

## INDIAN LAW

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1. *The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Calcutta, Friday April 29th, 1864, and July 1st, 1864.*
2. *Statement of objects and reasons and Report of Her Majesty's Law Commissioners, dated 23rd June, 1863: idem.*
3. *Sir Erskine Perry on Judicial Reform.*

AT a time when so much has been written or said of our law courts in India, of the proposed introduction of the Bill of 1864, and of the new Indian Code, we shall make no apology for entering on a very brief discussion of the subject. A discussion on law can seldom be interesting, unless to those who take a part in its administration: and to a certain extent a writer on a subject of this nature writes at a disadvantage. The art which above all other arts makes other subjects popular is denied him,—that art which is used so largely by eminent writers, which in the hands of Mr. Carlyle can invest the most prosaic characters with something of interest, and whereby Mr. Ruskin can infuse something of poetry in his description of an ordinary sunset, in the ripple of a stream, or the dusky shadows of a forest. Pictorial description or word-painting is entirely out of place in a legal disquisition. Nevertheless at a time when the subject of Indian judicature, whether by Her Majesty's Law Commissioners, or by the memorandum of Sir Erskine Perry, or by the discussions of the Indian press, has been brought so prominently before the public, perhaps comments even on a professional subject may not altogether by our readers be considered out of place. Attempts besides Sir Erskine Perry's, *ad extra* as well as *ab intra*, have been made, and suggestions have been offered for remedying some of the most glaring defects of the present system; and while during the next decade by the recognition of legal professional talent in India much good may be anticipated in the way of reform of our Mofussil courts; the free discussion of principles will, we trust, give rise to a clearer perception of what is absolutely demanded for their improvement.

It ought to be remembered that the civil jurisprudence of this country, like international law, or like the common and equity law of England, is in a nascent state. It is constantly in process of formation. New cases are decided; fresh precedents are added; its old principles are sometimes extended or restricted in their application. Regulation III of 1793, the basis for nearly a century of civil procedure in India, is now

inapplicable. And indeed the India of 1793 was very different from the India of 1866. The time has come when Indian law, to meet the requirements of Indian wants, must amplify itself; and as the interests of large classes, who are not natives, become affected, the narrow law of the regulations must expand themselves into the broader principles of English law.

For a number of years past the Acts of the Legislative Council in India, like the Prætorian Edicts of the Roman Emperors, or like the Acts of our own Parliament, (to use the language of M. Hugo,) have "furnished the salutary means" of perpetually harmonizing the legislation with the spirit "of the times;" but this to a certain extent is impracticable now. The number of Acts has multiplied. The code has become too bulky. The expositions of law-officers are no longer permitted for the guidance of the courts on intricate or confused points of Mahomedan or Hindoo law. Act VIII of 1859 and Act XXXIII of 1861 have given to the courts of civil jurisprudence an uniform Code of Civil Procedure. The want of a code of substantive civil law was felt, and in commencing the framing of that code, Her Majesty's Government has not allowed the opportunity to pass which presented itself. Thus, while the new Code of Civil Procedure will consolidate all the previous laws which have hitherto constituted the rules of civil procedure in India, the Civil Code will place in the hands of its judicial officers those principles of civil law which should apply equally to all classes in this country. With the expansion of commerce, with the influx of foreigners into India, it is found that cases arise in which foreigners are parties to suits, and in which it is necessary to consider the legal institutions of other countries. In such cases a law restricted in its application simply to the customs or *lex loci* of this country becomes useless. A broader law is necessary; and those wider principles which are embodied in the code of all nations—the *jus gentium*—must by the Commissioners be made to modify or enlarge the "*jus civile*" for the Indian Empire.

That up to the present Indian Judges have had no substantive law whereby to be guided, must be regretted. Where Indian customs and the *lex loci* were concerned, the futwabs of the law officers were considered to be sufficient for the purposes of substantial justice; and where those were not to be had, even in the higher appellate courts, the Judges too often found in the principles of equity a remedy for the deficiencies of substantial justice. The massive laws of the old Regulations were becoming obsolete. To the layman they were closed books. To the great majority

even of judges in India administering the law, they were found to be overwhelmed by so great a weight and variety of new laws, that too often, instead of referring to those laws, decisions were based on principles of conscience or of equity. Finding a parallel in the annals of ancient Rome, the heavy and uninviting folios of the old Regulations and Acts might have been compared to the three thousand brass plates,—the Acts of the senate and people, which had confused and disfigured the simple majesty of the law of the twelve tables, enacted by the decemvirs.

The laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history, and in the annals of British India to those interested in its civil jurisprudence no year has been fraught with more good than that which gave to India its present Code of Civil Procedure. That code dates from the year 1859. It consolidates and amends the previous laws relating to the procedure of the courts of civil judicature in India. It repeals most of the Regulations and Acts which from 1793 had formed the basis of civil jurisprudence and procedure in India. It is now in force throughout nearly all British India. On its first institution it did not affect the jurisdiction of the Courts of Small Causes. But the local Governments are now empowered to extend to them any parts of this code with certain reservations. The code in fact now forms the law of India in all cases of civil procedure; in all regular and miscellaneous civil suits; and in all civil actions whether real, personal, or mixed.

A civil suit is, properly speaking, an action instituted in a court of civil judicature for the enforcement of some right, for the adjudication of some claim, for the adjustment of some demand, or for the redress of some civil wrong, which can only be obtained by the intervention of a civil court. And a regular civil suit is where the action is based on those general principles of law which are enunciated in this code, and is not the subject of any special enactments or of any special or provisional laws. Actions at law are real, personal, and mixed:—“*actionum quedam sunt in rem, quedam in personam, et quedam mixte.*” Real—for the specific recovery of lands and tenements: personal—for the specific recovery of personal damages, goods, and chattels, or for breaches of contract; mixed—such as appertain to both, and are reducible to either one or the other class.\*

Under this code cognizance will not be taken in the civil courts in matters of a criminal nature, except those which arise as damages out of real or personal actions. Such actions are of

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\* Co. Litt. 284. Sar. Prin. of Com. Law, p. 1.

the nature of trespass, trover, detinue and libel, and embrace those which are of the nature of personal torts or wrongs, or of injuries to personal property.\* Neither are cases enumerated in Act X of 1859 and Act XIV of 1863, the rent laws, cognizable under this code.

Seven years have elapsed since the date of the code, and as in the contemplation of the Legislature periodical revisions were acknowledged to be necessary, so in 1864 the proper moment seemed to have arrived to supply omissions, to remove doubts, to rectify errors, and to adopt the special provisions and enactments of the code to altered circumstances. Since 1859, writes Mr. Harington,† “great changes have taken place in the “judicial agency of the country, as well as in the substantive “criminal law in its relation to the administration of civil justice. “Acts committed in connection with the processes of the civil “courts, which were not offences before the passing of the “Indian Penal Code, have by that code been made of “fences and are now punishable by the criminal courts.” The Supreme and Sudder Courts have been abolished. The High Courts in the Presidency towns and in the North-West Provinces have been established by royal charter; and with the exception of their testamentary, intestate and matrimonial jurisdiction, this code regulates their procedure.‡ The Judges may be selected from among barristers or members of the service, Principal Sudder Ameen, or uncovenanted Judges of Small Cause Courts. The courts frame rules of practice, and superintend the working of subordinate courts. Under the recommendation of the Law Commissioners an admission as pleader is given to barristers, advocates, vakeels and attorneys. The office in the Supreme Courts corresponding to the Master of equity has been abolished. Small Cause Courts have been increased, and their pecuniary jurisdiction enlarged.

Under changes so many, a simple and uniform code of civil procedure was felt to be a desideratum. And there can be no doubt that the introduction of Act VIII of 1859, on which the present Bill has been modelled, has supplied a want which had previously been felt; and corrected a defect which was acknowledged to have existed under the old system of Indian civil jurisprudence.

The Bill of 1864 has slightly modified some of the principles of the existing Act. The Mahomedan law-offices have been abolished.

\* Sec. VIII Principles of Punjab Law. Nagpore.

† Gazette of India Extraordinary, April 29, 1864.

‡ 24 and 25 Victoria, cap. civ.



But under the provisions of this Bill, in issues of law, in which nice points of Hindoo or Mahomedan law arise, the courts are empowered to obtain the testimony of skilled persons. Under this Bill the courts may enforce without a suit bonds and written obligations when registered under Section LII of Act XX of 1866 for the registration of assurances. Summonses may be served on witnesses confined under criminal process. The Sections which affect contracts under Act VIII of 1859 and the execution of decrees for their performance have been slightly modified.

Such are a few of the leading points in which the Bill of 1864 differs from the present Code of Civil Procedure. It has been objected that the new Bill, like the Code of 1859, will necessitate in carrying out its rules of procedure much clerical work which must be done by the Judge himself. Under its rules of procedure a very artificial structure of language in the formal orders recorded will have to be used: and with regard to the formulæ of procedure, proficiency will only be gained by labour and drudgery. Much work, which should be done by the clerk of the court and which was performed before by native writers, will now have to be performed by the Judge. The objection is scarcely tenable. We allow that no civil case can be completed under this Code without much of that patient drudgery which is the legitimate work of a clerk, and which would be required in copying Greek Iambics. But a little amount of additional labour would overcome this, and the objections would only be maintained by those who have no inclination for work. Anything under such circumstances would be an excuse for indolence. From time immemorial the tools have been doomed to bear the blame of the unskilful artizan. Who does not remember the clever illustration of Persius, of the sluggard in his third Satire, when incapacitated by rich Falernian, in the pursuit of his morning studies, finding fault with his pen and ink?

Before reviewing the first chapter of the Indian Civil Code, the law of intestate and testamentary succession, we may venture to allude to the abstruseness of Indian law, which has up to the present made it a statute book uninviting to the general reader, and to those interested in its administration a collection of decided cases. We trust as the code is finished, as digests and commentaries are written, the study of Indian law will become more popular. To the writer of this review no subject appears to be more interesting than the study either of ancient or modern jurisprudence. The Commentaries on the laws of England form an essential part of every gentleman's library. The finest legacy

left to the French nation by one of its most gifted authors was undoubtedly the *Esprit des Loix* by Montesquieu. "The vain titles of the victories of Justinian," writes Gibbon, "are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument." No portion of the writings of Cicero are more valuable than those which illustrated the jurisprudence of his own country. The works of Virgil and Horace have amused or instructed, but the principles of Tribonian, and the writings of the Scævolas or of Servius Sulpicius have affected, years after their death, the fortunes and interests of all who lived under the action of the Roman laws. The Pandects and Institutes have formed the basis of civil law in Italy and France. The code of Napoleon at the best is a compendium of the rules of Roman law. The international and civil law of other European States has been based on that law; and in the words of Mr. Maine "the Roman law is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of universal civil jurisprudence," and even in the code before us we can trace some of those broader principles which affected, centuries ago, the law of testamentary gifts.

Stripped of many of the technicalities which burthen our own law language, the simple diction of the Indian code will tend much to make the study of Indian law inviting. But to make it interesting to other than a professional class much will be required to be done. A code on its first compilation can seldom be interesting. Neatness and perspicuity must often be sacrificed to precision and an occasional harshness of diction. But it is to be hoped that intelligent commentators will not be wanting to make the code readable, smoothing its asperities, and rendering it more attractive. The Indian code, like the civil jurisprudence of the Roman jurists, like the common Law of England, or like the Code Napoleon of France, has, it will be remembered, been collected from various sources. A body of rules and principles, some of which are found in the past legislative enactments of the Indian Council, and others which have been found in decided cases, or in books which have already been published, will require considerable care to methodize and arrange into order. Nor will this be found to be an easy task. A work which would comprise the whole system of Indian jurisprudence, which, while it would be based on English law, would require to be applicable to the peculiar customs of the natives of this country, must require in its execution talent of no inconsiderable order. To expect that such a work would at once be free from inaccuracies, and at the same time have the lucidity of arrangement, the precision of diction, the purities of language, the classic elegance of

quotation and illustration, which have made the commentaries of Blackstone or the book of Montesquien not only readable but text books on law for nearly a century, would be to expect impossibilities; and no more ingenious appeal could be made than that recorded in the language of the Indian Law Commissioners themselves. "One peculiarity in the manner in which this code has been framed will immediately strike your Lordship in Council. We mean the copious use of illustrations. In our definitions we have repeatedly found ourselves under the necessity of sacrificing neatness and perspicuity to precision, and of using harsh expressions; because we could find no other expressions which would convey our whole meaning, and no more than our whole meaning. Such definitions standing by themselves might repel and perplex the reader, and would perhaps be fully comprehended only by a few students after long application; yet such definitions are found and must be found in every system of law which aims at accuracy. A legislator may, if he thinks fit, avoid such definitions, and by avoiding them he will give a smoother and more attractive appearance to his workmanship; but in that case he flinches from a duty which he ought to perform, and which somebody must perform."

The Civil Code is intended to supersede all others; and the Law Commissioners trust that resort will be had to no other system of law for solving an ambiguity or supplying an omission. As the code itself appears to be based on the more liberal principles of English Common Law and Equity, we trust that in future it will form, to use the language of Lavy, the "*fontaine publique*," the fountain and source of Indian jurisprudence.

The framers of the Code are of opinion that the new law should not be applicable to all India: and under Sec. 340 of the Bill of 1864 it is proposed specially to exempt Hindoos and Mahomedans from its provisions. This is not, we believe, necessary, unless as regards the chapter on testaments. The law generally does not militate against the hereditary customs of either of those classes. Nor, from the nature of their past government, would any objections have been raised if it did so militate. Accustomed to a rigid and despotic sway under their own rulers, ready to lend a willing and unhesitating obedience to orders dictated by the cupidity or caprice of their magistrates, it is not likely that they would now find themselves aggrieved by decisions based on a Code, which has received the sanction of the legislature. But while special exemptions may be claimed for the peculiar laws which in India regulate successions, inheritances,

and adoption, the law of contracts, the duties of guardian and ward, the rights in property, the obligations of promises and covenants and the redresses for civil injuries should be equally binding on all classes. The principle of all despotic Governments is fear; and the timid allegiance unquestioningly lent to the laws of their own rulers would unhesitatingly be transferred to those mere liberal and enlightened principles of law and jurisprudence which are now being conferred on them. When Charles XII of Sweden met with an unexpected opposition from the Senate, that despotic monarch wrote word that he would send one of his boots to command them.\* The senseless despotism of that monarch, actuated by anger and a desire for vengeance, displayed as reckless a regard for principle or law as any of the former Mahomedan rulers of this country. When the savages of Louisiana desired the fruit of the stately and lofty palm, reckless of the consequences of their own act, they felled it to the roots. When Tippoo was doubtful of the truth of the reply made to him by one of his soldiers when accused of having unjustly taken and drunk some milk belonging to a villager, he struck the accused across his stomach; and the courtiers flattered whilst the crowd applauded an act of justice, which, while it may have been summary, was brutal in the extreme. When the successors of Timur or the ministers of Aurungzebe found their revenues deficient, they plundered or laid waste those very lands on which they chiefly depended for replenishing their coffers. Under a despotism which has seldom been mitigated unless by the prejudices of religion or caste, there are few instances on record where resistance has been offered by the Hindoos to the laws imposed on them by their Mahomedan rulers.

And that it should have been so, is not to be wondered. A simple and uneducated community have no occasion for a number of laws. Laws and principles with their several springs and actions are little understood; they are still less discussed. The one principle which permeates the spirit of despotism is fear. The one question which the ministers under a despotism have to solve, is how to reconcile a spirit of exaction with a political and civil administration, which endeavours to combine individual aggrandisement with personal safety.

The ancient jurisprudence of India might be said to have been based on purely rational grounds, on the first principles of the law of nature. History and tradition alike teach us, that in general principles the laws of most nations bear to each other a certain

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\* Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe in the article of Sweden, ch. 10.

resemblance; and in law as well as in other sciences can be traced, as Bacon says, "the same foot-prints of nature treading in different paths." The peculiarities of customs or of castes may have led to different acceptations of Hindoo law, but as deduced from the writings of the first of Hindoo legislators, their code might be defined as the law of nature philosophically considered.

The principles of the law of nature are often transmitted in the forms of innate ideas: and whether in the code of Menu, or in the rude jurisprudence of Dracon, Solon, or Lycurgus, the simple teachings of reason or the precepts of nature may be accepted in a great number of instances as a very fair base for the superstructure of more complex laws. A knowledge of those laws in a rude society is acquired intuitively, and it is only when the wants of society increase, when the constitution and requirements of mankind grow larger, when by a development and exercise of the mind it is felt that those laws will not satisfy all the wants of civil society, that a necessity for more varied and complex laws arise. Those laws, however framed or designated, embody in all countries the first rudimentary principles of civil or municipal law. Speaking precisely, that body of law may be defined as the law of nature applied to the government of States. It is the law which the civil power of a nation or community may establish, by the right vested in that power by the community itself, for the observance of its subjects. This law, consisting of the legislative enactments of the country, founded on custom or on written law, becomes the first recognized code by which civil actions are governed.

Such simply, in India as elsewhere, was the nature of the change which led to the first construction of a rudimentary civil code, enunciated in the book of Menu.

In the Hindoo laws of alienation the student of jurisprudence may trace some of those broad principles, based on the law of nature or of reason, which more or less affect the laws of all semi-civilized communities. Amongst the Hindus as amongst other nations, the civil law will be found to have modified or restrained the natural community of property. Absolute property in things movable or immovable having been acquired, it became an acknowledged principle of their law that they had a right to dispose of that property after death.\* The principle of hereditary succession is universal. All real or personal ancestral property is inheritable; and the dictates of paternal partiality would point to the sons as entitled in the first instance to the property thus bequeathed. While

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\* Sec. xii. Principles of Pun. Civil Law.

this principle is thus universal, the caprice or convenience of different sects, or religious bias or prejudice, may have in some special instances modified or altered the order of succession.

The law of nature permits but does not enjoin the making of a will; and among a people or community where the art of writing is scarcely known or practised only by a particular caste, written wills drawn up with the formulæ or technicalities of law would scarcely be expected. And in such cases the intentions of the testator and the acceptance of the legatee were all that was necessary to complete the effect of the legacy.

The Hindoo law of intestacy is based on the ties of kindred. Ancestral property is peaceably inherited by the sons, the associates of the father's toils and the future representatives of his house. The sons first inherit; and like the agents of the Roman law, the preference is always given to the lineal descendants of the male line,—the grandson and great grandson—as they are found to stand in the nearest degrees of civil kinship. It is only in default of these that the widow or widows would be allowed to inherit, or their daughters on their death.

While then under the old Hindoo law we find that a female was scarcely capable of transmitting any legal claims, and while, so long as the sons lived, the cognates were looked upon in the light of aliens, we at the same time find that that law had made no invidious distinctions, and had not established, to use the language of an able jurist, that proud insolence of the laws of primogeniture which, under our own institutions, has been the cause of so much grievance.† In default of sons, grandsons, and of widows, a father, a mother, or a brother may inherit.

Such are the elementary rules of succession with regard to personal property: but with regard to fixed, real, or immoveable property this law will not allow cognates, unless in very rare and exceptional cases, to inherit. The rights of a daughter are inferior to those of male collateral relations. That it should be so is not strange. Property in land in India is associated with certain duties to be performed. It is often derived by the express character of its owner as a member of a body or coparcenery, whose consent has necessarily been given and without whose consent that right cannot be alienated, unless to somebody who could perform an equal amount of duty, or who would have an equal amount of representative qualification.§ Lands, therefore, would require

\* See Turnb. Hein. l. Sec. 287.

† See the Law of Intestacy in the Indian Civil Code, Sec. xxii. as applicable to G. B. S.

‡ See the case argued by the Rev. Dr. Bellew in Blount Tempest.

§ Para. 7. Sec. xii. Prin. Punj. Law, Nagpore Edition.

special alienation by will before they could be acquired by a sole surviving daughter.\* Under the Hindoo law of succession, as under the law of succession of the Romans, we shall find that where the law of inheritance deviates from the principles of natural law, that deviation is owing to a desire cherished and fostered by a religious or family prejudice, the desire to keep the family and lineage intact. The *gens* was as sacred to the Hindoos as it was of old to the Romans; and the most sacred wish of a dying father was that a son might represent his line, and perform those last funeral and religious rites which could only be performed by a male descendant. The same principle impelled them to adopt. The acts of disherison by a parent were few; and the nice distinctions which our own laws draw between legitimacy and illegitimacy were not known, or but imperfectly acted on. In a brief article like this, it will not be necessary to trace the Hindoo law of inheritance and succession further.

Under the Indian code the law, as applicable to European subjects in India, will be found to be of a more impartial order. The ascending and descending and collateral series are clearly defined; and the law of succession and inheritance traced according to the principles of English law to each series according to proximity or distance of kindred.

Under the Indian code, the age of majority has been fixed at eighteen. No objection by either Hindoo or Mahomedan can be raised to that. Twenty-one is the age of majority by English law. As applied to India that law has been modified. An earlier age is better suited for warm climates. In Turkey the age is fifteen. In the enervating climate of the South and East, the passions disclose themselves earlier, the mind is sooner developed, the judgment more quickly matured than in our European climate; and in India especially where among the natives the marriages are earlier, the children sooner come of age.

In avoiding the distinction between wills and testaments, the Indian code aims at simplicity and uniformity. The nicer discrimination of English law would draw a distinction between the terms. Where lands or tenements are devised in writing with or without an executor, it is a will. It is a testament, where personal chattels are devised, and where an executor must be named. For it is a maxim of Common Law that where an executor is not named, the party is said to die intestate. As by Statute I Vict. C. 26 all landed property may now be devised or bequeathed by will, and all contingent interests, rights of

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\* See Tumb. Hain: I. Sec. 284.

entry and property, however acquired, so under the Indian code all property in India may be devised by will.

In giving expression to the meaning or wording of a will, the most reasonable construction is to be put on it, and effect ought to be given to the intention of the testator. In the construction of wills, fraud is to be guarded against. This in a country like India is specially necessary where chicanery is the rule and not the exception. As yet the custom of making wills is rare amongst the Hindoos. Not allowed by their laws to alienate their property by devise, it is only now owing to the example set them by us, as well as to the advance of society and the progress of ideas, that they have in some instances entered on the novel and artificial system of devising by will or testament. It is necessary then that while the law should so guard against the possibility of fraud in the construction of wills, it should also check anything like chicanery in the presumptive revocation of the same. Some formalities are required in the revoking, cancelling, obliterating or burning of a will. So nicely constructed and so artificially connected with the principles of Roman civil jurisprudence is our own law on this subject, that the doctrine of implied or presumptive revocation is based on a better foundation of reason than is naturally supposed; and the law will not allow a revocation to take place only on the presumed alteration of the testator's intention. That presumption in legal reasoning would not be considered material, unless it had appeared that an actual revocation had taken place.\* We give briefly a summary of general rules for the construction of wills.† The principle will be applicable to other than English wills.‡

I. That a will of real estate, by whomsoever made and in "whatever language written, is construed according to the law of England in which the property is situate, but a will of "personalty is governed by the *lex domicilii*.

"II. That technical words are not necessary to give effect "to any species of disposition in a will.

"III. That the construction of a will is the same at law and "in equity, the jurisdiction of each being governed by the nature "of the subject; though the consequences may differ, as in the "instance of a contingent remainder, which is destructible in the "one case and not in the other.

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\* Under the English Com. Law, the remedial law on this subject is that known as 29 Car. II. c. 3

† Jarman on Wills. vol. 2. p. 74.

‡ Norton's Law of Evidence, p. 315.



“ IV. That a will speaks for some purposes from the period of execution, and for others from the death of the testator ; but never operates until the latter period.

“ V. That the heir is not to be disinherited without an express devise, or necessary implication ; such implication importing not natural necessity, but so strong a probability that an intention to the contrary cannot be supposed.

“ VI. That merely negative words are not sufficient to exclude the title of the heir or next of kin. There must be an actual gift to some other definite object.

“ VII. That all the parts of a will are to be construed in relation to each other, and so as, if possible, to form one consistent whole ; but, where several parts are absolutely irreconcilable, the latter must prevail.

“ VIII. That extrinsic evidence is not admissible to alter, detract from, or add to, the terms of a will, (though it may be used to rebut a resulting trust attaching to a legal title created by it, or to remove a latent ambiguity ;)

“ IX. Nor to vary the meaning of words ; and, therefore, in order to attach a strained and extraordinary sense to a particular word, an instrument executed by the testator, in which the same word occurs in that sense, is not admissible ; but the

“ X. Courts will look at the circumstances under which the deviser makes his will—as the state of his property, of his family, and the like.

“ XI. That, in general, implication is admissible only in the absence of, and not to control, an express disposition.

“ XII. That an express and positive devise cannot be controlled by the reason assigned, or by subsequent ambiguous words, or by inference and argument from other parts of the will ; and accordingly such a devise is not affected by a subsequent inaccurate recital of, or reference to, its contents ; though recourse may be had to such reference to assist the construction in case of ambiguity or doubt.

“ XIII. That the inconvenience or absurdity of a devise is no ground for varying the construction, where the terms of it are unambiguous ; nor is the fact, that the testator did not foresee all the consequences of his disposition, a reason for varying it : but, where the intention is obscured by conflicting expressions, it is to be sought rather in a rational and consistent than an irrational and inconsistent purpose.

“ XIV. That the rules of construction cannot be strained to bring a devise within the rules of law ; but it seems that, where the will admits of two constructions, that is to be preferred which will render it valid ; and therefore the court, in one

" instance, adhered to the literal language of the testator, though  
 " it was highly probable that he had written a word by mistake,  
 " for one which would have rendered the devise void.

" XV. That favor or disfavor to the object ought not to influence the construction.

" XVI. That words, in general, are to be taken in their ordinary and grammatical sense, unless a clear intention to use them in another can be collected, and that other can be ascertained; and they are, in all cases, to receive a construction which will give to every expression some effect, rather than one that will render any of the expressions inoperative; and of two modes of construction, that is to be preferred which will prevent a total intestacy.

" XVII. That, where a testator uses technical words, he is presumed to employ them in their legal sense, unless the context clearly indicates the contrary.

" XVIII. That words, occurring more than once in a will, shall be presumed to be used always in the same sense, unless a contrary intention appear by the context, or unless the words be applied to a different subject. And, on the same principle, where a testator uses an additional word or phrase, he must be presumed to have an additional meaning.

" XIX. That words and limitations may be transposed, supplied, or rejected, where warranted by the immediate context, or the general scheme of the will; but not merely on a conjectural hypothesis of the testator's intention, however reasonable, in opposition to the plain and obvious sense of the language of the instrument." —

We have thus reviewed briefly a few of the salient features of the law of testamentary alienation of property. To enter more minutely into details would scarcely be necessary in a review which is intended principally for lay readers. But as so much has been said of the possible future constitution of our courts of justice, we shall not apologize for touching on that subject here. We shall be pardoned if we view the question philosophically. Though connected with the Inns of Court, we have no undue leaning to the special pleading of Sir Erskine Perry, which would flood our law courts with barristers. Nor have we any special objection to his scheme. If the Government of India can secure barristers for India, very much good will be effected. This was Lord Westbury's private opinion, and we have no doubt that if Lord Westbury had still been Lord Chancellor, the sanction of his great official authority would have given effect to a scheme which he had planned, and which Sir Charles Wood would have been too glad to have carried out. That the

plan would have been a good one who can doubt? The judicial and legal professions are special ones and require special adaptation and fitness. So long as India was without a code, an intelligent bar, or superior appellate courts, the private opinion, the prejudice, or crochets of a Judge might have been accepted as a standard of equity. But it will be remembered that times are changed. The principles of jurisprudence can no longer be perverted or misinterpreted. The freedom of inquiry can no longer be checked. The practice of the bar must henceforth be interwoven with the authority of the bench. The publicity afforded by the press will no longer allow a veil of mystery to shroud the once sacred procedure of our law courts. From the disputes of the bar and the bench, in subtle or intricate cases, will be elicited those general principles, which will form future precedents for guidance. Axioms, maxims, and rules will no longer be accepted as correct, unless they have been proved to be so, and the greatest of criminals will at least have the option of enlisting on the side of crime the sophistry of the pleaders or the science of the civilians. Under circumstances such as these, the policy of the Government as well as its duty should be to make the best selection from the materials at hand.

Nor is every one fitted for the legal profession. In India where officers are Judges alike both of law and of fact, and where in the absence of both pleaders and jury, responsibility often of the gravest kind rests on them, something more than ordinary qualifications are necessary. To be distinguished by a sound knowledge of the principles of law, how very few aspire? Still fewer are those who have gained a clear and comprehensive acquaintance with legal history, who have studied universal or particular jurisprudence, who have learnt to trace analogies or to distinguish between contending precedents, to unravel intricate points of dispute, to address juries with precision, to separate the specious from the false, or, as in India is too often necessary, to elicit truth from a mass of conflicting evidence. The genius of Cicero, the fancy of Plato, the logic of Tribonian, the edicts of the praetors, and the authority of Justinian, have alike pointed to the necessity of a careful selection of those officers who are virtually masters of the lives and liberties of the subject, and who are the guardians of peace and equity; and while, writes Gibbon, "under the Roman jurisprudence, in the weakest and the most vicious reign the seat of justice was filled by the wisdom and integrity of Papinian and Ulpian, the purest materials of the code and pandects were inscribed with the names of Caracalla and his ministers."

Under our own jurisprudence we find the same lessons inculcated, whether conveyed in the quiet precepts of Sir Mathew Hale, or in the close reasoning and keen logic of Hobbes. Whatever may be the practical exemplifications, the theoretical conduct of the judicial functionary should display great and exemplary diligence, skill in the laws, resolution in the enforcement of orders, attention to rational complaints, impartiality in the preservation of the rights of the subjects over whom he presides, easiness of accessibility, and dignity of demeanour.

