Kilif and Karki the channel is incomparably broader than between Karki and Charjui, so that the Amu-Daria above Karki is more suitable for navigation than below it. No specially strong current which the steamer with the barge in tow could not overcome, was encountered. The channel winds so much, however, that the voyage is more than doubled. On the morning of the 27th September the steamer arrived at the mouth of the Surkhan (Surkh-ab?). In this portion of the river the 'Tsar' went almost uninterruptedly, not meeting in the channel a depth of less than four feet. After filling up here with stores of naphtha and leaving the barge, the steamer went on. On the 30th September it passed the mouth of the Kafir-nihang, and on the 2nd October, going up nearly to the ruins of the Faizabad fortifications (20 versts below Sarai), it found a cataract with a depth of less than three feet and turned back.

"Thus the voyage of the steamer 'Tsar' fully confirmed the conclusion reached by the late Captain-lieutenant Zuboff, 15 years ago." . . .

"*Opening of Town Stations in the Trans-Caspian Territory.*—The Ministry of Road-communications and Finance has decided that Town-stations shall shortly be opened in Merv and Askabad. These stations, like those already existing in Bokhara, will be placed under the department of the Vladikavkaz Railway and will transport and deliver merchandise for commercial centres which are distant from the Trans-Caspian Railway. From Askabad to Meshed or Sabzvar will be fixed a payment not exceeding 50 kopecks" (about 1s.) "per pood" (40 lb.), "from Askabad to Bujnurt 40 kopecks per pood, to Shirwan 30 kopecks per pood, and from Merv to Sarakhs or *vice versâ*, 40 kopecks per pood." . . .

"*Emigration of Koreans to the Russian Frontier.*—Our trusted correspondent in Korean affairs, M. Weber, reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the never-ceasing stream of Korean emigrants to Russia is now appearing in especial strength. Almost daily hundreds of Koreans present themselves at our diplomatic mission asking for passports to cross the Russian frontier, but still greater numbers of them cross secretly over into Russian territory, in every way evading contact with the Korean guards.*

"At present, in the southern Ussuri country, near the former Korean settlements of Tiznikh, Gangtchikh, and Sedim, there are formed about twenty new Korean villages. Generally," remarks M. Weber, "if it were

* No mention is made of the Japanese Army Corps of observation, 5,000 men strong, which is watching the Russo-Korean frontier, or rather the vast uninhabited belt which is separating the two countries.—Ed.

not for the strong discouragement of the Russian Administration, in the course of a few years almost all the 9,000,000 inhabitants of Korea would pass into Russian territory."* . . .

"*Railway Extensions.* — The Railway survey under the general superintendence of Engineer of Road-communications, M. Sakhanski, for the continuance of the Trans-Caspian Railway from Samarkand to Ferghana and Taskhend, according to the *Turkestanskaia Viedomosti*, was completed in the middle of November. It was projected to carry the railway viâ Khavast (in the southern part of the 'Hungry Steppe') and thence to Ferghana and Andijan through Khodjend, Khokand and Marghilan. For the branch to Tashkend, two routes were proposed: one, from Khavast directly to the north of the Hungry Steppe to Chinaz and thence to Tashkend; another, from Khodjend to Begovata, thence on the right bank of the Sir-Daria to Tashkend. Each direction has its own advantages. By the first route, one bridge would be required at Chinaz over the Sir-Daria, and by the second, three; over the Sir-Daria at Begovata, over the Angren and over the Chirchik."

The following item of news, also taken from the *Kavkaz*, may be commended to the notice of our English merchants, and others whom it may concern, as an indication of the enlightened interest taken in Oriental languages by our friends, the Russians:

"For facilitating the commercial intercourse of the Russian Merchants' Corporation with Turkey, Persia, New Bokhara, and other Eastern States, the Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has raised the question of establishing special schools for the preparation of sworn interpreters at our Consulates and of the opening in the large towns at the universities of evening courses of Eastern languages for daily scholars according to the system of the Moscow courses at the Lazareff Institute." . . .

"*Russo-Native School in Bokhara.*—According to the *Turkestanskaia Viedomosti* this school was opened agreeably to the wish and at the expense of the Bokharian Emir on the 6th-18th December, the very solemn name-day of the Emperor. The school is intended for the instruction of native children in the Russian language, arithmetic and geography. It already has thirteen Mussulman and seventeen Jewish pupils. A teacher of the 2nd Tashkend Russo-Native school, Galiaskar Kalinin, a Mussulman who has finished his course in the Turkestan Teachers' Seminary, has been appointed as teacher of this school by the Governor of the Turkestan District."

THE NATIVE STATES AND THE PARAMOUNT POWER IN INDIA.—HYDERABAD.

A REPLY TO MR. C. E. BIDDULPH.

MAY I offer a few remarks on Mr. Biddulph's article in the October, 1894, issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*?

* This singular statement forestalls a future census of Korea, and does not mention where the Russian diplomatic mission is stationed at which the Koreans are applying daily in hundreds.—ED.

Mr. Biddulph bases his opinions upon certain statements which he puts forward as facts, and he argues against the giving of any concessions to native Princes on the ground that (except a few Rajput States) they never were independent and that they owe their very existence to the British. He enumerates several states and amongst them Hyderabad, and my chief object here is to show that in this instance his facts are all wrong.

Before treating of the present dynasty (which dates from 1723 and not 1748, as stated by Mr. Biddulph) it will be as well to glance at the state of the Deccan and Southern India from the earliest time of the Mahomedan conquest. Not until the end of the 13th century did the Mahomedans venture south of the Vindhya mountains. They found rich and independent Hindu kingdoms, at Deogiri, Warangal, in Mysore and in Madura. Between 1290 and 1323 several raids were made but no place was permanently occupied by a governor of the Delhi Sultan except at Deogiri or Dowlatabad. In 1343 the Mahomedan generals in the Deccan revolted, expelled the Governor and beat the Imperial troops sent against them. The result was the foundation of the Bahmanee dynasty which ruled over the whole of the Deccan from the Kristna to the Vindhyas; its capital was first at Gulburga and afterwards at Bieder. Almost simultaneously with this great Mahomedan kingdom arose the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which was recognised as the suzerain Hindu power from the Kristna to Cape Comorin. The great Mahomedan kingdom, comprising a larger area than Great Britain, lasted nearly 150 years, when it was divided into the five kingdoms of Bijapur, Bieder, Hyderabad, Ahmadnagar and Burhanpur. The two latter were soon amalgamated, and as Bieder consisted of little more than the private estates of the last representatives of the Bahmanee house, the three principal kingdoms were Hyderabad, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. In the middle of the 16th century, these three kingdoms combined and crushed the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. A large portion of the Hindu territory was seized by Hyderabad and Bijapur, and the conquests of the latter extended in the course of time as far south as Tanjore. All this time these kingdoms were absolutely independent. No Delhi Sultan ventured to interfere with them and they treated on equal terms with foreign states like Persia. Not until the fall of Ahmadnagar and the death of the heroic Queen Chand in 1595 did the Moguls get a footing in the Deccan by the conquest of the Nizam Shahi kings. Even then the remaining kingdoms of Hyderabad and Bijapur continued perfectly independent for 50 years longer. They waged wars, from time to time, with each other or with the Imperial armies. It was not until Aurungzebe ascended the throne, in the middle of the 17th century, that any attempt was made on their independence; and then all that was done was to place a Resident at the Court of each Prince and to exact a tribute, which was often not paid. Things went on thus, till at the close of the 17th century Aurungzebe started on his 20 years' campaign to crush the Mahomedan kingdoms, and after them the Mahrattas. The first task he certainly accomplished, and Governors or Subahdars were placed in each of the old royal capitals. For upwards of thirty years these lieutenants of the Emperor ruled the Deccan, when Chin Kulich Khan, or

as he is better known to history, Asaf Jah Nizam ul Mulk, who was then only Subahdar of Malwa, marched into the Deccan, conquered the Imperial forces sent against him, chose Hyderabad as his capital and declared himself independent. His independence was recognised by the Emperor, Mahomed Shah, simply because he could not help himself. It is, therefore, absurd to speak of Asaf Jah as a governor appointed by the Emperor, and ridiculous, as you have rightly pointed out, to speak of him as a Nazim or manager. When Asaf Jah died in 1748, his kingdom descended to his son, again not by the Emperor's grace but because he was powerless to interfere. Asaf Jah's kingdom was acquired quite as much by conquest as those of Timour or Baber. Only during the brief interval, therefore, of little more than 30 years after the capture by Aurungzebe of Golconda were the Deccan provinces ruled by Delhi Governors; and with Asaf Jah a return was made to the old tradition of an independent kingdom with sovereign rights, an autonomous state which merely recognised the suzerain authority of the Emperor, and that in name only. In fact the Nizams of Hyderabad were infinitely more independent than are any of the German kingdoms.

Such was the condition of the Hyderabad State when the British were first brought into connexion with its ruler, and in all our dealings with the Nizam we have treated him as a sovereign and independent prince. Had he been what Mr. Biddulph is pleased to call a *Nazim* of the Emperor, we should have considered it necessary to get the latter's ratification to any treaties we entered into; but this we have never done. No doubt we have crammed some treaties as it were down his throat: "No obligation, only you must;" notably the one regarding the rendition of the Berars, but on every occasion care has been taken to give the bitter pill a little extra gilding in the shape of honour and respect. It is rather late in the day now to deprecate the showing of such attention and respect on the ground that he is not entitled to them.

Mr. Biddulph in wishing to pose as an Imperialist, seems to think that a policy of concessions to the Native Princes would be a "little Englander" policy, would be taken as a sign of weakness, and would tend to lower the prestige of the British Crown. His idea of an Empire seems to be analogous to what Tacitus said, "They created a desert and called it Peace." It seems to me that the dignity and majesty of the Empress of India would be infinitely raised if her authority were recognised and her mandates obeyed by a number of powerful Princes. The one who rules Kings surely takes higher rank than the one who governs slaves! It is rather Mr. Biddulph who is the little Englander with his narrow policy of levelling down, which only tends to swell the ranks of the discontented. By levelling up we should gain a body of supporters which would be our best bulwark against the thinly-veiled sedition preached by the demagogues. Why should we not have an Imperial council of the Princes of India? Why should we refrain from making use of the splendid material that is available, and leave the Princes and nobility of India to spend their lives in idleness and neglect? This indeed would be the best way of giving them an incentive for the improvement of themselves and the better

government of their states. Self-interest will insure their loyalty when they see that any change can only be for the worse. It is when the reverse is the case that men become dissatisfied and disloyal.

I have confined my reply merely to the Hyderabad State, but many of my arguments apply equally to the other states mentioned by Mr. Biddulph. On behalf of these I have no doubt someone else will take up the cudgels.

Hyderabad, Deccan. J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN GENEVA.

During the first quarter of 1895, several conferences regarding Oriental Studies have been held in Geneva. M. L. Gautier, Professor of Hebrew in the Free School of Theology at Lausanne, gave an account of his recent visit to Palestine. M. P. Guieysse, Joint-Director of the School of Higher Studies at Paris, spoke at two sittings on children and students, and on the duties of woman in Ancient Egyptian social life. M. P. Regnaud, Professor of Sanskrit in the Faculty of Letters at Lyons, discussed the origin and chief characteristics of the Religion of the Indo-European races. M. M. van Berchem presented to the Society of History and Archæology the first *fasciculus* of materials for forming a *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, which he is publishing in the "Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française," of Cairo.

At the University, M. P. Oltramare has succeeded to the chair of the History of Religion, vacated by the retirement of Prof. Stroehlin. Professor Montet's lectures on the language and literature of Arabia (which were announced in our last number (p. 225), were attended by 19 students,—a number which fully justifies the erection of this new chair. M. Tony André, Licenciate in Theology, who, in the last October number of this Review, gave an account of the Geneva Oriental Congress, will soon, in his capacity as a *Privat Docent*, begin a course of lectures as an introduction to the study of the Talmud.

On the 3rd February, there occurred at Geneva the death of a Swiss gentleman who, without himself being precisely an Orientalist, took a lively interest in Oriental matters and was thoroughly conversant with Egyptian affairs. I mean M. John Ninet, who held a position of some importance under Arabi Pasha (1881-82), whose cause he embraced and served. Banished from Egypt at the close of that outbreak, M. Ninet, whom the author of these lines had the honour of knowing, remained ever constantly attached to the memory of Arabi. The body of this friend of the *Fellahin* was cremated at Zurich.

Two interesting *Theses* or Dissertations have been presented to the Theological faculty of the University of Geneva. The first, styled *The Thora* and written by M. Gampert for his degree as Bachelor, is an essay, on the lines of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, on the development of the religion of Israel, from its beginnings to the promulgation of the sacerdotal code. The second—for the degree of Licenciate—is by M. Tony André,—a goodly volume of 367 pages 8vo., on the Prophet *Aggæus* [Haggai], consisting of an Introduction and a Commentary:—it is an excellent study of the *text*, which will henceforth be indispensable to all who wish to study this book of the Old Testament. E. MONTET.

SIR ASHMEAD BARTLETT ON THE WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN. [*See January issue.*]

This is the first article I have ever read in the *Asiatic Review* with disapproval. It contains, doubtless, a large amount of accurate information, but I missed in it that regard for justice which I have been accustomed to look for in the Review. The writer makes no attempt to justify Japan in beginning the war. He merely says that "the difficulties which arose in the case of the 'Kowshing' led the Emperor of Japan to formally declare war early in August." Was it then China that owed satisfaction to Japan for the destruction of the "Kowshing"? Worse, however, than this evasion of a main issue is the attempt to excite the Japanese to demand a heavy indemnity as a condition of peace. The writer considers that "£80,000,000 will not be excessive," and goes on to say "The Japanese have before them the *warning* of the Franco-German peace of 1871. £200,000,000 and Alsace and Lorraine seemed then hard terms enough. But had the German Emperor, Prince Bismarck and Count Moltke in the least foreseen the extraordinary recuperative powers of France their demands would have been doubled." Now the Japanese have of course read Sir Ashmead's article and will, in all probability, have been influenced by it; an exercise of influence through the medium of the Review, after which, it seems to me that the Review, having regard to its past, is in some need of lustration.

GEORGE CRAWSHAY.

THE QUESTION BETWEEN INDIA AND LANCASHIRE.

India is an enormous country, occupied by industrious and intelligent races for nearly three thousand years: it is a garden of cotton, and the people were in the habit of weaving and wearing cotton garments at a time, when Julius Cæsar found the Britons wearing skins: the product of India's Looms was well known: Patna was famous for its Muslins; calico the common name for cotton cloth was so named from Calicut, a seaport in South India, whence it was exported. In Upper India the cotton is grown in the cultivator's field, the cotton is picked off the pod by his wife and children, it is spun by them into thread, woven by them into cloth, and thus converted into garments, or sold to their neighbours for that purpose. Carriage, brokerage, profits of the middlemen, cost of conveyance are thus saved, and for all purposes the stuff is quite suitable to the requirements of the peasantry.

And yet the Secretary to the Weavers' Protection Society, Blackburn, last month informs the *Times* as follows:

"Every successive ten years of this century has served to show how well adapted to the needs of India have been the capital and specialized industry of Lancashire. Every year we are supplying India with excellent cotton cloths, in hundreds of millions of yards, at less than a penny a yard, in addition to fancy cloths at a tenth of the price at which they were sold in India 30 years ago.

"These fabrics are not now articles of luxury, but are worn by more than 200 millions of the very poor in the Empire of India, to whom the increased cost of a penny for a single article of raiment, such as a dhooty, means absolute inability to buy. This huge Lancashire industry does not now produce the cotton lords who, 50 years ago, with their ample wealth, were the patrons of art and the buyers of landed estates, but is in the hands of poorer men, who, by dint of intense energy and vigilance, are endeavouring to

hold their own. The continuous fall in the value of silver during the past 20 years has, year by year, increased the difficulty, as wages, stores, and cotton must be paid for in gold, whilst the fabrics are paid for in silver. Profitable trade is now a thing of the past, but still it finds employment for *the great population of the cotton districts*, and when we hear of the imposition of a 5 per cent. duty on exports to India, it is not a question of a little less profit to the millowners, but of the quiet extinction of our means of existence.

"We have been brought up under the teaching of free trade, and all men admit, that India has benefited enormously under it, but all this is to be changed in order to save the pockets of the rich in India, who have profited so much by association with us in free commerce. Rather than increase the ludicrously low income-tax, or touch the spirit duties or tobacco duties of India, absurdly small though they be, we have the voice of our highly-paid civil and military classes, and the rich Jews of India saying that all sources of revenue are impossible, excepting this burden, which is to be placed on the clothing of the poor."