Yet it is a painful fact that with regard to the Indian bench such is not often the case. In the animated discussions in the House of Commons on the introduction of the Bill to improve the courts of judicature in India, nothing could have been stronger than the sense of the House recorded on the administration of the law in India. "Nothing," said one member, "has more largely tended to discredit the Indian Civil Service, both in this country and at home, than the prevailing ignorance among its members of the first principles of law." The manner in which offices were bestowed was animadverted on strongly by men who looked upon the question in an Indian and English point of view; and the varied Indian experience of Lord Ellenborough, as well as the strong sense of Danby Seymour and Lord Stanley, condemned the principle which had too often given to the Mofussil bench military officers without aptitude, and civilians who had been found to be deficient in their revenue capabilities.

That some of the remarks then made were just, is much to be regretted. But it will be remembered that a few years ago, the higher judicial appointments were thought to be sinecures, and as such, that they should have been ridiculed is not to be wondered at. Sarcasm and irony have during all ages been employed to ridicule the reckless disposal of sinecures. One writer, repeating or improving the jest made by Sydney Smith, stated that during the administration of Lord Ellenborough forty tons of judicial heterodoxy had been introduced into the bench of India by the appointment of military men to the judicial offices in India. No peculiar training was required. In England while Judges have always had a strict legal training, in India no special aptitude or legal discipline was deemed necessary; and officers too often passed from the magisterial benches to the highest appellate jurisdiction who were unacquainted with the principles of evidence, the law of contracts, or the rules of pleading. The office of a judgeship was considered to be a sinecure. The last resort for officials who had failed to be good revenue officers was the curule chair of a Mofussil Judge.

A cure, a cure, a sinecure,  
 "Of this you may be sure,  
 "An easy shoe you step into,  
 "A perfect sinecure."

Such might have been the motto inscribed over the doors of a Mofussil civil court thirty years ago, and such indeed was the opinion of the Government itself in those days. Lord Ellenborough remarked "that the Government often got itself out of a difficulty or off the horns of a dilemma by raising an incapable servant to the judicial bench." There, in the words of Southern in his inimitable character of Lord Dundreary, he was "done for." Like the log of wood in the hand of Horace's carpenter, he was quietly and silently shelved.

"Olim truncus erat scilicet, inutile lignum,  
 "Quem faber incertus scamnum faceretne priapum  
 "Maluit esse deum."

As the necessity had not arisen, so the subject of judicial legislation for India had then not acquired the importance which it now deserves.

And yet in one point of view the subject was even then, next to our policy with our feudatories and the rest of Asia, of the most vital importance. In its higher sense legislation for India means something more than administering justice according to to a set form of procedure. The manner of that administration will be found to modify the strength of the executive government. It will be found to affect the welfare indirectly of one hundred and fifty millions of people with different languages, different castes, different religions, and different customs. It will be found to affect, with the happiness of thousands, the civilisation of the future.

The question how civilised nations should legislate for uncivilised is one of the gravest of the present day. "I can assure the House," said Sir Charles Wood in 1861, "that I never felt more responsibility than in venturing to submit to a proposal of so great and grave a character. I have always thought that the gravest question in modern times is the relation between civilised and less civilised nations, or between civilised portions and less civilised portions of nations, when they come in contact. The difficulty is seen in America, in Africa, in New Zealand, but nowhere in the widely extended dominions of her Majesty has it reached such a magnitude as in India. And in this particular case the difficulty is aggravated by the circumstance that the English, who form a portion of those who are to be subjected to this legislation, are not a permanent body. They go there for a time. Officials, when their

" term of service has expired, and persons engaged in commercial  
 " or agricultural pursuits, when they have made a fortune, return to  
 " this country, and, though the English element in India is perma-  
 " nent as belonging to a nation, it is more transitory when we  
 " come to consider the individuals who compose it. Such are  
 " the circumstances under which we are to legislate, and I regret  
 " to say that the recent mutiny has aggravated these difficulties.  
 " The unlimited confidence which a few years ago was felt by  
 " the European population in the natives of India has given way  
 " to feelings of distrust. Formerly there was, at all events, no  
 " feeling of antagonism between the higher portion of official per-  
 " sons and the great mass of the population. They looked up to  
 " the Government as to a protector, and if any feeling of anta-  
 " gonism or jealousy existed, it existed only between them and  
 " those members of the service who were brought into antagonis-  
 " tic contact with them. When I heard some time ago that the  
 " feeling of antagonism was extending itself lower among the  
 " natives and higher among the officers I regretted it, because it  
 " must obviously tend to increase the dangers of our position.  
 " I do not wish to dwell on this matter, but it would be folly to  
 " shut our eyes to the increasing difficulties of our position in  
 " India, and it is an additional reason why we should make the  
 " earliest endeavour to put all our institutions on the soundest  
 " possible foundations. It is notoriously difficult for any Euro-  
 " pean to make himself intimately acquainted with either the  
 " feelings or opinions of the native population, and I was struck  
 " the other day by a passage in a letter from one of the oldest  
 " Indian servants, Sir Mark Cubbon, whose death we have had  
 " recently to regret. He had been in the service for 60 years; he  
 " had administered the affairs of Mysore for nearly 30 years; he  
 " had been living in the most intimate converse with the natives,  
 " possessing their love and confidence to an extent seldom obtained  
 " by an English officer, and yet he said 'that he was aston-  
 " ished that he had never been able to acquire a sufficient acquaint-  
 " ance with the opinions and feelings of the natives with whom he  
 " was in daily communication.' Many of the greatest mistakes  
 " into which we have been led have arisen from the circumstance  
 " that we have been, not unnaturally, for arranging everything  
 " according to English ideas. In Bengal we converted the collec-  
 " tors of taxes into the permanent landowners of the country and  
 " left the ryots to their mercy. In Madras Sir Thomas Munro  
 " introduced the ryotwarry system, and a more impoverished  
 " population than that does not exist. When I was at the  
 " Board of Control, it was said that the system of the North-  
 " Western Provinces was perfect, and it was introduced into the

“ newly-acquired province of Oude. Subsequent to the rebellion,  
“ the Indian Government, profiting by the circumstance, reverted  
“ to the old system in Oude, and happily with the greatest  
“ success. The ryots and zemindars of Oude joined their chiefs  
“ in the rebellion, but recently at an interview between Lord  
“ Canning and the talookdars they expressed their gratification at  
“ the restoration of the former system, and the governor-general  
“ justly congratulated them on the fact that tranquillity prevailed  
“ in a district which had been so frequently the scene of vio-  
“ lence and outrage, and that in the most newly acquired of Her  
“ Majesty’s Indian dominions confidence existed which was not  
“ surpassed in the oldest settlements. The House may not be  
“ aware of the extraordinary and inherent difficulties in devising  
“ a system applicable to the whole of India. It behoves us to be  
“ most careful, as a rash step may lead to most dangerous conse-  
“ quences. It is easy to go forward. It is difficult to go back,  
“ and I confess I am disposed to err on the side of caution and to  
“ profit by the warning of one of the ablest Indian officers,  
“ Mountstuart Elphinstone, who said, ‘ Legislation for India  
“ should be most gradual, slow, and well-considered.’ ”

How we have legislated for India may be shown best in a brief summary of the enactments which have been passed for the legislation of India. We must again refer to the dry records of parliamentary blue books. “ In 1773 the governor-general in council was empowered to make regulations for the government of India, and in 1793 those regulations were collected into a code by Lord Cornwallis. Similar regulations applied to Madras and Bombay, and in 1803 they were extended to the North-West Provinces. Some time after that, Delhi, which was nominally under the sovereignty of the Great Mogul, was administered by officers of the Government of India, and with such good effect, that in 1815, when Lord Hastings acquired certain provinces, he determined that they should be administered in the same way by commissioners appointed by the Government. The same system has been applied to the Punjab, Scinde, Pegu, and the various acquisitions made in India since that date. The laws and regulations under which they are administered are framed either by the governor-general in council or by the lieutenant-governors or commissioners, as the case may be, and approved by the governor-general. That constitutes the distinction between the regulation and the non-regulation provinces, the former being those subject to the old Regulations, and the latter those which are administered in the somewhat irregular manner which, as I have stated, commenced in 1815. There is much difference of opinion as to the legality of the

" regulations adopted under the latter system, and Mr. Peacock  
 " has declared that they are illegal, unless passed by the Legisla-  
 " tive Council. The Act of 1833, however, added to the council  
 " of the governor-general a member whose presence was neces-  
 " sary for the passing of all legislative measures, and put the  
 " whole of the then territory of India under that body, at the  
 " same time withdrawing from Madras and Bombay the power  
 " of making regulations. In that way the whole legislative power  
 " and authority of India were centralised in the governor-general  
 " and council. Since that time some provinces have been acquired  
 " which may be considered as non-regulation provinces: but it  
 " is not now worth while to go into details in regard to them.  
 " So matters stood in 1853, when great complaints emanated from  
 " other parts of India of the centralisation of power at Bengal.  
 " The practice was then introduced of placing in the governor-  
 " general's council members from different parts of India. The  
 " tenor of the evidence given before the committee of 1852-53  
 " was to point out that the Executive Council alone, even with the  
 " assistance of the legislative members, was incompetent to per-  
 " form increased duties which were created by the extension of  
 " the territory. Mr. M'Leod, a distinguished member of the  
 " civil service of India, and who had acted at Calcutta as one of  
 " the law commissioners, gave the following evidence before the  
 " committee :—

" "The governor-general with four members of council, however  
 " highly qualified those individuals may be, is not altogether a  
 " competent legislature for the great empire which we have in  
 " India. It seems to me very desirable that, in the legislative  
 " government of India, there should be one or more persons having  
 " local knowledge and experience of the minor presidencies; that  
 " is entirely wanting in the legislative government as at present  
 " constituted. It appears to me that this is one considerable and  
 " manifest defect. The governor-general and council have not  
 " sufficient leisure and previous knowledge to conduct, in addition  
 " to their executive and administrative functions, the whole duties  
 " of legislation for the Indian empire. It seems to me that it  
 " would be advisable to enlarge the Legislative Council and have  
 " representatives of the minor presidencies in it, without  
 " enlarging the Executive Council, or in any way altering its  
 " present constitution."

Such a council has now been established, and in addition also the High Courts in the Presidency towns, and in the North West:

While such machinery, remarks Sir Erskine Perry, is barely adequate to cope with the progress of European crime in India, the Mofussil and Zillah courts should be improved. The present



legal attainments are not sufficient. He would suggest the introduction of the barrister element. He would introduce barristers not only into the High but also into Mofussil Courts. But would not the scheme be costly? Would any men of eminence leave the bar for the heat of India and the miserably small pay of a barrister-judge? Would a single trained lawyer, would a single man likely to make himself eminent as Queen's Counsel on the Roll at Westminster come out? Would a single briefless barrister from the backwoods of the Queen's Bench, Exchequer or Common Pleas accept seven hundred or even a thousand a year on the condition of serving a life-long exile, amidst the swamps of an unhealthy station, where the entire society is possibly composed of a superintendent of police, an apothecary in charge of the station, and a district officer—his immediate superior probably a young Lieutenant fresh from his regiment, proud of his position as the great man of the district, and thoroughly ignoring anything in the shape of written law or professional legal knowledge. Appointed as assistant Judge, his legal knowledge, his acquaintance with the principles of English law, and the practice of English courts would be utterly useless and irrelevant, under an official, with whom on that point at least he could have no common points of official sympathy. He would too often be misunderstood. A triton among scientific men is often a minnow among unscientific men. A man of legal and professional training would be nothing, if placed in circumstances where legal and profession training alone would not be considered "the stamp exclusive and professional" for preferment in office or promotion on the bench. He would come to look upon the time which had been spent in studying for his profession as wasted. Of what use would his certificate be to him that he had passed the examination prescribed by the Council of Legal Education? In unlearning much of what he had learnt he would have to learn many things which he had not learnt. He would find that under the hereditary conservatism of ideas of the Government of India, as exemplified in Mofussil experience, the very worst military or civilian Zillah Judge in India would be regarded as a far more efficient man on a Mofussil bench than the most eminent Queen's Counsel on the Roll in Westminster. He would find that although an Act of Parliament existed which had thrown open all judicial appointments in India to any barrister or to any one displaying official aptitude, or to any native or uncovenanted officer, or advocate of the Scotch bar after seven years' residence,\* in most cases and

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\* Act 24 and 25 Victoria cap. 104.

especially in the regulation provinces, the Act was a dead letter, and that there were judges under this very Act in India entrusted with the highest magisterial and civil powers, who, after ten years service, were only paid a pound a day, or very nearly the amount earned by a mechanic at home or a carpenter.

"A long experience," says Sir William Jones, "makes us sad." It does so particularly with India. As we write we cannot help quoting from the reflections of a friend, made on the very subject on which we are now writing. We shall be pardoned if we use his own words. Referring to no particular act of the Government of India, and basing his reflections on the general tenor of present official patronage in India, he thus writes:—  
 "We once again realize in actual practical every-day life the fictions of the past, enriched even as those fictions are by the imagery of the past or the dim veil of mythology. Strange as such fictions may seem; and facts are often stranger than fiction, they may afford some points of strong parallelism with the occurrences of every day around us.

"The prolific brain of Reynolds has interspersed the pages of the mysteries of the court of London with characters sensual and blood-thirsty *in excelsis*. We might establish a parallelism between the lives of men of the present generation and those of Reynold's heroes of the past. Ancient mythology, involving the very quintessence of fiction, may seem strange when compared with even the most ungoverned imaginative productions of the day, but it only furnishes proofs that humanity continues at this very moment to be unaltered from what it was cycles ago.

"Our readers who occasionally recur in thought to the class room, will remember the celebrated Pandora, the first mortal woman whom the gods concerted to render a paragon of beauty and mental accomplishments. Venus conferred on her beauty, and the rather difficult art of pleasing; the Graces the power of captivating; Apollo taught her vocal music; Mercury and Minerva enriched her with eloquence and splendid ornaments. Some of us may have wished to have been in the shoes of Pandora, and possibly in the simplicity characteristic of unsophisticated youth even hoped to have basked in the sunshine of the smiles and favour of the complacent gods. Maturer years may have long since dissipated this day-dream, this delusive phantom, sketched out in the regions of fancy; nevertheless we startle the sobriety of our readers by asserting that Pandoras abound around us, with this difference only, that they belong not to the fair but to the rough sex, and are vastly more fortunate than the mythical lady herself, prefigured by Hesiod.

“ We mean Indian officials :—these are the antitypes. A full-blown Lieutenant quits the scene of his labours redolent of pipe-clay and bad leather, and takes the professional chair of an assistant to the Chief Engineer. The gods smile upon him, and by and by he holds the administrative charge of a district that will hold any twenty counties of England. Anon he is metamorphosed into a coadjutor of the highest judicial functionary of the land, and finally sees the interior of a forum as an impeccable lawgiver.”

Now, it has been allowed that in discussions of questions which affect the public, the public alone have a right to decide. So long as nothing was known of public justice as administered in the Mofussil, so long no opportunity could offer for public opinion to express itself. But public opinion often unerring, seldom wrong, has on this subject, whether through the press of India or of England, or whether in the discussions and debates of Parliament, expressed itself pretty clearly and loudly. An Act of Parliament has allowed the admission of pleaders, Scotch advocates, or English or Irish barristers to the Indian bar. To cope with men who have had a professional training, it will be necessary to have men on the bench who have also had a professional training.

There is no more powerful engine of education which the State can offer to a people than a well-conducted trial. Politics, theology, the American war, the merits of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute, these are subjects quite within the range of conversation, in which most people take a passing interest; but the trial of Muller or Howard, and the appeal of Mrs. Yelverton, are subjects on which the public, from the highest Judges of the land to carmen and fat boys, have a right to pass an opinion, because in every trial a principle is involved. On no subject is the press more unfettered in its opinion. A public principle is involved, and the persons who come before the public are public characters acting in a public capacity. In the strongest language used by the press in its animadversions on the best of officials, the law will impute no libel.\* The powerful sarcasm of Lord Macaulay still holds up to derision the public conduct and private character of Judge Jeffries. The Chief Justice of the Irish bench is still remembered in his connection with the leading trial of Major Yelverton. On the other hand, a fair trial impartially conducted is an useful and valuable State-lesson. In the reserve and impartiality of a good Judge, in the strictness of aim and purpose, rendered compulsory by the rules of pleading

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\* Sec 499 Act XLV of 1860, Exception 4th.

and evidence, in the control of a jury which can be exercised by the court, in the constant check upon extravagant, wandering and bullying questions which vigilant advocates can employ on behalf of their clients, lies material for a great variety of the most useful instruction of all who hear and read the proceedings.

We are not here using the language of any special pleader. But if the public were to have the option of choosing between barrister or military Judges, the public would select probably the men with long gowns and wigs,—men with at least some special training and with university diplomas. We believe Sir Erskine Perry has made himself unpopular in India for this suggestion. But in supporting that suggestion, we do so only on grounds of public justice, and unbiassed by any prejudices or favourite theories. We do not mean to condemn the system at present in vogue. We look upon Sir Erskine Perry's measure as an alternative one. The present system has its bright as well as its dark side; its recommendations as well as its drawbacks; its advantages as well as its disadvantages. But what we maintain is a wider selection with a due advertence to professional knowledge.

We trust that the new judicial system which has now been inaugurated will tend to correct some of the defects of the past. Much in the way of improvement has already been effected. The increase of litigation in the courts shows that our judicial courts are fast becoming popular with all classes of the native community. A healthy infusion of the barrister element will tend, it is to be hoped, to make them popular with the European community as well. The rules of procedure which have already been introduced under Act VIII of 1859 have not been found to impede justice. While in the Central Provinces, the Punjab and Oude, the average duration of suits has been considerably diminished, there are few arrears on the files at the end of the year. Business habits,—the foundation of success,—have been inculcated and officers have been taught by a judicious control over the workings of subordinate courts, by a system of prompt check and proper distribution of work, to correct many defects which had necessarily been associated under the old system with the administration of civil justice. The elimination of pleas and issues are now better understood; and irrelevancy,—the chief defect of the old system,—does not, in so many instances, disfigure and confuse the simple procedure which is now aimed at in the disposal of cases. "If errors still exist, their removal," writes one of the most able and talented of our present Indian administrators "can only be accomplished by a course of self-training, of which few of our officers have a just apprehension, and to which fewer subject themselves. The task is, perhaps, more

“ difficult in provinces like these, where each officer performs  
“ judicial, administrative and executive functions in all branches  
“ of the administration, but it is for that very reason the more  
“ necessary to accomplish it. The routine must be methodized, or  
“ the work cannot be well done. Organization is at the root of  
“ success, and officers must remember that it rests with them-  
“ selves alone.”

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ART. X.—THE PORTUGUESE IN WESTERN INDIA.  
 BY G. W. CLIVE, LL.D. GLASGOW, F.G.S., &C.; BARRISTER-AT-LAW,  
 MIDDLE TEMPLE.

1. *Orme's Historical Fragments.*
2. *Recollections of the Deccan.* By an Officer of Cavalry, Vol. I.
3. *History of British India.* By Hugh Murray, R.S.E.

IT would not be too much to assert that of all the histories which narrate events before the rise of the British power in the East, when Fort St. George had not been built; when only a few factories standing near the obscure village of Chuttanatee, now covered by princely mansions and stately houses, they indicated the British Settlement on the banks of the Hooghly; when Fort William had not yet been erected into a citadel; when the Presidency of Surat had not been transferred to Bombay; when French power had not risen to its zenith in India; when the Portuguese and Dutch had first settled on the Western Coast; there are few which are of greater interest than that of Orme. As a writer Mr. Robert Orme's works† have enjoyed a deserved popularity. As an intimate friend and associate of Lord Clive, and as a member of the Madras Council, his narration of the wars for supremacy in India, between the French, the Portuguese, and the English, will still be read with the interest which should deservedly attach to the narratives of an eye witness. Nevertheless it will not be wrong to state that neither his *Historical Fragments*, nor his *History of the Military Transactions of the British in India*, is read by even readers who take an interest in Indian history. Nor is it unlikely that if there had been the same amount of public criticism in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth, his history would not have attained to its third edition. That it never became a popular book is not surprising. Its strange spelling and obscure diction, † its harsh phrases and a style neither elegant nor perspicuous, its

\* The following articles were contributed to the pages of this Review by the present writer. Owing to his absence in England his name was left blank in the Index:—

1. The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories
2. The Central Provinces.
3. The Revenue Survey.
4. The Annals of our Connection with India, ending with the Embassy of Sir T. Roe.

5. Indian Law Reform, &c.

† *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan from the year 1745.* Third Edition. 1780.

*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire during the reign of Aurungzebe.*

‡ Mahrattas, Mr. Orme invariably spells Morattoes. Mahomedans he frequently calls Moora.

solecisms in grammar and an absence of anything like a reflective faculty in the writer, have done more than any adverse criticism could have done to mar his fame as a historian. His books are now consigned to the repose of the upper shelves of public libraries, and occupy the same range which consigns to oblivion the historical volumes of Henry Murray, of Hakluyt, of Stewart, of Bruce, and of Hamilton, whose histories and whose names are alike forgotten. Those, however, who have the courage to face Mr. Orme's closely painted and ponderous volumes, and to wade through a dry narrative of events of an obscure period of the history of India, will be amply repaid for their trouble. Few events have been so striking, or have left a more lasting impress on the destiny of India for good, as those by which the first conquests by the British in India had been effected. Few have been so enduring in their consequences. Yet it is not too much to say that there are few events which are not more enveloped in doubt. That Orme and his contemporaries should have found it difficult to write a history of events which transpired during that period is not much to be wondered. Such oriental chronicles which might have been in their possession, or to which they had access, were unreliable. They were more or less tinged with romance, or adorned with the fanciful imagery, the grotesque delineations, and those wild extravagances of an oriental imagination which betray the authorship of oriental writers. Yet, if we are not mistaken, the story of the rapid rise of British supremacy in the East, even when stripped of all that coloring which time may have lent to it, and when viewed through the sober pages of such writers as Orme or Mill, will not possess less interest than events which may have attracted a greater portion of public attention, and which have had a larger niche in history allowed them. One reason, why so few narratives of early British Indian History have been written by contemporaries, is that those who took an active part in public affairs, were so much taken up themselves in battling against those evils by which they were beset, in a land where everything was strange, and in those early times so unsettled, that they had not the leisure to record the events in which they themselves played a prominent part.

It is curious to observe how rapid has been the rise of British power in the East, which gave England its supremacy over India. It has been the result, not so much of violent spoliation, as of the simple effect of industry, force of character, energy of will, integrity of purpose, and indomitable perseverance. The Mahomedan possessions in India were crumbling into decay. Intrigues abroad and factions within the palace had tended to undermine the power of the Emperor who ruled at Delhi—the feeble heir



of the great Mogul Emperor whose Empire had extended from the snowy mountains of Cashmere to the Deccan, from the Burhamputra to Candahar, India so often conquered, and so long the prize of invaders, was once again to be conquered.

"*Vincitrice o vinta, sempre asserra.*" And yet so rapidly was that conquest effected, that no signs loomed in the distance; no foreshadowings of coming events heralded the storm. But if our conquest of the Indian Empire has been rapid, we must not forget to give some credit to those who had first assayed the conquest of the Empire, and who were to some extent our pioneers. When the Portuguese first landed on Indian soil, many years had not elapsed when one of the greatest of the Mogul Emperors had passed away—the greatest of the line of Timur, the wisest and the best of the sovereigns who ruled in Delhi. It is curious to observe, that, while a new era was transpiring to engraft Western ideas on Moslem institutions in the East, in the West a new epoch had destroyed the last vestiges of Moslem influence in Spain. Within ten years from the date of the establishment by charter of the East India Company, and five years after the great Akbar was carried to the marble mausoleum where his remains now lie interred, the last of the Moors had been banished from Spain. The storm of Moslem invasion which had swept so suddenly over the provinces of Spain and Portugal, and which had devastated those provinces, after the lapse of nearly nine centuries, was followed by the storm of Christian invasion which carried to the East the germs of Christianity, and which placed the Cross on the strongholds of Mahomedan power in India. And, borrowing an illustration from the fanciful fiction of the Spanish Chronicles of Bleda, the dream of King Roderick of Spain which heralded the invasion of Europe by the followers of the Crescent, might illustrate the story of the rapid conquest of the empire once governed by the Mogul by the soldiers of the Cross. The pretty fable by which Bleda illustrated the conquest of Spain by the followers of Mahomed may be made to illustrate the conquest of India by the followers of Christ. Near Toledo, writes the ancient Spanish chronicler, stands one of those\* wondrous monuments of the olden time—one of those Egyptian and Chaldaic piles storied with hidden wisdom and mystic prophecy. This tower set up by Hercules of Lybia had been finished with magic art, and contained a secret which should reveal the destiny of Spain. After the lapse of several centuries King Roderick and his courtiers assayed to obtain the secret which for centuries had baffled the courage or ingenuity of his ancestors. Having passed the wondrous and massive door,

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\* Legends of the Conquest of Spain.

#### 4 *The Portuguese in Western India.*

and the bronzed giant, of terrible aspect, which incessantly whirled, a huge mace, the King entered a vast chamber of rare and sumptuous architecture, the walls of which were incrustated with gems—so lustrous that a radiant light spread through the room, which seemed to shine from them. Under the lofty dome which was self-supported, stood a table of alabaster, and on the table a golden casket richly set with precious stones which none but a king might open. Within the casket King Roderick found a linen cloth folded between two tablets, of copper. On unfolding it, he beheld painted on it figures of men, on horseback, of fierce demeanour clad in robes of various colors, with crossbows at their saddle backs, carrying banners and pennons with a strange device. Above them was inscribed "Rash Monarch; behold the men who are to hurl thee from thy throne and subdue thy kingdom." And as they regarded the painting, the scroll began to extend, a faint sound of warlike tumult appeared to arise—the clash of cymbals, the neigh of steeds, the shout of the victors, the groans of the dying. The air resounded with shouts of triumph, with yells of fury; the Christians quailed before the foe; the standard of the Cross was cast down; the Crescent waved over the once fertile regions of Spain. The cloud-storm of battle seemed to spread and to envelope Europe, while King Roderick's dominion appeared to pass from him.

If at the height of Mogul greatness, the Emperor who built that stately marble mausoleum, which still forms the proudest monument of oriental rule in India, were suffered to have any intimation of the future, whilst he surveyed for the first time the walls and screen of marble under that superb dome, studded with gems, and lustrous with its mosaics of inwrought stones; his dream would not have been less startling than the vision seen in the tower of Toledo by King Roderick and his courtiers. In exactly a century from the battle of Plassey, British power was on the ascendant from the snowy ranges of the Himalayahs to Cape Comorin, and from the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh to Assam. From the precarious tenure of a few factories on the Hooghly and at Surat, our empire has extended itself over the entire of India, embracing a population larger than that over which Cæsar or Charlemagne ruled. To the Portuguese, however, is due the praise of being the first who led the way to the final conquest of India. While the Moguls were yet establishing their power in the lower provinces of Bengal, a small band of Portuguese under the command of Vasco de Gama first landed at Calicut. From that date the first regular intercourse of the West with the East commenced: from that date the isolation of India from the communities of the West ceased. Although India was hitherto commercially isolated from the West, it was not altogether unknown before that period to the western World.

Years before the merchant ships of Phœnicia traded with the western coasts of India; Alexander had penetrated as far as the Ravi, built that memorable column which may still be seen standing amidst the mountain passes of Cabul. When in 1842 a small band of English captives, during the disastrous Afghan war, wended their way through the steep defiles and abrupt declivities of the Khyber pass, they beheld still standing the pillar which had been erected by the great Macedonian. From the subsequent establishment of the Bactrian Empire in the North-Western Frontier of India, dates the first European connection with India—a connection which did not survive through many dynasties, and which has left behind no lasting impress for good.

Our earliest accurate information of India is derived from the works of Eratosthenes. He was long in charge of the Alexandrian library. His annals of the Egyptian kings are still read. His researches in the geography of the East rendered his work valuable at a time when so little accurate information of India could be gained, and when, even in the records of sober history, much of the marvellous and much of fiction was mixed up. Several years later indeed the account given by Megasthenes of India, accounts which were afterwards accepted as correct by Strabo and by Arrian, threw fresh light upon a country which was then so little known. From the establishment of the Bactrian Empire till the first settlement of the Portuguese in India, no other connection with the West had been maintained except that commercial intercourse which subsisted between the Persians and the people of the Punjab. A Venetian or Italian traveller may have occasionally found his way to India; but such visits were of rare occurrence. Rubriquis, a Latin Monk, and Marco Polo have both left interesting narratives of their travels to the East.\* It is more than doubtful that Rubriquis did not penetrate beyond Persia and the country of the Afghans. But while the Franciscan monk did not travel so far, it was left to his distinguished contemporary Marco Polo not only to travel to India, but also to complete his mission to the Court of China.