Lancashire may be said to have come into existence last century, and would very much like to perpetuate its tyranny over the world: the writer looks upon the people of India in their hundreds of cities and thousands of villages as mere naked Africans, which he is good enough to clothe: he forgets, or never knew, that his people have in past years trodden down an indigenous native industry, which is now trying to recover itself by the means of native manufactories, and that the imposition of a customs due of 5 per cent. for the sole purpose of Revenue upon imported manufactured cottons is not a breach of free trade, but a perfect legitimate exercise of financial wisdom, such as the Colonies of Australia and Canada do not hesitate to practise.

C. N. R.

THE REPEAL OF THE CANTONMENT ARRANGEMENTS IN INDIA.

The subject alluded to is not a savoury one: it is the deplorable immorality of the British soldier in India: they are all very young men—below twenty-seven, and are exposed to great temptations: this must be their excuse: but the danger to the Empire of British India is very great. It is impossible in words to state more of the nature of this open sore of the British Army. If it be urged that the reports are exaggerated, attention should be called to the remarks of the Commander-in-Chief of India made at the Viceroy's Council on the 7th February, 1895:

"The Commander-in-Chief explained that in his remarks in the debate of a fortnight ago he never intended to say that he approved of the removal of the restrictions formerly existing; but as the British public, by a resolution of the House of Commons, had expressed a wish that they should be abolished, he felt it his duty to carry out that wish loyally. He had already represented to her Majesty's Government the ravages which diseases of this class were making in the British Army in India. The admissions to hospital in 1893 amounted to nearly 50 per cent. of the entire European force, and as the prevalence and virulence of the diseases were increasing he feared that last year would show a still higher percentage. It was impossible to estimate by figures the resulting loss in efficiency, but he was certain that it would be lamentable if the army were tried by heavy marching or a severe campaign."

The benevolent attempts of the Faddist in England to interfere with the internal organization of an Indian Cantonment will only increase the evil, as indeed the passing of the Cantonments Act Amended Bill has most assuredly done:

"Rust India, fat Fad"

is their motto, and the great Empire may suddenly disappear owing to the

folly of male old women in England, and the unpardonable immorality of the young soldier in India. C. N. R.

DR. PFUNGST AND THEOSOPHY.

In your January number you attack Theosophy, in a paragraph headed "Dr. Pfungst and Theosophy." You seem under the impression that Theosophy is radically involved with Buddhism or with Oriental writings generally, and that its purpose is to rival Oriental scholarship. I have belonged to the Society for seven years and have never had this opinion as to its purport. To me the Theosophical Society has always been a movement for the study of occultism, magic, symbolism, the esoteric meaning of sacred scriptures, and kindred subjects. It is true that considerable attention was paid in the outset to Oriental literature, but that is only a single phase of the movement, and we have pursued our grand object in Occidental fields as well. I myself am at this moment writing articles on Éliphas Lévi's *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie;* a friend of mine is translating and commenting on Brasseur de Bourbourg's French rendering of the *Popol Vuh;* Dr. Franz Hartmann has written on Paracelsus, Böhme, and many other Western occultists; and so on. Orientalism is not, and never was, our chief aim, and a failure to achieve Oriental scholarship cannot imply a failure of our Society's purpose.

We acknowledge frankly and gratefully the services rendered to the world by its great Orientalists, of whom your paper is a distinguished organ; and we have done what we could to make people read your books. My acquaintance with the Theosophical Society has shown me that that body has popularized your Oriental achievements to an extent which ought to make you grateful; a large portion of your public has accrued to you through the good services of our Society in recommending the study of your able translations.

We differ from you in the interpretation of these books, believing that they contain an esoteric significance bearing upon that science of "occultism" which is our main study; but this circumstance should be no ground for serious dispute, but rather for helpful controversy.

The statement that "what is new in Theosophy is not true and what is true is not new," I can fully endorse, as it is one of our chief contentions that the science we study under the name of Theosophy is world-old. We have never been smitten with the delusion that the new is the desirable, and it is an odd fact that our professed advocacy of ancient teachings should be continually thrown in our teeth as an objection by our opponents. With regard to the *Westminster Gazette* attack to which you allude, such incidents are the necessary accompaniment of all movements which advocate unfamiliar views, and have dogged our steps all along. If the Society is the unworthy organization our opponents think it is, it will succumb, and deserves to succumb, to this attack—or rather to the internal dissension of which this attack is one of the fruits. But I predict that we shall merely be purged of our impurities. HENRY T. EDGE.

THE Brotherhood of St. Patrick are now doing good work as educationists both in India and the Colonies. In the former country they possess four educational establishments—two in the hills and two in the plains—St. George's College, Mussoorie; St. Joseph's College, Coonoor; St. Patrick's, at Adyar, and St. Mary's College, Madras, teaching up to the First Arts Standard of the Indian Universities, and they may possibly before long possess a college in Burma. In Australia, the Brothers also possess several colleges, at Sydney, Bathurst, and other important stations. These institutions are open to all classes, irrespective of caste or creed, and a large number of experienced European graduates and professors are employed upon the educational staffs. The climates of Coonoor and Mussoorie are among the pleasantest and most salubrious in India. Adyar is also a most healthy locality, situated on the sea-shore near Madras.

Whilst the attention of Europe is directed towards the Armenian atrocities, there is not a word said about the cruelties practised by the Kurds on Muhammadan villages, 300 of which are supposed to have been obliterated since the reign of terror began in 1882. The secret history of the massacres has yet to be written, and will more than justify the indignation which civilized humanity feels at the unparalleled outrages of which both Christian and Mussulman subjects of the Sultan have been victims.

We are indebted to "Anglo-African" for a valuable paper on "East Africa and the Nile," in which the treatment that the East Africa Company has received from the Government in return for its services to the country is ably set forth and the danger to Egypt from any Foreign Power possessing itself of the Districts which control the supply of the waters of the Nile is forcibly pointed out. We do not, however, share his preference for direct British rule to the maintenance of the Protectorate of Zanzibar, considering that we are in honour bound to maintain it, not to speak of the increased prestige which we obtain by the preservation of native autonomies and especially by acting in concert with a Muhammadan State. It is through such co-operation that the French Protectorate of Tunis is paving the way to a great Franco-African Empire. Muhammadan Law is more suited to Zanzibar than our own, and it is not necessarily connected with slavery, regarding the domestic benefits of which to the negro, "Anglo-African" expresses an opinion that enthusiasts would do well to consider.

Dr. Leitner has just returned from a tour in Algeria and Tunisia where he has examined the systems of indigenous Muhammadan education under French auspices as compared with those existing in India, Turkey and other Muhammadan countries.

We understand that the noble mansion in Park Lane, Dorchester House, belonging to Captain George Holford, has been taken for the accommodation of His Highness the Amir Abdurrahman or of his eldest son, Prince Habibullah, in the event of either of them paying a visit to England this

season, which the complications arising from possible developments in Chitrál scarcely render probable or advisable. The interview with Reuter, published in the *Morning Post* of the 17th January last, also contains other reasons for the abandonment or, at least, the postponement of a visit which would meet with the warmest welcome in this country.

CHITRÁL AFFAIRS.

As hinted in the above interview, Sher Afzul, then a *détenu* in Kabul, was clearly indicated as the most suitable successor to our excellent friend, Nizám-ul-Mulk, the late Mehtar of Chitrál, whose death, it would be useless to conceal, was due to his brother, Amir-ul-Mulk, suspected of having also murdered another brother, Amin-ul-Mulk. Amir-ul-Mulk had fled to Jandol, to his relative by marriage, Umra Khan, whose instigation has, probably, led to the disappearance of the best friend the English had in remote Chitrál. Acting on the principle of acknowledging, wherever it can be done with anything like decency, the *de facto* ruler of a protected country, Dr. Robertson was sent on an enquiry into Nizam-ul-Mulk's assassination to Chitrál, whose usurper had asked for British recognition. Indeed, to commit us to a step, the possibility of which has seriously shaken our prestige in Chitrál, where our small garrison was, at least, supposed to protect the person of Nizám-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-Mulk ostensibly threw his fortunes in with us and allowed himself to be surrounded in the Chitrál Fort along with Dr. Robertson himself and may even retire with him to Mastuch, though it would be absurd to suppose that he is not keeping up secret communications with Umra Khan. The Chitrális, however, who are Dards, are an essentially different race from the Pathans with whom they live in a state of tolerance or antagonism, but never of "solidarity." This racial distinction has to be borne in mind in our forthcoming expedition, for, even should Umra Khan evacuate Chitrál, Pathan ascendancy and lawlessness will not be tolerated by the peace-loving and monarchical Chitrális, among whom murder is a privilege confined to the ruling Dynasty. They, therefore, fought Umra Khan, not without success and turned their backs on what they considered the traitor to Chitráli traditions, our would-be *protégé*, Amir-ul-Mulk. When then their late ruler's uncle, Sher Afzul, appeared on the scene, they threw in their lot with him and Umra Khan, nothing loth, changed sides with that versatility which characterizes shrewd adventurers. We do not know whether Dr. Robertson received any hint to detach Sher Afzul from Umra Khan and to offer him the throne of Chitrál, but we believe that the Government is fully convinced of the importance and suitability of conciliating a claimant, who, as the brother of the late Mehtar's father and the parent of a son, was allowed to escape to Kabul *out of regard for dynastic considerations*, as may be inferred from Nizam-ul-Mulk's letter on the subject, published in "the Asiatic Quarterly" in July last. Be that as it may, the opportunity for opening up the road from Peshawar to Chitrál, a distance of some 180 miles only, is too good to be lost and although we believe that, under the former Panjab management of Frontier affairs, the Chitrális, like the Chilásis, would never have given any trouble and the rescue of Dr. Robertson, if necessary, as, indeed, also

the installation of Sher Afzul, could have been effected with a *chit* or, at the outside, the despatch of a good linguist with a small escort, imperial proceedings require grand expeditions and entail imperial reverses, which some prefer to provincial successes in obscure and remote districts, which, for the safety of India, should remain a *terra incognita*. We do not, for a moment, believe that Umra Khan can dispose of 20,000 men or that he has 4,000 mules at Dir, his usurped centre due to our indirect support. To attack him with 14,000, or rather 15,000 men, is like tearing out an oak in order to kill a fly. At the same time, in proportion as we make him important, the danger from him will increase and his last *coup de théatre* of proclaiming a *Jehâd* against the Bashgali and other Kafirs, supposed in a *Times* article to have been subdued by him long ago, will, no doubt, rally many in Bajaur and Pathan Kohistan round his standard. Umra Khan believes in his sacred mission, but it is fortunate that he has quarrelled with Swatis and Bunairis and that he has against him the influential Mullah of Manki besides his old rival in Bajaur itself, the Khan of Nawagai, so that the easy march over the Panjkora Pass and the difficult one over the Lahauri Pass, of which full details are given in an itinerary and map in our possession, may not be opposed. 1000 men set free to operate in Chitrâl are more than is really needed for the campaign and all that the country could supply with provisions, so that the remaining 14,000 will keep a road open to which we ought never to have directed the attention of Russia and which the Panjab Government kept ignored since 1866. As for proclaiming to the tribesmen that we are merely supporting Kashmir in expelling Umra Khan, it is well-known that Kashmir has no independent Agent at Chitrâl and that it gave a subsidy to that country rather than receive a most nominal tribute from it; indeed, the slaughter of Yasin women and children by the Dogra and Sikh troops is too fresh in Dard memory to render it an advantage for us to identify ourselves with them. The most expedient, as also the most honourable, course, is to support real British prestige by punishing the murderer of the prince, Nizam-ul-Mulk, from whose advent dates the existence of British influence in Chitrâl, to instal Sher Afzul, if he will come to terms and co-operate with Afghanistan and to abandon for once the *de facto* recognition policy which is immoral and must lead to the downfall of an influence that should be based on justice and good faith. We trust that in our next number we shall be able to give a full account, from an academical standpoint, of the history of our intervention in Chitrâl and of the details of the routes from Peshawar to that capital, regarding which routes the Geographical Society, at the crowded meeting last night, in connexion with Captain Younghusband's most interesting lecture on Chitrâl, regretted the absence of information. We are glad that at the meeting in question, Mr. Curzon protested against our recognition of every *de facto* usurper. Because it may have once suited a policy of *non-interference* to acknowledge the *de facto* Amir of Afghanistan, it does not follow that we should recognise the assassin of the ruler of a country, where we *can* and *do* interfere.

26th March, 1895.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ALLAHABAD FREE TRADE CIRCULAR PRESS; ALLAHABAD, INDIA.

1. *The Indian Magazine of Photographs.* We have before us the first number (September, 1894) of this new departure among periodicals, which has already been so successful in "Tour round the World" and some other publications in England. Its object is to reproduce, as only photography can faithfully do, Indian scenery, architecture and people; and thus to convey a more accurate impression of them than can be got from mere description, no matter how detailed or graphic. *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus*, even though it be by means of pictures. The number contains twelve photographs, 9" by 7"; and opposite each is a letter-press description of the subject in three columns, in English, French and German. The two latter languages are well rendered, notwithstanding the occasional absence of an idiomatical turn and the occasional presence of a slight typographical error: the photographs are excellent specimens of work. The first number deals with Agra; and among the photographs given are the Taj (2), the Delhi Gate of the Fort, the tombs of Ttitmad-ud-dowlah and Akbar (2),—though of the last, the fairy-like marble topmost stage does not appear to due advantage. The enterprising proprietor's venture deserves to be well supported, and we hope it will be, as the subscription is only Rs. 30 a year. We would venture to suggest that besides the greater and comparatively wider-known buildings and scenes, there are many others equally deserving of notice but too apt to be neglected. Such for instance are details in the Agra Palace especially the River front, several ancient mausolea about the Taj, the Agra Jama-Musjid and bathing *ghats*, the older Catholic Cathedral and Hessing's tomb in the Padri Suntoos Cemetery. Again, there are many oriental buildings, of which, owing to their singular symmetry, no picture from only one point of view can give an adequate idea. As such we may mention the Taj, of which there was certainly needed a transverse view of the main building with the side mosque, and Secundra, from the front view of which the noble but disproportionate central doorway detracts not a little,—an almost angle view would be very acceptable. In furnishing these hints, we do not mean to detract from the excellent instalment given in the number under review. Our object is only to suggest what is likely to increase the attractions of a most important Album; and hence we may add that when the periodical reaches its Delhi stage, there is a vast field for its enterprise. Besides such giants as the Jama Masjid, the Fort Delhi Gate, the Kuttub Minar, there are hosts of other buildings, seldom noticed or sketched though well deserving to be:—as the older ruins around the *Minar*, at Old Delhi, Firozabad, Tughlakhabad, etc. We may say the same for Fatehpur Sikri, Jeypur, Lahore, Lucknao, Mathura, and many another ancient city in India, each of which would furnish material for a whole year's series of this magazine. We recommend it to our readers; and we sincerely wish this periodical a long and prosperous life to reproduce

in its pages the wonders of India which all cannot personally inspect, but which are daily growing in interest to an ever-increasing circle, both in Britain and the Colonies and on the Continent.

BAPTIST MISSION PRESS; CALCUTTA, INDIA.

2. *Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2; 1894; edited by SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E. Both the numbers are of great interest; and with instalments of Pali texts and translations, we have, besides the society's proceedings, a paper on Naga demi-gods, a pretty tale of serpent-worship, and a metrical version of the story of Jyoteshka, by Babu Nobin Chandra Das, M.A., which reads well as a ballad. We regret to see in the 2d part the French ç needlessly used for the regular s. Many scholars will be pleased to hear that the Revd. Abbé A. Desgodin's life-labour, a Tibetan Dictionary, is almost completed, and that the still active and indefatigable author has gone to Hong Kong, to see it passed through the press of the French Catholic Mission in that island.

MESSRS. A. AND C. BLACK; LONDON,

(and Messrs. R. and R. Clark; Edinburgh).

3. *The Religions of the World*, by M. J. GRANT, D.D.; 1894, is another, and an excellent volume of the "Guild Text-books," edited by the Rev. Doctors A. H. Charteris and J. A. M'Clymont. A closely printed and well got-up little book, convenient for the pocket, it treats successfully of Muhammadanism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Buddhism: of these it gives the history and analyzes the causes which led to their progress, success and decadence. The treatment is friendly, and, on the whole, impartial and correct. Confucianism we can hardly class as a religion. It is more a philosophical system of ethics, grafted on to certain religious practices, than itself a system of religion. Comparisons are, naturally, instituted between each of the four systems mentioned and Christianity. The defects discovered are real enough; but the question naturally comes, How about Christianity itself? How far does it to-day answer the Great Master's ideal? What are the causes of its early success, its sudden arrestation, and the decay of its influence on professing individuals, societies and nations? Everything, no matter how perfect, which has been designed for man, partakes of man's own imperfection, falls away from the ideal and ceases to produce all the good for which it was intended. The best is that which fails the least; and the true Christian, not satisfied with seeing the faults of other religious systems, should also examine how far his own individual conduct falls short of the Gospel system. Such a study, while making us love and honour our religion, will help to keep us in the humility which it inculcates.