At a time when so little was known of India and the East, when scarcely a single European had ventured beyond the limits of Persia, the narrative of the travels of Marco Polo proved not less interesting from their having been a valuable acquisition to the works of ancient geography, as from their presenting details of the adventures of a bold and chivalrous explorer. Indeed, when it is remembered that this distinguished Venetian had no independent income, had no knowledge of the language of the countries he visited, and had but an imperfect idea of the geography of India or China, it

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\* William de Rubriquis or Ruysbroek. It is doubtful whether he penetrated so far as India.

will not be denied that he had many and arduous difficulties to contend with. History has not done sufficient justice to him. Romance has nowhere ascribed to him any of those great qualities which she delighted to ascribe to her heroes. Yet had he lived and laboured in Europe instead of in Asia, and had he a biographer to chronicle those labors, both poetry and fiction would have given him a place in the niche of fame not inferior to that occupied by Ulysses, the hero of Ithaca; the explorer of Africa, whose marvellous tales of the discovery of the Lotophagi and of the Cyclops were re-told by the author of the *Æneid*, and whose pretty fictions of the enchantress Circe on the island of *Æea*, and of the fairy visions seen on the island of Calypso, have been made the constant theme of idyls and of sea dreams. As it might be said of Megasthenes that he was the first European who had penetrated India as far as the Ganges; of Marco Polo it might with equal historical truth be affirmed that he was the first European who had journeyed overland to China. In one extent alone was Marco Polo fortunate. Both his uncle and his father had travelled to the Court of Kublai Khan in Chinese Tartary; and it was during his stay subsequently at that court that the young Marco had acquired his knowledge of the Mongolian language which was of so much use to him in his subsequent travels into India and China. The manuscript written at his dictation by a fellow prisoner while in captivity was not published in Venice until nearly two centuries and a half had elapsed from the date of its being written. Marco Polo's mission to India was not without its results, if it drew attention to the fabled riches of the Peninsula. From the fifteenth century the first intercourse between India and Portugal commenced. It is curious that the subjugation of the Moors in Europe should so soon be followed by that chain of events, which led to the subjugation of the Moslem power in India. The fifteenth century might indeed be said to be the era of brilliant and distinguished naval discoveries. The discovery of America, of Madeira, of the Cape de Verd Islands, of the Azores, of the Cape of Good Hope, and finally of that passage to India by the Cape which led to the establishment on a wide basis of the trade with India, followed each other in rapid succession. To the Portuguese navigators must be ascribed the praise of those first successful voyages which opened out the trade with the East Indies. Those discoveries took place in the early part of the reign of Don Juan the First. His reign was rendered brilliant by the successes and by the bold daring of his naval captains. The narrow bounds of the Empire of Portugal under that monarch sought extension in the distant regions of the East, as that of Spain in the newly discovered regions of the West. Washed by the shores of the Atlantic Ocean it gave ample scope to the maritime

genius of its people. Among those who fostered the spirit of enterprize which was then for the first time awakened, the youthful prince Don Henry stands foremost. Retiring from the gaities of the court, in his retreat near Cape St. Vincent, he meditated on bold schemes of maritime conquest. Under a prince of so generous a disposition, it is not surprising that the discoveries made and the conquests achieved by Portugal in the fifteenth century should have been second only to those of Spain. In a few years the Portuguese had chased the Moors out of their kingdom, had beheld the fall of Granada, had driven the last of the Moors to Africa, had rivalled the Spanish nation in the brilliancy of its naval discoveries, had discovered the Azores, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, Mozambique, the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and had planted the standard of Portugal and the banner of the Cross on the shores of India. While many years had not elapsed since Galianez had doubled the Cape of Badajoz,\* another successful Captain had conquered the island of Arguin. While Juan Gonsalvez Arco and Tristan Tassora† were exploring the seas and estuaries of the African coast, one naval commander fell bravely fighting against the negroes of Cape de Verd Islands, and another, Gonsalva, made the discovery of the Azores. Madeira was discovered by another Portuguese commander, and the discovery of the Cape of Storms led to the first successful voyage by sea to India. Ten years after Bartholomew Diaz had doubled the Cape in a storm, and five years after Columbus had discovered the new world, Vasco de Gama landed on the Malabar Coast.

He set sail for India with three small ships; his followers consisted of sixty men. On doubling the Cape he encountered a fierce storm, and his crew, fearing the dangers of an unknown sea, mutinied, and at the peril of his life urged him to return. Vasco de Gama was undismayed, alike at the threats of his crew, and at the fierce tempest which threatened destruction. The perseverance of the commander instilled courage into the hearts of his crew; the mutiny was checked; and in the end of November 1497 he found himself approaching the coast of the African town of Melinda. Here he learnt that India was not unknown to the natives, that Christian merchants from India traded there, and that there were then Indian pilots at Melinda who could guide him to the Malabar Coast. He was not slow in accepting the services of a pilot, and under his guidance he reached the coast in twenty-three days, and anchored in the calm waters before Calicut. He found the town of Calicut

\* His mission to Tartary in 1253 as Bojador. Murray has fallen into and to Persia, being deputed by the same error or misprint; he Louis IX, is however interesting. pronounces the name as Tristram

† Pronounced incorrectly by some Vaz.

flourishing; and was admitted into the presence of the Zamorin, or ruler of that place. His interviews were repeated, and his conciliatory demeanour led to the establishment of a commercial treaty between the Zamorin and the Government of Portugal.

He sailed back to Melinda, and taking on board an ambassador from the Moorish prince or chief reigning there, he returned to Lisbon in September 1499. Here honors awaited him. He was received with enthusiasm by his countrymen. He was summoned to Court, and the title of Admiral of the Indian, Persian and Arabian seas was conferred on him. So successful did the first expedition to India prove, that a second one was soon projected: Pedro Alvarez de Cabral was appointed to the command. He reached Calicut with his small fleet in safety, and established a factory there. On his departure, the factory was attacked by the natives and the Portuguese factors murdered. In consequence of these proceedings, the Portuguese Government fitted out a fleet of twenty ships, and entrusted the command to Gama. On his way out to India he settled factories at Sofala and Mozambique. His return to India was a surprise to the natives of Calicut, for they had imagined, in murdering the Portuguese factors, they had exterminated their enemies. Vasco de Gama seized all the ships in the port. He demanded satisfaction for the outrages which had been committed. Not receiving what he demanded, he cannonaded and destroyed the town. Leaving five ships to protect the factory, he returned to Lisbon in December 1503, and was created Count of Videqueray. Albuquerque prosecuted the conquests which were commenced by Vasco de Gama; and it was not until twenty-one years afterwards that De Gama again sailed for India under the title of Viceroy. He did not long survive his accession to power. He soon after died on his arrival at Cochin. To this illustrious navigator must belong the merit of having discovered the route to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The *Lusiad* of Camoens, who accompanied him in his first voyage, illustrates some of his adventures in song; while history has to record that in discovering this new route he had established an era not less eventful to commerce as to politics.

In a few years the Portuguese had settled in Ceylon, and had taken possession of Goa and Calicut, of Mangalore and Negapatam. Portuguese ships monopolized the trade and navigation of the Red Sea, and Portuguese vessels drove out the Moorish vessels which up till then traded with the Eastern Coasts of India. The trade of the Persian Gulf was in the hands of the Portuguese, and it was more than possible that in a few years Portuguese power would have been dominant in India. At present the foreign possessions of Portugal are limited to Goa in India and

to Macao in China. While of the numerous islands once possessed by them in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean only the Azores, Madeira and Cape de Verd Islands are left to them. *A*

The rapid rise and early decadence of the Portuguese Empire in the East is remarkable as furnishing a contrast to the steady growth of the British Empire and rule in India. Goa, once the Portuguese capital and the seat of their Government, once the emporium of commerce between the East and the West, is now a thinly populated city infested with malaria. Its principal attractions lie in its associations with the past. It was there that Albuquerque and De Gama governed. The ruins of the viceregal palace, the arch of Albuquerque, the Dominican Monastery and Church with its gallery seven hundred feet long, the Church of Bomjesus, the scene of the devotions of St. Francis, once the head-quarters of Jesuitism in India, and the Church of Saint Augustin, still attest its former greatness. Situated at the mouth of the Mandova River it consists of two cities, called the old town and the new town. Known under the Mogul Government as a city of some consequence, and mentioned by Ferishta so early as 1374, as belonging to the King of Bejanuggur, it is not surprising that it should have excited the cupidity of the Portuguese. So early as 1510, Alphonso de Albuquerque undertook its conquest. It fell an easy prey, and long afterwards that day was commemorated in some of the churches of Goa, and dedicated to the Virgin and Martyr of Sienna, celebrated in the annals of ecclesiastical story for her piety, for her austerities, for her poetical and mystical letters.

To Albuquerque much of the greatness of the city of Goa is owing. He repaired the fortifications, he strengthened the town, he erected palaces; and owing to public grants and private munificence, many of those cathedrals and stately churches which have lent their chief beauty to the town were soon raised.

Nor is it alone for its ecclesiastical buildings that Goa was thus early distinguished.\* To the readers of history it will always be remembered as associated with the labors of a monk, who in zeal and in devotion has acquired a reputation among the brotherhood of the society of Jesuits second only to that of his friend and associate Ignatius Loyola.

Descended from a noble family in Navarre, Francis Xavier, the missionary monk of the sixteenth century, spent more than ten

\* An officer of cavalry, who visited Goa forty years ago, thus writes of some of its buildings—“For purity and elegance of design and correctness of execution I would select the church of St. Caetanus, for grandeur of dimensions the church of St.

Domino and the Cathedral, for gorgeousness of display in its interior that of St. Augustin; but for its effect on the mind that of Bomjesus. Some of these churches, however, are now neglected.”

years in India, preaching Christianity in the Portuguese colonies, and died endeavouring to prosecute his mission into China. Goa was the scene for some years of his missionary efforts. Like Ignatius Loyola, he added to deep piety great enthusiasm, great zeal, and great devotion to the cause of his order. Like the founder of the order of Jesus, he had the rare quality of swaying other minds, and although leading a life of great austerity, so great was his enthusiasm in the cause he advocated that he succeeded in attracting around him some men of greater talents and greater accomplishments than himself. While it was owing to the singular energy of the order to which he belonged, the spirit which for upwards of a century seemed to animate it, the vow to which each brother of the order had to subscribe before being admitted and by which he bound himself to journey to the remotest part of the world in order to labor for the salvation of souls, that carried Xavier to the shores of India; there is but little doubt that it was owing to his exertions that so many converts at Goa were won over to the Romish Church. In the present day it is curious to observe the absence of the fiery zeal which animated the successors of Ignatius Loyola, and the successors of Francis Xavier, among the fathers or brothers of the Romish Church. The spirit of Jesuitism and the machinery of the Inquisition have both fallen to decay.

Nor is it only in India that the order has now ceased to exert any influence either for good or for evil. It was caused by the outbreak of Protestantism in the north of Europe. It ceased to become a power when the Reformation was firmly established, and when that polemical war between Protestantism and Romanism ceased to be fought with the zeal and the acrimony which characterised those disputes at the commencement of the Reformation. During the life of its founder, Jesuitical zeal and learning looked for a reform in morals and in the doctrines of the Romish Church; but when such able spiritual coadjutors as Lefevre, Laynez, and Francis Xavier ceased to exist, it is easy to imagine that both the power and the privileges which the order enjoyed would be abused by those professors who were not animated by the zeal, or who did not possess those higher qualities of prudence or obedience to the rules of their order, which characterised the early professors of the order. Jesuitism, which had spread from the old world to the new, which had more or less imbued the ideas and the religious aspirations of the south of Europe, which had erected its colleges on the shores of Asia and in the depths of Peru, which saw its emissaries in every court, and its priests often the virtual rulers of kings in most Roman Catholic states; which lent its missionaries, skilled in the school of the casuists and armed with the secret power of the Inquisition, to



every country, in the course of a few centuries soon became a word of reproach even among states which acknowledge the Roman Catholic religion. The intrigues and the misdeeds, the love of power and the love of greed, of the Jesuits alike made them dreaded. In Venice the order was suppressed at the same time that it was in England; a century and a half later it was suppressed in Portugal and in Spain and in France. A few years after, so great was the bitter and general hatred engendered by the inquisition, that in 1773 Pope Clement the XIV. endeavoured to suppress the order by a Papal decree. †

The college of the Jesuits at Goa is now neglected and in ruins; while near the senate house may be seen the spot where once stood the building of the Inquisition associated with more than one tale of horror.

In writing of Xavier it is impossible not to associate him with the recollection of that spirit which animated all the great followers of Jesuitism. As a spiritual adviser, as a popular preacher, as a religious enthusiast, as a physician of souls, as one of the first pioneers of the Christian religion in India, as a General of the Jesuit mission at Goa, as the illustrious apostle of the Roman Catholic faith, Xavier has earned for himself a lasting reputation. He surmounted difficulties such as even Laynez would have shrunk from. Like Loyola he possessed a high degree of that administrative faculty which adapts itself to all instruments which works with the most unskilful agency, which displays itself in the classification of labour to an end, and which is most skilful in regulating and reducing into order the most minute details of religious life in large religious establishments. The human machine was one which he could mould to his own views or purpose. But while he himself obeyed the most trivial injunction of the head of his order, he in return expected implicit obedience to his own commands. In India he looked upon himself as the sole General to whom was entrusted the reins of the spiritual government. He was to India what Rodriguez was to Portugal, what Loyola was to Italy. Neither Laynez, nor Alphonso Salmeron, nor Nicholas Alphonso, nor Rodriguez could have surpassed him in zeal, in patience, in perseverance, if any of them had been deputed to India in his place. Like Loyola he was a profound master of human nature; but unlike him he had not the instinctive sagacity to detect the hidden disposition of character, or to intuitively fathom the secret springs of action. Like him his life had been one of incessant toil; like him he had braved dangers from which other men less enthusiastic would have shrunk; like him in accepting his mission he sacrificed

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† The system has to a certain extent been revived in 1814 by the opening of a Novitiate which received the direction of the *Collegium Romanum* and of the Propaganda.

all prospects of future ease, of wealth, of honour, which would have been inconsistent with his devotion to the cause which he had sworn to uphold. Unlike him his mind had not the same grasp, or that liberality which could alone spring from elevated mental culture. Loyola had sought to found a religious system by which he might rule the world, as expressed by a recent writer, not by the universal diffusion of religious motive, not by fixing the eyes of mortal men upon the invisible and the eternal as the means, but by using the invisible and the eternal as the fulcrum of his lever of government. Xavier, accepting this doctrine as the basis of the institute of Jesuitism, sought to carry out in its full integrity the maxim of his order. His was not a mind which would have shaped for itself a new orbit, athwart the social system he found in India.

On his arrival in India he found that the mass of the natives of India were steeped in idolatry; and that much social as well as religious reform was needed for the Portuguese settlers in Goa.

When Francis Xavier arrived at Goa he found a population larger than that which he was accustomed to see in even some of the large towns of Italy; he found that although Goa was the seat of the Portuguese viceroyalty in the East, and that although it had a large and increasing commerce, Portuguese immorality and Hindoo superstition had alike tended to lower the tone of society and to debase the character of the people in it. Portuguese cupidity and avarice had already begun to display itself. The annals of that period are stained with acts of atrocity which it is not necessary here to revert to. Exactly ten years before he landed\* the old and venerable prince Bahadoor, King of Guzerat, was murdered treacherously. The western coast was ravaged, Diu, Gogo, and Bantam were sacked. Nionna de Cantra, then governor at Goa, had none of the qualities of daring or courage or magnanimity which distinguished De Gama or Albuquerque, and amidst the records of crime, the glimpses of greatness or of magnanimity or of heroism were few indeed.

The native town of Goa was then, like most other native towns where Europeans had settled, ill-built, overcrowded, ill-drained. At morning and evening where the Mussulmans resided might be seen the heads of Moslem families, grey bearded and venerable Mahomedans, standing up in corners of streets and bowing themselves to their prophet in prayer. The men wore long gowns, and white turbans. In another part, the streets swarmed with Hindus, half nude, looking out from the old carved basements of their small balconies above or from within the low antique doors underneath. In each house were seen Indian mothers nursing their children, dusky ragged young Indians tumbling about the

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\* Todd's Travels in Western India, p. 259.

ill-drained gutters. Pigs, goats, and hens, dogs and cows tumbled about among the children in playful confusion. The market squares were no better than the rest of the town. There were little wretched shops facing the squares, which were stocked with buyers and sellers, with grains and pulse, with inferior vegetables, and with tawdry and tinsel ornaments. In the shops, dark Mahomedans sat and smoked, and sold silks and Bengal cloths. Of course, in all the transactions going on there was a good deal of hustling, of bickering, of wheedling, of cringing, and of the usual exhibitions of passion so often displayed in the Indian money market for annas and half annas; the battle between vendor and purchaser being always a fierce one, great and heroic martyrdom being displayed by the seller when he abated his price, and great cunning eagerness being displayed when he obtained an apparent profit. In the streets leading to the market places might be seen lines of idle camels snorting and bubbling, and groaning piteously, and complaining loudly against the trouble of being made to sit down and get up. Behind them stretched listlessly their keepers dreaming away their time in the shade. Carts laden with grain blocked up the streets. At that time Goa was the emporium of commerce between the East and the West, and its markets attracted merchants from nearly every part of India. Francis Xavier found in Goa races immersed in superstition, a disorganised government and a grasping priesthood. Nor were the convents and the monasteries free from some of the worst vices which at that time infected society. In the language of Ariosto he might with equal truth and force have exclaimed :

“ Nè pietà nè quietà, nè umiltade,  
Nè quiví amor, nè quiví, pace mira.  
Ben vi fur' già, ma nell' antica etade  
Che le caccia, 'gola avarizia, ed ira,  
Superbia, invidia, me'raia, eor'dultale.”

Goa has no longer the reputation it had acquired in the days of Francis Xavier. The old town is now a dreary waste infested with malaria; and a few scattered chapels and convents, churches and monasteries, deserted except by ecclesiastics, are all that are left of its former greatness. The palaces and gardens of the Albuquerque's and the De Gama's are deserted. Its ancient palace-like mansions are in ruin. To the antiquarian the old town, however, still possesses an interest.

*Apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt apparent priami et veterum penetralia regum.* Decay follows prosperity, the mossgrown ruin takes the place of turret and steeple. The Goa of the present day would scarcely be recognised in the Goa of the sixteenth century.

Xavier found the Portuguese at Goa isolated from the association

of their own country, and in manners and morals rapidly degenerating to the standard of the natives around them. From the time of Alphonso Albuquerque, the second Portuguese governor of India, to the time of the arrival of Xavier several years had elapsed. Albuquerque had repaired the town, had added to its fortifications, had planted groves, had erected palaces, had built churches, had embellished the city, had introduced a form of government, rude it is true, and simple, but still partaking in some measure of those forms which were recognised in the West. But to Albuquerque had succeeded a series of weak rulers; and Goa although containing a population of 150,000 Portuguese Christians and 50,000 Hindus and Mahomedans, already showed symptoms of decline. About the time of Xavier's arrival, Alphonso de Sousa, then Governor of Portuguese India, thus wrote:—"I dare not govern India by men so changed from truth and honor. The Portuguese entered India with a sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets; and not being able to hold them up in one hand, they were grown so heavy, that they dropped the sword, and in this posture being found by those who came after were easily overcome." Xavier's arrival infused a new spirit among them. But Xavier did not long remain in India. He visited Ceylon, and travelled to China. In 1552 he died in the remote island of Sinsain on the coast of China. In 1554 the body of this indefatigable Jesuit priest was brought to Goa and interred in the chapel of Saint Paul. For some years it was exhibited in a state of preservation. Many years later it was removed to the church of Bomjesus, where it was enshrined in silver and brass on a superb bier of Italian marble with effigies in bronze standing out in relief, commemorating his pilgrimages and the principal events of his life.

It is difficult to sketch the character of Francis Xavier. Gifted by nature with courage and intelligence, he was throughout life inspired with a zeal and devotion to his duty, which was seldom found in so strong a degree in any of the followers of Loyola. His was eminently a practical life. Letters and the fine arts did not claim much of his attention. Piety formed the lasting bond of union between him and his church. At Goa he governed his order by tact, by kindness, by reprimands, sometimes as terrible as those which used to be issued by Letelier, sometimes by censures as mild as those which used to be conveyed by the gentle Lachaise. In deputing him to India, Rome had been admirably guided either by chance or selection in such a missionary. It was certain that neither the difficulties of travelling nor extreme privations could easily daunt him. The pencil and the chisel have not indeed made the world familiar with a delineation of the portrait of this Jesuit priest; but from those portraits which remain of him it would be easy to trace in his

features the perseverance and the energy which form the chief characteristic of his life. In moulding his figure nature had employed but little material. It might be said of him in the language of Juvenal, *rara est concordia formos atque pudicitia*.\* His was no life which glided away in soft dreams of intellectual voluptuousness. Whether taking part in metaphysical discussions with the Brahmins of Goa, whether converting the savages of Ceylon, whether instructing or consoling or animating the courage of his order at Diu, whether adapting himself to the manners and customs of the inhabitants of China, or the semi-nude barbarians of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whether preaching or disputing in a patois of Tuscan, Portuguese and Persian, a quick intelligence and a capacity of easy adaptation to circumstances displayed itself in him. The policy of the Romish church has always been one of tact. When that Church finds one of its gifted or talented enthusiasts a troublesome or dangerous reformer, she does not suppress his energy. If, she argues, such men will be impetuous, it is better that their impetuosity should be enlisted on the right side, than on the wrong; on the side of religion, rather than in the cause of infidelity; on the side even of fanaticism or superstition, rather than on that of heresy. Hence instead of driving by her opposition a monk like St. Francis into heresy, she places him at the head of a monastic order, deposes him as her missionary to the East, incites him to zeal in the great cause of reform and of conversion, and profits by the revival of religious zeal. As the natives of Goa had always preserved in their own ideas of religion, certain forms of dress, certain consecrated attitudes, certain symbols and attributes, certain forms and superstitions which had their meaning determined by their ancient Vedas, so did the Church of Rome, through their missionary St. Xavier, appeal to their senses and to their imagination in the impressiveness of its ritualistic forms, in its ancient traditional leanings to symbolism and dress, and in the gorgeous vestments of its priests, and in the choice of its accessories.

Goa still cherishes the memory of this great priest, and of this zealous missionary; but it is curious that while Xavier should have earned an European reputation, there are so few in India who remember him in connection with his mission, his labors, his success, and his life in the East.

Pangi, the modern Goa, is now the seat of the government of the Portuguese at Goa. The population of the new town is small, and is composed principally of Portuguese. Masses of cocoanut trees fringe the banks at the water's edge, or cast their shadows on the low shelving sands of the river. The modern government

\* Juvenalis Sat. x. 297. For rarely do we find in one combined a vigorous body and a virtuous mind.

house cannot compare in point of architecture with the old palace of Albuquerque. But viewed from the water's edge it has a pleasing appearance. At Ribunder is the chief civil and criminal court. The supreme authority is vested in a governor. He has unlimited powers. He is aided by a commander-in-chief, by an attorney-general, by a chief secretary, and by a chief naval commandant. There is also an Archbishop. There are civil and criminal courts, and a *lex scripta* of court and colonial law. The revenue is not large, and out of the small revenues about one-tenth is annually paid to Portugal as the proceeds of the royal monopoly of tobacco. The commerce is small, and trade languishes. The police is not effective. The traveller who now visits Goa will see but little to admire in the seat of the Portuguese Government. The town has lost much of its architectural beauty. There is but little private wealth. There is still a governor who exercises the chief power in the colony, an Archbishop who still bears the title of Eccellenza, and a commander-in-chief who takes rank with a field marshal of Portugal. The dress worn is European; the language talked is a patois of Goanese, Concanese, and Portuguese. The majority of the inhabitants are poor, and many who can get nothing to do in Goa seek employment in Bombay as menials in the service of Europeans. ~~The Government as well as the people have degenerated, and we should be disappointed if in turning to the present annals of the Portuguese Government of Goa we should expect to see any records of progress, of liberalism, or of reform.\*~~ It might be said of Goa in the language of Montesquieu, "*Un Gouvernement parvenu au point où il ne peut plus se reformer lui même, que perdrait-il à être refondu ?*"

Pangl although much neglected still presents some features of architectural beauty. Approaching it from the sea its beauty is heightened. The village of Ribunder is picturesque. There are sailing boats on the river; and the views, as you glide down towards the open sea, are picturesque.

But if Portuguese power had thus rapidly increased in the East, it had as rapidly declined. Several causes may have tended to the rapid decadence of that power. The vigorous reign of Albuquerque at Goa was followed by the feeble rule of a number of effete successors. The rivalry of the Dutch traders tended to lessen their gains. Their commerce rapidly declined. The early Portuguese governors of Goa affected a viceregal state. They lived luxuriously and idly. The palace of Albuquerque

\* Montesquieu *L'esprit* X. C. 3. can lose nothing by being founded  
 A government which has reached the afresh.  
 point, where it cannot reform itself,

witnessed scenes which would have rivalled the scenes enacted in the palaces of some of the oriental emperors at Delhi. Occasionally a few military sports might have retrieved the general character of the viceregal amusements. But from records of that period now extant, there is reason to believe that the successors of Albuquerque led lives which were certainly not blameless. In the character of some of the weakest of those rulers were to be found a union of profligacy, cupidity, greed of gain, superstition, and an oriental despotism of character. The government of the Portuguese in India is not without its lessons in history. That neither French domination nor Portuguese superstition should have a lasting sway in India are not surprising. The benefits derived from the English supremacy in India are likely to be alike beneficial and lasting.

In the annexation of India to the British Empire, it is not difficult to trace the hand of a higher destiny than that which may be controlled by mere human wisdom. We trace the hand of God in history. Our power in the East has been gradually acquired. It was not the design of Providence that India should have been conquered for commercial advantages only, as Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote. Providence had a higher object in view in annexing India to the kingdom of Great Britain than to afford facilities for the export of piece-goods and indigo, and to provide situations for the relatives and friends of the Directors in London. More generous, and it is to be trusted more Christian, maxims of colonial policy are now entertained in our relations with the East. In reviewing, however, the early connection of the Portuguese with India, one lesson has been taught us which we have discarded: one theory of Government which nevertheless has received the assent of our best rulers. The Portuguese during that short period when they had acquired the dominion of the western coast had sought to extend the supremacy of their Church. There was no opposition displayed in the sixteenth century by the natives of India to this effort on their part to introduce the Christian religion into India. The labours of a missionary like Francis Xavier met with success. There was no faint hearted policy on his part; no shrinking from making an open manifestation of the truth. If the records of contemporaneous history are to be trusted, he had preached from Cape Comorin to Manáar. He had obtained converts at Malacca and at Ceylon. At Japan he remained nearly two years and a half, and amongst his hearers and his converts were to be found the rude savages of Macao and Sansia. To the honour of the Portuguese Government it must be added that they aided and assisted his mission openly and avowedly. But the good work which he began has not been continued; and the rapid degeneracy of the Portuguese

Government in the Western Coast of India followed quickly on the footsteps of the decline of the Portugal Government in Europe. What those causes were which led to a decline so rapid it is not necessary to trace. In looking back upon the history of ancient Goa, and the short tenure of Portuguese viceroyalty in India, it is difficult not to recognise some useful truths; the inflexibility of fate, in the legend which points to decay following prosperity, of nation succeeding nation, and of the endless mutation in dynasties. As the picture of ancient Goa rises up before the mind, like the phantom shades of Banquo—

“ in dim procession led ”

with its line of Vasco de Gama's, De Souza's, and Albuquerque's; with its Naibs and courtiers, Cazis and Dewans with the brute tyranny, the avarice and the cupidity, and the thirst of gold, and the bold and daring adventuresome spirit, unscrupulous and rapacious, restrained in some instances by the monkish ascetism and superstition of the sixteenth century, it is not difficult to recognise the fact that, of all the nations of the West which ruled or swayed the destinies of India, the Portuguese led the van. They were the pioneers.

*Continue the addenda in MSS. Book II. page.*







THE

# National Magazine.

FOR

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JULY 1875.

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## THE NEW MUNICIPAL BILL

FOR

CALCUTTA.

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Sir Richard Temple has promised Calcutta, a new Municipal Bill or rather to alter materially the present Bill so as practically to give the city a new one. We have not yet been favored with a programme of the Bill nor can we as yet ; so little public discussion has there hitherto been on the subject, premise the nature of the intended alterations.

It is alleged that there is no public spirit in Calcutta, and that if any discussion on this subject will be elicited, it will be restricted to the few members of the Bengal Legislative Council, if a damper on their enthusiasm be not placed by the mover of this Bill.

It was we believe said by Sidney Smith that corporations have neither a soul to be saved, nor a body to be kicked. But without wishing to be very severe on the Calcutta Municipality we must own that there are many things that require reform in the

present regime, and we shall not be sorry if very material changes are effected in the present Municipal Act.

. Any one who studies this subject will find that as at present administrated, the Municipal act is not without its defects. The direct taxes are excessively high, and there is an inconsistency in the manner in which they are levied. A few instances will suffice to illustrate our position. As at present administered we find that while the Police and lighting rates are paid by the tenant; the water rate is paid by the owner and tenant, jointly, and the house rate by the owner. Now under most Municipal administrations the house rate is always paid by the owner, but while the owner and not the occupier ought to bear the taxes we find that the water rate is paid jointly.

This incongruity is the result of that system which makes the Municipal Commissioner the chief officer of Police, and forces on the city, for its chief Municipal officer, a gentleman whose entire time and energies have to be devoted to his police duties. Indeed we think nothing surprising in this as the entire Indian system is made up of incongruities.

India is governed by a very remarkable policy. One of its prominent features is the perfect freedom from all local knowledge and experience required in those who hold posts of trust. The head of the Government, the Secretary of state for India—knows personally nothing of the country. His under-secretary, who attends to all details, knows little more than the secretary himself. The Viceroy's administration indeed, bears the impress of energy and ability. But the Governor of Bombay knew personally nothing of India when he was sent to take up his post; and by the time he will have learnt something of the country, he will have to make room for others as ignorant as he was when first installed. As for the Lieutenant Governors and Commissioners, Bengal has at its head a gentleman who possesses local experience and enjoys the confidence of the people;

Burmah has just been placed in charge of one who knows little more of that country than the Governor of Bombay knew of India when he was selected to govern the Bombay presidency and this characteristic feature of the policy is being gradually extended to every branch of the administration. Local knowledge and special training would seem to be considered injurious, as tending probably to cripple the mind and produce narrow views. Accordingly, experienced and able men are obliged to linger in the cold shade of governmental favor, while men of inexperience with but little knowledge of the requirements of India monopolise the best appointments. The civil service is the open Sesame to all the highest appointments.