MESSRS. BLACKIE AND SON; LONDON, GLASGOW, AND DUBLIN.

4. *After Five Years in India*, by ANNIE C. WILSON; 1895. One lustre is a short time to know India, or even only the Punjab; but Deputy-Commissioners' wives (as Mrs. Steele has previously shown) enjoy peculiar

facilities for acquiring a good knowledge of the people of their locality; and Mrs. Wilson has made excellent use of her chances. Besides her own experiences, we are treated to the daily grind of the Deputy-Commissioner's work, with its varied but still monotonous duties,—to the occasional flicker of unusual light or shade across the path;—to the snatches of revelation on the life and feelings of the natives, so far as they can be learned by the average European,—to descriptions of some of the phenomena of nature, and of the incidents of housekeeping in India. There is the usual detail of domestic work, requirements, and especially servants. But the bulk of the book deals,—and deals well on the whole,—with deeper subjects: a description of the organization by which India is ruled,—the public Works,—the system of education,—the ruin often wrought by our well-intended but unsuited legislation,—the mysteries of caste. Of all these, fair sketches are given, the last, which alone would require several volumes to exhaust, being, perhaps, the least satisfactory. The book is a valuable contribution to the literature on India, and it will be perused with pleasure by many classes of readers.

Bombay Government Press; Bombay, India.

5. *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India, May 1893 to April 1894.* The field operations undertaken were in the Central Provinces, where the original scantiness of archæological remains has been enhanced by the vandalism of later times, including that of the Railway engineers. The architectural work in Burhanpur is interesting though comparatively modern. There is also some discussion on the great Gadermul Temple. As a mere progress-report this book is perfect; and we now look forward to the publication of the detailed work executed during the time with which this report deals.

6. *Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay;* 1894. This forms the concluding 3d volume of a very necessary complement to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (of which it constitutes the xvith volume) and is edited by the Collector of Bombay, Mr. J. M. Campbell. We have had the pleasure of noticing the two preceding volumes in our issues of April and July 1894. This one deals chiefly with the administration, which it treats under various heads, going, in each case, as far back as records exist, and ending in the years herein-below specified after each Department. These are, Justice (1780),—Military (1778),—Marine (1788),—Revenue and Finance (1779),—Miscellaneous (1803),—Institutions (including a history of the Town Hall, 1832),—and Objects (1891). The last heading, though brought down to date, is particularly meagre, but the others are full of interesting, if antiquated, details. There are 9 maps and plans, all of old date, the latest being 1843. Though the work is announced as being in three volumes, we notice that there is no index to this volume (nor was there any to the two preceding); and as the heading of religion and of religious buildings and endowments is one of considerable importance in Bombay and has unfortunately not seldom required not only police, but even military interference, we may hope to welcome a supplementary volume making good these deficiencies. In the meanwhile

our readers will be prepared, from the terms of our former notices of this work, to find that this third volume is as carefully prepared and well edited as its predecessors, treating its varied subjects fully and pleasantly, and furnishing, as it purports to do, materials in abundant detail and of commanding interest and great importance.

MR. E. J. BRILL; LEYDEN.

7. *Fatḥ al Qarīb, La Révélation de l'Omniprésent*, edited, with a translation in French, by L. W. C. VAN DEN BERG, 1895.* This work gives the Arabic text of a Commentary by Shams ad Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ḳāsim al Ghazzī upon a treatise on jurisprudence by Shihāb ad Dīn wa-l Milla Aḥmad Ibn Al Ḥusain Ibn Aḥmad al Iṣfahānī. The original treatise being named by its author sometimes *At Taḳrīb*, and sometimes *Ghāyat al Ikhtiṣār*, the Commentary also has received a double title, *Fatḥ al Karīb* and *Al Ḳaul al Mukhtār*. The author of the original treatise seems to have been born in 434, and died at the beginning of the next century. His Commentator lived about four hundred years afterwards, dying in 918. The principal manuscript employed by the learned editor to settle the text of the Commentary was written in 1197. The work contains a complete code of law, religious and secular, according to the rite of the Shāfi'ī sect; and is published and translated under the authority of the Government of the Netherlands "parce que la grande majorité des Musalmans du rite de Châfi'ī sont ces sujets." It is much to be hoped that the government of this country may one day be moved by similar considerations to undertake the publication of the Hanafī and Imāmī codes of law. The editing and translating of this important work leave nothing to be desired. M. S. HOWELL.

8. *The Religious System of China*, by J. J. M. DE GROOT, PH.D. The first volume, dealing with the Disposal of the Dead, Funeral rites, and the Ideas of Resurrection, appeared in 1892; this 2d vol. treats of the Grave. Even the liberal subsidy of the Dutch Government would be insufficient for the issue of this voluminous work of which much still remains unpublished; but two gentlemen, J. T. Cremer, Esq. of the Hague and P. W. Janssen, Esq., of Amsterdam have munificently helped the author. The work depicts the Chinese religion as it really is practised by the natives, and gives a broad sketch of its influence on their domestic and social life. Dr. de Groot, by the liberality of the Dutch Government, was enabled to spend several years in China in the study of Chinese life and manners both in the Middle kingdom itself and among Chinese emigrants in the colonies. Living in close contact with the people, joining their family circles and spending much time in their monasteries and temples, his opportunities for observation have thus been almost unique; and as he systematically committed to paper whatever struck him in manners, usages and religious observances, the information he gives is both detailed and reliable. The work is profusely and well illustrated. DI.

9. *Alfārābī's Musterstaat*, by PROF. DR. F. DIETERICI. Whatever comes from the pen of Prof. Dieterici is sure to be interesting from its subject-

* We hope to be favoured with an exhaustive review of this important work in an early issue.—ED.

matter, as well as important to specialists and Arabic scholars. The treatises on the "Ikhwân-as-Safâ," on the *Darwinistic* theories amongst a school of Arab philosophers, and the learned professor's "Alfârâbi's philosophische Abhandlungen," are all extremely suggestive, and really quite of absorbing interest to students of comparative philosophy, who possess the necessary preliminary knowledge for acquiring first-hand information on the philosophical systems which they study. The present work, آراء اهل المدينة الفاضلة (*i.e.*, "The opinions of the people of the excellent city"), by the great Arab philosopher of the 10th century A.D., Alfârâbi, forms no exception to the preceding publications of Prof. Dieterici, in point of interest. Much that is worthy of serious study is contained in this "Utopia" of the deeply learned, clear-thinking Arab, whose fame was such that he was termed المعلم الثاني, that is, "the *second* master" (Aristotle being the first), and who may be considered to have been the founder of scholasticism in the Khalifate. We miss, it is true, in the work before us, the keen sober reasoning of Plato and Aristotle, to whose treatises, on a similar theme, our thoughts naturally revert. A mass of, apparently, alien matter and irrelevancies may seem to some to detract from the interest of what, according to the title, should be the main subject of the book. Yet, even this somewhat overwhelming method of the Arab author, of commencing quite *ab initio* of all things, and of devoting half the work to disquisitions on the nature of the Deity, the evolution of the world, of sentient beings, and of the human soul and so on, is of distinct value, and the views put forward are, perhaps, as important as the civic and political notions of his Utopians. The final chapter, as a contrast, deals with the views of "the cities of ignorance and error." We must thank Prof. Dieterici for having made this Arabic text available. The printing is of the usual standard of excellence inseparable from the publications of Messrs. Brill, of Leyden. A translation with, we hope, a commentary and notes, is shortly to be expected, and we look forward to it with much pleasure. H. I.

MESSRS. CHATTO AND WINDUS; LONDON.

10. *Village tales and Jungle tragedies*, by B. M. CROKER, 1895, is a prettily got-up book containing seven Indian tales, well told, with abundant evidence of a thorough knowledge of the country and its people. The word "tragedy" applies well to all of them, except the last (and best), which ends in the happiness of all the good and the confusion of all who had deserved ill. The sketches of native life and character, and the glimpses of native ideas and feelings are excellent, and show the author as a good and studious observer, and a faithful and sympathetic narrator. At two passages, however, our "lungs began to crow like chanticleer." At p. 169, an *Ekka* "tore past at a gallop;" and at p. 183, the author declares that "in these enlightened times no policeman dare venture, even for a large bribe, to practise the question of torture." Most *Ekkas* tear past at the rate of perhaps 3 miles an hour; and though torture is unknown for a bribe and is not recognized by the "powers that be," it is by no means even yet an absolutely unknown ingredient in the fabrication of evidence: hornets

and *chillies* are very stimulating to the memories of accused persons. There is not a dull line in the book; and in its perusal the desire for more keeps growing, even to the end of the last beautiful tale of Indian life.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

11. *John Russell Colvin*, by SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN, K.C.S.I.; 1895. We fail to see why the subject of this memoir is given a place in the *Rulers of India Series* of which it forms the last volume. That he had at least some share in the blunders of Lord Auckland is certain, notwithstanding our author's successful attempts to minimise this responsibility; but this part of his influence in India falls naturally into the history of his principal, just as his share during the mutiny comes under "Lord Canning." Between these two points of his career, Mr. Colvin's work in India, good as we gladly admit it to have been, was simply that of dozens of others similarly situated, and calls for no special mention by the historian. With the biographer, however, it is different. He has a man to paint, perhaps a character to vindicate, and explanations to give of acts and events which have been adversely judged. In this sense only can the "last Lieutenant Governor of the N.W. Provinces under the Company" claim a place in Indian Biography; and to uphold that place his distinguished son, Sir Auckland Colvin, here does his best. The book is well written, lively and extremely readable, with fresh materials from the India Office records, for which we are thankful. These certainly diminish considerably the share of Lord Auckland and "the three secretaries" in the Afghan policy pursued, and bring that home to the higher authorities in London; but more than ever weighs on Lord Auckland and Mr. Colvin the responsibility of the choice of instruments,—the shallow Macnaghten, the loquacious Burnes, and, later, the effete Elphinstone. Of Mr. Colvin's earnestness, diligence, ability and integrity none ever even doubted. In his personal character he was studious, amiable, domestic, and religious. The good work done by him for India was chiefly between 1845 and 1857. As Lieutenant Governor, too, Mr. Colvin worked well and diligently till the Mutiny blazed out: thereafter he did nothing. The circumstances of his territory, as his son carefully points out, were different from those of other localities, and he had no power in hand. Greatness, however, consists in conquering circumstances, and others in his place would have created the means of acting with effect. Even in Agra itself much could have been done which was not done or done too late. The fort was not set in order or provisioned in time, and it was never repaired: a part of the parapet actually toppled over with the concussion of the salute we fired from the ramparts at the fall of Delhi! Much valuable property and some lives were lost that might have been saved. Luckily, though at times blockaded, Agra was never really besieged. Locked up, helpless and resourceless, Colvin slowly ate his heart away: when he died,—and well I remember the sad burial—affairs were dark indeed. Like a brave man, however, and a good Christian, Colvin lived watchfully and died at his post. Our author does not mention that the rebels had fixed a price on Mr. Colvin's head,—one reason for

burying him in the fort itself, instead of that sad cemetery on the height outside the Amar Singh gate, where rest so many of the Agra Leaguer. We can recommend the book as an excellent biography of a good and able man; and we take the occasion of the conclusion of this Series to congratulate the Editor, the writers and the publishers on the successful completion of their most useful and deserving labours.

12. *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Jubilees*, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A.; 1895. This quarto forms Part VIII. of the Semitic section of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, which issue new editions of texts from MSS. The Book of Jubilees is so named from its reckoning by Jubilees, and is a kind of haggadic commentary on Genesis,—written originally in the Hebrew language in the first century before Christ. It was at one time a popular work of which versions were made into Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and probably Syriac. Of the last there remains scarcely a trace: of the two first only a few fragments survive. The Ethiopic is almost complete, but the MSS. are often faulty through negligence or wilful corruption. Its text was first published in 1859, by Prof. Dillmann; but his work, though very deserving of praise, left much to be desired: it gave the MSS. which he knew, without any attempt to utilize other data for a critical edition. This, our author has now done—a work of great labour, study and patience. His Introduction explains that work, and the text which he publishes (chiefly from the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum) is rendered as perfect as possible, not only by collating the MSS. but also by pressing into service the Hebrew, and what remains of the Greek and Latin versions—these are given *in extenso*, opposite the respective parts of the Ethiopic text. The various versions of the Bible also have been utilized for purposes of correction; and scholars can here study the peculiar tinge of biblical views which existed near the date of our Lord's birth, and are of some use in gauging the times in which He lived. We look forward to the publication of the Commentary on this Book of Jubilees, which Mr. Charles promises.

MESSRS. C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON.

13. *Jataka, or Stories of Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pali by various hands; Edited by PROF. E. B. COWELL. Vol. I. Translated by R. CHALMERS, B.A., Oriel College, Oxford: (Cambridge University Press); 1895. We welcome this first instalment of the *Jataka* stories, for the completion of which, under Professor Cowell's able editorship, such scholars as Messrs. H. D. Rouse, H. T. Francis, and R. A. Neil are to add each a volume: the last volume will contain also a full index. This book is beautifully issued by the publishers and is excellently translated, dealing with 150 Jataka. The subject matter is too well known to our readers to require detailed mention. Buddha is supposed to have had a distinct memory not only of his own former births, but also of all the former births of all beings. Many of these tales may be traced up to within two centuries of Buddha's death; others are adaptations of Buddhistic teaching in legendary forms; and yet others are mere folk-lore tales of even greater

antiquity, squared to Buddhism and put (so to say) into *Jataka* uniform. Many of the tales are important, not only as proofs of religious belief and opinion, but even more so as being sketches of ancient life and manners. Others are interesting as tales, and not a few are trivial and even absurd in the extreme. Instances of the last class are Jatakas 79 (p. 73),—118 (p. 261),—122 (p. 269), etc. There is a strange multiplicity of Buddha's births, "during the time that Brahmadatta was reigning at Benares," which tells rather badly for the clearness of the Bodhisatta's memory at least as far as chronology is concerned. It cannot be said that these tales are of much service in the cause of religious principles, which they do, however, in some degree inculcate and exemplify; but their value is great to the student of human nature and of folk-lore. We look forward with pleasure to see the completion of the series.

MR. W. F. CLAY; TEVIOT PLACE, EDINBURGH.

14. *The Geographical Distribution of Tropical Diseases in Africa*, by R. W. FELKIN, M.D., M.R.S.E., M.R.G.S.; 1895. Our author here utilizes his intimate acquaintance with Africa as well as his wide reading and professional knowledge, to give the general reader a handbook on disease in Africa, which, without pretending to supersede technical works or to obviate the need for which the old saw says that physicians should be honoured, will be found of the utmost value to dwellers, actual or prospective, in that quarter of the globe. He describes the geographical formation of that continent as far as it regards the nature and location of disease, dividing it into three zones placed vertically, instead of horizontally, according to height above sea-level. He next treats separately each portion of Africa—all round and through the centre—detailing the general and peculiar features and diseases of each part; and he then passes on to a detailed sketch of each kind of disease, with simple directions for treatment and precautions. Equally for its common sense remarks, for professional teaching and for geographical information we recommend this book to our readers, as interesting to others besides those concerned in African affairs. The map illustrating the extension and intensity of diseases in Africa is carefully executed and is deserving of special study.

MESSRS. A. CONSTABLE AND CO.: WESTMINSTER.

15. *The Rani of Jhansi*, by ALEXANDER ROGERS; 1895. Long residence in India and a deep sympathy with its people combine with his knowledge of oriental literature to render our author peculiarly fitted for the task which he here performs. He gives us a IV.-act play, in blank verse interspersed with rhyming couplets. The heroine is the "best man among the mutineers" of 1857, as Sir H. Rose called the warlike and brave widow of the last Raja of Jhansi; the time embraced is from just before the outbreak at Jhansi to the Rani's death in the battle of Kota ki Serai; and the characters introduced include some historical personages with several creatures of the fancy. The liberties taken, for artistic purposes, are few, the characters well-drawn, the diction good, the verse flowing, and

the incidents dramatically treated and graphically described. We noted some very pretty metaphors, in the good old style, which want of space alone prevents our quoting. The book is a pleasure to read.

MR. HORACE COX; LONDON.