An European or Indian reputation is nothing, if the officer does not belong to the covenanted civil service. Had Mr. Gladstone come to India in the uncovenanted service, he would not have risen to more than Rupees 800 a month, as a Deputy Magistrate.

The laws of a country, it is generally believed, should be in union with the feelings and opinions of its inhabitants. but under the Indian policy in vogue, the man selected to frame its laws knows nothing of the people, and will know scarcely more of them by the time he has to leave, since he holds no intercourse, and never mixes with them.

This feature of the policy may not inaptly be compared to a *leap in the dark*. Indeed, we are all much in the dark as to where it will take us. We hear savage growls in the dark abyss at our feet, and occasionally some of our best men are carried away from among us by leaving India. Of one thing we are sure; we are not being led to the Millennium.

Another remarkable feature in the present policy is the striking difference between the reality and the appearance of its institutions. There exists a Legislative Council, composed of covenanted official and non-official members. which has all the

appearance of a deliberative assembly; but, in reality, it is only an office for registering orders received from higher authority. No unsworn Member has ever been appointed. The country is studded with other Councils called Municipalities; but the Chairman of each of these Councils constitutes the Municipal Body, the other members being mere puppets. This part of the policy may be termed a *sham*, and where it is to lead us, might be surmised from the result obtained from a similar policy, after twenty years' trial in France.

It will be remembered by the community here that about three years ago a special committee was appointed in Bombay by the government of Bombay to reconstruct the Municipal administration of Bombay, and to reform the Municipal act which was found to be defective.

In 1872 the celebrated reforms which led to the present elective system of the Bombay Municipal Government was inaugurated. The Bombay Government appointed a special committee with the fullest powers which the Government could confer, to investigate into the past misgovernment of the Bombay Municipality. Among the two principal working members of that committee were Dr. G. W. Cline, Barrister at Law, and Mr. now the Honble T. C. Hope member of the Governor General's Council. These Gentlemen drew up the report, and on its submission, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald the then Governor of Bombay, sent for Dr. Cline, and asked him to draw up a minute giving his personal views on the subject of Municipal Reform. The appointment of Controller of the Municipality was also offered to him, but his services could not be spared. His report which was subsequently published in Pamphlet form we have now before us, and we have given a few extracts from its pages which will shew that if some of the reforms then suggested and adopted by the Government of Bombay were to be adopted here, some considerable and marked improvement would be effected in our present do-

fective Municipal law. That such a desideratum is required will be evidenced from the tone of the Calcutta Papers; as regards their review of the recent proceedings of the Committee appointed by the Lieutenant Governor to improve the present Act. Dr. Cline in his report sketched out a Government policy which gave to the city of Bombay a form of Municipal Government which was based on the elective system, and controlled by Town Ubucillors. A certain proportion of representatives were to be elected by the Municipal rate payers, whether house owners or occupiers who contributed an annual payment of Rs fifty and another proportion was to be appointed by the Government.\* It was a necessary part of this scheme, that no one particular class should predominate, and under any circumstance, there should not be a predominance, of native over European members of the town council. It fixed the salary of the commissioner at 2000 per mensem. It laid down some practical rules for Municipal financial administration. It defined the manner in which members should be elected.

It limited the period for which members were to be nominated and elected, the disqualification of members and the appointment of their successor, and gave some practical suggestions, as to the importance of reducing the direct taxation; and of increasing the indirect taxation. We shall briefly quote here from some of the pages of that Report.

With reference to the terms for which members were to be nominated or elected, Dr. Cline had suggested and which was subsequently made law that the members of the said corporation shall be nominated or elected respectively for a term of two years. At the expiration of the term for which the members of the said Corporation shall be nominated or elected respectively,

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\* Report on the working of the Municipal Act of Bombay by G. W. Cline L. L. D. F. G. S. Financial Department of India.

they should cease to be members of the said Corporation, but shall be eligible to be again nominated or elected members of the said Corporation for a further term or terms.

The Disqualification of Members, and the appointment of their successors were thus regulated.

No person it was suggested should be qualified to be a member of the said Corporation who is, or becomes at the time, or during the term of his appointment, a bankrupt or insolvent, or who was interested (otherwise than as a shareholder in a joint stock Company) in any Contract with the Corporation, or who was absent. In case of the death, resignation or disqualification of any member of the Corporation, his successor should be nominated or elected in the same manner as the previous member. It was also suggested, that out of the sixty-four Justices of the Peace to be appointed members of the Corporation, thirty-two should be nominated by Government during the last ten days of the month of December in each year, and thirty-two should be elected by the Justices of the Peace resident in the city of Bombay, at a special General Meeting to be held on the same day between the fourteenth and the twenty-first day of the month of December in each year. The Island of Bombay was divided into wards.

Members being Rate-payers and not Justices were also rendered eligible. Of the sixteen rate-payers to be appointed members of the Corporation, eight were suggested to be nominated by Government during the last ten days of the month of December in each year, and eight to be elected by persons resident in the city of Bombay, who during the year in which the election takes place, shall have severally paid owner's house-rate to the amount of not less than fifty rupees. A list of the rate-payers qualified to vote at such elections were to be prepared and published by the Municipal Commissioner during the month of November in each year. The elections should take place between the first and the tenth days of the month of December in

each year, and votes at such elections were to be recorded by the Commissioner.

The pay of the commissioner was fixed at two thousand, Rs. one fifth of which had to be paid back to the Government for a retention of his claim to pension.

Now for the sake of uniformity we should wish to see a similar municipal form of Government introduced into Calcutta, although we should not wish to go so far as Dr. Cline and would wish to restrict the Municipal Government to a less elective form giving the greater preponderance to the European element.

What are the requirements under a municipal Government like Calcutta. The residents and occupiers of houses are heavily taxed. Every rate-payer has a right to know how the money which he pays annually is invested. It is not only that he expects to find the roads kept in order and watered, that the water which is supplied to him is good and pure, but he expects more than this from the Municipal corporation. He looks for those improvements in the town, which can only be effected by the corporation, and as the corporation, have at their command those large sums of money which the publication of the annual accounts shew; it is only natural that every well wisher of the town, will expect that Calcutta will keep pace with other European cities in improvement. During the last ten years it may be asked what improvements have the Justice to shew. Have any fountains been erected? any statues raised? any pleasure gardens added? even the zoological gardens which the Lieutenant Governor is anxious to construct has its large allotment of money granted by the Government of Bengal. For these large sums of money that have been obtained from the Public what are the apparent gains to the city. We have not had any marked improvements but in their place we have had increased rents, houses which rented ten years ago for Rs 100 a month now rent for Rs 300, a market which has not

THE NEW MUNICIPAL BILL FOR CALCUTTA

us better meat or marketable articles and which has closed all private enterprise.

Retail sales of meat and fruits and vegetables where formerly vendors were allowed to sell at the several houses have substituted monopoly prices for inferior articles, rates and taxes have been raised while the bustees are still allowed to be the centres for disseminating diseases, all the minor markets which were attached to them have been suppressed.

Again we would wish to see direct taxes removed, and here we must beg to quote again from the published work before us. Dr. Cline writes.

"The question is an open one whether without any addition to the rates at which the direct taxes are levied, some modification may not, with advantage, be made in the Act, by which the incidence of the property tax may be made to fall on the owner, and not on the occupier. But this will be alluded to subsequently. I would, however, while here alluding to indirect taxes, state that one source of legitimate direct taxation, a necessary incidence of landed property, has not apparently been included in the Act as a source of Municipal income, I mean the tax which the Municipality may impose, in each case of transfer of immovable property, within municipal limits by sale or transfer or by succession. Although such a tax may be assumed to be of the nature of a tax levied on capital, may, indeed, to some extent in its features be allied to legacy duties, still it would only form but a small proportion of legacy duties, and would only be levied on landed and house property exclusively within municipal limits; and only in the event of transfer by deed, sale, or inheritance. The incidence of such a tax would fall principally upon those who could afford to pay it, and in no sense would it be regarded as an evil. It would tend to raise the value of landed property. It would add to the available resources of the Municipality.

By the employment of the proceeds of the tax on public im-



provements, it would add to the public wealth of the town, and thus directly enhance the wealth of that very property from which it is levied. In a legal as well as economical point of view it appears to me to be essentially a legitimate form of municipal taxation. It is one in which every equitable taxation seems to be satisfied. It appears to me that if the Act, has already invested the Municipality with the right to levy taxes on landed property, except Government and Municipal property within municipal limits it should also confer the power of levying a tax on all transfers of such property.

"If then, the resources of the Municipality are increased, and the value of landed property enhanced, this form of taxation would appear to be a judicious one. If it is an acknowledged axiom that it is only by municipal law, that a person is able to dispose of his property, then the law which allows of such disposition can claim something for its concession. If it is allowed that the Municipality expends large annual sums for protection and conservation, then the property which is so protected ought assuredly to be taxed for that protection. The heir or purchaser enters on property in which he has only an expectation of property. And as he enters upon increased resources he could easily bear the deduction fixed by law from his new acquisition. And as the limit of such an impost would be equitable, there would be few risks run, in the assessment by evasions of the nature of a *donatis intervivas*, or by any other fraudulent or evasive transfer. The proceeds of such a tax, if levied, might, as the finances at present stand, be appropriated towards liquidating some of the present heavy debts of the Municipality.

"In order to increase the assets of the Municipality, it will be necessary among other means which may suggest themselves to the Legislature also to allow the city credit for all sales of municipal land. The profits of such sales should be applied to service improvements; and should not be claimed by the Imperial Treas-

surey. All lands within Municipal limits belong to the city. The sale of such lands should form a fund which should be administered by the Town councillors. Whether the city has any claims for a still further remission whether those works were actually less than the actual cost of construction paid by Government, and whether on that account any reductions should be made, whether also the city can claim any exemption from the cost of the construction of overbridges, may best be left to the decision of two special commissioners."

As the historian who is unconscious of the deductions of political economy, as the economist who disdains the inductions of history is sure to be confused amidst a maze of unconnected and unintelligible facts, so, too the precis writer may be betrayed into hopeless fallacies, who ignorant of the past history of the Civil Government of this city, is entrusted with the reconstruction of its Municipal Government. It is not every hand that can bend the bow Ulysses. It is not every Civilian, unless he has given municipal institutions a study who may be entrusted with the great work of Municipal reform. It is unnecessary that we should comment on the importance of demonstrating a theorem so self-evident, but we believe that a man who has a practical knowledge of Municipal institution would be invaluable, for the simple reason that he had studied Municipal affairs. Errors springing from inexperience are as mischievous as errors springing from men who are too proud to learn—most mischievous when the social system of any people is in course of reconstruction—If we are to have a change in the civil constitution we would not wish any measure to be precipitated, and out of the narrow grooved criticism which this Draft Bill is sure to evoke in the Council room, we would wish to see that freer and broader discussion take place in the columns of the press, which is sure to elicit some ideas which may lead to a more real reform than that now contemplated. At a time when important reforms are initiated

the public are slow to accept the rule of the Great French economist to accept reforms simply because they fear the impress of the official seal. We can not help deprecating a system which shuts out from these discussions those who are really interested in municipal affairs, and who are most competent to offer an opinion. A contemporary journal, writing on the present Municipal Bill and the Committee recently appointed for the work of Municipal reform thus writes, of it.

“A Committee having been recently appointed to improve the Municipal Act of Calcutta which is admittedly defective, the results of their labors may be briefly stated. They have found nothing in the Act, say they, to amend, nor any thing in the Lieutenant Governor's suggestion of any practical worth, so as to adapt them to present circumstances. The members appointed were Mr Stuart Hogg, present Chairman, Mr. T. Reynolds Mr. Schalch, Mr. Brookes, and the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, Baboo Kristodas Pal. We are not prepared, write these gentleman, after deliberating for the past six months,“ to recommend any change in the constitution of the Municipality. “We might here ask why if a change was not thought desirable was the committee appointed. It was precisely because the present administration worked badly because the public and the Government alike demanded a radical reform, that these gentleman were appointed, and it was expected that Mr. Hogg at least might have given them the benefit of his practical knowledge to suggest some improvements on a plan of Municipal Government which to say the least has been a failure.”

We agree with our contemporary, and we think that he has only represented the opinion of a very large section of the European Community of rate Payers, when he suggests a Commissioner on less pay, the separation between the offices of Chairman and public Commissioner; a limit to the number of Justices; the direct responsibility of the Justices to the constituents who elect them; the

division of the city into wards. Instead of this we have had some puerile attempts to patch up what is admitted to be a very defective Act. Altogether we must own we were sadly disappointed with this attempt at municipal reform. The points which required improvement turned upon advantages to be derived from an elective instead of a non-elective system; the introduction of a more efficient and as at present uncontrolled expenditure; the change from an irresponsible Chairman to a responsible municipality; and all these have been completely overlooked."

We are of opinion that with some little effort, an organized system of Municipal Government based on the scheme of the present Bombay system of Municipal administration as framed by Dr. Cline may be suggested ere long. That the present system requires reform is not to be Doubted That such re form will vastly improve the city cannot be denied.

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## I N M E M O R I A M

TO MRS. M. A. BATES

BY PHILLO, INDICUS.

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Death, cruel death why doth thy ruthless arm  
 So wantonly thy sharp set weapon wield,  
 That all the sweetest flowers with power to charm  
 First fall before thy curse? A fallow field

With thistles, thorns and poppies, in it, left,  
To intermingle in the pilfered soil  
One vast expanse of herbage, rank bereft  
Of all soft color giving sap, where toil  
Of husbandman is ill repaid, and where  
There's scarce a living tendril not torn low,  
Or ruby rose, or laughing lily there,  
Not stricken in its loveliest bloom, While grow.

Around defiantly the poisonous tare,  
The wild inodorous briar, and tall dank weed  
Out-breathing noxious vapours to the air,  
Remains of what was erst a flowery mead.

Thus tis with man, and through the tide of time  
It has been so. The childless widow's wail  
Was early heard in Shunem's sultry clime  
And oft re-echoed is the pensive tale

Of woe, "alas my child has passed away."  
It was thus with thee, my sister and friend,  
Mary. That treasured name; the other day.  
We talked of friends who lived of those whose end

Was early death, talked of future joys;  
Planned distant pleasures, spoke of present pains  
Of honor, fame, the means that jealousy employs,  
To bind the prosperous with accursed chains,  
And how with peace and wide dispensed good will,  
The venomed tongue of malice to unarm

Of terror-- hates sharp sting to steal, and still  
Walk honestly and happily

\* \* \* \* \*

When thy sweet spirit slept  
I rested far away, not knowing it ; but when  
I read the solemn sombre scroll, I wept  
Large binding tears of sorrow, while my pen

Fell from my trembling hand, and bowed with grief  
I felt deaths bitter edge. Sorrowing alone,  
And time shall bear my sorrowing soul relief  
Fond memory of thee shall live :—no stone

Reared o'ertine ashes, graven with thy name  
And virtues, mote there be to guide the sight  
Of my remembrance ; in my heart the flame  
Our love upsent, shall burn, till in deaths night.

My dream is blent, and my soul hath fled  
Through the dead medial space to him who gave  
And when to meet thee, I am sereph'led  
While all that's mortal of me waits the grave.

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*Note.* These lines are dedicated by her brother to Mrs. M. A. Bates, who died deeply regretted at Meerut in 1872. With Mrs. Polehampton and some other ladies, Mrs. Bates had passed through those trying months in the Lucknow Garrison during the mutiny attending the sick and wounded, until the Garrison was relieved by Sir James Outram.

## EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

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Education, understood in its abstract moral sense, without the accompaniment of inherited patrimony or the ways and means of easy subsistence, is a valueless acquirement. We mean to say not that no difference is perceivable between the thoughts of the rustic and the indigent scholar, but that the gradual recession of the cultivated mind from the maximum of learning gained lessens that difference, and withdraws it from that direction in which it would compete with superior intellects. The exceptional cases of pursuit of knowledge under difficulties notwithstanding, from a slight consideration of the countless examples that Bengal presents to us of energy damped, and learning rendered stagnant, it appears that the obstacles which perverse or uneasy circumstances throw in the way of one's progress through study, generally prove insurmountable. Famine annerves both the physical and the intellectual man. And as the system of encouraging education by subscription, as in the Bhattacharjee's *tolls*, is coming into disuse,\* this remark gains wider application, because it was only in such places that learning was pursued in spite of the poverty of the preceptors and the students. The common remark about the graduates of the Calcutta University that they are a set of ignorant dullards, true as it to a great extent is, bears us out fully : in as much as the majority of them on leaving College find themselves placed in such a predicament—we say so for many reasons—that except the thought of some immediate means of subsistence, their mind is scarcely disturbed with any of a serious nature ; and necessarily they occupy themselves with writing applications for vacant posts, the duties attached to which would require either arithmetic or penmanship, both sciences least calculated to improve the knowledge imparted to students by the Calcutta University. If what has been said of graduates be considered true, with a greater

chance of correctness may we affirm that the case with students that are not graduates is far worse—for in the absence of any system of exclusively private home-education, those students being those that have been unable to stand the test of University examinations, are in general less energetic and less talented and qualified than graduates, and consequently less capable of prosecuting a course of hard study through all sorts of difficulties. Low posts and inadequate remuneration are the subject of a universal complaint among the young men of the time. The fact is a matter of course, and obviously no remedy is possible.

There are two classes of instances however, which on account of their exceptional character demand notice. In the first, let us group those educated persons that through influence, or some happy combination of circumstances, have risen to well paid appointments. With them it is unfortunately a rule not to try to improve themselves in any way other than the efficient discharge of their official duties, and perhaps for two reasons; 1st, that they expect promotion only by that means, and 2ndly that they enjoy their proper share of the slothfulness that is peculiar to all Bengalees. Upon this second head although much ought to be said, yet for the sake of brevity, we content ourselves by having thrown out a hint.

The second class consists of persons who by self-exertion have raised themselves to high places, and have therefore shewn by example that to men who know how to use their faculties and who do use them according to their right reason, no distinction is inaccessible. We cannot divine what idea predominates in the minds of these men—whether it be the ambition of being conspicuous, or self-education for improvement's sake. We believe that the intellectual fruition one enjoys at arriving at higher and higher stages of perfection, the happiness which permeates the mind at the expansion of its faculties with which to compare the innocent pleasure one feels at the beauty of the sweet unfolding



rose, or the felicitous perception of her grace by the virtuous and unpretending maid at her glass, is to use a vulgar idea for the apprehension of a very sublime conception ; the happiness, which is the effluence of the mind itself, which increases as the mind receives wisdom, has such a charming influence upon the mind that the cause thereof, the improvement of the faculties, becomes the rule of mental activity. We shall not therefore endeavour to determine which of the two principles is in the majority of cases, the motive power.

We have above spoken of persons whose number is so small that their names may be counted on our fingers' ends—and the fact must necessarily be so. For that reason, as well as for their being in no need of help which another may offer, we may leaving them to steer on their own respective courses, return to those persons who coming out of the walls of their College, gradually unlearn all that was driven into their heads by officious professors. On this point we can clearly understand that unless the graduates be provided with an income which would be enough to satisfy their ordinary necessities, after they are turned out by the syndicate, (we of course would not go to such particulars as the days, or months or years during which they may be allowed to remain idle ; ) the noble work which the state at so great a cost performs by sowing the seeds of learning in the cultivated minds of its young subjects, would be unproductive and useless. If the Government has felt the moral obligation it is under of imparting education to the millions over whose destinies it sways, it would be simply inconsistent in its policy unless it hold out to those who by their conduct have shewn their appreciation of its help, the means whereby they may be able to pursue their course honorably. We do not propose that the Government should make provision for every graduate ; but we may remark that the graduates out of College ought to receive from Government that consideration which they used to do within it. Indeed

it is striking, what similarity there is between the steps Government takes in encouraging cultivation of the soil as of the mind, and at the same time letting the growing crops wither and bring about famine to the discomfiture of the poor laborers themselves. There is a prevailing belief among certain classes that the graduates of the Calcutta University, are unworthy of any situations in public offices because they possess no knowledge of office work, and can not write correct English. It is not our intention to combat the opinion, but it appears necessary with reference to that very important point to say that high education in the general department ought to be conducted on such principles as will bring about a system of teaching English hitherto unattempted in the Colleges of Bengal. If we are not much mistaken there is such an intimate connection between the elevation of our sentiments, and command over a language, that the one may be said to follow the other as a concomitant; so that the careful teaching of the one will make the way easy for our graduates to the displaying of conceptions far superior to those that are now general with them. Perhaps then, and with perfect grammar, and correct idiom, they should not be found lacking the necessary qualifications of an ordinary draught writer, and with a little experience gained in the business they should prove the best men that the public service has ever received into its protection.

If we made any suggestion for improving the condition of graduates without employ—which however could to some extent be done by providing them with apprenticeships in public offices, whereby the service would at the same time be strengthened with a greater amount of average intelligence; or if we proposed any method which would put a stop to the increase that is becoming more and more felt, and causes greater and greater anxiety as time advances, we should, we fear be guilty of eccentricity. — But as a word on the system of education in colleges

may not be out of place, since we find that the graduates on their advent into the busy world feel the new element quite foreign to their nature, and even moving cautiously very often commit themselves, and it is necessary that the less monstrous the transformation may seem the greater credit attaches to the individuals themselves and their University, we have no hesitation in saying that the system of education instead of being purely theoretical, ought to be given a practical turn to. It is no secret that experiments in mixed mathematics have no place in the curriculum of studies, and English composition is taught only in name. The principal of a College is absolved from responsibility since he has put down in the routine one hour every day for grammar and composition; and the Professor is simply sorry that unless some improvement is made in the system of University Examination, it is impossible for him to teach English Composition properly—one hour a day, and three days a week, being not sufficient for the purpose, in as much as all the students, considering the largeness of their number, can not have their papers corrected, and their mistakes explained to them even once a week. The consideration of the disadvantages which have been experienced by not a few and observed by many, albeit with different feelings, of the University system of general education, whereby students do not properly receive but are only imparted instruction to, in diverse branches of science and art, brought us down to the above particulars. But not to be incomplete, should we not refer to another defect even in technical instruction—we do not mean to speak of the Medical College, of the Engineering College system—which as it appears to be conducted on the principles being worked upon in the general department, is open to the same censure with it. We believe there is truth in our information that the Law students have been heard to say that if instead of compelling them to keep their 75 per cent. of attendance, the University were simply to direct them to pay down their school-

ing fees in certain instalments, there would be advantage on both sides; they, on the one hand, would be delivered from the inconvenience of morning attendance and therefore of the loss of valuable time, and the University, on the other, would make a large saving of the pay of the Professor. Now that what higher authorities consider improvements are being carried out in this department by the new institution of chairs for Hindu and Meho- medan law, there is every probability of our being misunderstood without an explanation. We are thinking not of casting umbrage upon the Professors who by the way are men of acknowledged merit—but of representing that the benefit which is attempted to be done to the students by lecturing in Law for three years before the examination, they can not have any chance of enjoying. They are not compelled to get up their lessons—nor any lessons are fixed either according to any rule whatever; and what they hear from the lips of their lecturer—if by the way they take the trouble of hearing at all—enter their heads, as is aptly expressed in Bengali, through the one ear and pass out by the other, so that no impression of them is left in the mind. An idle tale is more interesting than a lecture on Law.

The Entrance Examination opens the way to high education. The late Lieutenant Governor caused certain alterations to be made with respect to the course fixed for that examination which bore witness to his over-zealousness to render the youth of Bengal capable of doing any sort of work; but to the relief of those very persons, we say, who were thus taken into special protection, like the tired traveller receiving with gratitude the help which the old man of the woods of the Arabian Tales, offered him, the University has been in a position to rule that Surveying would no longer be necessary for the Examination. The abolition of the black mail which, Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., had been empowered to realize from Entrance students, by way of selling the Selections and without the payment of which their would be an absolute cer-

tainty against their securing a pass; bids fair to regulate the order of entrance, and relieve the candidates from the stringent conditions—cramming being the chief—which those keepers of the gate of learning were pleased to impose upon them. The change does not require a word of plaudit. The reports of the Director show the following results of the Entrance Examination; among 1142 unsuccessful candidates, 865 failed in English in 1872; in the next year 1095, among 1588, and in 1874, 724 among 1288; so that the proportions stand thus—1·32 : 1, 1·45 : 1 and 1·77 : 1 in the three years under review. The English text Book system was abolished in 1874, and the Question papers of the previous year were prepared on the principles which it was declared would be acted upon in future; the result was that in those two years the proportion of failures in English was lessened, which goes a great way to shew that the senate were right in adopting the altered course.

The Entrance Examination as it is the beginning of high education, is at the same time, the terminus of a course of instruction divided in the Director's Report into two classes, the Primery and the Secondary. Within the scope of the latter come the Higher and middle schools from which students go up to the Junior Scholarship and Vernacular and Minor Scholarship examinations. In 1873-74 there were 46 Higher Schools, under the exclusive support of Government with 10,776 students, 76 aided schools with 7,516 students, and 43 unaided schools with 10,168 students; so that altogether there were 165 Higher Schools in the Provinces under the educational superintendence of the Director of Public Instruction, Lower Provinces, and 28,460 pupils being educated in them. The gross expenditure on the higher schools receiving state support was Rs. 5,64,830 in the year under review; but there was a saving to the State in the Government Schools of Rupees 14,743, and in the aided schools of Rs. 1333,—the difference begin

made up by an increase in the local funds. But notwithstanding this reduction, the total cost to the state in the Government and aided higher schools was 2,06,897 Rs. expended simply to communicate to the children of Bengal a knowledge of English and Bengali, and Mathematics, and History, which does not help them much in the avocations of a busy life. The State expends more than 2,74,010Rs. on the middle schools ; and for the identical purpose ; for the report for 1873-74, says that "the 'middle' and 'higher' schools providing secondary instruction, are intermediate between the elementary schools, which give primary instruction only, and the Colleges which offer superior instruction to matriculated students who have passed the University Entrance Examination and are preparing for the higher examination in arts." We understand, therefore, that the Higher Schools are intended for preparing students for the Entrance Examination ; and the middle schools for the vernacular and minor scholarship examinations, which mark a stage between the first rudiments and the Entrance Examination, the period between the minor-scholarship and the Entrance Examination being 3 or 4 years. Besides these schools Bengal is thickly interspersed with *patshalas* and *maktabs*, which during 1873-74 cost the Government 3,86,833 Rs., showing an increase of 2 lacks as compared with the total expenditure of the previous year ; and this was necessary for the maintenance of the newly subsidized *patshalas* under Sir George Campbell's scheme. The subjects taught in these primary schools are ( 1 ) Reading, Writing ( 2 ) Arithmetic mental and written ; ( 3 ) Zemindary and Mahajany accounts ; ( 4 ) Mensuration and land measurement. To those who are acquainted with the *patshala* system of Bengal, not that we mean, which was established by Sir George, but that which has been in operation under purely *gurumahasay* management, no difference appears between the two, except that the one being under Government supervision, is likely to go on in a more

regular way, which would result in the increase of the number of boys turned out as fully qualified in the subjects of their study. We fear we are obscure; we believe we ought to add that in the matter of the instruction, information, or knowledge that is conveyed to students, there is scarcely any perceptible difference, or superiority of the new system over the old.

We have seen above what money is expended, and what course adopted by Government for the education of the children of Bengal. We are aware that the question sometimes crops up, how to provide for the needy applicants for vacant posts, whose number who can tell, and who are becoming more and more numerous as time advances. We are surprised to see that no attempts have hitherto been made to obviate the difficulty. The *patshala* system, uniform as it is all over Bengal, prepares a host of mohurers, and the middle class schools, men fit for doing nothing else than what feats quill drivers have been destined to achieve. The University evinces an inclination of making mensuration a compulsory subject in all examinations up to the Entrance, but it ought not to be taught. That mensuration only, with a smattering of English, and dead Sanskrit, is not enough to remove all the wants of the Babus as well as the *chakas* of Bengal. We cannot account for the fact that proper instruction is not given to the boys according to their position in life, and social necessities, and we cannot suppose that the educational authorities, including the Lieutenant Governor himself, imagine that general education is all that need be given to the children of all castes, and creeds. It is known very widely that not many Mahomedans send their children for education to English Schools; and there has been no endeavour to ascertain what will incline them to abjure their prejudice. We cannot within the limits of the present article enter into a discussion of the point; but an expression of our opinion as to the futility of all improvements which fail to satisfy wants

we feel justified in introducing here. We say that the end of education ought to be the preparation of men for undergoing the struggles of life with ease and success. All circumstances considered, we believe we can point to Bengal as the place where our remark best applies.

There are among ourselves people of various natures and susceptibilities, who may, to their benefit as well as to the permanent welfare of the country, be taught in subjects which suit them. A preliminary knowledge of the sciences is not necessary for all; a smack of literature is injurious to many; but there are subjects—the useful arts, we mean, which may advantageously be taught to the children of the poorer classes, in such a practical way, as would enable the recipients of the knowledge to earn their livelihood in honorable ways, and without that dependence, which we generally observe the ryots of Bengal have upon the Zemindar and the money-lender.

*Bharadwaja.*

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### ADVENTURES OF A BABOO IN SEARCH OF A PLACE.