16. *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, by O. H. PARRY, B.A.; 1895. This bulky and closely printed volume, well illustrated by the author, deals with a comparatively little known but very interesting tract of the Ottoman Empire,—a corner of Mesopotamia to which few European travellers go. The author went as agent of the Syrian Patriarchate Education Society, and wandered about the grounds allotted to him—a goodly tract—living among the people and mixing with them, though not actually spending six months in any particular monastery. There are good descriptions of the country and of its inhabitants; manners, customs, feelings are in general well portrayed; and a good compendium of the history of the Syrian church is given. When our author deals with individuals we hope he is generally more correct than in his unwarrantable attack on Mutran Behnam Benni, at p. 273, where he hints that "Papal Bishops in the East have not left their old churches for nothing." This is as spiteful as it is untrue: Benni, whom Mr. Parry admits to have come of a rich family, was born and bred a Uniate Catholic, studied and was ordained in Rome; so that he never left any church for another. We must, however, make allowance for Mr. Parry's dislike of Romanists, whom, when detailing local sects, he always puts last, interposing Muhammadanism between them and the other Christians, as a tacit rejection of their claims to be Christians at all! Otherwise the book is extremely useful and gives much information not generally known. There is, however, a scarcely veiled bias against the Turkish Government and a disposition to find fault with everything in its administration, which go so far as to countenance a shameful breach of the passport regulations in his own attendant. In the Nestorian Syrians he finds hardly a fault; and we quit the work without seeing that he realizes the full extent of the Nestorian teaching. So little is he conversant with the forms of religious teaching that he even speaks of "Nestorian Roman Catholics"! He might as well speak of Roman Catholic Presbyterians and Roman Catholic Unitarians. For all these shortcomings, his book is of great and varied interest and pleasant to read.

MR. W. P. DICKENSON; MAIDSTONE.

17. *Incidents in Indian Life*, by JOHN CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.; 1895. The fact that this little book has reached its second edition speaks well for the demand for works on India and Indian subjects. Our author gives eight stories,—which might rather be called Incidents of British life in India—the earliest going up to the Pindari war, the last describing a Chaplain's career during and after the Mutiny. They are of varying interest, but all are readable. British endurance, pluck and valour are well depicted, but the pictures of native life are not correct: how should a chaplain know that sealed book? But at p. 91, we simply stare on finding "every Mahometan

in the force . . . on his knees with his forehead in the dust offering his orison to the rising sun"! Surely even an Indian chaplain must know that Muhammadans are neither idolaters nor sun-worshippers; and as, in India, all Muhammadans must turn, in praying, to the west—towards Mekka, their faces certainly could not salute the morning sun. In the sketch of the Revd. Mr. Harris' life, there is an implied and undeserved censure on others, which is not needed to show his great and good services at Lucknow during the Mutiny. Though no admirers of the Competitive system, we cannot join our author in his wholesale condemnation of an entire class who do good work in their measure, though this measure is not equal to that of the older Haileybury and Addiscombe men. The tales, as we have said, are well written, and besides being pleasant for Anglo-Indians to read, they will be useful in giving to our stay-at-home countrymen a better idea of the kind of work that has been and is being done by the rank and file of the toilers in India in their several positions of responsibility.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

18. *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas; (Scientific Reports)*, by W. M. CONWAY; 1894, is the work of several hands. Mr. Conway himself contributes Tables of Altitudes and Notes on the Map; Col. A. G. Durand gives a general geography of the Eastern Hindu-Kush; several dissertations follow,—on Rock specimens by Prof. Bonney and Miss Raisin,—on Plants by W. B. Hemsley,—on Butterflies by W. F. Kirby,—on Moths by Dr. A. G. Butler,—on two skulls from Nagyr by W. L. H. Duckworth,—and on Mountain sickness by Prof. C. Roy. Most of them, though interesting, call for no special mention. That on Rock specimens is very full: there were upwards of 300 specimens. The most important is Col. Durand's paper, which describes, perhaps rather sketchily, the country and its people.

19. *The Crusades*, by T. A. ARCHER and C. L. KINGSFORD; 1894, forms the 40th volume of the Series entitled "The Story of the Nations," of which we have more than once noticed earlier numbers with the praise they deserve: this volume is no exception. The joint authors, without treating as fully as they might have done the entire subject of the Crusades, give a good history chiefly of those of the expeditions which are connected with the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the story of which is continued down to the fall of even its shadow at Cyprus. We could spare the details of the Crusaders' social life, amusements, arms, etc., with which many a page is filled more pleasantly than usefully; for these differed in nothing from what is well known of their counterparts in contemporary Europe. In fact, the Crusades simply transplanted for a time some western chiefs, with a following of fanatics, fools and mercenary marauders, to the land of Syria. Just as they failed in none of their martial prowess, so they abandoned not a single vice or folly: gambling, greed, lust, treachery, ambition and mutual bickering soil almost every page of the record of the Crusades. Whilst most writers do not fail to note what Europe gained, both positively in foreign civilization acquired and negatively in Islamic conquest checked,

few seem to think of the evils which the Crusades produced, owing to widespread neglect of duty at home by the thousands who went to these wars abroad;—kings and lords, bishops and priests, landowners and tradesmen, brothers, husbands and fathers, rushing away in a fanciful frenzy, sowed the seeds of at least as great evils as any good which the Crusades produced. Nor does the after opinion of the Catholic Church seem much in their favour; for out of the hosts of Crusaders, it is not easy, at a moment's notice, to recall the name of a single canonized saint, except Louis of France. This simple fact speaks volumes about the Crusades; for it shows that, if good in principle, their execution was bad from a religious point of view. Our authors show that it was equally faulty from a political, tactical and strategetical aspect.

20. *Good reading about many Books, mostly by their Authors*, 1895, is a small illustrated series of gossiping articles on their works by quite a number of well-known writers, male and female, in several walks of literature. The subjects are very various, — from Napoleon Bonaparte to Captain Hayes; an interesting and readable little book.

MESSRS. A. D. INNES AND CO.; LONDON.

21. *Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny*, by LIEUTENANT GENERAL MCLEOD INNES, R.E., V.C., 1895. This is a book of which it would be difficult to exaggerate either the interest or the value. The defence of Lucknow is an undying memory for us all,—a glorious and heroic struggle of which every detail is dear. Our author has only too long delayed the publication of what we do not hesitate to call the best extant work on its own subject. Gen. Innes, "who was there," illustrates his work with numerous maps and plates, which will be invaluable to those who have not seen the locality of that great struggle; the map, showing in various colours the areas of the different centres of rebellion is specially good. The history of the defence, relief and final capture of Lucknow is given in the fullest details and forms most pleasant reading. The narrative is clear, orderly and explicit; and praise and blame are given as deserved, though there is at times a little reticence as to individuals, and perhaps the wrong man is sometimes hinted at. The *minutiæ* regarding mining and counter-mining are very interesting. The Lucknow episode does not, however, form the whole of this book. Condensed narratives precede and follow, one describing the concluding operations of the Mutiny Campaign, the other dealing with the general outbreak, its causes, circumstances and details,—the measures that were or were not taken,—the earlier operations for its suppression, including the capture of Delhi. There are also a good history and description of Oudh before the annexation, and from that event to the Mutiny. In all this Genl. Innes shows a thorough mastery of his subject. His views are clear, correct, and expressed with brevity; his narratives omit nothing of importance and include nothing trivial; his judgment on political acts and actors is straightforward and just; and he gives due credit to those of the Sepoys, who deserved credit, for all were not equally guilty, and while many were neutral, a considerable number remained faithful. That Genl. Innes writes with a thorough knowledge of India and

its people is abundantly evident. We heartily recommend this book to our readers as we can safely promise them a rare treat in its perusal.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

22. *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*: No. xlix, A, vol. xvii.; 1894, gives the report, most interesting to Sanskrittists, by Professor Peter Peterson of the Bombay University on the results of the search, undertaken between 1886 and 1892 for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle. An index of authors is followed by a short (fourth) report, by extracts from some of the MSS. purchased for Government, and by a list of all those so acquired.

23. *A History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule*, in four volumes, by PRAMA NATH BOSE, B.Sc., Vols. i. and ii.; 1894. Printed in Calcutta, this book does great credit to Indian printing. The author is a very learned and deeply read man; and here he most learnedly treats *de omni scibili et quibusdam aliis rebus* with a flood of words and a profusion of details which are wonderful indeed. That he writes English perfectly and that he knows his subject well go without saying. Of the extent of that subject one may guess from its including Galileo and greased cartridges, the Inquisition and cotton speculations, Giordano Bruno and jugglers, besides numerous other equally relevant matters. The "British Rule" is merely a peg on which to hang all that the author can gather on each section that he treats from the earliest times to the present. Regarding religion he deals with recent Hindu sects and reforms, with modern Hindu enlightenment, (more often termed Bengali Babuism) and with social and industrial conditions. Of course we are treated to cutlets for Hindus, evils of early marriage, baneful effects of caste and similar well known points—regarding which all do not, fortunately, agree with our talented author. Two volumes have yet to come.

24. *The Indus Delta Country*, by MAJOR GENERAL M. R. HAIG, M.R.A.S.; 1894. Illustrated with three maps, the painstaking author gives a very thorough monograph on that important part of Scindh which constitutes the Indus Delta. He treats the subject both geographically and historically, using, for the sources of his information, ancient Greek and Roman writers, Chinese and Arabian travellers, later oriental books and the works of our own antiquaries. Nor does he follow his authorities blindly; but checking one by another, and revising the whole by his personal investigations and experience, he corrects errors and explains discrepancies, not fearing even to shiver a lance fairly against such redoubted antagonists, as, for instance, the late lamented General Sir A. Cunningham. The shifting character of the Indus streams rendered the task a difficult one, but our author has discharged it well; and the book, though not light reading, is of great importance.

LIBRAIRIE FISHBACHER: PARIS.

25. *Le Prophète Aggée*, par TONY ANDRÉ; 1895, is an important monograph, treating everything concerning this prophet and his work in great detail. Jewish and Christian authorities are carefully collected and col-

lated; the fairly extensive literature on the subject is noticed; and all has been evidently utilized by the learned and erudite writer. The subject is treated in the way usual with most writers on the so-called Higher Criticism. The prophet and his prophecy are divided into two, and called respectively A^1 and A^2. After discussing the object, time, mode, language and style of the prophecy, variants are given, amendments suggested, and ancient versions compared. The second half of the book contains a commentary on the prophet. Our author shows a good grasp of his subject. Neither the late arrival of the work in our hands nor the limits assigned to our review permit our dealing with it in detail; and we must confine ourselves to saying that it is a scholarly work which students of Biblical subjects will read with profit, even when not agreeing with the author's views. Among these we note that he denies Haggai to have prophesied of any other Messiah than Zerubbabel, and holds that the Jews have not rejected their Messiah, as the one who was announced has never come.

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

26. *The Teaching of the Vedas*, by MAURICE PHILLIPS; 1895. The author, a Madras Missionary of the London Society, proposes to himself the two following questions: What is the fundamental teaching of the Vedas? and How does it affect the study of the origin and development of religion in general? These he treats in five chapters. He first states what the Vedas are; and then discusses the Vedic notion of God,—the Vedic ideas of creation,—the Vedic origin and personality of man,—and, finally, under the somewhat unusual name of Soteriology, he treats of the Vedic means of salvation. Mr. Phillips agrees with Dr. Edkins (*Early spread of Religious Ideas*, reviewed by us in our January 1894 number), that everything in the Vedas points to a gradual deterioration; and that the further back we go in them the purer are the notions of the god-head and of religion and the smaller the number of gods. The theory is not new, that all religious knowledge in the world is derived from a primitive divine revelation, which successive ages have enlarged and spoilt—except where it has been maintained and perfected by subsequent revelation. For proofs of his conclusions, our author not only examines the Vedas but he refers also to later books and beliefs. Occasionally he shoots beyond his mark, as at p. 152, when, trying to prove that formerly it was no disgrace for adult females to remain unmarried or for the old to marry, he quotes Rig Veda, II. 17, 7: "As a virtuous maiden growing old in the same dwelling as her parents," where "old" simply means our "up," without actual respect to any definite number of years. So, for the second point, he gives Rig Veda, I. 117, 7, which merely refers to the special case of a confirmed invalid being restored to health by the Aswins and thus enabled to marry. As caste itself does not appear in the Vedas, his pp. 171—187, though interesting in themselves, seem superfluous in a discussion on Vedic teaching. The book represents wide reading and hard study, and is well and pleasantly written.

27. *Chips from a German Workshop*, by F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M.; Vol.

II.; 1895. Of this second edition of Prof. Max. Müller's well known work—now considerably added to and enlarged—we reviewed the first volume in our last issue. The present volume gives us his careful and thoughtful biographical sketches, the subjects of many of which have not only passed out of life, but even out of the thoughts of the present generation, but whose memories deserve to be perpetuated, as we hope they will be, by being enshrined in these pleasant pages among the older sketches. Colebrooke and Bunsen are to us the most prominent figures; and some of the later biographical notices are those of men of renown as Niebuhr, Benfey and Lepsius, to mention only a few.

28. *A modern Priestess of Isis*, translated and abridged from the Russian of V. S. Solovyoff by Walter Leaf; 1895. Some ten years ago, the Society for Psychical Research after a prolonged investigation pronounced Madame Blavatsky's miracles and "astral" phenomena to have been one and all produced by quackery and imposture, and published the evidence. To confirm that view, it here publishes for English readers Mr. Solovyoff's book, which is not only interesting as the work of one who for some years was on the most intimate terms with one of the strangest and most wonderful characters of this century, but also as casting considerable light on the obscurity surrounding the origin and early history of the Theosophical Society. Mr. Solovyoff says that he writes with the desire to refute the misleading accounts of Mdme. Blavatsky that have, since her death, been published by various friends and relatives, in particular those published in Russia by her sister, Mdme. Jelihovsky. For the ordinary reader the chief interest lies in the general description of that extraordinary woman who exercised so strange a fascination over all coming in contact with her, and whose character presented so peculiar a combination of the noblest and the meanest qualities. She had great intellectual ability, a marvellous facility of composition, and indomitable energy; yet she undoubtedly was, in many senses of the word, an impostor, who produced false "miracles" to convert the hesitating, and silence the unbeliever, or plagiarised from various little read authorities philosophico-religious farragoes which she passed off as directly inspired by supernatural powers. At the same time her motto was, "There is no religion higher than the truth." She belongs, all this notwithstanding, to a type. Among Froude's "Short Studies" is an essay on the once world-renowned Alexander of Abonotichus,—prophet, miracle worker, expounder of ancient and mystic philosophy, and of the direct utterances of a divine inspiring power: most of this essay, allowing for the difference between the second and the nineteenth centuries, would apply equally well to this prophetess.

For those more particularly interested in the dispute about Mdme. Blavatsky's miracles, Mr. Solovyoff's book urges three points for special attention. The first is, that in the year 1885, she confessed to him, at Würzburg, that all her phenomena were done by trickery with the assistance of others, and suggested that he should help her by "creating" a series of letters from a Mahatma. The lengthy story serves somewhat to explain other evidence; but its real value can be understood by those only who have a complete knowledge of Mr. Solovyoff's personal character and

his motives in writing his book. Mdme. Jelihovsky calls the whole an impudent fabrication, and to support her statement, she quotes passages from letters addressed to her and Mdme. Blavatsky by Solovyoff which show some considerable discrepancy between the views given in his book and those he formerly entertained. Many passages attempt to show that he exhibited from the first a scepticism and sagacity hardly consistent either with his actions or his letters. This, though natural enough considering his subsequent enlightenment and the triviality of most of the miracles, is distinctly unfortunate for him, as it gives him an air of insincerity, and provides a handle for Mdme. Jelihovsky's attacks. It must not be forgotten, however, that these passages were carefully selected as against Mr. Solovyoff, often apart from their context; and there are other passages showing that he was, in Mdme. Blavatsky's own words, "an unbelieving Thomas" from the first. Whatever one may think of his credibility, the appendices to the book clearly prove Mdme. Jelihovsky's assertions to be worth extremely little, containing as they do, besides unfounded slander, evident misstatements and perversions.

The second point of interest is Mdme. Blavatsky's own "confession,"—a wild and incoherent communication, written in a state almost bordering on insanity, in which, according to Mr. Solovyoff, she admits, among other things, having invented the Mahatmas. According to Mdme. Jelihovsky, she only says that she will admit to inventing them though it is a lie. The least disputable, as it is also the most valuable part of the evidence in the book, is the series of letters, written about the year 1874 by Mdme. Blavatsky to Mr. Aksákoff, which give her own contemporary account of the origin of the Theosophical Society, and prove definitely that, in spite of her subsequent denials, she was at one time a professed "spiritualist" in the ordinary sense of the word, and that Theosophy was then also spiritualistic. The connexion with India and the Mahatmas is altogether a subsequent affair, the Mahatmas being developments of her first "guardian and teacher," the spirit John King.

Mdme. Blavatsky is dead, but the Theosophical Society still lives; and it remains to be seen whether it will survive the crisis through which it is now passing. Even should it perish, it will, none the less, have been, in its day, one of the most prominent movements of the last 25 years; and a book which casts so much light on its origin and on the history of its founder cannot fail to be of great interest. A.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

29. *A Translation of the four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, by A. SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S.; 1894. This English version of the newly discovered Syriac text of the four gospels is an important addition to our means of Biblical study. The text itself seems earlier than the Peshitta version, approximates to the Curetonian, and is perhaps from an earlier copy of the text which it and the Curetonian both represent, which is that of the earliest Syrian fathers. Whether this text was that whence Tatian produced his τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, or whether it was the text which replaced that celebrated compilation, as related by Theodoret, is perhaps im-

possible to decide. But in either case here is one more conclusive proof (against one of the most positive conclusions of the higher Criticism) that long before the middle of the 2nd century and therefore before 50 years had elapsed since St. John's death, not only were the gospels publicly received and read in the Churches, but that they bore the names they now bear and were, not merely in substance but even verbally, the same as in our Bibles—allowing for cases of unimportant or easily seen and remedied verbal errors. Such a case is found in this Syriac text at Matth. i. 16, etc., in which, as everyone treating this subject has remarked, our Lord is represented as the real son of Joseph, even while other neighbouring passages are retained unchanged which distinctly indicate a superhuman and miraculous conception (*e.g.* vv. 18, 19, 22, while 21, 24 and 25 agree with 16). Whether we see here the result of an awkward forger's work who dared not change too many passages in a well known book, or merely the fact of the copier's indicating the *legal* paternity of our Lord, by this altered text while leaving intact the reference to his *real* paternity—the work of the Holy Ghost,—no scholar would attempt to rest any weight on this particular variation. In other matters—especially in the omissions, which are peculiarly numerous,—this text seems to reproduce the same family to which belong the more celebrated and valuable Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. There are also some unfortunate *lacunæ* in the MS. as e.g. John i. 1-23. Numerous verbal differences, too, occur—(e.g. Mark x, 50 *put on* instead of *threw off* his garment)—which are deserving of close attention. Altogether it is long since a discovery so valuable to the Biblical student was made as that of this palimpsest or since so interesting an English book was put forward for English lovers of the Bible.

30. *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny*, by W. Forbes Mitchell.; 1895. There is an abundant output of books dealing with the mutiny, nor does the supply seem likely to fail till death has removed all who had a part in that dreadful struggle: even then we suppose memoirs will for several more years continue to be unearthed. The subject is a fascinating one to the general reader, and all the more so to those for whom an Indian connexion or losses sustained in the calamities of 1857 add an increased interest in the subject. Our author served as a private and then as a non-commissioned officer in the 93rd Royal Highlanders; and he gives a very readable account of the events in the mutiny in which they took part. He deals briefly with the general points but more fully with the personal adventures of himself and others. His account is studded plentifully with charming anecdotes, some of which, though we are not of those who condemn as unlikely all that is unusual, we think somewhat tall, e.g. the flies at p. 244 and the pistol practice at p. 58. We find Sir Colin Campbell on most familiar terms with the 93rd; his talk in these pages is a good deal more than his deeds; and we are not surprised to see the result in the absurd insubordination almost amounting to mutiny and murder, which the author complaisantly narrates at pp. 243-4. The hesitation of the 4th Punjabis at the attack on Secundrabagh is not borne out by history. In fact there is too much 93rd, and Highlanders, and Colin Campbell for our taste; but that is a mere matter of taste, and it is hard to criticize a book written absolutely

from memory, after 36 years, as this is. It is full of interesting tales some quite romantic, others very soul-stirring and others again full of wit or of graphic description of camp life. Appendices A and B are curious and startling; but in appendix C on sword-blades the author gets distinctly out of his depth. We know and appreciate the cutting qualities of the old Damascus blade, and, we may add, of the old Kathiawar and Serohi. But did Mr. Mitchell never see a sheep or pig cut clean in two by the Brummagem blade? If so, his experience in the army is singular. His remarks on Cavalry drill, however, p. 167, deserve great study.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT PRESS; MADRAS, INDIA.

31. *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities.* New Series, vol. xv. of the Archæological Survey of India, by A. REA, M.R.A.S.

32. *List of the Architectural and Archæological Remains in Coorg;* Idem., vol. xvii., by the same.

Although the importance is undeniable of having even a bare list of such things as are here enumerated, we fail to see what useful object is gained by informing the public, without any details furnished, that there is "an inscription" at such a place or in speaking of localities which were not really visited: as (*e.g.* p. 7) *Halagin: not on the map, Described as* "3 *miles north.*" Books like this, to be of any practical value should be the result of personal inspection by the writers, and actually give the inscriptions or at least describe them. Otherwise useless expenditure is incurred for worthless works, which with a little addition would be of great value to the country by being made more thorough and complete. But in dealing severely with one, we have much pleasure in saying that the other of these volumes attains the usual high level of the works undertaken by the various Indian Governments. Plentifully illustrated with well executed plates, it describes the *stupas* of Bhattiprolu, Gudivada and Ghantasala, in the Krishna District. Chap. XII has an interesting description of Andhra coins which are illustrated in two fine plates. There are some beautiful specimens of Buddhist sculptures showing a high state of art, as at plate xviii, and the remarkable column, with almost a Persepolitan capital, at plate xxxvi. Instances, too, are given of the comparatively modern incision of Hindu deities on slabs which had been defaced for the purpose, *e.g.* plate xxix. Chap. XXI deals with the Amravati carvings now in the Madras Museum. Chapters IV—VII are of peculiar interest, giving the discovery and description of 3 caskets with relics, etc., while Chap. I. has an important bearing on ancient Indian dome architecture.

It is a pity that these valuable works issued by the Indian Governments can scarcely be said to be published. Little known, they are in consequence little sought, little bought and little used. But they are deserving of a better fate; and our readers will find this volume, like most of its predecessors, well deserving of their support and study. We think we do our readers a service by adding that in London they can be got from Messrs. Thacker and Co., Allen and Co., Kegan Paul and Co., and Quaritch.

MR. JOHN MURRAY; LONDON.

33. *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, by SIR A. H. LAYARD, G.C.B.; 1894. The future explorer of Babylon and Nineveh showed early in life a singular turn for visiting foreign lands and encountering strange adventures. With the eventual purpose of going on to India, he first went to Jerusalem, and thence at the risk of his life he visited Petra and the Eastern shore of the Dead Sea. After innumerable trials and dangers, he got in safety to Damascus and then to Aleppo, whence he proceeded to Baghdad and onwards to Persia. Then the Indian project being postponed he travelled, in troubled times, in the Bakhtiari country and in Luristan, several times visiting Shuster and Baghdad. He took no followers or servants; and he lived among the people, dressed like them, eating their bread and salt, sharing their joys and sorrows, and observing their ways, manners and customs. He encountered sickness, hunger, treachery, robbery and numerous perils; he met both the good and the bad, and saw the bright and the shady side of many characters and classes. He describes all this in the most simple and pleasant style possible; and this new edition of his book written 30 years ago, is still a continual pleasure to read. What an awful system is that of the Persian Government! What a noble fellow is Mehemet Taki Khan, the Bakhtiari chief! and what a grand character is Khatun Jan Khanum, his even nobler wife! At the close of the book, Layard, employed in various confidential services by Sir Stratford Canning, had, among other things, to explode the rumoured atrocities on Christians in Albania by their Muhammadan neighbours. This is not without special interest at present. This charming book closes on his departure for Mosul and the explorations with which his name is indissolubly connected.

34. *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere, Bart. G.C.B.*, by JOHN MARTINEAU: 2 Vols.; 1895. The glorious roll of the Indian Services presents few names entitled to so high a place in British history as that of Sir Bartle Frere. Unlike most Anglo-Indian officials who retire into ease and comparative insignificance after good and long service done in India and for India at the India Office, he undertook and executed equally good work for the Empire in Africa. Our author gives the history of this eventful life, enriched by extracts from the letters and minutes of Sir Bartle and his numerous correspondents. The clear, cool head; the quick comprehensive grasp; the resolute, iron will; the steady, unflinching adherence to duty; the deep human sympathy with suffering; the ready, generous appreciation of work done by others; the calm combat unceasingly though quietly waged against obstruction; the fearless, outspoken condemnation of injustice; the mature judgment and statesmanlike projects; but above all the heart in the right place and the noble character, as a gentleman and a Christian, of Sir Bartle, are here all painted to the life: almost every page adds its touch, till the whole man lives before the reader. We need not stop to criticise slight inaccuracy or exaggeration of statements, in matters of details. Sir Bartle passed through a succession of offices, to be Resident at Sattara, Commissioner of Scindh during the Mutiny, Member

of the Viceroy's Council, Governor of Bombay and Member of the India Council in London. Then—a time at which even the most distinguished Anglo-Indians are generally swallowed up in the mass of those who have acted their part on life's stage—Sir Bartle was sent to Zanzibar, to fight the slave-trade: he did so as successfully as he had discharged his duty in the various other offices he had held. He was next selected for the charge of superintending the Prince of Wales' Indian tour,—a difficult task so well accomplished that when, on its conclusion, Ministers offered him his choice between a G.C.B. and a Baronetcy and he had naturally chosen the latter, Her Majesty conferred both the honours on him (II. 151). In this connexion, it is interesting to note (II. 115), that on his return from Zanzibar, the Queen, when receiving him, sent for a map, made him show the whole course of the Mission, questioned him minutely about it, and, as Sir Bartle said, "knew more about it than all her Ministers." He was next sent as High Commissioner for S. Africa. To his duty there he devoted the same good qualities which had marked all his career. But he fell on troubled times, had indifferent instruments to act with, at times a divided authority to wield, and the Colonial office to thwart all that might be useful. As he received little credit for success, so on him was laid the responsibility of whatever went wrong or was considered wrong. Vacillating conservatives and aggressive liberals, treating him as the shuttlecock of party warfare, condemned him unheard, on the irresponsible diatribes of an anonymous press. His power was unwisely curtailed and his salary meanly reduced; he was snubbed by various offices and officials and his statesmanly proposals were rejected; he received insults and hints to resign. But manfully to the last while work still remained to be done, he stood to his post. He was consequently recalled—it is expressly said—owing to the exigencies of party government. Not he but the continued bad policy of the Colonial office and the defective local administration of incompetent men were responsible for the course of events in S. Africa, that unfortunately culminated in his days in a cyclone of mischievous wars and outbreaks which he had not provoked and in the mismanagement of which he had no part. He had firmly held the helm and steadily guided the vessel amid the storm-waves which he could not prevent. Time has proved that, in S. Africa as formerly in India, his views were just, useful, statesmanlike, and generally right. Justice had not however been yet done to him when he died—as he had lived,—a good, great, just and able man, and a true Christian. From the cradle to the grave his life is a model. We hope that this well-written Biography will be widely read, and may cause justice to be done, even though late, to the memory of one of the great men of the Empire. Long may Britain produce many more like him!

MESSRS. H. S. NICHOLLS AND CO.; LONDON.

35. *The Secret Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV.*; 1895. This book professes to be an account of the French Court taken from the German correspondence of the Duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of the King. We presume there must be a great demand for such books, otherwise so many "Secret Memoirs" would not be published. None the less is such publica-

tion an evidence of morbid curiosity in the public mind. Such memoirs are often good reading, though they may not be to everybody's taste. Hence beyond the preface which describes very clearly the nature of the book, and the biography, good as far as it goes, of the lady whose letters it exhibits, we need not discuss the volume. On the character of Louis XIV. and his surroundings and on the evils which they wrought for themselves and their country, history has already stamped indelibly the well-merited brand of its mature condemnation. This book rakes up once more the now extinct ashes of the passions and scandals, the follies and evils of an age that is past and forgotten, for here they are vividly described. M.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON.

36. *The Quarterly* (*January* 1895) *Statement* is, as usual, brimful of interest and even more than usually rich in maps and illustrations. We notice specially the continuation of Dr. Bliss' excavation report, which continues to show progress, and Herr Burath von Schick's valuable notes. The first part appears of the Rev. W. Ewing's journey in the Hauran, with which he gives a number of Greek and other inscriptions with several *facsimiles*: the narrative is to be continued in the next *Quarterly Statement*. Mr. W. Simpson's short notice on the Swastika or Gammadion is of deep interest.

MESSRS. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

37. *Prince Henry the Navigator*, by C. R. BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S.; 1895, belongs to the pretty series entitled "The Heroes of the Nations," among whom Prince Henry of Portugal certainly is entitled to no inferior place. His own life—singularly free from ambition, devoted to science, full of chivalry, pure and delighting in retirement—offers few details of marked interest. But he formed an era, he created a service of seamen, and he commenced a series of enterprises which, with the patronage bestowed by him on cartographers, mathematicians and navigators, led to the great discoveries of da Gama and Columbus. All this is detailed in the second half of this book: the first is of deeper interest. Mr. Beazley there gives a detailed history of the comparative progress of geographical knowledge from the remotest ages and treats of its gradual advance under the Greeks and Romans, the Christians, the Moslems and the Vikings, till he reaches the time of Henry. How baseless tradition, guess-work and fable gradually gave place to investigation, knowledge and truth, and how each party in turn contributed its quota to the sum of human acquisition are carefully collected by our author, who adds a series of ancient maps, from that of Ptolemy to one of 1492. It is unfortunate that these maps are so reduced in size as to be often difficult to follow in detail, and that the author's inclination for fine writing renders the style of his book at times both obscure and tedious. But the work is a distinct gain, besides its accurate biography of the Prince, to the history of Geography, and should take a high place in this excellent series of popular books.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; LONDON.

38. *The Kathâkoça*, translated by C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., for the Oriental Translation Fund, New Series; 1895. While Buddhism has lately found much favour in the west, Jainism, contemporary in its rise, is, as our author says, comparatively neglected and unknown. Hence his translation from the Sanskrit of "The Treasury of Stories," is very welcome. The Preface is more valuable than most prefaces, as in it the learned author gives a sketch of Jainism. The translation itself is excellent, as might be expected from so great a scholar when sparing himself no pains, and even seeking help from others for elucidating obscure points; and while it retains the peculiarities of its original, in prolix description, minute detail and profuse narrative, it reads thoroughly English in form, language and structure. Of the tales themselves which form its substance, the learned writer justly observes that their chief value lies in their description of life, manners and persons in distant ages, as they consist of pieces of folk-lore pressed into the service of Jain teaching. The doctrine of metempsychosis runs, of course, through all; and it is a strange commentary on it, that the same persons in successive births, keep appearing together, in the same relationship, and often with exactly the same vices as in previous births: time and repetition do not seem to bring them ever so little nearer to that perfection to which metempsychosis is supposed to tend.

MESSRS. SWAN SONNENSCHEIN AND CO.; LONDON.

39. *The Gospel of Buddha according to old records*, told by PAUL CARUS; 1895. The author adds one more to the number of those who, for various purposes, seek to familiarize the West with the teachings of Buddha. Continued translations, and compendia are placing the Buddhist books before the British public, and our author is to be congratulated on the collection of sayings and teachings which he has made from various sources. The well-known beauty of Buddha's teaching shines conspicuously through it, mixed, of course, with that impracticability which is its great fault: *e.g.*, p. 78, xxxiv. 7, which would soon put an end to the world. This book will be welcome to many classes of readers. Mr. Carus, however, has a preface which calls for some notice. He tells us, most modestly, that he has done for Buddha what St. John did for our Lord, and while affirming that Buddhism has no revelation from God to man, he usurps the word "Gospel," which, if it means anything, means God's word to man. He says there is no "ego-entity":—the very being of man consists in his *Karma*, and this *Karma* remains untouched by death and continues to live (p. vii.). Now, except God, who is outside the present question, every being must have had a beginning; every man, go back through as many births or developments as you please, must at some definite period have *begun* his existence. At that first moment, he could have no *Karma* at all; for that is the consequence of the sum of acts done in a former birth. What was it, then, that came into existence? What determined the particular circumstances of each individual first birth? *Karma* thus implies not only an indefinite succession, but also an endless begin-

ning,—in fact leaves that beginning in utter darkness. Nor do any of its many exponents seem to realize the necessity or to grapple with the difficulty of its explanation. Again, when people speak of "Buddhism," what is really meant? A non-existent and merely theoretical religion, extracted out of a series of books, which, in its purity, is not an accepted teaching or a life-guiding force anywhere. In Ceylon it is mixed with much spirit-worship, not to use a harder word;—in Tibet it is the reverse of pure;—in China and Japan it is interwoven with Confucianism and Shintoism. In fact, as a practical religion, Buddha's unmixed teaching, good as it is, has become extinct in the world. We can learn a great deal from it, and Mr. Carus' book enables us to do this with ease and pleasure; but beyond that pure Buddhism does not extend.