I booked myself at Benares by the train No. 8 starting at 1-35 A. M. for Jamalpore. I had a second class ticket and my servant a third class one. Having to change carriage at Mogul Serai, I experienced the greatest difficulty in finding a place for myself in the down train which came there. Almost the whole 20 minutes of the train's stay there was consumed in moving with my portmanteaus and things borne by my servant and cooly from one end of the platform to the other in search of carriage accomodation. Vain search! it seemed more fruitless than that of the alchemists of old for the philosopher's stone!

I passed along followed by my men and things, from carriage to carriage full of humanity for the most part in a blessed state of *nirvan*, up and down that long platform



at that small hour of the night. The railway officers seemed to me hardly to do their duty by this now Caleds. But I supported myself under the affliction by the remembrance that I shared it with all travelling mankind, outside the Bishops and other magnates whose railway troubles are according to the unimpeachable authority of a wit, so necessary to railway reform: but whom alone the railways somehow contrive to keep out of harm's way. The officials do not seem to consider it part of their work to put the passengers from the station in the train. They are careful enough to put money in their masters' purse, and perhaps not unmindful, many of them, of filling their own, as occasion offers. They sell tickets, more or less punctually, and then slam the trap door of the booking office in the face of the weaker and more helpless portion of the public, close the *Sindh moani* (thief's hole) as it may appear to the Bengali imagination. There, apparently, the matter ends for them. To find places for the ticket-purchasers is quite another matter, and supposed to be the look out of the unfortunate holders. Not that the Railway people are all booking-clerks, or that, after issuing tickets, they sit down in their arm-chairs with folded hands, meditating on man or musing on time and eternity. They are often busy, not unoften over-active, tho' no thanks to them. It is somebody's interest to find employment for idle hands, and there is always work enough to bully the poor and ignorant, and annoy the spirited and knowing. At least they were not idle at Mogul Serai on that memorable day in my life. And seriously, there is always much to occupy the Station Master and guard at a busy station during the brief stay of a mail train. Meanwhile, I trudged on, dragging along me my traps, trying to find my way into a spare nook for me and mine. It was, as I have said, a long and tiresome enquiry; the worse, amounting even to the absolutely painful, for my servant, in as much as the inanimate

and indispensable companions of my travel were too heavy for my sole animate follower, and porters were nowhere even at famine rates; and we journeyed to and fro, up and down the station, in a straight line, as if condemned by the Genius of Railway apathy and mismanagement, again and again returning to the point whence we started, without seeing the end of our platform peregrinations much less perceiving any prospect of finishing our main trip. My situation was the more cheerless that I was not myself thoroughly satisfied with my share in extricating myself out of it. For all that I did, my research was far from being as exhaustive as my national Argus eye and patent nose could make it. The Fates, indeed—I had almost said the Furies—were against me. However urgent my need for travelling room, whatever my extremity from watching and fatigue in a state of great ill health, I could but peep from a decent distance, for the occupants of the cabs belonged not simply to the Celestial color—that itself might, in any form, have been terrible enough—but to both sexes indiscriminately, and—horror of horrors!—some of our sisters, (if I may be permitted to presume on such a relationship, on the authority of an Eastern Book, not of much authority in the East, from the practice of those who profess to hold it sacred)—some of the doubly, trebly fair travellers, if I can trust my half-sleepy eyes at that hour, appeared to my vision—daughters of Eve indeed, in their approximation to the beauty of unadorned nature. A born Hindu I would not disturb sentient being; to my barbarous prejudice it was as guilty to awake a sleeping man or beast—beauty or deformity—as to kill. And here were more than men and beauties. Between the Gods and the Goddesses—the snoring Thors and Wodens, frowning even with closed eyes and the sleeping Graces and Venuses—it was in vain that I strained my sight from a safe distance to discover a nook or a niche for my weary invalid self.

At length, as the precious moments quickly fled, by a violent effort of will I fixed upon a second class carriage. One compartment was being occupied by ladies, I opened the next in which four European or Christian males had made themselves comfortable at full length on four different benches. I was repulsed by stentorian lungs inside, next to the door which, (lungs, not door,) said there was no room. Being a mild Hindu I did not disregard that false tongue or rather respected the anatomy in which that tongue was set and went backwards and forwards in search of another second class carriage. There was none, save one from Bombay packed as the privates, who fight England's battles and defend India, can alone of Europeans be packed on a British Railway. There was absolutely no room in that carriage. As there was no time to lose, I returned to my attack (if a Bengali's efforts may bear such a name) on the only compartment of the only second class carriage where there was room for a dozen more, or which any man of delicacy or regard for life or limb or reputation could think of travelling in. And now not like a mild Hindu but a first class classical Babu that I was, I determined to make my way into it. But the rude tongued sentinel was awake, and very like the typical Briton of the Period whose fore-fathers won *Magna Cearta* and whose fathers occasionally punched the heads of sundry giants, but who contents himself with singing "Britons never shall be a slaves"—which means that *he* will be a bully where he dares.

All my open raids and secret marches were simply labor lost. As often as I tried to effect a lodgment, I was repulsed by the voice and significant action of that redoubtable travelling Wat Tyler who resented the slightest enquiry for accomodation. Indeed he was the most unaccommodating of persons. He would not have admitted that there was the most inferior vacancy anywhere in the world ruled by the Briton, for a "black," or, for that matter, for any creature of color even a shade deeper

than the standard one. At last, after several fruitless attempts to find me a place in other quarters, I determined to take my seat in the compartment in question in spite of the bullyism of the person alluded to, but it was no use. He was equally determined not to allow me in, or any body, certainly any native. He plainly meant fight. He was wise after his generation. He had doubtless calculated that he risked nothing by his declaration of war. What, indeed, need he fear in an encounter with a Bengali and an invalid in the bargain. Probably on the principle on which his prototype of the Period goes to war with savage chiefs out of the comity of nations, to make sure that he was not forgetting the art and prove to his own satisfaction that he had no reason to be despised, this British bugbear—a veritable bugbear as the event of that memorable day in the History of the Representative Baboo of the Period proved—was intent on hostilities for—Prestige. He was a desperate ideologue—determined to pick-up a quarrel for an idea. *That* was that the creation of Baboos is a mistake of Nature Khyber, so valiently and obstinately defended by the stalwart son of Britain. I could not storm the passage of the door, and any rash attempt on my part would not have procured for me the felicity of bringing my nigger humanity in close contact with genuine English flesh, or facilitated my particular purpose of that day of running down to Jamalpore, or the general object of my journey to the upper provinces, namely health. On the contrary, it could have given me an artificial dengue—break-bone fever—for my pains. So, like a God fearing, law respecting, loyal subjects of Her Majesty, discreetly valorous, that I am, I called for the Railway employes. These seemed to be graduating in the school of the Police, who are not remarkable for being forthcoming *during* the event. The smaller native fry looked on, or held back, while I was in that pickle. The Station Master was far to reach at that moment, but one kind Railway soul—an upcountry Chuprasi

—led me and pointed to me the European ticket collector, to whom I represented matters and who conducted me back to the belligerent second class carriage, but to put me into the carriage was beyond him. I followed him hopefully, for he seemed just the man to tame the enemy. He was, received with the usual courtesy and the usual attitude. He soon beat an ignominious retreat. Then he led me along the platform to find a place for me in some other carriage, but there was no place for me anywhere, and he skulked away, disappearing in the crowd, leaving me to my fate and at my wits' end, but not before expressing his indignation against the formidable man, and telling me to make my own way as best I could into the citadel from which he had been repulsed. An ordinary native would have been too glad, particularly at that moment with the train about to start, to find accommodation for self, servant and portmanteau in any intermediate or third class carriage, or for that matter in the break van, but though unable to fight my way through opposing Britons, I am a "first class classical Baboo," tenacious of my rights, sensitive to insult, who thinks he has a "mission" (such as it is) to oppose in behalf of his country and in the cause of the permanence of British sway in India. I next went to the Station Master who at first seemed disinclined to come to my aid telling me to help myself, railing at my countrymen's awkwardness and readiness to sink at the slightest appearance of a difficulty. I admired the philosophy but demurred to its application. He then said that the company's officers could not be expected to see every passenger to his seat. On my explaining to him how matters stood, and, that it was no part of my duty urging after paying my fare, to fight pitched battles with every English rough who might wilfully oppose my entry into any carriage, he came with me to the gate which had to be forced, with a good deal of assurance in his own pluck. He too shared the fate of his predecessor. "There is no place here." "There is room enough

if you will make it." "There is not,—I'll admit no one." Or words to that effect passed between the Station Master and the defender of the privilege of four Englishmen to occupy four benches of a railway carriage and upholder of the exclusion of natives from first and second class accommodation—for the man in the preliminary parley with me would send me to the 3rd. class; he could not believe that I had paid for the exalted distinction of travelling second class with true born (as may be charitably presumed) Britons. As the former hesitated, a loud voice from the next compartment, belonging to one of the males journeying to paradise, as it were, and Heaven, as all right-minded men should suppose, in the company of the graces aforesaid volunteered a funny suggestion. "Put him in the Bombay Carriage." Luckily for me, the Ticket-Collector had pressed himself forward, probably to see how his local chief fared and he now said that the Bombay carriage was full with soldiers. Where was he to put me in? the Station Master mournfully enquired. This was the T. C.'s opportunity for revenge on the man who had treated him so cavalieri, to say no worse. "Why there is plenty of room in that second class there, where a whole compartment is occupied between no more than four passengers, if they can be made to conform to the rules," said he. And he was for making a serious effort to enforce obedience. This settled the matter—and brightened up horizon. Under the jealous eye of the T. C., supported by his staff and rank and file, the S. M. returned to the charge, and insisted on the belligerent allowing me to enter the carriage. No more humbug of "no place" now. The Mutiny and Riot Act was read, and the insurgents dispersed. The regulations of the Company prevailed. I opened the door meekly, as befitted the triumphal entry of the conqueror of brute force by the arts of peace and the sure but. noiseless operation of law, and tried to make my way. It was not easy.

*(To be continued).*

## FASHIONS OF THE PERIOD.

*From a Doctor of London.*

Does modern education lead us to a more correct estimate of the beauties of nature; or convert us from the conventional to the true ideal of perfection and of beauty? We fear not. We pity the poor ignorant savages of the continent of America when we read of their perverted taste, exemplified by the custom of modelling the form of their crania into as near an approach as possible to the cubic, by enclosing the growing heads of their tender infants in strong and unyielding wooden boxes. We are amused at the gait of the Chinese ladies as they hobble along on those stunted pediments, which might have been useful feet if their growth had not been checked by the early and persevering application of bandages in conformity with their civilized idea of beauty. The tattooed features of the South Sea Islanders and the befeathered heads of the Obeisways, excite our laughter and contempt. Now, in truth, we are, even in the matter of harmless personal adornment, not a whit in advance of our so called savage brothers and sisters; as witness our men's hats adorned with peacocks' feathers, &c. &c.; our women's hats, no longer used as head coverings, but as brow shades, and ornamented with flying plumes gathered from the tails of the dung-hill cocks; our black stain for the eyelids and *bleu pour les veines*—our forms of tattooing. But in baneful adornments we fall far behind the savage people, and to this phase of false taste we wish to draw special attention:

We commenced these remarks with the relation of a case of ruined constitution, disease, and death, caused by the systematic use of tight-lacing. This hurtful habit, now greatly on the increase, is generally misunderstood. Ladies give what they consider a satisfactory reply to the charge of tight-lacing—*I assure you that I could put my hand between my stays and waist.* This may be true or not, it matters little, for the evil

consists in the gradual modelling of the waist by systematic pressure begun in girlhood. The size of the waist is in this manner prevented from further growth, its normal development being arrested so as to perpetuate the slender waist of the child, while all other parts are allowed to expand into the natural bulk of women. This, and not the amount of pressure necessary to maintain the small size, is the real evil. The small waist is made not so much by actual squeezing as by the maintenance of a rigorous ceinture that prevents all further development. The evils arising from this stunted and shrunken waist have been so often described as to require no notice here. The next harmful of the modern female decoration is, perhaps, the chignon. The girl of the period is not satisfied with only one head, but adds head to head in 'Siamese-twins' fashion. Is it "that one small head" can not "carry all" she knows? But as these remarks are intended, not for artistic, but physiological purposes, we must not discuss the merits of the chignon in its ornamental capacity; we will merely observe that since its introduction cases of brain fever are enormously on the increase, being nearly doubled in number. Headaches are also much more prevalent. These consequences might be anticipated from the use of a machine so powerfully retentive of animal heat.

The *paniers*, being harmless exaggerations, may be passed without comment, but the high heeled shoes and boots merit notice. The necessary result of the use of these instruments of torture is a great increase of pressure against the toes, giving rise to distortions, corns, callosities, &c., for the feet are placed on a sloping instead of a flat surface. The instep becomes flattened, and the much admired arch of the foot falls to a level or more. The ankle-joint loses its proper bearings; all the weight of the body being placed on its posterior surface, it gradually loses form. The muscles of the calf, by the relaxation of the *tendo achillis*, waste in bulk and acquire a tendency to spasm.



Ease, elegance and dignity of gait are rapidly lost, and a nervous, trotter is as rapidly acquired.

But of all the hurtful customs growing out of perversion of taste, the worst is, we think, the alternate wrapping and denuding the chest and shoulders. The tender and sensitive young lady, who enjoys the warmth of fuf and other wrappings during the carriage drive or morning walk, is in the evening exposed, with denuded bosom and shoulders, to the draughty atmosphere of the opera-house or the ball-room. To enable our delicately-nurtured English matrons and maidens to resist such extreme changes, would require an amount of vigour rarely possessed by them, and consumption too often follows, as a natural consequence, the gaieties of the London season. We feel that we are touching on delicate ground, but our interest in the well-being of our fair fellow-country women makes us reckless of all censure. We therefore boldly assert, that however a low dress may suit the ballet-dancers, it is both unseemly and dangerous to our matrons and maidens.

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## REVIEWS.

*SORROWS OF MEMORY.*—A poem; edited by Manohar Lal Bysakh, "Bengal Superior Press," Calcutta.

This little book of poems has been for some time lying upon our table. It is written in Iambic pentameter, but the rather too frequent occurrence of a Trochee in the beginning of the verses renders the reading sometimes inharmonious. The subject of the book is well suited to poetry, and might have proved a first-class treat to lovers of poetry, were it the production of some abler hands. The rhymes are generally correct; though bad rhymes sometime occur, as in the following verses (page 43 line 832);

"To hear each other's voice decreed it fate,

"What woe, love, do when love is lying at state."

The writer seems to have devoted special attention to the preservation of the correctness of the verses, &c. In this respect his success is almost complete, and the few errors that are visible were perhaps unavoidable. We therefore think it needless to point them out. The death of William who in the face of a dreadful storm bravely launched his puny bark upon the boiling sea and risked his own life in order to rescue a young and lovely maid who was shipwrecked in the distance is very beautifully described, and (at p. 10-13) further on, the description of the grief of his loving spouse, on receiving news of his death, is full of pathos. It accords with nature and shows that the writer is not altogether devoid of poetic fancy. We are not disposed to be hard upon the writer on account of the errors he has committed, as he has come out in print for the first time. We have no desire to discourage him; but we think it is our duty to point out one or two very glaring errors. The 22nd. verse runs thus "Cold in the heart where virtue passed away." No one on hearing it reads can say what its meaning is. Of course it is possible to gather the writer's meaning from the passage in which it occurs, but we must say that his mode of using words is not very felicitous. In verse

86 again, the word "ere" is used in the sense of "in front of" This we must confess is a novel use of the word and we are not aware of any authority which warrants it. But as we have not read the entire work, we must content ourselves with the above remarks, leaving it to such of our readers to judge in the merits of whole work, who will read the entire.

*The twelfth annual Report of the Ootterparrah Hitakari, Sabha.*

This Institution was founded in 1863, and has therefore now been in existence for twelve years. Its objects are to provide means for the education of the poor, to afford medical aid to the sick, to support the helpless orphans and widows, to promote female education and to look to the social, moral and intellectual welfare of the inhabitants of the village. The institute appears to be the only one of its kind on this side of India, and to be largely availed of by the community for whose benefits it is intended. It is largely supported by the local residents and it receives aids from other quarters also, but as this latter source of income cannot always be depended upon its resources are necessarily limited. During the year under report it realized an income of Rupees 1,164, which including a cash balance of Rupees 297, which remained at the close of the previous year amounted to Rupees 1,461. Out of this sum the managers of the institution have expended on different objects falling within its scope Rupees 948, leaving an available balance of Rupees 513, at the end of the year. About thirty-three boys received education at the expense of the Sabha, and the amount spent upon them is Rupees 130. Widows and orphans have received pecuniary assistance from the Sabha, to the extent of Rupees 188, and a sum of Rupees 32, has been spent in the gratuitous distribution of medicines. Besides the above expenditure after charitable objects, the institution has maintained a system of female education, which bids fair to solve many problems whose apparent difficulty materially retards the pro-

gress, of other useful cases. The Sabha has no school of its own for the education of females, but there are a certain number of schools affiliated to it which send up a certain number of pupils every year for examination and the most successful of these pupils receive scholarships and prizes. The examinations are conducted at the different school premises under, as strict a superintendence as could be desired. Besides these school examinations and with a view to encourage grown-up girls to keep up their studies, the Sabha holds annually what it calls Zenana examinations conducted by means of printed questions at the homes of the respective girls and under the superintendence of trustworthy and respectable proxies appointed by the Sabha. About thirty-two pupils of an age ranging from 10 to 13 went up to these examinations, thirty of whom passed in the different grades and two failed. The good effected by the Sabha is undoubted and it would be well if the numerous societies, which start up every year in every village, were to follow the example of the Ootterparrah Hitakari Sabha, and seek the practical good of the community instead of seeking to poison the minds of our youths by inculcating in them all sorts of extremely republican and seditious feelings in the name of nationality.

*The seventh Anniversary Report of the Barra Bazar Family Literary Club.*—This institution, as its name imports, was founded in 1857 for the cultivation of literature and has been in existence for seventeen years. It is called the *Family Literary Club*, but we fail to perceive what particular family it represents. We take it for granted that it was originally intended to be composed of none but the members of one family, but in course of time it outgrew the intention of its projectors and has now swelled into a large institution, as large as the Bethune Society, and as respectable as it is. We find it to be patronised by all classes of the community and some of the first class men seek,

to take an active interest in promoting its objects. Whilst the Bethune Society is gradually dwindling down, the Barra Bazar Club appears to be acquiring fresh vigor every year and increasing in its usefulness.

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*The Calcutta Pantheon* by Caro. This is a most humorous publication and we suppose the first of its kind in India, barring of course the Baroda Album by the same artist. About a hundred and twenty gods are represented in it and each god is detected by means of a key which accompanies the sheet. The selection of the gods however is not a happy one. Whilst there are some who are universally acknowledged to be such, there are others, who so far as we can judge, have no right to be in the Pantheon, and this indifferent association, whilst it would puff the vanity of some and cause them to think too highly of themselves, would mortify others who would rather wish very much to go without the honor than to sit in the company they have been made to sit in. We are inclined to suppose that the gods have been selected on account of some peculiar characteristic of each, but we fail to perceive what prominent characteristics distinguish some of Caro's gods. The execution, however, is excellent and it is a sign of the times that our Indian authorities, proverbially sensitive in points of home would have suffered themselves to be caricatured in the way Caro has done.

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*Sketches of Hutam.* This unpretending publication deserves every encouragement. Written in excellent Bengali, it shoots the prevailing follies of the day most unmercifully. Those follies are undoubtedly very numerous already, and their number is still further on the increase. Sermons and Penal Codes avail but little in keeping them under due control, much less to extirpate them or to arrest their influence. But the means adopted by the writer of the sketches before us is the only specific against

the disease. It is full of mirth and good humour, and the satires and sarcasms, it deals with are really telling. Such writings are very rare in the Bengali literature of the day. Comic compositions never formed any part of Oriental literature and with Issur Goopto the days of satires have passed away. It is but recently that a Bengali Punch has been founded and the sketches of Hootam are by no means a mean acquisition to this class of literature. Bengali writers attempting satiric compositions cannot keep clear of personalities. Besides, they are too apt to draw upon imagination for facts, upon memory for wits, and upon malice for humour; but the writings of Hootam are singularly free from these defects. Without descending to personalities the Bengali writers would find ample scope for their pen, would they but exercise little intelligence and discrimination, and this Hootam does. We cannot sufficiently admire the conception of some of his pictures and his executions are sometimes as unexceptional as his designs. His language is simple so as to be understood even by the Moodies and Puckallies without much effort, and his illustrations are not far fetched.


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**Buddhism ;**  
OR,  
**A COMPARISON BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN  
MONACHISM.**

BY G. W. CLINE, LL.D., F.G.S., M.R.A.S.

*(Continued from page 249.)*

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N addition to the rock temples excavated by Buddhists, the question is one which might suggest itself whether to them *also* might not be ascribed the stone circles and tumuli, cromlechs, cairns or kistvaens, the primeval sepulchres of an ancient race found in Central India, on the Mysore plateaux, throughout Salem and Madura, in Coimbatore, in the Bombay Presidency, and in the Deccan. Their numbers and wide distribution; found sometimes under the shady recesses of groves, or in the stillness of spots long since deserted; the massive structure of some of the cairns; their invariably circular shape, would argue a Buddhistic origin. Recent discoveries of antique pottery in those cairns, the pottery which might possibly resemble in a slight degree an approach to Etruscan art, but which indicates unmistakably Hindoo art, will scarcely admit the supposition of their being Scythic. Nor do I think that these sepulchral monuments, so widely diffused over all India, could mark the passage of a wave of Scythic emigration. At Coimbatore and in the Neilgherries the cairns exist in hundreds.

Sometimes they are found on the tops of hills; sometimes by the banks of rivers or tanks; in the middle of forests now deserted; or on the barren plain, where they might resemble the "Dismal cirques of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor." These cairns or Cromlechs are often encircled by heaps of stones or boulders, sometimes by rings of rough fantastic rocks, with slabs rough-hewn, or upright stones, which are placed together without cement, to mark the spot. When excavated, an underground chamber is invariably found, sometimes paved with slabs of rough stone, and often containing urns and jars of coarse black pottery, containing earth or fragments of bone. It is a curious, and perhaps a suggestive fact that wherever assemblages of cairns are found, circles of stones, or

of massive rock or smaller boulder, are found. In the Neilgherry cairns, where excavations were extensively made, iron curved knives were found, such as that still in use by the cultivators, and armlets made of common glass, such as are still worn by the native women of that place, but corroded by age, and beads of crystal or cornelian bleared with age, but such as are still in use by the Neilgherry peasantry.

It is curious in Ceylon, where Buddhism is still the creed of the Ceylonese, that to this day Buddhist worshippers should erect monuments of a similar character. "The Buddhists in Ceylon," writes a recent author, "build monuments to such an extent as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and huge stones, and lay them up in heaps." That the ancient Celtic races should also have piled up bromlechs, or that the form of some Celtic temples should resemble some of the ruder forms of temples built of piled stones, is scarcely any reason for supposing that such monuments in India are of Scythic origin.

It appears to me that sometimes a very simple reason might be ascribed for an apparently obscure cause, and a few familiar illustrations will often help a philosophical difficulty. It will be admitted that different races, widely separated from each other, often move in the same footprints of nature. It is not to be wondered therefore that in India, as well as elsewhere, heaps of stones should mark the sepulchral resting-place of the dead. That would indeed be the first rude form which sepulchres would assume. In the oldest of historical records—the Old Testament—distinct allusions are made to Actran being buried under a heap of stones, and to another heap being employed to mark the last resting-place of Absalom. In India chambered cairns were employed for funeral purposes, as they are employed to this day by savages in other parts of the world, bearing no resemblance to the Stythians; as they were employed by savages in Africa or Abyssinia, where the wave of Scythic conquests could scarcely have been said to have reached.

It is scarcely reasoning on broad grounds to assume that the Scythians were the only race who employed this form of sepulture, or that the Druidical monuments of Stonehenge should have, as Captain Meadows Taylor imagined, any affinity with the Buddhist cairns or barrows in India. Kindred remains are widely scattered over countries separated from each other, not only by distance, but by all those strongly marked differences of language, customs, dress, and manners, which essentially constitute them different nations. Thus, in the plains of Berberah in Abyssinia, one explorer, to whose narrative we should attach importance, found



graves consisting of mounds enclosed in a large circle of single stones.\*

To the half-reasoning savage, might not the circle in some remote degree have been associated with dim ideas of that eternity which hath no beginning and no end, and with even unreasoning instincts, might there not have been some dim and confused idea of thus consigning the human soul to its last resting-place, or, in the language of Buddhism, of sending the spirit onwards to those eternal fountains from which it had originally sprung? In the island of Sardinia also, where the Scythic wave had not poured, have been discovered years ago a series of large blocks of stone, placed together without cement, enclosing cairns or barrows of earth. In America, where also the Scythians had not crossed over, in the plains of Chelula, and near the cities of Palengue and Chila, are mounds of great antiquity, resembling in character stone or chambered cairns, and rounded tumuli covered or encircled by fragmentary rock, the ancient burial place of the aborigines. That a mystery should attach to these from their extreme antiquity is not surprising; but even approaching to times within historical memory, it will not be contested that barrows faced with slabs are frequently used by races who could not, and did not, borrow their ideas from the Scythians. Thus Varro describes Porsenna's tomb as a sort of chambered cairn, and Virgil speaks of the old Italian King Darcennus, as buried under an earthen mound according to savage and barbarous usages. It is true that stone-headed spears and stone knives may be found in the cairns in India as well as elsewhere: but stone has always been employed by savages who have not learnt the manufacture or the use of iron. There is indeed a very general tendency to bury with the dead the personal goods which they might have had when living. This was done in Greece and in Egypt. This is still done in India.† The Coles in the wild recesses of the Rajmehal Hills still place the bones of their incremated dead in a large earthen urn, together with money, ornaments, and clothes; and it is a suggestive fact that to this day in the Kasia Hills and in Sylhet, where there are still traces of Buddhism to be found, the mode of burial adopted by the peasantry of the present day is a near approach to the ancient modes adopted by the Buddhists.

Constantly laid bare by the plough, we find them appearing above the surface of the ground, marking the spot where, in India at least, might have been buried races of whose historic existence

\* "Johnson's Travels in Abyssinia." Vol I, p. 29.

† "Calcutta Review," No. 52.

we can possibly know but little; or discovered on boundless plains, they might serve as "landmarks on the sands of time," not essentially Scythian, but like the four-sided tumuli of the ancient Scythians, "clustering on lonely mounds, topped with rough-hewn, grey, rain-bleared, age-grimmed. Peering at us through the sunny waste." May they not at least remind us how many hundred beings, and how many races, might have lived, and have left no trace by, which even the fact of their existence might now be deciphered.

Much of the true history of a nation, in the absence of all authentic records, may be learnt from its traditions—those broken tablets of history as Bacon styles them; but in this case tradition itself is obscure as to the probable antiquity of the mounds.

To an English audience the traditions of India can scarcely prove interesting. That it should be so is not surprising.

Mr. Mark Lemon held that the antiquities connected with Fleet Street and the Strand were of greater interest than those connected with the streets of any other city in the world. I am not quite sure if they are not of far greater interest than those connected with the ruins of any ancient temple or excavated rock or exhumed city. In India, while gathering the dust of the past, we may often be smothered in it. Down Fleet Street or under Temple Bar one might joke with Old Time about his fancies and his whims, his strange tricks, and still stranger doings, and pleasantly recollect or chat about some of the golden legends still connected with some of those curious red brick-buildings which have so many antiquarian and historical recollections associated with them. In India there is always a certain rust of antiquity which moulders the walls, and mars the best effect of time on ruined or crumbling pillars. In Europe ancient memories cling to every moss-grown battlement, to every ivied turret, to every antique ruin, which, in spite of damp, and rust, and time, make them objects of interest.

The interest of a tradition then must depend in proportion to the interest of the association connected with it. Between the pantheistic worship of Asia and the monotheistic ideas of Europe, there is indeed a wide separation.\*

To the traveller, the numerous temples and shrines, erected to numberless unmeaning idols, have scarcely an interest beyond the architectural effect of the structures. It is, however, widely different when viewing the ruins of some old monastery in Europe. Thus also with regard to the monastic institutions of the West. Even with all the faults of a vicious system, there are few who will not admit that the monastic life of the West left some traces

for good on the world's history. Not referring here to that system which had been originated by Antony, and which had been followed by Hilarion, Aones, or Eugenius, and their followers, but to the system of monasticism as developed in the middle ages; while there was much to condemn, it will be acknowledged that some good was achieved, still perceptible in the impress left on the fine arts, on architecture, and painting. The ruins of the splendid edifices built by them will always attract the European tourist or traveller. The scenes which witnessed the trials, the temptations, or perhaps the triumphs, of the European monastic orders, are to this day interesting. We can understand the religious fervor of the men who retired amidst dense solitudes, and who gave up their worldly hopes, and spent their lives in the seclusion of their cloisters in fasts and prayers and penances. The names of the founders of the monastic orders of Europe have acquired an importance in history not less than that accorded to the greatest of the pontiffs, the heads of the papacy; and the vice-gerents of Christ upon earth. The biographies and recollections of Athanasius and Jerome, Ambrose and Benedict, Columba and Ignatius Loyola, Dominic, and Francis, are not less interesting than the lives of Gregory or of Hildebrand.