40. *The Globe-trotter in India and other Indian Studies*, by M. MACMILLAN, B.A.; 1895. These studies, 7 in number, begin with an account of the Indian experience of Gemelli Careri, an Italian adventurer, who started just 200 years ago, on a journey round the world, visited India and saw Aurungzebe, and returned by way of Mexico. This enables our author to point out some of the changes of two centuries, as a sort of moral to the tale:—Careri's travels are given in *Churchill's Voyages*. Next comes the obituary sketch (1892) of an Anglo-Indian man of letters—Mr. Curwen, who "must assuredly take the very highest rank among those who have succeeded in throwing the glamour of romance and poetry over life in the East." The philological essay on Anglo-Indian words and phrases is extremely shallow and trivial: our author actually speaks of a water-carrier in connexion with the Scotch "beastie," and quotes the soldiers' "put a little more *jaldi* into it",—an illustration pardonable perhaps in Mr. R. Kipling but quite beneath the dignity of a University man: it is, moreover, incorrect, for *jaldi* is both an adverb and a noun. In Heredity and the Regeneration of India he tilts against the seclusion of women to which he seems to ascribe all ills; but there are no signs of physical degeneration in the masses of India. "Some Indian Proverbs" is a good chapter: Mr. Fallon's book on the subject will furnish many more instances for illustration. The last two studies, one comparing the Indian with the Greek Epics and the other dealing with the moral teaching of the Mahabharata, are of greater interest, and will be read with pleasure and appreciated by classical and philosophical students.

MESSRS. THACKER AND CO.; LONDON, CALCUTTA, AND BOMBAY.

41. *Anglo-Urdu Medical Hand-book*,
42. *Grammar of the Urdu Language*,

by GEORGE SMALL, M.A.; 1895.

Both these nice little books (with pretty, flexible covers and rounded corners) may be taken together, being by the same author and dealing with cognate subjects. The first is an extension of the second to a special line and for a special object,—that of helping medical men and women in India to make themselves clearly and well understood regarding matters connected with their profession. It is very full and detailed; and he who masters its contents need have no fear of not understanding, or not being

understood by, Urdu-speaking people in India. Perhaps too many words are given in the vocabulary for the same thing; and the most popular words are not generally given first; there are some needless repetitions; and occasionally an error occurs in the application of some Urdu terms. The leading defect, however, is that of frequently using "high words" instead of the plainer ones in common use.

The Grammar is equally good; but it shares the defect of most modern grammars, in being extremely lengthy and detailed and full of needlessly prolix determinations of points which are far more easily acquired by a little reading and conversation. It is fairly correct, though we have noted some slips, (as that cardinal numbers may be used with singular nouns), and an occasional confusion in the translation of tenses. On the whole, it is a good introduction to the study of a language which, without being universal in India, is more general there than any other, and is consequently of the greatest utility to even mere visitors, travellers and sportsmen who purpose doing something more than simply passing through India.

MESSRS. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE; LONDON.

43. The *Chrestomathy of Arabic Prose-Pieces*, by DR. R. BRÜNNOW, being Part XVI. of the Porta Linguarum Orientalium, edited by HERM. L. STRACK, 1895, is an admirable collection of prose-pieces. It contains firstly the legendary history of the Queen of Sheba; then twenty-four texts relating to the history of the Arabs from pre-Islamic times to the death of the Khalífa Al Walíd Ibn 'Abd Al Malik in A. H. 96; then the biographies of three poets extracted from the *Kitáb al Aghání*, the latest of whom, Kais Ibn Dharíh, died in A.H. 65 or 68 or about 70, according to authorities not given in the Chrestomathy; then three selections from the *Kur'án*; and lastly an extract from the *Ájurrúmíya*, a well-known grammatical primer. In two Appendices, Dr. Brünnow gives the genealogy of the tribe of Kuraish, a knowledge of which is essential to the proper comprehension of the history; and a chronological table of events from the *Hijra* to the overthrow of the Umawí dynasty in A.H. 132. The only error that I have noticed is in the genealogical table, where Mus'ab is represented as son, instead of brother, of 'Abd Allâh Ibn Az Zubair. The book is well printed, in clear bold type, and on good paper. The text is furnished with vowel and diacritical signs wherever necessary, and a full and accurate vocabulary in German and English is appended.—M. S. HOWELL.

MESSRS. WILSON AND MILNE; LONDON.

44. *The History of Currency, 1252 to 1894*; by W. SHAW, M.A.; 1895. The author warns us that his book consists of two distinct things, although in his work the two run into each other and are meant to support each other. The one is the history of currency in Europe and America, during the period named in the title; the other is the panegyric of monometallism; and the history is written from the monometallic point of view. Our author gives out no uncertain sound regarding the excellence of monometallism and the evil of bimetallism: in his very Preface (pp. x, xi) we have "that mediæval system which had been the bane of France since first

two metals found circulation in her bounds"—and yet France is a prosperous country; and bimetallism is "a theory growing not out of practice, but of the failure of practice; resting not on data verified but on data falsified and censure-marked." Yet monometallism is barely over a century old, and its practice has landed mankind in the difficulties that exist to-day and have existed for the last quarter of a century. The world had wagged on fairly well during the preceding centuries; and hence the least we can say is that the verdict of history is not as yet quite so clear as our author has here made out. The other part of Mr. Shaw's work—the history itself of Currency,—is a painstaking and very full account of the origin and progress of coinage and of the enactments concerning it, in the various countries of Europe and the United States. India is just touched upon at the conclusion. At p. 294 we have two peculiar sentences: 1. "Such is the structure of the world's commerce that India provides an outlet or drain for any sudden crisis-bringing inflow of precious metal and preserves the equilibrium of our system." . . . 2. "To India (trade intercourse) meant a perpetual balance of trade in her favour, if such a phrase can be used of such a situation,—a continual inflow of precious metal." India is a tough nut for monometallic hands, and seems to require peculiarly worded sentences to conceal meaning. With admiration for our author's careful compilation of history combining with hesitation in accepting all his deductions, we commend this very useful work for serious study by all who are interested in the great currency problem.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt, too late for reviewing in this quarter, of the following books:

1. *Secret Memoirs of the Royal Family of France*, 2 vols.; London: H. S. Nichols and Co.; 1895.

2. *The Discourses of Philoxenus*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt.D., F.S.A., Vol. 2nd; London: Asher and Co. 1894.

3. *China Present and Past*, by R. S. Gundry; London: Chapman and Hall, 1895.

4. *The Birth of Islam*, by A. D. Tyssen (T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), a blank-verse Drama in 5 scenes, with Muhammad as the leading figure.

5. *Britain and her Rivals in the 18th Century*, by A. D. Innes (London: Innes and Co.; 1895).

6. *Notes of a Journey on the Upper Mekong, Siam*, by H. Warrington Smyth (London: The Royal Geographical Society; 1895).

7. *Grammaire Malgache, suivi de nombreux exercises, par Aristide Marre*; 2d. edition, 1894: Imprimerie Vosgienne: à Epinal,—an excellent work, for French readers, published in a convenient pocket form.

8. *A Concise Introduction to the Study of the Malagasy Language*, by W. E. Cousins, Antananarivo; 1894; even a better one for those who know English.

9. *Les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans le pays d'occident.* (Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes) traduit par Ed. Chavannes. Paris: E. Leroux; 1894.

10. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, to July* 1893. Washington, U.S.A., 1894.

11. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers*, by R. Brown; fourth and concluding volume. London: Cassell and Co.; 1895.

We have also received with thanks:—1. *The American Journal of Philology*, edited by B. L. Gildersleeve (Baltimore, U.S.A.);—2. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—3. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome: A. Beffani);—4. *Biblia*, the American monthly of Biblical Archæology and Oriental Research (Meriden: Conn., U.S.A.);—5. *Tung-pao*, the Chinese Bi-monthly (Leyden: E. J. Bril);—6. *The Review of Reviews* (London, W. T. Stead);—7. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—8. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—9. *The Strand Magazine*, 10. *The Picture Magazine* and 11. *Round the World*; all three from G. Newnes and Co., London;—12. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—13. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—14. *Le Petit Colonial* (Paris);—15. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York);—16. *Public Opinion* (London);—17. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart);—18. *India* (London);—19. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—20. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—21. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest);—22. *The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable, London);—23. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—24. *The Moslem World*, a New Series (New York);—25. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London*, Vol. II., 2nd Session (London, K. Paul and Co.);—26. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia*, 13 Serie, Nos. 10 and 11 (Lisbon: National Press);—and 27. *Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris.)

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The following official changes are noted: At the India Office, Sir C. Crossthwaite succeeds Sir R. H. Davies, Sir H. Rawlinson's seat remaining vacant. As Governor of Bombay, Lord Sandhurst goes *vice* Lord Harris; as Lt. Governor of the N.W. Provinces Sir A. Macdonnell *vice* Sir C. Crossthwaite; as Chief Commissioners, Sir F. Fryer to Burma *vice* Sir A. Mackenzie and Sir E. C. Ollivant to Scindh *vice* Mr. H. E. M. James. The two last transferred officers go to the Governor-General's Council, to which Sir G. Evans and Mr. Stephens have been re-nominated, and Prince Sir Jehan Kuddur and Babu Mohiny Mohun Roy have been also appointed as additional members. Manchester cottons have been entered tardily on the Tariff List; the Deccan Ryots' Bill Amendment Act has been passed; and it has been officially announced that the Indian Government do not intend to reopen the mints to free coinage of silver.

We summarize the annual Budget statement received by telegraph:—The accounts have been made for 1893-4 at 1s. 2·55d. per Rupee, those for 1894-5, and 1895-6 at 1s. 1·09d. The final deficit for 1893-4, Rs. 15,470,000 (falsifying anticipation by Rs. 2,460,000), included Rs. 10,610,000 for railway capital expenditure under famine insurance. The estimated 1894-5 deficit of Rs. 30,200,000 becomes a surplus of Rs. 9,900,000, giving an improvement, apart from exchange, of Rs. 31,560,000, to which contribute Opium (both by revenue increased and expenditure lessened), Customs, Railway earnings and Excise. Rs. 3,040,000 had to be paid in anticipation during loan-conversion. Expenditure was kept within the estimates, the abundant harvest and consequent low prices more than covering the Rs. 39,300,000 extra charge for sterling pay of the British Army and Rs. 1,950,000 for the Waziri expedition, which for '95-6 is credited for another Rs. 900,000.

For 1895-6, there have to be met, Exchange loss Rs. 25,040,000, Provincial contributions and retrenchments dispensed with Rs. 6,850,000, Opium payments enhanced Rs. 4,600,000 + last year's deficit: a total of Rs. 39,510,000. Diminished Interest from conversion gives Rs. 5,250,000; Improvements in Customs Rs. 18,830,000, in Railways Rs. 7,880,000, in Land revenue Rs. 4,030,000, in Opium Rs. 4,670,000, in Stamps and Excise Rs. 1,920,000, in other items Rs. 690,000: these leave a surplus of Rs. 3,760,000, reduced to Rs. 46,000 by the credit of Rs. 1,500,000 for Chitral troubles and Rs. 1,800,000 to increase of the native army pay for 110,000 men, from 1st July. The famine insurance grant remains in abeyance as last year. Rs. 44,000,000 are provided for Railway and Irrigation works capital expenditure; £17,000,000 are to be drawn by the Secretary of State; and the only borrowing will be £2,000,000 to replace the temporary debt falling due in May. Of the total 4 per cent. loan, Rs. 951,490,000, only Rs. 9,740,000 were discharged, and Rs. 17,870,000 outstanding, leaving Rs. 923,880,000 converted into 3½ per cent. causing a net saving of Rs. 4,600,000. An item in the statement sorely needing ex-

planation is that the new Customs' Duties of 1894-5 produced Rs. 30,830,000, of which the Tariff of March 1894 (applicable for the whole year) gave Rs. 16,280,000 while the Cotton Duties (only recently imposed) gave Rs. 14,550,000; yet it had been stated that these last were but a flea-bite and hardly worth the trouble of collecting.

The first Indian Medical Congress, opened by the Viceroy, noted, among the chief points, the general advance in sanitation during the last 30 years, the water-supply, and the fall of the death-rate of British soldiers from 69 to 15 per 1,000. The so-called National Congress held its annual meeting at Madras, with 1,150 delegates and 3,000 visitors. It condemned the excise duty on Indian cottons and the interference with permanent settlements by the Bengal-Behar surveys,—said Government had not kept its pledge of extending permanent settlements,—reiterated the poverty of India,—proposed to abolish the Secretary of State's Council for which it suggested a standing committee of the House of Commons,—complained of the limitation of the scope of the promised Parliamentary Committee on expenditure, and the decision regarding "simultaneous examinations,"—condemned the "Provincial service,"—demanded a Legislative Council for the Punjab and the change of its Chief Court into a regular High Court,—expressed dissatisfaction with the present mode of recruiting the higher judicial service, recommended a proper training for District and Sessions Judges, and the employment in the higher posts of an increased number from the legal profession,—proposed the easing of the finances (reported in a bad condition) by the curtailment of the military and Home charges,—ordered that delegates from each province should meet the Parliamentary Committee to urge reductions,—and deprecated the imposition of a common water cess as a disturbing taxation, urging that it should be imposed on definite principles securing landlord rights.

The new military organization comes into force with the new quarter, the actual Generals continuing at Bombay and Madras, while Sir W. Lockhart takes the Punjab and Sir W. Elles the Bengal armies, whose respective headquarters are to be Murree and Nyni-tal. The annual Musketry report again shows the native army superior in shooting to the European. Of the latter, the best corps were for Cavalry the 16th and 5th Lancers, and for Infantry the 2nd Bn. Royal Scots Fusiliers and 1st Bn. Rifle Brigade; —of the former, the 7th Bombay Lancers, with the 29th Punjab and 12th Bengal Infantry. Military guard dogs have been brought into use at all the main guards at Peshawur to help the sentries.

Col. H. S. Jarrett has completed the translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* begun 28 years ago by Prof. Blochmann. The Bombay University, after consulting scholars in Europe, has adopted a scheme for the study of Zend and Pahlvi. The Madras Education Report for 1893-4 gave 24,949 institutions with 749,977 scholars, or 1 in 48 (boys 1 in 31 and girls 1 in 180). Of school-going age, 24·3 and ·4 per cent. respectively of males and females received some education. All Europeans and Eurasians, nearly all Brahmins, ⅔ of Native Christians, ⅓ of Muhammadans, and ¼ of non-Brahmin Hindus attended schools; but of Pariahs less than $\frac{1}{100}$. Of languages, 350,000 learn Tamil, 220,000 Telegu, and 419,000 English. The cost

was Rs. 6,100,000, of which fees brought Rs. 1,750,900. The Assam Education Report gave 84,881 pupils, the increase of 2,896 being 1·95 per cent. in Hindus and 0·92 in Muhammadans. Of males and females the percentages were 18·67 and 1·62. There were 2,420 primary schools: 292 Mission Schools with 5,810 pupils, of which 181 with 3,826 scholars belonged to the Welsh Mission; and 190 girls' schools with 3,100 pupils.

The Postal Department reported an increase of 635 letter-boxes, 2,250 miles of post lines, a general increase except in newspapers which fell off 274,170. The total of articles sent increased 18,296,744, and Savings Bank deposits Rs. 10,455,764. The staff numbered 47,225 including 19 females; the receipts were Rs. 15,499,850 and charges Rs. 12,649,414; surplus Rs. 2,850,436. For the 9 months ending December 1894, the total earnings of the Indian railways showed an increase of Rs. 8,375,000 over the corresponding period of 1893;—the G.I.P. Railway alone showed a decrease: 18,500 miles were open and 1,922 under construction; the capital was Rs. 2,331,786,631; the total net receipts had been (1893-4) Rs. 127,365,014, or 5½ per cent. on capital. Rs. 160,000,000 are sanctioned for Railway expenditure in 1895-6-7, including (1) Bezwada—Madras, 291 miles; (2) Kotri—Rohri chord-line, 206 m.; (3) Wazirabad—Lyallpur 116 m.; (4) Rutlam—Ujjain, 61 m., and (5) the linking up of metre gauge system in the N.W. Provinces by the Cawnpur—Ramnagar line, 77 miles. Rs. 31,000 are sanctioned for a bridge over the Kunar River at Balakot, Rs. 37,000 for additional accommodation at Aden; and Rs. 18,000 for the water supply of Solon.

The Indian tea crop for 1895 turned out 127,127,215 lb.—much less than the first estimate. Indian trade to end of December 1894 gave Exports Rs. 746,546,610 and Imports Rs. 520,859,031, leaving a balance in favour of India of Rs. 225,687,579: the treasury balance then stood at Rs. 171,069,000. Mr. O'Conor's figures of Indian trade for the years 1893-4 are, Imports: Merchandise Rs. 739,569,570, gold Rs. 31,465,300, silver Rs. 152,787,260—total Rs. 923,822,130. Exports: Foreign Merchandise re-exported Rs. 44,319,750, Indian exports Rs. 1,020,156,150, gold Rs. 26,052,840, silver Rs. 15,194,530—total Rs. 1,104,723,270. This gives the gross balance in favour of India of Rs. 180,901,140. Excluding re-exports and movements of bullion (which are only a means of payment) the net balance in favour was Rs. 236,266,803. The Lushai Chiefs of the Kombok, Parvar, Lakher, and Farnei tribes (on the north of our frontier) have visited the Lt. Governor of Bengal, under charge of the Political agent, Mr. Plowden of the Lushai Military Police. The Khanki Weir of the Chenab Canal has suffered damage. It is 40,000 ft. long in 8 bays of 500 ft. each: 200 ft. of No. 1, nearest the take-off, sunk 6 to 7 ft., probably from scouring under the clay. The stream being now very low enables the cause to be at once investigated and remedied before the next rise. At Sabaur 5 miles east of Bhagulpur, a large space was found, after a heavy rainfall, to be strewn with precious stones in various stages of manipulation and sizes from pillules to 1 inch diameter, including rock-crystal, amethyst, carnelian, jasper, garnet, spinel and agate. They are supposed to have been washed from the ruins of some suddenly destroyed

town, and the magistrate, Mr. Skrine, has placed the collection in the hands of Dr. Hoernle for report. The Waziris have accepted the terms offered them, and the Gomul and Tochi Passes are being surveyed and their delimitation marked.

At CHITRAL (withdrawal from which it now appears was at one time proposed by some but was never seriously contemplated by any) the murdered Nizam-ul-Mulk has been succeeded by his brother Amir-ul-Mulk, whose territories have been since invaded by Umra Khan of Jandol. He captured and still holds the fort of Darosh, while protesting to the British that he means no aggression. Dr. Robertson, the British Agent, was at Fort Chitral with sufficient troops and provisions; 350 Imperial Service troops had been pushed up as reinforcements at Mastuj, while others were assembling. Sher Afzul has joined Umra Khan, who has received an order for immediate withdrawal, which, if not complied with, will probably end in a tough little campaign and his eventual destruction.

From the NATIVE STATES, the death, reported last quarter, of the late Maharaja of Mysore has caused great and general sorrow, and Her Majesty the Empress Queen sent a telegram of condolence to H.H. the Maharani. The eldest son, Sri Krishnaraya Wadyar Bahadur, 9 years old, has been installed as the *gaddi*, with the Maharani as Regent, who has appointed a Council consisting of the Dewan Sahib, Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, K.C.S.I., Chief Justice T. Themboo Chetty, Third Judge P. Krishnamurthy, and Deputy Commissioner Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim. Fixed rules are made for the conduct of business, important matters being referred to the Maharani-Regent, who will when necessary consult the Resident, Mr. Lee-Warner, who has succeeded Col. Henderson. The first agricultural Bank has been started at Palhali, near Seringapatam, by native *sowcars*, with a loan of Rs. 16,000 from the State, which has also reduced the fees and stamp duties in favour of such banks. The members' entrance fee is 4 As.; seven per cent. will be charged as interest on the first sums borrowed up to Rs. 400, and six for sums over that amount: the limit of loans is Rs. 1,000 for each member. In Hyderabad, where 10 years ago there were only 139 schools with 5,000 pupils, there are now reported 580 schools with 40,970 pupils: 34 per cent. of school-going age are in attendance. Orders have been issued for a primary school in every town and village having 1,000 souls. With the consent of the Government of India, a 10 per cent. duty has been imposed on silver entering the Nizam's territory. Maharaja Holkar of Indore personally inspected the Rahidpur district, visiting Jagoti, Mahidpur, Jarda and Tarana Mahals, examining the working of the new system of land revenue, and dismissing incompetent officials. The Maharaja of Jaipur has presented copies of the magnificent "Jeypore Portfolio of Architecture" to 6 Canadian and to other colonial libraries. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has returned to his State. Maharaja Scindhia has, on attaining to full power, announced his intention to continue the investment of his 3½ *krores* of Rs. in the Government securities at the reduced rate of 3½ per cent. Her Highness the Maharani of Jamnagar has had her eyes successfully operated on for cataract by Dr. Charlotte Ellsby. The principal native states of Rajpu-

tana have joined in selling quinine in retail at the post offices at a *pice* a packet. The Kashmir State Council is reduced by the return of Sirdar Muhammad Hyat Khan to the Punjab Commission, and two of its members have had their salaries lessened, making a total saving of Rs. 30,000 a year. The finances of French India continue in an increasing state of chronic deficit. In Portuguese India the VIIth Provincial Synod has been held at Goa—300 years since the last, or Vth—the archbishop defraying all expenses: there were present the Bishops of Damaun, Cranganore, Meliapur, Cochin, Macao and Mozambique.

Sir F. Fryer returns to the administration of BURMA, to which have been added Victoria Island, St. Matthew's Island, and the Bird Nest group, off the Tenasserim coast. The retiring Chief Commissioner has called attention to an unfortunately too prevalent form of immorality among some officials. An increase of six Assistant Commissioners has been sanctioned. Five Thetta Chiefs—the last in the North Chin Hills—have surrendered. The Kachyns of Kaittik made a raid which was repulsed: there had been some raiding also on the Upper Chindwin. The State Railway earnings, to the end of 1894, were Rs. 2,490,886 against Rs. 2,529,881: worse was expected, but there was an improvement in trade. The Railway from Mogaung is to be extended to Myitkyna on the Irrawaddy. Chinese officials arrived at Bhamo to take over stores for the telegraph line and convey them to Yunnan, and Mr. Jansens the European Chinese official was at Momein, whence he is constructing the line. The ruler of the Shan State of Thonze having abdicated, it has been given to Swa Hke, who, after being educated in England, has, under his father, been administering the Shan state of Mainglon.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN, who continues in fair health, received with great courtesy Lieut.-Colonel Sirdar Akram Khan, the newly-appointed British Agent at Kabul, who presented the insignia of a G.C.B. with which the Amir was markedly pleased. His journey to England is still uncertain; but Mr. T. Martin, his Calcutta Agent, stated that probably the Amir's son, Habibulla Khan, would go instead. Mr. and Mrs. Clement and Mr. Walter have come to England for more purchases; and Sir T. S. Pyne is in India for a similar purpose, with, perhaps, a more diplomatic affair in hand. The Asmar boundary commission, which was well received, has been partly snow-bound; but though the officials on both sides continue on the best of terms, they have been unable to agree on the details of the delimitation.

From the Pamirs we learn from the Russians that complaints continue to be made to their agents of ill-treatment by Afghans of the people in Shignan and Roshan; and some of their papers urge that Russia must occupy the Pamirs quite up to the Hindu Kush. A French scientific mission, under M. Jean Choffanjou with MM. H. Mangine and L. Gay, has started from Samarkand, viâ Tashkend, for TIBET.

The CEYLON Legislative Council has almost unanimously condemned the excessive contribution imposed on the Colony for naval and military defence; and the feeling is gaining ground that Ceylon should be self-governing. Sir A. Havelock, the Governor, has been paying a visit to

India. The railway receipts for 1894 exceeded those for 1893 by Rs. 517,971. The ambassadors from the Maldive Islands brought the annual tribute—50 packages of *cowries*, Maldive fish, sauces, etc.

In the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, in consequence of the Colonial office despatch regarding the Defence Contribution, four members of the Legislative Council and all Singapore holders of unpaid office resigned: 35 in all, European and Chinese. They refused even the Governor's suggestion to finish their labours on committees; enthusiastic public meetings approved their action; and public bodies have declined to nominate candidates to succeed them. The action has been strong, manly and emphatic. The amount protested against was £80,000 for 1894, rising by annual increments to £120,000 in 1898; this Lord Ripon called a sensible relief to the Colony! In this connexion the following table of manifestly inconsistent contributions is interesting:

West Indies	for 4,288 men, pay	*Nil.*	*or per man,*	*nil.*
S. Africa and Natal	„ 3,331 „	„ £4,000,	„	£1 4s.
Hongkong	„ 2,996 „	pays 40,000	„	13 3s.
Ceylon	„ 1,659 „	„ 81,750	„	49 5s.
The Straits	„ 1,558 „	pay 100,000	„	64 3s.
West Africa	„ 1,163 „	pays *nil*	„	*nil.*
Mauritius	„ 875 „	„ 18,750	„	21 8s.

Prince Chowfa Maha Vajiravudh, named by the King of SIAM to be Crown Prince, was invested in England where he is being educated, with the insignia of his dignity, by a special commission despatched for that purpose. A Legislative Council appointed for the kingdom was opened in January, consisting of the Ministers, and 12 nobles, who are empowered to make laws, etc., with the royal sanction, or, in the king's absence, by a 2/3 majority. The Burmo-Siamese delimitation is making successful progress; and of the Anglo-French delimitation in the Upper Mekong, the commissioners met in January. It is reported that 300 Annam and 60 French soldiers are in a fort lately built at a river's mouth near Chantaboon, from which the French have not yet shown the slightest disposition to retire. To settle the frontier dispute at Battanbong a Franco-Siamese commission has been nominated, consisting of M. E. Roland and Phra Sak Bidet.

In TONQUIN, M. de Lanessan has been replaced by M. Armand Rousseau. The French attacked Longbai which had been seized by "pirates," but they lost 9 men killed and 26 wounded, including 3 officers. A French convoy was attacked at Bassam by Black Flags, who, out of 23, killed 13 and wounded 8—only 3 escaping. They captured 7 horses, 15 rifles, and 1,800 cartridges. Another party was attacked and 2 telegraphers were captured. In the Chamber, frcs. 9,000,000 were sanctioned for the Langson railway, part of which was opened at the end of 1894, and frcs. 1,584,000 for military expenditure in Siam.

Heavy fighting was reported from the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS where all is not yet quiet. In HONG KONG, the estimated revenue for 1895 was $1,999,076, expenditure $2,041,637,—deficit $42,561; but a slight increase in the duties would bring in for stamps $80,450; for spirit license

$16,000; for Pawnbrokers' fees, $23,950—a total of $80,450, converting the deficit into a surplus, of which $67,000 would be spent on public works, and the rest be carried forward.

The Diet of JAPAN has, for once, not had to be dissolved immediately after meeting; for the war enthusiasm has induced it to further the acts of ministers instead of thwarting every proposal. A new war loan of 100,000,000 *yen* was sanctioned, with the supplementary budget and a loan of 3,000,000 *yen* to Korea. The Census report for the end of 1883 gave the population at 41,386,265, being 20,905,359 males and 20,480,906 females: increase during a year, 296,325. There were 7,859,218 houses, an increase of 41,648. The war against China has continued much as before. KOREA is still unpacified; there has been constant fighting with the Tonghaks; and a rival king, called Kai-nam, has been set up at Cholla. Count Inouye, though the "independence" of Korea has been formally proclaimed at Seoul, proposes that in consequence of financial difficulties, official corruption and disunion, the Japanese governor should be entrusted with the task of carrying out all reforms. Notes have been issued for 15,000,000 *yen* besides the loan from Japan. The British consulate is guarded by 70 of our marines. Russia has declared that she will not hear of the annexation of Korea by Japan. CHINA has continued to fare ill in the war. First Port Arthur and then Wei-hei wei have been captured by the Japanese troops; yet no progress has been made towards Peking; but the army once threatening Mukden is again advancing after a temporary check from the Chinese forces. Some Chinamen had for a while been drilled under European officers; but these have now left, which promises ill for China's future, showing that even now the various authorities and officials will not co-operate. Lin-kun-yi, lately Viceroy of Nankin, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief,—a somewhat useless office where none obey orders. Admiral Ting, who had been reinstated in command of the fleet on the united memorial of both foreign and Chinese officers, committed suicide when forced to surrender at Wei-hei-wei. Li Hung Chang, restored to all his former dignities and armed with full powers, has, at last, proceeded to Japan to negotiate peace, in the conditions of which both territorial cession and money payment are said to be included. Last November the foreign ministers at Peking had, for the first time, an audience with the Emperor in the palace itself, entering by the main gate, retaining their sidearms and spectacles, and subjected to no annoyance. Mr. Wylie's murderer has been decapitated, four accomplices exiled, two officers cashiered and an indemnity paid of £1,000: the whole matter has moreover been published in the Peking Government gazette. A Chinese 6 per cent. gold loan of £3,000,000 was successfully floated at 96½.

In RUSSIAN ASIA, 1,518 versts (over 1,000 miles) of the Siberian Railway, about a quarter of the whole, has been constructed, a part in each section; and 235 miles, from Vladivostock to Nauravieff Amurski were open at the end of last year. A credit of 336,000 *roubles*, raised afterwards to 351,000, was given for settling Cossack families in the Amur district, besides 80,000 roubles for transferring 150 other Cossack families from the Trans Baikal district to the Ussuri section of the railway as a protection against Chinese

marauders. To prevent friction and a multiplication of reports, etc., Trans-Caspia will be united with the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan.

The Crown Prince (*Vali-ahd*) of PERSIA, Governor of Tabriz, has been on a visit to his father, the Shah, at Teheran, where several more Russian officers have gone to act as instructors to the army. The Russian consular staff also is being increased. Two Russian officers have recently been engaged on special duty in Persia—the survey of the roads from Bunder Abbas to Yezd and Kerman, and from there to Askabad: one stayed 4½ and the other 8 months in the country, covering respectively 2,500 and 3,600 versts. The town of Kuchan has been destroyed by an earthquake, which did damage also at Meshed. The Sultan of MUSCAT, who appears somewhat unpopular, has had to take refuge in the forts with about 2,500 followers with obsolete weapons, flying from a band of Bedouin rebels under Sheikh Sayad Sule, who had 350 men armed with Martini Henry rifles. H.M.SS. *Bramble* and *Sphinx* were at hand for emergencies.

An Imperial *Irade* has proclaimed the necessity of passports for foreigners visiting TURKEY, and for Turkish subjects going abroad. Ismail Bey goes from Beyrouth to be Governor-General of Tripoli, and Karatheodory Pasha, a Christian officer of experience and ability, is made Governor-General of Crete, where the Council, now for some time discontinued, will soon be again called to meet. The investigation into the alleged Armenian atrocities continues, the Turkish judges being associated with representatives of Britain, France, Italy and Russia, and the Vali of Bitlis being removed pending the inquiry. More atrocities are continually reported, and the Armenian clergy by no means dream of preaching or practising the doctrine of the other cheek. In future, it is said, Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis and Mush are to be one *Vilayet* with a Governor appointed for 5 years, the first of whom will be a Muhammadan, his successors non-Armenian Christians. The increased pilgrim traffic to Jerusalem has caused Lloyd to establish a second weekly steamer between Alexandria and Beyrouth, calling at Port Said and Jaffa. The British troops, all but one company, have left CYPRUS, which Ministers declared, not quite correctly, to be absolutely useless to the Empire and only a source of expense.

Princess Khadija Hanem, sister of H.M. the Khedive of EGYPT, has been married to Prince Abbas Halim, a grandson of Mehemet Ali. Prince Aziz Khan, of the Khedivial family has gone to India to perfect himself in military matters and has been appointed an unpaid officer to the 15th Lancers at Lucknow. There has been some tension about a rumoured change of the ministry, but matters have once again been tided over, and his Highness, for the first time since his accession, was present at a review of the British troops at Cairo, and afterwards expressed his pleasure to the General commanding. The Legislative Council, which at the end of last year made some senseless proposals for which it was censured by the Government, has passed at a special session, the proposal of Mr. Gorst for appointing Sheikhs of villages from among the best land owners, with definite powers including dealing with suspicious and dangerous persons, and jurisdiction, under the ministry of justice, over minor cases, civil and criminal. To make the office desirable certain

privileges have been granted to its holders, who are, however, liable to punishment by the administrative tribunals for neglect of duty or abuse of power. Owing to some recent outrages, the Khedive and Council have created a special mixed tribunal for offences against members of the British naval and military forces. The accounts for 1894 show revenue £10,562,000, expenditure £9,256,000, surplus £806,000, only £158,000 being disposable by Government, the rest going to the public debt of which £700,000 were paid off last year: the reserves were £4,230,000. It has been decided to remove the debris around the Philæ temples before settling the reservoir question. The railway will be extended from Keneh to Assouan, 180 miles, at a cost of £400,000, with 4 % guaranteed interest, to be completed in 27 months: the French member of the Commission of the debt opposes this, as usual. The remains of the Ex-Khedive Ismail Pasha were brought to Egypt and given a solemn burial near the mosque he erected. Slatin Bey has succeeded in escaping from Omdurman to Egypt.

In MOROCCO the murderer of Herr Neumann was sentenced to be beheaded and his two accomplices to penal servitude for life; and an indemnity was to be paid. Sidi Brisha the Sherifian Envoy Extraordinary to Spain, well received by the Court and people, was unfortunately struck in the face by an officer said to be mad who was at once arrested and put on trial. Sidi Brisha, who brought an instalment of the Melilla indemnity, has negotiated a modification of the Melilla treaty, postponing the delimitation of the neutral zone for a year, during which a strong garrison of the Sultan's troops will keep the Riffs quiet; and Spain agrees not to insist on a Consul at Fez unless other powers are granted the privilege.