The traveller who may now linger on the banks of the Rhine or the Danube, or who may make a tour through the Catholic countries of Sicily or Italy, would look with interest on the monasteries which might still preserve the memories of the most remarkable of those men, who, like Origen, sacrificed everything to future happiness. The story of their deeds, of their sanctity, of their industry, of their sufferings, of their dress, of their manners, of their strict discipline, of their patience and industry, of their obedience to the rules of that system under which they lived, of their faults, of their avarice, and of their ambition, is still listened to with wonder. The rocks of Subraco, which formed the hiding place of Benedict; the monastery of Monte Cassino, which now stands amidst the retreats to which at a later period he was forced to fly; the pillar where Gregory of Treves hourly preached to pilgrims; the monasteries of Mount Calzinn, have still their attractions. To such scenes and calm retreats, to the stillness of the cloister, how many have fled. How many a royal sufferer, how many, like the unfortunate and ambitious Mary de Medicis, have striven there to bury themselves for ever from the world.

Monachism in the West must always have a greater interest than monachism in the East. The trenchant sarcasms of Gibbon would describe some of the founders of those institutions as among the worst or most unfortunate of human beings.

But even though mistaken by a false sense of the true spirit of Christianity, the follower of Loyola and of Benedict must claim our sympathies. Amidst the dense or wild solitudes of nature, he could find time to contemplate on the marvels of the universe, and on the mysteries of the creation. Bidding an eternal farewell to aspirations often temporal distinctions, and weighing men by that standard which the purest of codes offered him, he would come to regard all men as equal, king and peasant, feudal lord or burgher, prince or vassal. Returning to his cloister, he would be influenced by kindred feelings in his relations to those who, like him, were bound together under the same religious compact.

In his retirement he would have both time and leisure for those studies which, while they refine the tastes, elevate the intellect. The letters written by him in his quiet cells might rival in eloquence the letters of Pascal, or the sermons composed by him might not be inferior to some of Bossuets. It was from his cell that Columba denounced Brunehault. It was from his retirement that Peter Damiani denounced Hildebrand as an apostate for having tolerated marriage as an institution. Whether culling herbs in his garden, or copying from the masterpieces of Raphaelle, Leonarda de Vinci, or Murillo, and adding another illustration to the glories of Christian art; whether illustrating his missal with quaint devices, or designing a weird head for a gargoyle; whether praying by the sick bed of a dying penitent, or asking a last intercession for some dying friend, there is nothing in the traditions of the early monastic system which has not something of interest. Even when mixed up with the wild and the exaggerated, some of the stories have still an interest. It is curious how implicitly they are believed, and how much of the romance of poetry is mingled with them, and often how much of quaint simplicity.

And is there not even to this day much in the recollections, of the mediæval ages, of the quaint stories, of the old legends, of the dim traditions of the associations which still linger about the ruins of the Rhine or the Rhone, which constitute the romance of those ages? Lyons, Bologne, Coblentz, Cologne, Heidelberg, the Drachenfels, the romance of story or of song, still associated with their ruined castles and monasteries, is one which the world will not let willingly die. I am not quite sure if I am yet of the orthodox opinion that the keenest enjoyment, when amidst the piles of the Druids, or on the plains of Bannockburn, or when on the classic banks of the Rhine, or amidst the green steppes of the Rhone, is to be found in a glass of beer or a cigar; nor do

I quite agree with a friend of mine who stated that he was dreadfully disappointed at not finding the ruins of Palmyra in better repair. How many are there who see but ploughed land and hedgerows on the plains of Waterloo. How few care to see, in ancient ruins, the evidence of perished opinions and departed races, and the calm progress of man himself through the infinite cycles of decay. On scenes wherever history or fiction may have left their trace, and on the nature of the associations, will depend the amount of our sympathy; and it is because the history of Eastern monasticism has no associations like those connected with the history of Western monasticism, that it does not excite even a passing interest. There are no associations of a lofty or elevating nature. The disciple of Buddha fled to the wilderness because he regarded himself as an emanation of the deity; and it was only owing to the impurity of his senses that he could not attain to the realization of his hopes of again becoming part of that deity.

Self-torment was exercised it is true; but it was exercised that he might the more readily free himself from the trammels and impurities of the senses. While in himself, he learnt to crush every human instinct; on others he looked with that great abhorrence which could only be mitigated by a sense of his dependence on them for the smallest charities of life. It is scarcely to be wondered then that so few traces for good should be left, or that no lasting or beneficial impress should have been left on the native mind, or that, owing to the absence of a principal element of civilization, there should be so much stagnation in India.

It is a curious circumstance wherever Buddhism has had its strongest hold there more than elsewhere, the frost spirit of stagnation has been for centuries at work, binding up a soil which might otherwise have yielded fruit.

Morbid asceticism, in its worst type, it indicates no energy, no vitality, and no life. How different have been the results derived from the system of European monasticism in the dark and mediæval ages when monks labored often, but not too wisely; when one order, infused with the warlike spirit of the times, fought under the banners of the Knights of St. John or the Templars, or another introduced, a union of the monastic with the military life under the severe discipline of the Teutonic Grand Masters; when another order, introducing a new element in the spirit of Western monasticism, taught in literature and the fine arts, in painting or in poetry, in copying ancient and forgotten manuscripts, some solace for the weary tedium of life.

When one brother employed a lifetime in transcribing from the

Spanish of Michell Psellus's Synopsis of Aristotle's Organon, and another in illuminating whole pages of the Commentaries of Porphyry, or in committing to memory whole folios of the versified grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei. When buried in the depths of their cloistered stillness and seclusion, they labored fruitlessly, but well, on their countless manuscripts still treasured in old libraries, or copied upon parchment, the mystic lore of the ancients, or spent a dreamy life amid the humanizing arts of sculpture, or painting, or poetry. Indeed, between the monasticism of the East and the monasticism of the West, there can be no comparison. In their results the two systems have been wonderfully different. One has borne fruit, the other has been perfectly barren. The one was typical of a transition period, nascent life revealing itself in intense but slow development; the other indicating petrification, as if it had been smitten into stone. The one representing under the smooth crust of an ordinary everyday world causes at action, deep abysses of soul, by which the hidden fires would have reproduced the surface into smiling cornlands and pasture lands; the other typical of those volcanic rocks where the fires do not burn out, and where volcanic masses of molten lava surge and slake, and blacken the crust into misshapen masses of black mail and igneous rock, where not a single blade of green can be seen.

The one was bound up with the pulses of a political life, and with a nation's palpitating heart throbbing for liberty, but buried in the glimmering darkness of the middle ages; the other, without any political sympathies, without any learning, without any aspirations, has never assisted thought, nor has it proved the handmaid of art. The scholastic philosophy which sprung from the schools of Western monasticism resulted in the reformation by Martin Luther, and in the emancipation of mind from the shackles of superstition and of error. The dream-life of Buddhism has been the dream-life of the lotus eater. Under the semblance of life there has been everlasting sleep.

Nor even between the superstitions of Western and Eastern monasticism can there be any points of resemblance.

The superstition of Romanism sprang from error, clouding and dimming the light of revealed religion, a light which even so clouded for centuries transfused itself as a pervading presence into the elements which have humanized and advanced the Western world. To borrow a metaphor from one of the most gifted and eloquent of American writers, dimmed and subdued as it has been, the reflex of the truth which it has spread has nevertheless been soft-footed and angelic, transfiguring all things. It has streamed through a

wilderness of churches and dim cathedral aisles, and from fretted and vaulted roof; and from oriel and painted window it has glimmered in hazy confusion among the pictured and gilded glories that glitter and gleam from roof and wall within. It had irradiated the dark places where once paganism held sway, and had lit up the palaces and temples of Rome, the porticos of Athens and the Piræus, the Doric columns of the Parthenon, the thousand arches of the Coliseum, and the marble columns of the Forum. It has poured into cities without the vital life of day, into noisome and cavernous recesses, into cities of the living and the dead; and as it has moved westward from the banks of the Tiber and the noisome Ghetto, from the Castle Hill of St. Angelo, and from the Cathedrals of St. Peter and St. John Lateran, it has flooded the Western world with a luminousness, making the air glorious with a silver vibration of a hundred bells.

From the love of art engendered in the middle ages have sprung such Cathedrals as those of Strasbourg and Cologne in Germany; as those of York and Canterbury in England; as those of Nôtre Dame in Paris, with their sculptured statues and their pictorial and artistic wealth of representation. But for the patient labors of the monks in their cloistered cells, when printing had not yet been introduced as an art, the learning of the ancients would perhaps have been lost to the world. If had not been transmitted to the yellow or wrinkled parchment, the arts of painting and sculpture would have had no impetus, because no imitation. It was better that men should spend their time on antique mosaics in realizing, by the curious art of inlaying colored tones, the most beautiful effects of painting; armour, men, warriors, arms, quadrigæ, the emerald of the sea, the cerulean blue of the heavens, than that they should be doing nothing. It was assuredly better that they should give up their lives to prayers, to penances, to fastings, and their intervals of leisure to the fine arts, when one monk might have been copying from classic models of statuary the Polyphemia or the Medusa; and when another might be transferring to the canvass the Madonnas of Murillo, of Carracci, or of Guido, than that they should spend a lifetime in utter listlessness, in fanning the flies from the uniform images of their idol worship, or in putting in motion huge and unwieldy cars to meaningless idols. It was even better that they should have derived much profitable amusement from erecting piles of masonry in designing arches and in building pillars, than that they should be immolating human beings at the shrines of their grim idols, their terrible Molochs. It was better even that some of them should have been living harmless and dreamy lives, reading old manu-

scripts, copying and illuminating new ones, than that they should be indulging in meriah sacrifices and in grim superstitions, such as that which can only be paralleled in the tales of Mr. Sabine Baring Gould's book of *Wehr Wolves*. It were infinitely better that they should have been found carving quaint devices for gargoyles, or in moulding cornices and building shrines, than that they should be practising the fearful orgies as described recently by a writer on Ceylon.

Widely as monasticism in the East and in the West have separated, we at least have to be thankful for the good fruits which, in Europe, the system has borne. Nothing had tended to infuse more fresh life into the scattered and imperfect germs of the early Anglo-Saxon Christianity. To the Latin monks of old will always remain the glory of having first sown the first seed; and there are none who can view the stately pile of the Cathedral of Canterbury who will not think of the labors and successes of St. Augustin and his followers. It was there, the subsequent citadel of apostolic authority and benedictine rule, that the first indestructible foundations of Anglo-Saxon Christianity were laid; nor can any one pace the aisles of the ancient Cathedral of York and, while admiring its massive structure, its giant columns, with their foliage-bound capitals sweeping away in magnificent perspective; its dim religious light streaming through its gothic windows and its painted glass; its ponderous dome; its lofty arches; its effigies and monumental caves; its massive durability which makes the passing hour in the history of the edifice appear but a mere half-way point between the centuries of the past and the centuries of the future, forget that in the earlier years of the heptarchy Christianity was first preached there by the followers of St. Columba of Iona. And to those who visit Rome, to this day is pointed out the monastery of St. Gregory, the first Latin Archbishop of Canterbury. Few spots are more attractive from their associations. The sanctuary stands on Mount Cælius, on the site which Roman mythology had consecrated to the graceful and touching fable of Numa and the Nymph Egeria. In front rises Mons Palatinus, the cradle of ancient Rome, with its broken columns and its crumbling pillars erected to the memory of the Cæsars. Not far are the Circus Maximus, the baths of Caracalla, and the Coliseum. In that monastery the table is still shown where St. Gregory every day fed his twelve beggars, and there did he first determine to send his Missionaries to England. Nor can the traveller, in looking across the many attractive monuments from the Palatine to the Coliseum, find a spot more attractive. "On that spot," writes De Montal-ambert, "few Englishmen can



now stand without being deeply moved. On that spot the enslaved children of his ancestors gathered together. On those stones they knelt who made his country Christian. Under those roofs was the grand design conveyed by a saintly mind, entrusted to God, and blessed by him. By those steps descended the forty monks who bore to England the Word of God and the light of the Gospel, along with Catholic unity, the apostolical succession, and the Rule of St. Benedict. No country ever received the gift of salvation more directly from the Popes and Monks, and none so soon and so cruelly betrayed them."

And it is indeed something, in spite of Mons. De Montal-ambert's cruel taunt, to have these traces still left, ancient ruins and monasteries scattered over Europe, reminding us of the past. Is not St. Paul's itself the grandest monument of the work, and the aspirations and the labor of the middle ages? And is it not a curious thought that with monasticism the age of cathedrals too should have insensibly passed away?

In those ancient memories, the dews from a thousand pastures are gathered. The silence of a thousand years speaks in them. They sometimes come upon the heart like the calm beauty of death, wrapping us in a trance, and drowning for a brief moment the noisy tumult of the world. There is a deep feeling of reverence that insensibly comes over us while viewing the ruins of some time-worn monasteries or abbey in Europe. The profound stillness, the crumbling walls, the moss-grown battlements, the ivied turrets, the solitary fragmentary stones that lie in detached pieces apart from the yet standing walls; the pointed gothic arch still discernible, the rich tracery not yet quite effaced.

A more realistic belief seeks for simpler forms, because the educated soul, finding a solemn temple within itself, begins to adore the Eternal without the intervention of "bossy sculpture," "fretted frieze," "long-drawn aisle," or lofty piles of masonry. The mission of Protestantism is to simplify the workings of those great and immutable laws which regulated this world; to make the invisible link between man and his Creator more earnest and intellectual; and in the fulfilment of its mission, it invents new forms for the present and the future, while it gradually abandons those designs for the past. The law of progress is imperative. It strides over tradition and experience. No remains of art, no transcendent mechanical beauties, no affection, can arrest its career. As freedom has trampled into dust the castles of the feudal ages, so is religion every day consigning into disuse the most magnificent monuments of architectural art. Still we are thankful that we should have these traces left to us, whether in

the gilded glories of ancient cathedrals, or in the ruined monastery, or moss-covered temple. The ancient walls not yet crumbled, the inscriptions not yet quite effaced, the column not yet levelled with the ground, forcibly remind us of the time which has long passed away. Lingered among such ruins, one might fancy something of the past, as in a day-dream. The echoes of living sound have long died away. The full organ no longer peals on the ear; the merry laugh is heard not now; the tramp of the monk in his cloistered stillness has long ceased; the last hooded friar that paced its solitary cells has long passed away. It stands by itself, reminding us of those older times of which the romance, even to this day, is so dear to us—

All hath passed, but the half-erased stone,  
 The ivy-wreathed column nodding alone,  
 The oriel window's rich tracery,  
 The cloister's delicate imagery,  
 The poutless lance and the rusted sword,  
 The crumbling parchment's cherished hoard,  
 Of awful signs rich with mystery,  
 Of Cabala or deep Alchemy,  
 And the missal with fadeless color still bright,  
 Or the time-worn escutcheon of once-famed knight,  
 Or the rude minstrel's half-lost rhyme,  
 Is all to us of the older time,  
 Save those dreams so spiritual, and those thoughts so high,  
 That rise when we muse upon days gone by.



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SCIENCE.

The phenomenon of fermentation is one of the oldest known, not only in science, but also in the ordinary life of primitive peoples, who must have been struck by its strange facts. The idea, however, conceived as to the origin of fermentation has much varied, and as a scientific question, it has been several times completely re-opened, following the progress of experiments, more or less curious. The investigations of M. Pasteur on the subject of fermentation are well known, and the general truths that he has stated with so remarkable lucidity, remain up to the present uncontradicted. The origin of the agents of fermentation involves the famous problem of spontaneous generation; M. Pasteur does not belong to those who attribute the origin of life to chance or nothing at all; life with him springs from life itself; he does not examine the mysteries of its origin, he only lays down that so far as our present knowledge goes, the germs of fermentation are the issue themselves of living beings, and that the air is the medium of their dissemination and existence. M. Pasteur maintains, that it is the atmosphere that supplies these germs; M. Fremy goes the length of stating, that they can be produced in the absence of air. No experiments have yet demonstrated the formation of ferments free from the contact of air, because nothing is more difficult than to suppress the influence of air. It is as arduous a problem as

the exhaustion of air in a pneumatic machine. Barley well washed in distilled water, was placed in a heated solution of sugar; the grains swelled, germinated, and emitted hydrogen and carbonic acid gases; the solution became white and sour, indicating lactic fermentation: M. Pasteur says the porosity of the sugar alone here concealed the ferment germs. In the leaven of beer, the living globules of ferment, following M. Fremy, are created in the leaven itself and developed by contact with the air; according to M. Pasteur, the leaven receives these germs from the atmosphere. Also; the latter has rigorously demonstrated the inadscrutibility of the most fermentible substances when excluded from contact with air. What remains to be demonstrated is, that creation or spontaneous generation of minute particles, endowed with all that we include under the word—life, is possible. Leaven is a minute organism, of a vegetable nature, living on the compounds of starch and sugar, developing, multiplying, and reproducing, provided it has oxygen to respire, as when in contact with the air, it borrows oxygen as we do ourselves, only more ardently; it can moreover decompose the sugar with which it may be in contact, appropriating its oxygen, which exists united with the elements carbon and hydrogen—the change producing alcohol and carbonic acid. These germ atoms are very active, assume a multitude of forms, and take various names, such as Bactria, Vibrios &c.; Messrs. Pasteur and Schützenberger who know their habits, not only classify them, but make them work under their orders. The world of these germs is divided into two classes, direct ferments that act of themselves, and indirect, when they act by a soluble principle which they secrete. It is to the action of this latter class that the saliva and the pancreatic juice transform the starch of our food into cane sugar, and thus render fatty matters assimilable by the system. The same fermentation produces sugar in seeds during germination to enable them to appropriate the starch stored up for the infant. Sugar itself when eaten, has to undergo the indirect ferment before it can be assimilated, and Claude Bernard has found in both cane and beet sugar, the same ferment as in the leaven of beer, so that there is no difference in the chemical phenomena of nutrition, be-

tween plants and animals. Some leaven absorbs oxygen more rapidly than others, and is so active as to be capable of extracting that gas from red or arterial blood, and so effectively, as to render it as black as venous blood. Schutzenberger has demonstrated this, as also, that leaven when not in contact with free oxygen, or saccharine matters capable of yielding oxygen, can decompose as much as the half of its own substance to secure a supply of this gas.

Pending that Dr. A. Smith recommends us to respire through our nose rather than our mouth, as a means of avoiding a sudden influx of cold air to our lungs. Drs. Lévy and Descroix of the French National Observatory, reveal the strange substances and beings, that exist in the air and in rain water; tiny morsels of charcoal, hair, rags, particles of iron, strach, glass, gypsum, pollen, infusoria, along with a whole world of microscopic existences, living, running, dancing, metamorphosing into other multitudes of strange, fantastic forms. We breathe all these, nay more, we swallow them. And this microscopic population instead of being exceptional, is permanent and multiform. The pluviometers of the Observatory, registered the fall of rain during the month of February last, as equal to five millions of cubic yards for the surface of Paris alone; representing 88 tons of mineral substances, and double that weight of dead and living organic matters. Ammonia was found to be present in considerable quantities, as much as three hundredths, when the temperature was 77 degrees, of the quantity ordinarily contained in the air, and that the rain water was more alkaline, as the temperature was low.

The waters of the Seine having subsided, the river having reentered its bed, it has been demonstrated that no such flood occurred since the year 1807. But in ancient times, when Paris was a small city and built on the island of that name, the Seine frequently rose to the wooded and vine-clad hill on which the Pantheon now stands, and the Champ-de-Mars and the aristocratic Faubourg Saint-Germain, were then extensive meadows in the midst of marshes. Pending the height of the flood, Boussingault analysed the water and calculated, that the river discharged a volume of water equal

to 145 millions of cubic yards daily, and which carried off 47 tons of ammonia, 188 of nitric acid, and a quantity of divers other matters, estimated at 80,000 tons. The Seine when it enters Paris receives tributaries from a surface representing about one-twelfth of the area of France. But this volume of water is but a rivulet beside the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. It would require 2,000 Seines, flowing daily at inundation rate for thirty thousand years, according to M. Flammarion, to fill the bed of the ocean, admitting the depth of that bed to have a mean of three miles. When the Greeks offered to drink the sea in order to prevent the rivers from pouring therein the tribute of their waves, it was a boast worthy of the epoch of King Midas, for were all the rivers of the Earth suppressed, the ocean would have still almost as much water as at present.

There is sufficient water in the ocean to surround the entire globe were it levelled, with a sheet of water 220 yards thick, and thus sufficient to drown man and his most gigantic works. This is just the catastrophe that would arrive if inundations endured sufficiently long, for the rain, the winds, and the torrents, would slowly reduce the mountains, wear away the hardest rocks, and by their sediment, raise the bed of the ocean. But neither the earth nor the sun will endure sufficiently long to bring about such an end of this world. The sun itself, on which life on our planet depends, would before then be extinct, and the earth would be swallowed up in black and frozen space. The river Durance, which rises in the Alps and empties itself into the Rhone, has been computed to carry away in sediment, a mass of earth equal to nearly 10,000 acres of arable soil, and 14,000 tons of nitrogen.

M. Boussingault has read an interesting paper on the vegetation of plants in an atmosphere deprived of carbonic acid. He experimented with some grains of maize, and showed how the absorption of carbonic acid was necessary for the development of the plant, and that the green coloring matter of the leaf, was the exclusive agent of that absorption. The leaves of plants produced without light, are pale, and this paleness is the cause of their pining, and death. The maize grown in an atmosphere devoid of carbonic

acid, developed exactly as do plants in the obscurity of a cave ; in both instances nutrition does not take place, in one case owing to the absence of carbonic acid, and in the other, as a consequence of the green coloring matter not being present to absorb and decompose this gas. Claude Bernard agrees with these views, but Pasteur objects, asserting that mushrooms live without green coloring matter, to which Boussingault replies, that must and mushrooms belong to a zone between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and are not cases in point.

From time immemorial, certain animals, following their species, quit regularly or accidentally, the regions where they lived or were born, for countries more or less distant. In this respect birds are most celebrated, but other groups of animals, and even reptiles, fish, and insects, also undertake migrations. The cause of these changes often results from the necessity to escape the vigors of cold, and frequently owing to the difficulty of finding food. The monkeys of south America, when they have completely devastated one region, depart in troops, their young pressed against their breast, to find another locality rich in fruits, and which when exhausted, a further advance from branches to branches, ensues. The periodical voyages of the lemmings of Norway are well known ; these peculiar mice appear and disappear with an equal rapidity ; their migration occurs only once every ten or twenty years, they move in right lines towards the sea. The prospect of insufficient food is stated to be the cause of the migration, but excessive population, and the necessity to find an out-let for it, is the most probable explanation. The lemmings at a certain moment, and as if by signal, descend the mountains, march in columns, are stopped by no obstacles, save the sea which compels them to return. They set out at sunset, repose during the day, destroying the fields they traverse ; thousands are eaten by bears weasels, &c. The meadow mice of Siberia, emigrate westwards in spring ; cross rivers and climb mountains, are preyed upon by sables and foxes ; they return in October, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who appropriate the edible roots the animals store up for winter use. These mice multiply so rapidly as to prove a

scourge. Gordon Cumming and Livingstone relate the movements of vast troops of antelopes from the arid to the more hospitable Zones of southern Africa; the American bison descends to the fertile plains during the dry season, returning northwards in spring; the wild pigs of South America—the boars leading, followed by the females and their young, will swim across a branch of the Paraguay over a mile wide. This desire to periodically migrate is more common with birds; many depart in flocks, but not all; the eider travels singly, the nightingale and turtle dove in couples. The climate, region, and supply of food, affect the departure of birds for the season, and some, as in the case of the ortolan and quail, when too fat, have to remain behind. The quail likes to migrate by moonlight, the heron, wood-cock, and duck, pending obscurity. Cranes fly in the form of a triangle, the apex facing the wind, and the leading bird when fatigued, is replaced and retires to the rear; ducks and larks fly in oblique and inclined lines, plover in horizontal bands; pigeons, crows, and quails, in confused flocks. Five or six months is the period of absence for the generality of these birds, and the swallows are supposed after leaving Europe, to pass into Egypt, central Africa, the Cape, America, and back to their old haunts, to the same nests even those they have occupied since fifteen years. The return of the swallows is totally independent of meteorological changes.

The accounts of the air-curing system for consumption during the season just terminated, are very satisfactory, and the best proof of its efficiency is in the number of patients who try it. Instead of resorting to a warm climate during the winter, the afflicted repair to the health stations, situated at nearly 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the mountain ranges of Switzerland. The temperature here is very high in the sunshine and very low in the shade, and the intense solar radiation is due to the purity of the air and the small quantity of watery vapor it contains. No patient can go out till the sun has warmed the valley, and then ladies and gentlemen give up <sup>sive</sup> ~~made~~ in summer costume, over snow six feet deep, and when <sup>out</sup> ~~out~~ thermometer marks in the shade nearly 30 degrees below and death point. But they must return when the sun begins to



decline, as in a few minutes the temperature could fall 30 degrees. By double doors, windows, and fires, uniform temperature is maintained in the apartments. The lightness of the air, exercising diminished pressure, permits more frequent respirations, and in consequence of the smaller quantity of oxygen in the atmosphere, irritation is of course less also. Cold frictions and douches are also employed, and the dietary consists largely of the best meat, the richest butter and milk, and the most generous wines, the invalids being weighed at fixed intervals to test their putting up flesh. This mountain air-cure, now ten years in operation, is only suited for the first two stages of phthisis.

M. Ruz asserts that leprosy is neither contagious nor hereditary, and M. Lajoux sustains, that the cause of sleep is due to the production of lymph; hence, why infants and aged persons, largely producing lymph, have an imperative want to sleep, and how hibernating animals in becoming fat in autumn, merely lay up a store of lymphatic materials.

The electric railway signals of Messrs. Lartigue and Forest have been now two years in use on the Chem de Fer du Nord, and appears to work perfectly. The plan in general terms is this; a steam whistle is set in motion by an electric current, the latter being generated, as a mechanical brush, beneath the engine, rubs a sleeper covered with a copper plate placed between the rails, and from its odd appearance called a "crocodile"; the crocodile is in communication with a battery, and at a certain distance from the signal post; the crocodile is charged when the disc signal "stops"; the brush of the locomotive takes up the current on passing, which liberates the whistle, and so automatically warns the driver. It has worked well when the speed of the train was as much as 70 miles per hour—a common rate for the London mail.

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## THE CITY OF SAGOR.

Reader, I will give you an insight into one of the most ancient cities of Central India. The name of Sagor may not be quite foreign to your ears; of late it has got an unenviable prominence in every newspaper talk in connection with the now notorious "Barracks" and the alleged meeting of the Native regiments located there.

From Jabalpur there extend two roads to Sagor, one direct by way of Damon—the other from Nursingpur—the fourth station from Jabalpur on the G. I. P. Railway line. The first is the older road and is very uncomfortable, and to some extent even dangerous. You have to make continual ascents and descents over steepy hills—offshoots of the Vindhachal—and in the night you run considerable risk of your head being smashed and your pocket emptied by a certain class of obliging 'gentlemen' who delight in giving such kind of warm receptions to the solitary traveller. But if you are a lover of antiquarian remains, your troubles may be compensated by the opportunity thus afforded to you of taking a view of the ruins of an ancient fortress lying a little way off the road. The new road from Nursingpur was commenced six years ago. Its estimated cost is 14 lacs. It is almost finished, and travelling by it is found so very convenient that even in its present unfinished state it has come to be much oftener resorted to than the old route. As soon as it is all complete, it is intended to establish a horse dak, and when that is done, Sagor will cease to be an out-of-the-way station. The district Sagor is contiguous to many important Native States, the chief among which are Gwalior and Bhopal—and as such, the city forms an important military station. Since the failure of the barracks, however, many regiments have been drafted away, and as a consequence, Sagor has lost much of its former military pomp and grandeur.

Local tradition carries back the past history of Sagor to a very remote time. Most probably it is the "Sagada" of Ptolemy. The aborigines seem to have held possession of the city up to the 11th

century of the Christian era. Afterwards it fell into the hands of the Rajpoot Rajahs of Bundelkund. From them it was snatched by the Chiefs of Panna, another neighbouring Rajpoot State. They held possession for some time, but at last hard pressed by the surging waves of Mahomedan conquest, they called in the assistance of the Peshwa, who, true to his tradition, drove off the Mahomedans but took possession of the country. From that time since it continued in the hands of the Maharattas, when in 1818 it again changed hands and by a treaty concluded by the Peshwa, Bajee Rao, with the English, the city Sagor with a greater portion of the present Sagor District, Damon, Jabalpore and Mundla were all made over to the conquering Feringees. The Peshwa used to govern Sagor by a Governor, and the office, following the tendency of all such offices in India, had become hereditary. The last Governor was Aba Sahib—who had died before the cession, leaving two childless widows. One of them has an adopted son, Baboo Bulwunt Rao, who is now a state prisoner, at Jabalpore and gets a pension of Rs. 10,000 per annum from the Government. He is much respected there and is the President of the local Hitkarinee Sabha. He takes very great interest in the school established under the auspices of the Sabha. A like pension is also given to the Prime-Minister of the two widows, who is now an old man of 70, living at Sagor, honored by the people and the local Authorities.

Approaching the city by the Nursingpore road, you see a large and beautiful sheet of water—rather too small for a lake and too large for a tank—called the Sagor Lake. It is of an oval shape, with a circumference of about 4 miles and nearly one mile across. Situated as it is in a hilly valley, encompassed all round by small hills, its position favors the idea of its being natural. Tradition, however, says, that it was excavated by the Brinjaries, (a sort of nomads whose living consists in carrying grain from one part of the country to another,) who used to feel great want of water to cool themselves and their cattle, that the water at first did not rise, and that not till they had sacrificed at the bidding of their god a virgin in the basin of the tank that it assumed its present

form. The water they look upon as blood transformed, and up to the present time, no Brinjari, though dying with thirst, will quench it with water from this lake. Upon the top of a hill rising to some eminence, is the Fort of the old reigning Kings. It still looks quite inaccessible and proof against all ordinary attack. Its prestige stands high with the Natives. It was commenced by the Rajpoot Rajahs in 1660, but was completed by the Mahrattas. It commands the whole city and the adjoining country. There is only one place of entrance and exit—on the east-side. Since it fell into the hands of the English, many additions have been made. During the troubled years of 1857-58, it did good service.