At LAGOS peace has been effected between the Ilorins and Ibadans, and a post established between the two to end the war which has now raged for several years. The Amir of Ilorin has accepted the British delimitation. The Chief, Nana of Benin was tried and sentenced to deprivation of all rights in Benin and to life imprisonment at Old Calabar, with only one wife and one servant. There has been a ferment in Ashanti, whence permission was requested to send envoys to England to state grievances: the Colonial office refused it. Mr. W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G., late Colonial Secretary of the Straits' Settlement, has been made Governor of the Gold Coast. A native rising, caused by repressive measures and trade restrictions, against the Niger Co. whose factory at Akassa was plundered, has been put down and Nimbi, chief town of Brass, destroyed. After receipt of reports on both sides from local officials, the Anglo-French delimitation of West Africa was ended at Paris by a convention, signed on the 20th January. England recognizes the Franco-Liberian arrangement, the French road connecting their coast possessions, viâ Ullia, Lucenia, Ulai, etc., to the interior, and with Fontha Djallon, the Upper Niger basin and the post of Erimankono; and the commercial arrangements begun in 1892 between Sierra Leone and the neighbouring French territories are confirmed: an all round surrender. King Leopold being unable to continue his enormous expenditure on the CONGO STATE, it has been offered for taking over by Belgium with a right of pre emption in France, which other countries claim the right of questioning.

At CAPE COLONY Sir H. Lock will be succeeded in May by Sir Hercules Robinson, K.C.M.G. Mr. C. Rhodes, who has been sworn in as Privy Councillor, and Dr. Jamieson have returned to Cape Town, to which the Chief Kama has also been on a visit. The total output of gold for 1894 was 2,024,000 oz. Imports for the year £11,588,000; Exports £13,812,000,—of which produce was £3,000,000, diamonds £3,000,000, gold £7,000,000: the two first showed a decrease of £1,000,000, the last an increase of £2,000,000. The Eastern Telegraph Co. has arranged a new tariff with S. Africa, at 5s. a word for public messages, the contract being for 10 years, but terminable by one year's notice after 5 years' duration. The annual subsidy is to be £15,000 till December 1899, when it will be £6,000, the arrangement extending to all South Africa under British and Dutch government. The TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC has issued a proclamation taking over Swaziland, the present laws continuing in force; but Col. Martin who was to have remained at Bremersdorp to see the due execution of the provisions for the protection of whites and natives, which the Convention secures, is said to have resigned. The Swazis have not ceased protesting, and have been preparing to resist; but by the last account Buna with the two Queens had met the Commissioner and had been installed as chiefs under the Republic, and all was reported quiet. Sir J. A. de Wet, British Agent at Pretoria gives the following figures for the Republic: Transvaalers and Orange Free Staters, 70,861; British subjects 62,509 (Half-casts 3,500); other foreigners 15,558 — total population about 149,000, of whom about 30,000 have come in since the census of 1890. The number of registered voters was 18,126. The British S. Africa Co.'s report gives the expenditure of the Matabele war as £113,488. The administration of Mashona—and Matabele—land exceeded the revenue by £21,277, although the expenditure had been reduced by £26,949 and revenue had increased £10,335. The Mafiking-Vryburgh railway was yielding good returns. Several new companies had brought in a capital of £500,000 which would tend to further increase the revenue. There has been renewed fighting at Lourenço Marquez. The Portuguese delimitation with the Transvaal being ended, Senhor Ennes has gone northward to complete that with German East Africa, where a famine, aggravated by a plague of locusts, has been devastating Usumbara and Rovuma. The Government settlement with the British East Africa Co., discussed elsewhere, is not yet complete; but it seems probable that the Company will suffer heavy loss for their patriotic action. The Italians in East Africa gained, under Genl. Barattieri, a decided victory, after some days' hard fighting, over an invading army of 10,000 Abyssinians under Ras Mangasha at Coattit. A Russian scientific mission has gone to Abyssinia, viâ Aden and Oboh, under Lieut. N. Leontieff of the Guards who was once in the Pamirs, Captn. Zuriagin and military surgeon Eiseff, with a priest and several attendants.

The MADAGASCAR Government published a Red book of documents regarding French action. Their *ultimatum* remaining unnoticed, the French are sending an expedition, and have meanwhile seized Tamatave. The Hova Premier protested against this and the consequent violation of

the treaty and threw on the French the responsibility for all consequences to Madagascar, the French and other foreigners. The French have since attacked some Hova fortifications which made but a weak reply, have seized a Hova vessel, and have expelled 5 British subjects for crossing the French lines: nothing of more importance has yet come off.

A severe hurricane swept, in January, over the whole Fiji group, doing much damage on sea and land. The British India Steam Navigation Co. have arranged for a monthly steamer between Calcutta and Fiji, which will probably call at Colombo.

As generally concerning all the AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES, we note that, as a first result of the Ottawa Conference, the Imperial Parliament are passing a Colonial Customs Duties Bill, repealing the restrictive clauses in previous Acts which prevent preferential trade with other British Colonies. Federation has been a very prominent topic during the quarter. After the usual Federation Council, a special Conference of Premiers was held at Hobart at which all the colonies of the group were represented except New Zealand. The discussions included Federation, Inter-colonial Free-trade, Colonial defence, the coinage of silver, and whether the Colonies should join in the Burmo-Chinese treaty. Regarding Federation it was decided that each colony should elect 10 members on the Legislative Assembly franchise; when three or more colonies had elected such, the Governors were to summon a Convention to draw up a scheme of Federation. From 30 to 60 days would be given, after its publication, for criticism, after which time it would be submitted to a direct vote of the electorate. If accepted by 3 colonies at least, it was to be submitted for Imperial enactment, and other colonies could join, as they pleased. A draft embodying the scheme of the Premiers was prepared by Messrs. Kingston (S. Australia) and Turner (Victoria); and Mr. Reid promised to submit it first to the New South Wales Legislature.

The N. S. WALES revenue for the year was £9,476,000, a decrease of £263,000 of which £82,000 were in land revenue, £95,000 on railways and £89,000 in general taxes. The half year showed an increase of £45,000. Sir R. W. Duff, the Governor, has succumbed to a surgical operation. S. AUSTRALIAN revenue for the last quarter was given at £557,000 an increase of nearly £5,000. The Women's Suffrage Bill had passed. The Earl of Kintore, when leaving after his term of office, urged, at a public meeting, amid loud and long applause, that Federation should at once be made a living and real question. No appointment has been made in his place, and the Hon. S. J. Way, as Lieut.-Governor of the Colony, undertakes the duties of Governor also. As the Northern Territory is a serious drawback on S. Australia, a Royal Commission is expected to decide about its erection into a separate colony. Lord Brassey, K.C.B., succeeds Lord Hopetoun as Governor of VICTORIA, the salary of which office has been reduced to £5,000. In January the government sustained a defeat which did not, however, entail a resignation. Members' salaries are fixed at £240, income tax reintroduced with a reduced minimum of exemption; and £450,000 were expected from new taxes and retrenchments, leaving the year to end with a deficit of only £78,000. The half-

year's revenue was £62,000 under the estimate. QUEENSLAND revenue for the half year was £1,860,000, an increase of £15,000 on 1893; expenditure £1,628,000, a decrease of £60,000: gold export for the year increased 57,000 oz., sugar manufacture, 10,000 tons. WEST AUSTRALIAN revenue for 1894 was £293,000 over that of 1893; for February alone it was £93,000 against £46,000 in 1893, and the credit balance stood at £139,000. Fresh discoveries of gold continued to be made about Coolgardie and new companies to be formed, with the usual influx of immigrants, —the gold output for February being 15,509 oz.

TASMANIA'S revenue for 1894 was £698,000, a decrease of £10,700. The value of gold, silver, tin and copper mined in the year was £830,000 against £560,000 in 1893; and the dividends paid were £150,000 against £125,000. The Colony has proposed to Victoria a reciprocal commercial treaty which the other colonies might join later on, but at the same time both the Tasmanian and Victorian Premiers protest against the reciprocity proposed between South Australia and New Zealand, as likely to be an obstacle to early Federation!

In NEW ZEALAND, revenue for ¾ of the financial year was £3,000,000, and the treasurer expected a surplus of £350,000, of which £250,000 would be spent on public works and £100,000 carried forward. Advances from the Savings Banks to settlers had in January reached half a million, and applications were pouring in at the rate of 50 a day. As a pioneer effort for developing a timber trade, 100,000 c. ft. of Kauri-pine were sent to London to test its suitability for stout pavements. Mahuta, son of Tawhio, has succeeded his father as titular king of the Maoris and had a satisfactory meeting with the Premier, Mr. Seddon.

On the death of Sir John Thompson, the Ministry of CANADA was reconstructed with the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell (since created K.C.M.G.) as Premier, several ministers changing portfolios, and there are now rumours of an early general election. A public subscription was raised for the family of Sir John Thompson, who died worth barely $4,000. His Excellency the Earl of Aberdeen generously engaging to bear the education expenses of the two sons to the age of 21. The December revenue showed an increase, though on the previous 6 months there had been a decrease of $2,000,000. The year's returns gave exports $117,524,949—the highest figures reached except in 1893; and imports $123,474,940. The Customs owing to the reduced tariff, were $1,750,000 less than in 1893. Nova Scotia coal reached 2,055,000 tons, an increase of 86,000. The lowest of several tenders, received from a London firm, for the new Pacific cable is £1,517,000 (about half the British Post Office estimate) the route being Vancouver, Fanning, Fiji and Norfolk Islands, thence bifurcating to New Zealand and Australia. Some trouble is anticipated about denominational education in Manitoba. The United States declining to pay the $425,000 to which the claims of British sealers for the past had been reduced, the matter must go to arbitration costing probably as much again. British Columbia meanwhile asks the Imperial Government to advance the money to help their sealers. A Canadian commissioner goes to South Africa to negociate a commercial treaty.

Two great fires at Toronto destroyed $2,000,000, and one at Halifax, Nova Scotia, $750,000.

A NEWFOUNDLAND Bill removing the disabilities of recently unseated members passed both houses and was approved by the Imperial Government; and Sir W. Whiteway succeeded again to the Premiership. The financial crisis continued; the January revenue was only ⅓ that of last year; the population barely 200,000, has suffered much, in spite of much generous aid. There was public agitation to obtain a Royal Commission to examine into the causes of the disaster, but the Government thought economy and retrenchment would tide over the crisis. The Montreal Bank, after advancing $400,000, drew back; the Imperial Government refused to guarantee a loan as the local government would submit to neither investigation nor control; riots caused by distress had been easily suppressed; and Newfoundland is officially stated to be seeking admission into the Canadian Federation.

In the WEST INDIES, Sir W. T. Haynes, K.C.M.G., becomes Governor of Bahama, Sir F. Fleming, K.C.M.G., of the Leeward Islands, and Sir C. Cameron Lees of British Guiana, from which last the gold exported in 1894 was 138,527 oz. while in 1884 it was only 250 oz. The frontier trouble with Venezuela is not yet settled. A great fire at Port au Spain, Trinidad, caused loss to about $500,000, the town itself being saved with difficulty by detachments from H.M.S. *Buzzard*, and from the United States ships *New York*, *Raleigh*, and *Cincinnati*, which gave fraternal aid. The last 20 years' accounts of Trinidad are being examined by experts for the settlement of some errors made in the past. Serious labour riots occurred in Honduras between the logwood and mahogany cutters and their labourers, but were suppressed by sailors from H.M.S. *Partridge* and *Canada*: the cause arose indirectly from the recent currency enactments displacing the South American *Sol*, nominally one but really ½ a dollar. At the renewal of the annual contracts, the workmen demanded gold.

The *Obituary* list of the quarter includes His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, G.C.S.I., one of the ablest and best of the Native chiefs;—A. H. Salmone, a distinguished traveller and Orientalist;—the Crown Prince Mahavajirunis of Siam in his 17th year;—Genl. G. F. S. Call, C.B. (1st China, Burma 1852-3, and Crimea wars);—the Hon. W. Cavenagh-Mainwaring, for 19 years member of the Legislature of S. Australia;—Col. W. Anderson, C.B. (Mutiny, Umbeyla, Kaubul and Marree campaigns);—the Hon. Sir Edmund Drummond, K.C.I.E., sometime Lt. Governor of the N.W. Provinces and Member of the Secretary of State's Council;—Lady Sassoon, the wife of Sir Albert;—H. H. Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mihtar of Chitral, assassinated;—Marshal Eshrif Pasha, and Drs. Dikran Pasha and Antranik Pasha, of Constantinople;—Fleetwood Williams, C.S.I.;—Nuruddin, of the Bombay Civil Service, a most promising young officer, the son of Nawab Suraj ul Hassan;—Col. John Whiteside (Afghan war 1842, Sutlej 1845);—Major-Genl. J. T. Watson (Mutiny);—the Dowager Lady Ruttanbai, widow of Sir J. Jeejibhoy, Bart.;—Sir Tiruvarur Muthuswamy Aiyar, K.C.I.E., judge of the Madras High Court; Hon. M. J. Power, for 8 years Speaker of the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly;—Lord

Randolph Churchill, sometime Secretary of State for India;—Sir James Cockle, sometime Chief Justice of Queensland;—Col. J. H. Sandwith, C.B. Administrator of Dominica;—Genl. C. A. Barwell, C.B. (Punjab and Mutiny campaigns);—Khan Bahadur Khalifa Sayad Muhammad Hassan, C.I.E., the trusty and able Prime Minister of Putiala;—Babu Protab Chundra Roy, C.I.E., who has left an English translation of the Mahabharata;—Senator Joseph Tassé of Montreal;—His Ex. T'an Chun Pei, Governor-General of Yun-kuei;—Lt.-General J. C. Guise, V.C., C.B. (Crimea and Mutiny);—Major-Genl. R. M. Rogers, V.C., C.B. (Crimea, China, and Zulu wars);—John Ninet, sometime Secretary to Arabi Pasha;—Reginald Stewart Poole, of the British Museum, Egyptologist and numismatician;—His Imp. Highness Prince Tarunito Arisugawa, uncle of the Mikado and Chief of the Japanese general staff;—Genl. G. N. Money, C.B. (Burma 1854, Mutiny, Umbeyla, Jowaki, Afghan 1879-80 campaigns);—W. E. Cleaver, Judge of the Supreme Court of Turks and Caicos Islands;—the Hon. Tikka Sahib, Heir apparent to the Mundi Raj;—the most Rev. Thathanabaing, Burmese Buddhist Archbishop of Mandalay;—H. H. Ambadi Kovilagath Valia Tamburathi, Senior Rani of the family of the Calicut Zamorin;—the learned Egyptologist Prof. Dr. Franz Josef Lauth of Munich;—Hadji Mirza Hassan Shirazi, a notable leader among the Persian Shiahs;—Ismail Bey, Director of the Imperial Lyceum of Galata-Serai, Constantinople;—Major-Genl. John Clarke (2nd Sikh war, and then in civil employ in the Punjab and Oudh);—Surgeon Genl. J. J. Clarke (Lucknow and Mutiny);—Sir W. M. Manning, late Judge of the Supreme Court of N.S. Wales;—Earl Cowley (Crimea and Mutiny);—H. H. Ismail Pasha, Ex-Khedive of Egypt;—C. R. Lindsay, sometime Judge of the Punjab Chief Court;—Genl. W. J. Gray, R.A. (both Sikh wars and Mutiny);—Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, Bart. G.C.B., the great explorer and Orientalist;—Hyde Clarke, a distinguished linguist and philologist, who reported on the Indian Telegraph system in 1848, and was connected with foreign and Colonial politics;—Munshi Nawal Kishore, C.I.E., the celebrated vernacular printer and publisher of Lucknow:—Rai Bahadur Lala Fakir Chand of Amritsur;—the Revd. J. M. Jones, D.D., a distinguished Orientalist;—Surgeon Major-General T. Rudd, M.D. (Mutiny and Afghan war);—Geo. H. Lawrence, J.P. late Indian C.S. (Siege of Lucknow), son of Sir George Patrick and nephew of Sir Henry and Lord Lawrence;—Maj.-Genl. R. Rankin, M.S.C. (Burma war 1852 and Mutiny);—Maj-Genl. J. E. Tbring (Crimea and Mutiny);—Sir R. W. Duff, K.C.M.G. Governor of New South Wales;—C. H. E. Carmichael, M.A., sometime Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, and Secretary of Section (g) "Comparative Religion, Law, etc.," in the IXth Statutory Congress of Orientalists in London, in 1891. V.

21st March, 1895.

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