The city is built upon a series of hills and their valleys—only a few years back it was divided into two parts by an intervening hill; and to pass from one quarter to the other was felt to be very inconvenient, especially to loaded cattle and conveyances. The rocks were cut through and a road was made by a late Deputy Commissioner, Captain Ward, at a cost of some Rs. 16,000. The Native quarter is densely populated, and as elsewhere is distinct from the European quarter, which lies towards the Cantonment. The population is given by Mr. Grant, in his Gazetteer, to be 29,917 and the number of houses 7,828. "The city is well built and most of the streets are wide and handsome." There are several bathing ghats on the banks of the lake—and the temples surrounding them add much to the appearance of the place as viewed from the other side of the lake. The buildings are mostly of stones—with tiled roofs. Pucca roofs do not last here; in the terrible hot weather they become all cracked and thus are rendered worthless in the rains. They are built, however, in defiance of all rules of hygiene and sanitation. The parts facing the public roads are generally well to look at, but enter the inner apartments and if it be the hot weather, you feel as if you are entering the very hell. They don't seem to know what is cleanliness and ventilation. But whatever may be the inner aspect of the city, its external appearance is rather prepossessing. The whole city, as I have already said, is intersected by plenty of roads, many of which are lined with rows of trees. They

are all kept clean—as also the public drains by side of them. Up to the year 1862, there was in the south-east part of the city a large unhealthy swamp covered during rains with rank vegetation. In 1863, through the exertion of the then Commissioner, Mr. J. S. Campbell, it was thoroughly drained and a fruitful source of fever and epidemic was thus removed. A garden, beautiful and refreshing, with a piece of ornamental water surrounding an artificial island, now stands in its place. A fountain plays there and it is the resort during this hot weather of all who want a little respite from the dust and heat of the city. Besides this, there are also three other public gardens; but their sites are more towards the European quarter, whether from accident or design is more than can say. There are some fine public buildings to be seen here. The present Deputy Commissioner's Court was built originally as a Residency for the Agent to the Governor General. It is situated over a high hill 2,000 feet above the level of the sea and overlooking the city and the lake. The jail is a large castellated building capable of holding 500 prisoners. The city kotwali (police-house) having a splendid exterior is situated in the heart of the *Bustee* (old city) on the banks of the lake. Then there is the custom-house which was originally the mint and treasury.

A brisk trade in salt is carried on at Sagor—it comes from the Sambar Lake and the salt marshes in the Rajpoot State of Jhedpur. Sugar is also largely imported from Mirzapur and other places and despatched to the neighbouring Native states. On both of these articles a duty is taken by Government. Besides this, they trade largely also in cloths of English manufacture, which come partly from Mirzapur and partly from Bombay *via* Nursingpur. It is needless to add that wheat, gram, and jowra also form important articles of trade. A town duty is levied on all cereals and from its proceeds the whole cost of the city and cantonment police and the conservancy of the station is met. At times also taxes of questionable utility are imposed.

MJOKERJEE.

## CRICKET IN MADRAS.

In making a speech on the monument which should be erected to perpetuate the memory of the late Sir Jamsetjee, Baronet, Sir Richard Temple in complementing the Parsees said, among other things, he was glad to find that they had taken to the manly game of cricket. But cricket seems to be growing popular in native estimation not only in Bombay but also in Madras. The first cricket club formed there was at Egmore. Once a year, on the anniversary of the day of its formation, some gentleman of high social standing is asked to be president for the year.

During the present year Dr. Cline was elected the President, and at a very large meeting of Native and European gentlemen who take an interest in Native progress and the improvement of Native social customs, was invited to the chair; Sir Chandos Reade, Bart, being also present. The Secretary read the annual report, which we republish, with the speech made by Dr. Cline and which was also reported for the Madras Papers. They cannot fail to be interesting to the friends of physical education in Bengal. We think that if in Calcutta, as well as in Bombay or Madras, cricket-ing were to be introduced amongst the Hindu youth, it would do much good, both physically and morally. Indeed, the last annual report of the Egmore Club that we publish deals with that subject very exhaustively.

*"It is with great pleasure," the Secretary said, "that I come before you to submit the third annual report on the working of the Egmore Cricket Club. When the Club was first instituted even its staunchest supporters felt anxious for the life of their protege and feared that it would have a short-lived career as many other associations of its class. Novel as a Hindu cricket club may be and presenting a hopeful aspect of present Hindu Society, it is still more novel and encouraging that an exotic plant as this should have outlived the enervating effects of a tropical climate for three long years, and instead of showing signs of decay, even in this season of burnt up and arid plains and cloudless skies, is still flourishing and forms an agreeable source of pastime to the youth of this place. It is not in this place alone that an institution like this seems to thrive; it*

has laid a firm hold on the Hindu mind as shown by the number of Native youths that congregate on the Monument Esplanade, and Island ground, not to mention the minor clubs started by Native Regiments elsewhere. It is, indeed, an agreeable sight to see the Hindu young folk taking to this exercise with zest and with spirit. They seem to have quitted their other amusements and have given themselves up to a full enjoyment of cricket, with what materials their funds may afford. They may be seen any day and especially in the evenings with their bats in hand playing in the meriest manner possible. Pleasing as the picture may be, it is to be hoped their example will be followed by others. It, however, shows that cricket is becoming an institution in India. You often see very little boys playing. We shall not be surprised to find that when they grow up to be young men they would be sure to exchange their tiny bats and balls for Lilly whites and Duke's and give themselves up to the enjoyment of the cricket field with as great a delight as any English schoolboy would do. So the Club, greatly as it benefits the youth of the present day, will also permanently benefit the future youth of this place.

“People living in a crowded City find, as a rule, a great advantage in having recourse to bodily exercise. These exercises can be made the most powerful means of counteracting many injurious effects on the economy of the Human body. These exercises in addition to benefiting the human frame, have a very important influence on the mind and feelings. They serve as a diversion from many modes of spending time not devoted to business. They should not be made the subject of compulsory education for they would be deprived of their charm. Care should at the same time be taken lest these exercises make no undue encroachments on business. Various healthful exercises tend to increase the powers of the human frame but they may attract an undue amount of attention and thus do harm.

“The extent to which physical exercise prevails in Europe, and the interest exhibited in it by all classes of people; are really very astonishing to the Hindu mind. If there is to be a match of cricket, all the Newspapers take up the subject and before the appointed

time, the ground is crowded to inconvenience. All assemble at the appointed time to enjoy the game and its accessories. The gladiatorial exhibitions of ancient Rome, or the manly games of Greece, or the bullfights of Spain were not better attended than these. If there is to be a boat race, the news is echoed not through Great Britain alone, but throughout the civilized world; telegrams are despatched to all parts of the world. The names of the crew are counted by every individual; the number of people gathered on the occasion can scarcely be imagined. The news of the result is sent with electric speed throughout the world and illustrations of the same appear in all available papers and the issue of the game forms the common topic of conversation. Old men look back to the time when they ardently joined in these manly games and appeared flushed with victory among the admiring crowd, and youngmen look forward to the time when they will emulate the renown of the most favoured of the crew. Thus goes on this healthy pastime, simple in the extreme but thrilling the nation to its very core. Contrast this state of things with our dull monotonous apathetic career, without one noble impulse, one generous motive, one genuine enjoyment.

“As for the beneficial effects of physical exercise on the human frame, so much has already been said that one need not enter into it any more. But one way may be pointed out in which it has greatly improved the habits of youth. It is but natural that a student, after the prolonged strain put on his nerves by study, should seek some means of recreation to restore his jaded nerves. In the absence of manly sports he resorts to such amusement as playing at cards or dice or even more trivial pastimes which have a very demoralizing effect on him. When once a youngman is initiated into the mysteries of the card table, there is an enormous waste of time and a vitiating tendency on his temper and character. Picture to yourself a youngman sitting hour after hour over his cards, scanning them with an avidity only to be rivalled by that of a Jewish miser; or devising plans of pocketing the rupees of his comrades, and straining all his nerves for replenishing his purse, and only whetting



his avarice in case of success, or souring his disposition in case of reverse. But cricket puts an end to temptations of this sort.

The address of Dr. Cline, we think, was hardly inferior to the occasion. In eloquent colors he painted the advantages of the cricket field, and pointed out its chief attractions. Viewed even as a literary effort, it will repay perusal. We therefore make no apology to reproduce it in our pages. Dr. Cline said—

“Gentlemen—We have to thank your Secretary for the account he has given us of your cricket club and of the advantages you are likely to derive from being a member of a cricket club, and particularly a member of the Egmore Cricket Club. He has shown that cricket is becoming an institution in Madras, and even out of Madras Native military cricket clubs are formed, where Native soldiers may in the tented field generously vie and try to defeat their European comrades in arms, and learn those lessons of endurance of fatigue which may be called into play on another tented field and on a far more serious and glorious occasion.

“He has pointed out that people living in a crowded city should find sources of health in physical exercise; and as a sound mind and a sound body should go together, he has endeavoured to trace the subtle connection which no doubt should exist between a healthful physical training and a healthy mind. Although it is very difficult to trace the intimate connection which must always exist between the mind and the body still there is no doubt that our two great Universities, like the Schools of the ancient Greeks and Latins, appreciate the necessity of a physical training, and it is doubtful whether that idea is not carried beyond its logical limits. In Greece, indeed, the Olympian and Delphic feats called into existence the highest physical training, and even with all that training Juvenal sighed because he could rarely find a vigorous body and a virtuous mind in the same person.

*Rara est adeo concordia formæ*

*At quæ pudicitæ*

But cricket was not known in the days of Juvenal: if it was we should have missed that admirable hit in satire which has ever since been scored to him.

"Being a very great admirer of the Royal Game of Whist, I cannot agree with him in his remarks as to cards, and I am not quite prepared to say anything against that game which we all know was invented by a French abbé to cure the melancholy of King Charles VI: which has since delighted hundreds; on whose hands time has hung heavily; which has cheered many after-dinner hour, and which in the explanation of *As* rules has exercised the genius of Hoyle and Deschappes, Crawley and Carleston. It is a game at which many of our great statesmen and warriors, fresh from the cares of state, have relaxed their minds, a game which Pope has so well described,

" Behold four kings in majesty revered,  
With hoary whiskers and a forky beard,  
And four fair Queens, whose hands sustain a flower,  
The expressive emblem of their softer power.—

" Four knaves in garbs succinct, a trusty band,  
Caps on their heads, and halberts in the hand ;  
And parti-coloured troops, shining train,  
Draw forth to combat on the velvet plain."

"Whether indoor amusements are better sources of recreation than outdoor, I am not prepared to say, but as long as recreation is necessary to prevent the stagnation of the mind as society changes, fresh forms of amusement will be devised both indoor and outdoor. So much has already been said of the advantages of cricketing to you in Madras and of cricketing in India that I shall crave leave to say something of it as one of the national games in England.

Of all out door amusements as angling, boating, shooting, racing, hawking, and archery, cricket may be said to be the most healthy. And in England it has now grown to be as national as tilting was in the days of Richard of the Lion Heart, or Henry VIII. And I might say that while they are both essentially national, at different periods, they were both equally and justly popular. And that is because they were both essentially manly. But while one is played out the other still holds its ground. I should wish to take you in imagination to two scenes, each of which at widely different periods would represent the national English taste and love for manly amusement. In the one case I would present you to the Old Palace Yard of Westminster, in the other to the well known ground at Lords. The Old Palace Yard as a tilting ground now no longer exists. "Lords" draws every year within its enclosures, crowds such as Palace Yard scarcely ever beheld.

"It is quite true that we don't now behold the picturesque array of knights in steel, and gloved horsemen apparelled in steel and chain armour—the steeds covered with rich trappings, the trumpeters in crimson cassocks, with their silver clarions and silken pennons,—the brilliant and knightly throngs,—the noble array of Lords and Ladies, the richly liveried pages and grooms—the pomp and splendour of the tournaments of a past age. But as society changes so does its amusements. The age of iron has passed away, and so has the spirit of its amusements, emblazoned with heraldic pomp, and imbued with the true spirit of chivalry. But while the amusements of that age gave use to feats of prowess, and knightly daring; who shall say the endurance, the training, and the pluck called into play during the University matches at Lords or the University boat races on the Thames are unworthy of the present age? The light and dark blue has taken the place of the chain and gilded armour. But if in the present age, the national taste has grown simpler, there is as much hero-worship displayed to the successful team at Lords as there used to be shown to the *preux chevaliers* who entered the Lords at Old Palace Yard at Westminster, or who did their devoirs before the bright eyes which looked down upon them

from the raised and crimsoned balconies of Whitehall. To some it may be a matter of regret that now they can no longer witness those long and brilliant processions of the sixteenth century, with their knights, each accompanied by their gentlemen, ushers, pages, yeomen, and grooms, each splendidly accoutred, and armed, some of them with polished cuirasses, and helmets, with their varied and rich armour, with their polished steel breast-plates, with their corslets damasked with gold, their emblazoned arms and their bright lances borne by their esquires. But amusements as well as fashions change and the crowds that assemble at Lords more than equal in numbers and in quality those which looked on at the jousts and tournaments from balcony or seat or stand in the broad area of Westminster Hall or Palace Yard.

“When I was in London three years ago, at the Harrow and Eton match, there were assembled on the ground at Lords twenty-four thousand people to see twentytwo English boys play the game of cricket; sixteen thousand shillings were paid down at the gates by those who were anxious to know whether the light blues would be more successful than the dark—whether Eton or Harrow possessed the best eleven or displayed the greater skill. At seven o’clock in the morning the empty carriages claiming admittance in right of membership in the Marylebone club, extended from the doors of Lords in the St. John’s wood road right up to the Swiss Cottage, and very far beyond: I am not saying too much when I state that there are few places where cricket can be better seen to advantage than at “Lords”. And there are few who have been there who do not remember it with pleasure; rich in its associations; with its history, its traditions, its famous club, the “fons et origo,” of our noble English game; the yellow and crimson flag flying from the pavilion roof; the crowds of anxious faces looking down from the grand stand; the smooth green turf; and the remembrance of the fact, that on that same green turf, the ancestors of the young cricketers whom we were watching from the pavilion had done the same thing, had entered the lists as champions for their college; had done battle for their respective sides; had conquered or been de-

feated, had amidst cheers made a large score or had carried away their bats with an ugly round figure.

“As there are few places richer in their annals of cricketing matches lost or won, so there are few places more attractive from their associations than Lords. If the emulation of the great English public Schools and Colleges is to be kept up, if public school boys are to make a successful athletic debat anywhere in England, then there is no field which would be better suited for this than Lords. If reputations are to be won, and a generous emulation between rival public schools is to be created, if the successful College champions are to be granted the great privilege, the memory of which will last them as long as their lives, of trying their strength; then the field must be Lords, where their fathers competed before them; Lords’ Cricket ground with its history of the Grimstones, the Marshmans, the Walkers, the Leighs, the Lytletons, the Mitchells, the Dupins, the Normans, the Hadows, the Bucklands, the Graces, and countless other cricketing families. A few days ago in one of the Madras papers, it was said by a correspondent who was at the last match between Oxford and Cambridge that the old excitement for cricket had worn away; and that the crowds who now resorted went there more for a summer picnic on the grounds than from any real enthusiasm in the game. But if I mistake not, this is incorrect. The enthusiasm for cricket has not died out in England and will not die out. Nor can any one who has watched the thousands who assemble there, come to any other conclusion; Look at the Pavilion as I saw it last with its scores of cricketers who during the entire day watched every ball delivered. Or a little further still where in the loveliest corner of the whole ground can be seen a summer garden of blue ribbon a delicious parterre of white pique,—white muslin and the dark and light blue ribbon—the badge of the two sides;—those young ladies who know something of cricket, have actually during the day been scoring the game with light lead pencils and hands incased in the most delicate of pink gloves; and those flags worked with fair fingers, with the motto “Floreat Etona”! Surely that shows that in England the ladies still evince an interest

in the game and they could if necessary write a cricketing essay on the relative merits of each player. Look round at the further end of the ground where the four in hands and the drags are, and there you will find it is not only mayonnaise, or lobster salad and Champagne which form the principal attraction of the day. Those coaching men have been cricketers in their day. Look again at that further group of guards men, and some members of the four in hand, and coaching clubs; they are deeply engaged in Luncheon at present, spread out among the roses and geraniums planted in the corner of the ground; no one showed greater enthusiasm when Eton tied Harrow with one run of the first innings, or when next day after an unparalleled run of ill luck, a few brave Etonians facing the enemy against fearful odds pulled the game through amidst prolonged cheers and plaudits. Look again at the grand stand, elegantly arranged by the indefatigable Mr. Hayes who had raised it with the quickness of magic just two days before the match took place. There is very little indifference or weariness here. Every hit is chronicled, every ball is criticized. Look at the double ring of carriages with their gay and fair occupants, the double deep ring of spectators; and then there was Mr. B. H. Fitzgerald who was so well known to the cricketers as the genial Secretary, but who on account of his illness has now bid farewell for ever to the greensward of "Lords"; and if you could have watched the excitement and the enthusiasm, you would agree with one that in England at least the game has not died out.

"In Calcutta, there is a splendid cricket club, known to every member as much for the geniality of its members, as for its Saturday tiffins, and in Bombay there is too good a club, with a new building just erected at a large cost. There are several other clubs. In fact, wherever Englishmen are, there is the cricketing tent to be seen. The Parsees, foremost to follow English manners and fashions and amusements have gone in largely for cricket. If then such is the case I am glad to find that in Madras there is a tendency to do something as a beginning although at present a small one. Wordsworth has somewhere said,

The boy is father to the man.

And this is equally true of the amusements of life as well as of its more serious business.

“Let me then hope that a love for this manly sport will continue with you in after life. And if, as I think, the national spirit is represented by its national games, you should be proud to have introduced this popular English game in Madras.”

The Chairman resumed his seat amidst the prolonged applause of the audience.\*

\* *Note.* In connection with this subject, the observations which fell from Mr. J. B. Phear, the late President of the Calcutta Bethune Society, when he rose to bring the discussion that had followed the lecture delivered by Mr. L. Wynne, c.s., on “Bodily Training” to a close, might have some interest. They were as follow:—“That the President, could not help remarking that in the earlier part of the evening at least the admirable lecture of Mr. Wynne had given rise to contest by reason rather of what was not in it than of what it actually did say. It appeared to him, that the earlier speakers had very seriously misapprehended the lecturer’s meaning on most important points. But it was not his duty, and he did not intend at that late hour, to defend Mr. Wynne. He could not avoid, however, combatting, in some degree, the position which he understood, the third speaker to have taken up, namely that physical training, could not be considered as an element of education capable, in any considerable degree, of affecting individuality of character. Now, he (the President) would venture to say, that if the speaker had the advantage or disadvantage, whichever it might be here considered, of an English gentleman’s bodily training, if he had from his earliest days been accustomed to brave the perils of the cricket field, if he had season after season exercised the cunning of the hand and eye on the moor in strict obedience to the laws of sport, if he had year after year climbed Alpine passes and faced the dangers of the glacier, his individuality would have been very materially different from that which now exhibited itself, and the society would certainly never have heard from him the speech to which it had listened that evening. But, seriously, he thought that if the manly exercises to which the English were markedly devoted were closely looked into, it would be found that the practice of them d.d serve to develop in the individual, presence of mind, decision of purpose, and self-reliance united with faith in his comrades. And it was qualities like these in connexion with intellectual vigour, that carried the people who displayed them to

## MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CALCUTTA.

It is a matter of much regret and no less of surprise, that an efficient system of Municipal Government for the city of Calcutta, could not be devised. It is undeniable, that the systems of the past have failed; nor does that which exists at present hold out any reasonable prospect of success. The more difficult problems connected with the imperial administration of India have puzzled our rulers less and been solved in less time and with comparatively less difficulty, but the failure in this one respect and in a comparatively easier work is much to be wondered at, and regretted. Ever since the foundation of the British dominion in the East the question of local self-government has engaged the attention of our rulers. But can any thing be more surprising than that whilst it has been found possible to rear up the Empire itself and to place it upon a substantial foundation, an efficient system of local self-government should take such a long time to develop itself. There must be something radically defective in the genius of legislation which causes the abortion of the system of municipal self-government hitherto tried, or that the question is never held to be of sufficient importance to deserve the earnest consideration of our rulers.

Periodical revision of laws and institutions is certainly necessary for the well-being of a community. Circumstances which call them forth into existence undergo changes with the progress of time. It is absolutely necessary therefore that they should be made to keep pace with every current improvement and to suit every altered circum-

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the front rank of civilization, and made their influence felt from the one side of the globe to the other. This was, as he understood, part of the lesson which the lecturer had read them that night, and he (the President) thought there could be no doubt of its great value. It was true that in this matter, as in many others, it was not easy to distinguish between cause and effect. Was it the energy and enterprise in the national character which gave rise to the manifestation of physical activity or the reverse? Perhaps it was better to consider them simply as concurrent, but, even viewed in this light alone, the subject was one which it behoved the rising generation of Bengal to lay seriously to heart." *Ed. N. M.*



stance into which a community may find itself inevitably placed. Time must progress and with that progress circumstances must change. To attempt to arrest the one would be as vain as to prevent the other. It is the part of wisdom therefore to give way to that inevitable change and it is possible for wisdom alone to devise expedients to suit the altered conditions of things. But that progress of a community which necessitates a change in its laws and institutions every ten years must either be unprecedentedly rapid or the genius that devises its laws and institutions must belong to an indifferent order.

If the change of laws and institutions marks the progress of any community, that of the community of Calcutta must have been very marvellous indeed; and if that progress goes on at the same strides with which it may be supposed to have set in, the city bids fair in a few days more to outstrip the first of the existing cities in the excellence of its municipal government. But in reality where is Calcutta now? Has its municipal government arrived at that stage of perfection which the numerous changes its laws and institutions have undergone would seem to imply? Facts answer in the negative and the inference is therefore inevitable that its municipal laws and institutions have never been framed with a due regard to the existing circumstances and the circumstances which genuine wisdom would never fail to foresee. In the course of fifty years, Calcutta has had upwards of a score of legislative enactments laying down laws for its municipal government. On an average; the law had to be revised every two years. Sometimes entire change had to be made in the laws themselves; sometimes, some one or the other of the laws had only been tinkered; and sometimes the revision took the shape of an addition to the same; and yet that law is far from being perfect.

The earliest law for what may be called the municipal government for the Presidency Towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras was that laid down in Section 158, Cap. 52, Statute 38 George III. Under Section 151 of the said Statute Commissions of peace were issued to other inhabitants of the aforesaid Presidency Towns than

to some of the highest functionaries alone as before; and it being essentially necessary for the health as well as for the security, comfort, and convenience of the inhabitants of the Towns that the streets therein should be regularly and effectually cleared, watched, and repaired, it was enacted that the Justices of the Presidency Towns respectively, assembled at their general or quarter sessions may appoint scavengers for clearing the streets of the said Towns, and persons for watching and repairing the same; and for the purposes of defraying the expenses thereof, they were empowered to levy taxes from the owners, occupiers of houses, buildings or lands at a rate not exceeding five per cent of the annual value of the same, power being reserved to the Governor-General to order it to be raised to seven and half per cent if needful. The Justices were further empowered to grant licenses for the sale of spirits within the Towns, the limits of which were to be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council. The funds thus raised were directly administered by the Justices, the cleaning and repairs of streets being executed directly under their orders and the assessment and collection of the tax being made by officers appointed by them. These funds formed the nucleus of the municipal fund and we have in the above a sketch of a municipal government for the Towns. This arrangement continued in force for a long time and appeared for the while to answer all purposes. As regards Calcutta the funds were afterwards supplemented by the profits of the Calcutta Lottery. The law as it then stood provided only for the cleaning and repair of roads and the tax raised under that law could not be applied to any other purpose. The projects of laying out new roads and streets and for the supply of water and for effecting other improvements which in the course of time became necessary for the health, convenience, and comfort of the inhabitants had for a considerable length of time to be abandoned for want of funds and were not revived until a considerable sum of money accumulated in the hands of the Government out of the profits of Lotteries. In fact, the Lottery system was devised as an expedient for raising funds for the municipal wants of the city for which the law at it then stood had made no provision.

On the 5th November 1793 the inhabitants of Calcutta at a public meeting, voted a statue to Lord Cornwallis, and in 1804, they voted another to Lord Wellesley. The duty of procuring these statues were entrusted to two committees. In 1805 the people of the town began to think that as these marble statues would spoil by exposure in such a climate, it was desirable to provide some suitable building in which to place them. They proposed accordingly to erect a Town Hall by means of public lotteries and Government approving of the scheme appointed certain committees, which were all amalgamated into what was called the Town Hall committee. These lotteries were very successful, and in 1809 the Town Hall was so nearly completed that the provision of further funds became unnecessary. It was then proposed to continue the public lotteries, the profits arising therefrom being devoted to the purposes of improving the Town of Calcutta, and on the 20th June 1809, a notification was issued by Government to that effect. The whole of the above means were to be applied to the improvement of the town and its vicinity, after defraying the necessary expenses of the lotteries and meeting any deficiency which might exist in the funds required for the Town Hall. The commissioners then appointed managed all the lottery drawings and schemes and supervised the expenditure of the profits of the lotteries in municipal improvements. It was however subsequently discovered that lotteries were immoral and in 1841, they were abolished. It would thus appear that the fund raised from the tax levied by the Justices had come to be supplemented by that raised from the profits of the lotteries, and the two combined together to undertake the necessary improvements that could then be thought of. But improvements were carried out without any definite plan and consequently they failed to produce the desired effects. It was not until the administration of Lord Auckland that the question of the local improvement of the town attracted the attention of the public and steps were taken to arrive at a practical solution of it. In 1809 a committee was appointed by Lord Wellesley to take into consideration the question of the municipal administration of the town and to devise suitable plans to give effect to those improvements ;

but the labours of the committee proved abortive as also the scheme suggested in 1833 by Mr. D. Macfarlan, then the Chief Magistrate of the town. Although much good did not result from the movement set on foot by Lord Wellesley, yet it must be said that from that time the question of the local improvement of Calcutta began to be considered as one of very great importance and as such, both the Government and the public most earnestly set about its practical solution.

The question was brought forward in 1835 by Dr. James Ransald Martin, Surgeon to the Native Hospital, along with that of the establishment of a fever hospital. Calcutta had become a prey to fever. The disease had prevailed to a frightful extent and the mortality was equally frightful. The sanitary condition of the city, bad as it had been, had become worse on account of the inundation of 1833. Efficient medical aid was not available. The Native Hospital afforded no material relief as by its constitution its operations were confined to surgical cases. The Native Kobirajes with *bish bodees* made a field day of it and death stalked rampant among the inhabitants. In this state of things, Dr. Martin conceived the project of the Fever Hospital, but a fever hospital unaided by a material change in the sanitary condition of the city was considered to be inadequate for the prevention of the evils sought to be remedied. With the project for the establishment of the Fever Hospital therefore, Dr. Martin in a valuable paper drew the attention of the public to the sanitary condition of Calcutta. The Governors of the Native Hospital to whom the papers were submitted by Dr. Martin readily undertook to move in the matter of the establishment of a fever hospital alone; but as regards the project for the municipal improvement of the city, the Governors, whilst fully admitting the importance of the question, deemed it to be out of their province to do more than submit it for the consideration of the Government. The papers were accordingly laid before Lord Auckland who entertained both the projects favorably. With regard to that for municipal improvement, he observed in a letter addressed to Dr. Martin that "the plans do not stop with

the establishment of an hospital, but extend to the formation of local improvements and to an endeavour to remove or mitigate the natural causes of contagion of diseases. Your letter does not point out that for such objects, not of benevolence only, but of general advantage and almost of paramount necessity, the liberal should alone be called upon to contribute. Nor would I willingly see applied to purposes so special and so local, any large portion of the general revenues of India. It would be almost satisfactory to me if I could see founded on the propositions which have now been brought forward under discussion some plan of judicious and adequate local taxation and independent local management in the direction as in the burdens, of which all who might be entrusted should take their share." A committee was appointed at the instance of Lord Auckland and besides the question of the establishment of a fever hospital, three others intimately connected with one another were insisted upon their consideration. The first of these questions was the formation of local improvements for the removal and mitigation of the causes of contagious diseases, the second the plan of judicious and adequate local taxation and the third that of an independent management in the direction, as in the burdens of which all who might be most interested should take their share. The committee worked and collected a vast mass of useful informations on all the three points committed to their consideration and in regard to the first of the points came to the following conclusion.

- 1st.—That there was no natural impediment nor any difficulty which by a due application of science and capital cannot readily be overcome to the thoroughly draining, cleaning, and ventilating and supplying with wholesome water the whole city and suburbs of Calcutta.
- 2nd.—That the parts of the city inhabited by the natives forming a great population to whose numbers the British inhabitants bear a very small proportion, and the whole of the suburbs, are in all these respects in a condition of such total neglect as to render them necessarily the

seats of diseases, destructive of individual happiness and of life, and inconsistent with moral improvement and political prosperity; and that the still imperfect though improved condition in these respects of those parts of the city inhabited by the British and the noxious exhalations produced all round them by the state of the native town and the suburbs and the marshes called the salt water lake, produce in these parts effects inconsistent with salubrity.

3rd.—That the removal of the causes which now generate the pestilential seeds of disease to so frightful a degree, would be effected by thoroughly draining, cleaning, and ventilating the city and suburbs and draining the salt-water lake and that an ample supply of water for watering the roads and for all purposes of cleanliness and of good and wholesome water for drinking and preparing food would be afforded to every part of the city by the formation of a sufficient head of water within it and the excavation of a sufficient number of tanks—and thus the city would be rendered a healthy residence for the natives of the climate and not otherwise injurious to European constitution than through the operation during the greater part of the year of tropical heat in a climate no doubt materially damp, but unassisted by unwholesome exhalations from the soil or miasmata.”

The detailed schemes recommended by the Committee were estimated to cost thirty lacs of rupees. But the existing municipal resources of the city not being sufficient to meet this expenditure and it being opposed to the policy of Government to devote any portion of the imperial revenues to the purposes of local improvement, the Committee recommended that the requisite sum may be raised by means of loan on Government guarantee at the rate of five per cent. A sinking fund was also recommended to be established for liquidation of this loan within a reasonable period, the additional charges on account of interest and contribution to the sinking fund

being met by raising the house tax from five to seven per cent, the maximum authorised by the Parliamentary Act and by imposing a tax upon carriages and horses, With regard to the third point referred to the Committee for consideration—namely, the establishment of an independent local management, the Committee invited suggestions from different public bodies and came to the opinion that if the inhabitants of Calcutta were all or even the majority of them Europeans, a plan based on election by inhabitant householders would be found well adapted for municipal government. But as the European inhabitants formed but an insignificant portion of the whole population of Calcutta, and that by far the greater part by them were only temporary residents, any plan of local management based on election by resident householders would be premature. The Committee therefore recommended that the management of the municipal funds should continue to be entrusted to the executive officers and that a board of commissioners of public health and conservancy should be annually elected by resident householders occupying houses to the value of at least fifty rupees a month with powers to examine and audit all accounts relating to the conservancy department and to report the same to Government and also to suggest the opening of new through-fares and other improvements, the Government being empowered by law to carry their suggestions into effect if it approved of them. The report of the Committee embodying the above suggestions was submitted to Government in January 1840. The suggestions were partially adopted and an act was passed (act 24 of 1840) specifying that the rates levied by the Justices under Statute 33 Geo. 3rd, Cap. 52 shall be applicable only to the purposes of lighting and watering roads and streets and cleaning and repairing the same and the drains of the said town. It was also enacted with a view to the encouragement of the control and supervision of the assessment and collection of the rates and management thereof within particular divisions being undertaken by the rate-payers themselves, that the Justices at their quarter sessions shall publish quarterly the particulars of all sums laid out and of all the expenses of collection, &c.

during the preceding quarter. The town was told off into four divisions and it was arranged that whenever two-thirds in number and value of the rate-payers of any such division shall apply to the Governor of Fort William in Bengal to undertake themselves the assessment, collection, and management of the rates of such division or any or other of these trusts, it shall be lawful for the Governor to authorise the same according to his discretion, provided always that such majority of rate-payers shall present a scheme, which shall obtain his full approbation, for the safe and efficient execution of the trusts and provided also that in any such arrangement the amount to be levied in any particular division shall not be considered as necessarily limited by the amount expended in any such division, but shall be adjusted by the Governor of Bengal upon reference to all the local circumstances. Here then we have the first recognition on the part of the Government of the rights of the inhabitants to exercise control over the municipal affairs of the city for which special taxes are levied and which in every civilised Government form a distinct branch of administration entrusted to the management of the people themselves. The recognition of the rights of the inhabitants to self-government implied in this concession was but partial. Considering however the low state of education at the time and the want of public spirit among the inhabitants, the Committee upon whose suggestions the above scheme was introduced did not justly consider it expedient to recommend any system of municipality based upon election by the inhabitants. The city was not prepared for such a system and what was recommended by the Committee and adopted by Government was meant as an initial training of the inhabitants for the duties of self-government. The system, however, was tried for seven years after which it was abandoned. It was not given up because it was held to be a failure but on the supposition that the time having out-grown the system it no longer satisfied the wants and aspirations of the inhabitants. This supposition was at best but an erroneous supposition as the subsequent events abundantly proved.

With the year 1847 the Act 24 of 1840 ceased to have any



operation. In the latter part of that year, the constitution of the Calcutta municipality was revised, and the inhabitants having been held to have qualified themselves for the elective system, it was adopted with certain reservations. Under the authority of Act 16 of 1847 which came into operation on the 1st January 1848, the powers exercised and the duties performed by the Justices of Peace under the authority of the Statute of the reign of George 3rd, ceased and those powers and duties were entrusted to a Board of seven Commissioners called the Commissioners for the improvement of the Town of Calcutta. Of these seven Commissioners—four were elected one by each division and three appointed by Government. It was enacted that these Commissioners should receive salaries fixed by Government and payable out of the municipal fund. The Commissioners were elected without any reference to property qualification and the manner of election was fixed annually by a general meeting consisting of not less than one hundred of the owners and occupiers of assessed houses, buildings and grounds within the Town. It would thus appear that the elections under Act 16 of 1847 were more free than they subsequently were. The scheme remained in operation for four years after which it was condemned as inconvenient and ineffectual for the purposes for which it was started. In 1852 the act was repealed and the whole thing was remodelled. The new law (Act 10 of 1852) provided that the town shall be divided into two divisions and four Commissioners shall be appointed in the place of the Board of Seven. Two to be elected by the rate-payers and two appointed by Government and all four to receive a monthly pension of Rs. 250 each, payable out of the municipal funds, one to vote or to take place annually and none was entitled either to stand as a candidate for election unless he paid to not less than to not less Rs. 10 a quarter or rent amounting managed by the Rs. 70 a month. All elections under this act were ten day's notice given and every candidate was required to give notice to the division for which he wished to stand as a candidate and to produce

sheriff a certificate from the Secretary to the Commissioners to the effect that he is qualified to be a candidate, which certificate the secretary was bound to give without fee or charge on personal application of persons duly qualified. The Commissioners caused to be prepared in each year correct alphabetical lists of the occupiers qualified to vote in each of the said divisions who shall on or before the first day of November in each year apply to the Commissioners to have their names registered in such list and the said lists were open to inspection at the office of the Commissioners on or before the first day of December during all reasonable hours of the day, until the day of election when the said lists or copies of them were taken to the place of election for the use of the sheriff or his deputy. The Secretary to the Commissioners satisfying himself in respect to the claims of the voters issued voting tickets to them. These tickets were numbered and signed by the Secretary who kept a register of all the tickets issued, specifying the number of each, the name of the voter and the premises in respect of which such voting tickets were issued. On the day of the election this register was also taken to the place of election. These tickets were conclusive evidence of the rights of the holders thereof to vote for the election of Commissioners. The system as it stood on paper looked better than that which it superseded, but in spite of all the safeguards corruptions prevailed, the work was ill-done and loud were the complaints against it. The scrambles among the candidates for office were frightful and most unscrupulous means were resorted to for the overthrow of competitors. Three elections had taken place and just before the time came in for the fourth, it was stopped. An act (Act 28 of 1854) was hurriedly passed by the Legislative Council preventing further elections under act 10 of 1852 and pending the introduction of a better system, continuing the existing Commissioner in office. The preamble of this suspending act was as follows:—"Whereas act 10 of 1852 for constituting commissioners for the improvement of the town of Calcutta has been found ineffectual and inconvenient for the purposes thereof and it is expedient that the constitution of the said commissioner be amended and that

in the meantime no new election of Commissioners be made in pursuance of the said act it is enacted" &c. The Government took full one year to devise a scheme of Municipal Government of Calcutta that would suit the circumstances of the Town. It was evident that the elective system would not do. It had been tried under two distinct acts—Act 16 of 1847, and Act 10 of 1852, and under both, abuses had been so gross that on both the occasions the operation of the acts in respect to election had to be stopped previous to the repeal of the acts themselves. Persons best qualified to form an opinion on the subject unreservedly pronounced against the system, nor were those who had the working of the system in their hands more favorably inclined towards it. The existing law was certainly defective, but it was believed that no amendment would be a bar to the practice of trickery and chicanery and of other sorts of abuses that were resorted to at these elections. It was resolved therefore entirely to abandon the system, and no doubt was felt that the nomination of fit persons by the responsible head of the Government who could have no object, but the impartial welfare of the city, would be infinitely preferable to any such mis-called election." Accordingly in the middle of the year 1856 a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council and a plan of municipality based on the principles of nomination by Government was proposed for consideration. It was at first proposed to give a popular character to the scheme by selecting for a commission a considerable number of suitable persons from different classes of the community who might be supposed to represent those classes. The Bill accordingly provided that the number of persons to be so appointed should not be less than six nor more than twelve. The larger number was intended to be appointed in the event of suitable persons being found to undertake the office. There was to be a President of the Commissioners, appointed by Government who would ordinarily be the Commissioner of Police. The Commissioners were to be appointed for three years and to select two of their number, who, together with the President, were to form an Executive Committee and to conduct the general business of the conservancy under such rules as might be framed by a general

meeting of the Commissioners and sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor. This scheme met with a very strong opposition in the council, although there was no dissension as to the principles of nomination which formed its chief feature. The opposition was led by Sir Barnes Peacock who at that time had a seat in the council as the law member of the Supreme Government. Sir Barnes Peacock argued that as a municipal body so proposed would not be a body representing the rate-payers, but in point of fact Government administration of the municipal funds, it would be better if the Government directly appointed three or more Commissioners. The responsibility of a body appointed as proposed would be so divided that there would be no responsibility any where. The Lieutenant-Governor would appoint the general body of Commissioners and he would not be responsible for their act. The general body of Commissioners would appoint an Executive Committee of two to be presided over by a nominee of the Lieutenant-Governor and it would not be responsible for their acts, and the Executive Committee would conduct the business of the town according to rules made by the general body of Commissioners and sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor and they therefore would not be responsible as their acts would be controlled by the general body. The opposition gained and the proposed scheme was overthrown. Sir Barnes Peacock then moved that there shall be three Commissioners appointed by Government and removable at its pleasure. This motion was approved by the council and carried without any one dissenting. The scheme was accordingly introduced and it commenced operation in 1857. In a considerable time the system worked well. But with the improvements in the taste and sentiments of the inhabitants new requirements arose but the funds fell short of those requirements. The inhabitants though inclined towards the improvements could not be persuaded to submit to additional taxation. It was therefore thought expedient to give to the municipality a popular character, so that the inhabitants taking part in it would be able fully to realise the wants and requirements of the town and would not grudge to provide adequate funds by means of self-imposed taxes.

or otherwise to meet those wants and requirements. A committee was accordingly appointed composed of intelligent persons representing all classes of the community to enquire into and report on the alleged inefficient state of the municipal arrangements, and to suggest with reference to their supposed inadequacy for the present requirements of the city, what measures should be adopted to place those arrangements on a sound and efficient footing. The proceedings of the committee consisted in the examination of persons connected with the then existing municipal commission, in the invitations of suggestions from all quarters and in the consideration of such documents as were likely to offer any valuable information on the subject. The committee in their report, dated 31st August 1861, stated that "the result of their enquiries and discussions has been to establish in their minds the conviction that the main want of Calcutta as regards conservancy is an inadequate supply of funds and that without such adequate supply it is vain to look for those great works of which the city stands confessedly in need, and to which from its importance and size, it is entitled." The committee recorded it as their opinion that "the present form of administration might with advantage be exchanged for one in which the inhabitants could themselves take a more direct and active part in municipal arrangements under which much of the duty that now falls upon the Board of Commissioners might be divided amongst local committees, and without much extra expense might excite a spirit of emulation amongst the residents such as could not fail to have beneficial results on the sanitary state and conservancy of the city." The scheme of the committee contained a recommendation for the abolition of the existing municipal commissioners and the introduction in their stead of six local Boards, one for each division of the town—and of one central Board. Every Board shall consist of six members to be nominated by Government but without any salary attached to the office. This scheme was approved by Government and submitted to the Legislative Council where it met with a considerable opposition as unpractical and had ultimately to be withdrawn. It was urged against the system that it would not

only be impossible to get thirty-six volunteers to carry on the work of the municipality, but that not even six men would be found ready to sacrifice any reasonable portion of their times for the good of the public. The scheme was accordingly withdrawn and it was proposed in its stead to vest the general control of municipal expenditure in a considerable body, care being taken that all classes, official, non-official, European and native are represented in it and trusting the execution in detail of all sanctioned works to one well-paid officer who shall devote his whole time and energy to the work. For constituting such a body the Government had the materials at its hands in the Justices of Peace who were impressed to the work, being presided over by an officer of energy and experience to be appointed by the Government. The scheme thus introduced afforded a practical solution of the difficulty of an efficient municipality for the Town of Calcutta.

We have thus seen, though briefly, the gradual developement of Municipal Government in Calcutta, but the changes have been too rapid. In all the changes that have taken place one thing has been established beyond doubt, and that is, that the time has not yet come for an elective system of Government. That system had been tried but was found to fail. Nor was autocracy more successful. The system that was introduced in 1863 and has but recently been abandoned was a compromise between both—a system partaking the nature of a representative Government, yet entirely free from the evils which a representative Government founded upon any system of absolute election by the people is sure to engender in this country. The system was happily conceived but badly worked out. The corporation of Calcutta under Act VI of 1863, was a populous body and herein lay its weakness. Its weakness lay also in the great latitude of action allowed to its executive head and to the power which it reserved in the hands of the Government. In short the constitution of the municipality as created by Act VI 1863, was not well-balanced. But with all its defects the system worked well for twelve years—the longest period that any of the previous systems had been permitted to survive. It did achieve many im-

improvements and many more it promised. But in its latter days personal animosity prevailed and a change was demanded. There were certainly rooms for improvement in its constitution, and the cry for a change so far as it was raised by the intelligent portions of the communities, native and European, was not for a radical change of the constitution such as has actually taken place. The utmost that was demanded was a less populous body composed of persons selected with discrimination, and the powers of the three estates—the Government, the Executive and the Commissioners duly balanced. That was the sole cry of the persons who from their general intelligence, experience of the past and foresight of the future were competent to take practical views of things and perhaps a municipality based on the above principles would have been more serviceable and less open to any reasonable and sensible objection. But the Calcutta mob led away by sentiments and ambitions of the honor of being returned as representatives to the Town Council raised a clamour for an elective municipality and Sir Richard Temple the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal carrying too far the policy of governing the country according to the sentiments and wishes of people, yielded to that cry and caused a change in the constitution of the municipality more radical than what the state of things actually required and what would have been of real benefit to the city. The policy of governing a country according to the wishes and sentiments of the people is undoubtedly a wholesome policy, and an elective system of government in which the people govern themselves by means of their representatives is one of the best means of carrying out that policy. But however wholesome this policy might be, there is a limit beyond which it ceases to be wholesome, and the necessity of observing that limit is all the stronger in respect to any popular system of government that may be adopted in respect to this country, in the presence of many irreconcilable elements on the one hand and the utter absence of enlightenment among the mass of the population on the other. The city of Calcutta, although the metropolis of the British Empire in the East presents no exception to this general feature. This Sir Richard Temple unfortunately

overlooked, and mistaking the cry that arose for an elective system of municipality for the city for an expression of intelligent public opinion, resolved to try the experiment. Democracy undoubtedly is the temper of the time in this as in all other countries. But there is such a thing as mobocracy and Sir Richard Temple overlooked the distinction between the two, and the elective system of municipality which he has given to Calcutta is more a concession to the latter than what the just claims of the former called for. The system on paper reads well, and in all the essential points suffers nothing in comparison with the English system of elective Government of which it is a copy. But the result of the first election and the manner in which business has been gone through since the system came into operation do not justify any expectation of future good government. With an educated mass and an enlightened public opinion perhaps the system would have worked well. But as it is, either the corporation would be an obstructive body or that the executive would have all its own. Either would be a misfortune to the city, and so long as passions and prejudices of the electors would continue to influence their choice of representatives there would be no guarantee of good men being returned, nor the system working harmoniously with the interests of the city. Passions and prejudices certainly exercise great influence in the selection of representatives in all the countries in which elective systems of government prevail, but the mass of the people in those countries being leavened with education their choice must and does invariably fall upon educated persons, and representative assemblies must always come to be composed of such persons who have some knowledge of public affairs and whom education gives sufficient intelligence to make up for their deficiencies. But in this country education is an exception and ignorance the rule, and whatever of public spirit there is in the people of the country it is founded not so much upon a true appreciation of public affairs and of public cause as upon a mere vague idea of things and upon a sort of ambition for honor which is at best, but a sort of snobism. The first general election in September 1876, and all the subsequent



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SOCIAL CHANGES.

(By an old Qui Hye.)

THE rise in the price of our common articles of consumption and the probability of a further rise taking place in consequence of the strikes for wages which are now in progress, or which there is reason to apprehend, in connection with nearly every branch of trade, are no doubt suggesting anxious thoughts to many members of the most helpless, because the least united, of all classes of society; that is the persons who are dependant upon fixed incomes, and also those whose incomes, though not absolutely fixed, are hardly capable of being raised by any efforts of their own. Of the class whose incomes are absolutely fixed, it is difficult to say more than that bad times appear to be before them, though it is hardly probable that the times will be so bad as they were for a great length of time when the question "what is a Rupee?" was continually being asked, and was continually receiving all kinds of answers. All that the people so situated can possibly do, is to economize as well as they can, and this task will, no

doubt, be very hard if they have hitherto been in the habit of living up to their incomes. Some of our contemporaries have taken the opportunity to preach sermons upon the subject to such of their readers as belong to the class in question, which appear to us to be rather of the Job's comforter order. They are told that they have adopted expensive habits of life, that they spend a great deal of money on things which they do not really want, and all that they have to do is to drop these superfluities and become rich and prosperous. This is easier said than done. In innumerable cases it is almost impossible to make such a change without incurring a good deal of fresh expense in the first instance and without material changes in personal habits which are something more than unpleasant. We do not believe that idle extravagance is at all common. On the contrary, most of those who will have to economize will feel the pain of it sharply. All that can be said upon the subject is that persons with limited income have incurred a very great misfortune, and that their condition will probably become worse rather than improve as time goes on. This misfortune is not confined to persons with a fixed income. It affects the value of all savings whatever, unless they have been invested in land or in trade. Every one who has invested whatever provision he has made for his family in stocks, in mortgages, in assurances, or in many other ways of which these are specimens, will leave those who are dependant upon him considerably worse off than he might reasonably have expected a few years ago. There is no use in either lamenting or exaggerating an evil of this sort: every one will have to bear and to provide for himself as well as he can.

Some time since, a London paper pointed out in a remarkable article that one effect of the changes which are in progress would be to break down, not merely the dependance of mechanics and labourers upon their employers, but also much of that feeling on the part of the employers towards mechanics and labourers for which that state of dependance formed the consideration. If the poor, or those who have hitherto been poor, are to be regarded as being no longer in any sense dependant on those who have hitherto been rich, the latter will cease to feel, or will feel much less strongly than has hitherto been the case, that moral responsibility for the condition of the former which has been preached for the last generation with more persistency and by a greater variety of preachers than almost any other duty whatever. In the meantime the classes which used to be poor have been helping themselves as vigorously as others have been helping them. What with votes and trade-unions, the classes which were the object of so much pity have now got in their hands by far the largest share of political power, and a very large slice of social power too as measured by money. They are able, to a great extent to make their own terms with the capitalist, and to decide both how hard they are to work and how much they are to be paid for it. It is quite possible that before very long the rich may come to stand in need of more protection against the comparatively poor than the comparatively poor require, or are likely to require, against the rich. It must always be remembered that riches can be regarded as power only under conditions which often fail. Rich people are, powerful if they are quite secure in their control over

their wealth, and if they are surrounded by a population of poor people."

✓ Suppose, then, that the labouring classes should contrive, partly by their power of combination and partly by the course of political events, to obtain a position more or less resembling that which has so long been held by capitalists and the classes more immediately connected and disposed to sympathise with them what would be the political and social results? They would probably be gradual. It is hardly conceivable that anything in the nature of a social revolution with the object of the re-distribution of property should take place in this country. We do not believe that any considerable class of our countrymen would wish for a general scramble, or suppose that they had more to gain than to lose by one. Besides, experience has shewn how very much pleasanter and more effective are the peaceable methods of gaining the objects in view. What course of legislation will really be pursued, when the results of the late constitutional changes and of the general alteration of positions which we see are in progress around us, have been fully developed, remains to be seen. We do not believe that any one can at present form an approximately satisfactory opinion upon the subject, but one or two results may be predicted with some confidence. The whole question of pauperism and of social misery, which has absorbed a greater amount of thought, attention, and moral interest than almost any other for a great length of time, will have to shift its base. It will pass from the hands of the rich to the hands of prosperous labouring men, and they, unless

we are mistaken, will deal with it in a very different spirit from that in which it has hitherto been dealt with; with more direct personal knowledge, but probably with less compassion, and altogether with less sentiment. Similar changes will probably occur in relation both to education and religion. These things look very different from the points of view of the working man and the gentleman.

One consequence of the changes in progress has already shown itself to some extent, and will, unless we are much mistaken, assume increasing importance as time goes on. We do not at all believe that when they have carried their various points, the working classes will work so hard as they do at present, and we believe equally little that they will employ their leisure in cultivating their minds. They will pass their time much as richer people do in amusement or pursuits as it happens to suit their taste. The effects which such a change as this, would produce in India in the courses of a generation or two, would be very great, and unless similar changes take place in other parts of the world it might endanger the enormous trade which we now possess, and tend to re-produce the very state of things which now appears to be endangered.

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## SOCIAL UNITY.

Our lot has been cast at a period when it is the duty of every reflecting mind to know himself and the existing

state of things amidst which he lives. Our age, distinguished by a continually progressing activity in all departments of knowledge and by violent efforts and noble aspirations unknown to former ages, is stamped by no characteristic more deeply than by a desire to establish social unity or secure social happiness among the different political societies of mankind. The love of civil liberty and the desire of perfecting civil life or society properly so called, have no where at any previous period, ancient or modern, been felt so strongly as now in India.

From the Aryan conquest of Hindustan down to the dawn of British rule in India, changes far greater than were felt by those who stood in midst of them, have taken place. Numerous revolutions and violent convulsions have changed the moral and political aspect of Hindustan, but it has never been sufficiently consolidated to maintain one uniform tendency, and spurn the influence of other systems and institutions than its own. Foreign laws and customs have been introduced, and they have forced themselves into the political constitution of the country, at various epochs and very numerous races of men have been subjected to their influence; and by this means, the native institutions have been kept at a standstill,—have been set aside as it were and every marked struggle towards the perfecting of civil life and civil society has been rendered futile.

From the advent of the Europeans down to the present day various political institutions have been framed, none of which are of sterling worth, many of ephemeral existence, but all of them testifying to the great yearning of our age to

extend social happiness among the natives of this country. Since the Aryan conquest the constitution of this country has undergone many changes. Under the Brahmins, in the time of the Hindu theocracy, the aristocratic power preponderated; in the time of the Mahomedans, the power of the sovereign was absolute; the kingdom was torn to pieces with civil distractions; the rapacity of the emperors, the brutality of their successors and out-break of civil commotions among the subjects scarcely left a shadow of social happiness among the people. The peaceful administration of English government can only favor the growth of social unity among the numerous races of India.

In the estimation of the civilized nations of the world M. Guizot has included the Hindus beyond their pole. If by civilization is meant the development of the individual internal life, then the Hindus (I mean the ancient Hindus) would rank very high among other nations of the globe. But it can never be denied that the Hindus of the present day, the descendants of a nation whose task was, among other proud and sacred tasks, to rear up and spread social happiness over vast regions of the earth, are lamentably deficient in one great feature of civilization, in one of the most marked characteristics of European in building up a unity for the accomplishment of great social and political objects. The want of such a unity amongst the different communities that exist in this country clearly shows that the natives had never submitted themselves, for any length of time, to any powerful political concentration and that they had never succeeded in forming great national empires. This is therefore a period under the golden rule.

of British administration to foster the growth of political institutions—a fit opportunity for the natives to enter into a new political phase of life.

The present tottering aspect of Hindu society as the result of the extensive circulation of European knowledge, trembles still on the boundary line between anglicism and Hinduism, and is indicative of a formidable blow which the fabric has received and predictive of a mighty revolution which awaits our country.

The honor and aggrandisement of our country imperatively demand social improvement amongst her sons. India can never rise as long as this want of social unity utterly unfits them for their elevation in political society. If our hearts be too obdurate to be affected by one common, principle of duty, our sense of interest should at least move us. The cultivation of this unity will no doubt prove a blessing not only to ourselves but to our country and posterity.

Our servile submission to public opinions and foreign manners and implicit obedience to evil habits and customs, have always tended to doom our society to a stagnant state of degradation and barbarism. In almost all our public discussion on social questions, the principle of social unity continues to be almost entirely ignored and treated as a non-existent; whereas the true art of legislation should be, in the main, based on this principle in the same manner as the origin of government on the constitution and nature of man. In our newspapers and popular literature, whenever at rare intervals, the doctrine of social union and the ad-



vantages that might arise from it, are mentioned, they are little understood and often misconceived.

The yearning of our age as might be felt by every reflecting mind, is that there should be a social and political union among the nations of the country; unless there be such a unity universally acknowledged and respected, society must remain in a state of profound disorder, whatever unanimity may exist upon matters of minor importance.

The various nationalities of India were never before united together in one common cause and taught to know and sympathise with each other, they were never brought together into contact to bind themselves to mutually support and defend each other against all attacks upon, for the sake of their country, religion and social privileges. The value of a combined effort for the accomplishment of great social and political objects, which can scarcely be over-rated, they were never taught to learn.

Many undertakings in which it would be impossible for individuals to embark, we see carried on with success around us by means of associations formed for mutual assistance.

The great increase of societies or associations for social political and other purposes, is one of the most marked characteristics of European nations, it is one great feature of civilization in modern Europe. It is most to be wondered at that the natives of India, even in the latter half of the nineteenth century, are not as yet awakened to a sense of the vast advantages and inestimable blessings that may be reaped from it.

On examining the ancient constitutions and laws of India, one can easily discover most evident traces of republicanism unity which could never arrive at the full maturity of political freedom. This growth of political freedom was fostered by the organization of separate communities which it was retarded by the institution of caste. The authority of a Hindu prince was then limited not by the nation as constituting a body politic but solely by the influence of priesthood. The character of despotism was thus considerably modified by the power of the sacerdotal caste.

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## SIMLA AS THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

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THE deadly epidemic which recently threatened to decimate Simla,—erewhile the Indian Canaan of the sick and the invalid,—and the progress of which the heavy fall of rains during the last few days could alone arrest, suggests the question whether it is expedient to continue the station as the summer retreat of the Government of India. Persons and motives would not be wanting to under-rate the extent to which the late epidemic had prevailed, but the insinuations of the interested parties, suppressing truths and ignoring facts, would in reality have no effect in restoring the station to its pristine salubrity, however they might succeed in throwing dust over the eyes of the Governor General upon whose choice alone the continuance of the present practice depends. Our partiality blinds us to the defects, palpable to others' eyes, in the objects we doat upon. Simla-loving officials would naturally therefore misread the signs, which, if correctly interpreted, would at once lead to its being abandoned; and it is equally natural also that they would attempt to create in the Governor General a faith which they themselves fondly believe in against all belief. They would fain seek to spread the belief that the late epidemic was owing to a temporary cause, that it might not recur and that but a little additional precaution would prevent it. But Lord Northbrook would do well to give the question his serious consideration. Unprejudiced he ought to enter into it and, above all, he should keep himself at a distance from the influence of his biassed advisers. The questions

that press themselves for consideration are, whether the late outbreak of cholera at Simla was really of such a nature as to justify its being distinguished with the threatening name of epidemic, and whether, epidemic or otherwise, it was owing to any temporary cause or to the general deterioration of the climate owing to permanent causes, and finally whether improved sanitation would be able to prevent its recurrence or not. To arrive at a correct solution of these questions the professional advice of scientific persons is not absolutely necessary. Instinct and common sense, founded upon past experience, would lead to as correct a solution of them as deep and abstruse scientific researches. That a deadly epidemic had broken out at Simla cannot be denied. That it has numbered amongst its victims a considerable portion of the population is also undeniable. If the disease had prevailed at and confined itself within any one particular quarter of the station there would have been but little cause for alarm. It assailed every quarter more or less, and every order of men contributed to swell its number of victims. Good living afforded no protection, for Europeans of rank were attacked as mercilessly as the cooly population.

These evidences of a fell epidemic, however they might be read, cannot be ignored. There might be some exaggerations, but making allowance for these latter, the result is still threatening. The question now follows, whether the epidemic was owing to any accidental cause, susceptible of being removed by means of improved sanitation and likely to be prevented by a little extraordinary precaution. To all intelligent and unprejudiced observers the climate of Simla would appear to be visibly deteriorating, and this

deterioration must be said to have commenced from 1864, the first year in which Lord Lawrence moved up to the station with an army of officials and the other necessary followings and planted the seat of Government in it. The station was originally meant for a casual retreat of the sick and the invalid and of work-worn persons seeking the benefit of a change to recruit their health and to renovate their energy. Notwithstanding the fabled Pagoda-tree of India, the services in this country were not very attractive to many Europeans. Born in and innured to cooler climates, the officers belonging to the different branches of the public service naturally felt themselves uncomfortable to be chained to their work in this country throughout the year and it was certainly worse than tortured deaths to them to be so chained for any series of years. Distance prevented them from taking short flights, when most oppressed, to their own country and the costs of a journey to and from England were further deterrents. Necessity is the mother of invention. When it was found absolutely impossible to make short journeys to and from England on the score of costs and on various other considerations, some of the hill stations which approached England in respect to climate and salubrity were utilized and built into sanatoria to be occasionally availed of by the work-worn and the invalid. And Simla was undoubtedly one of the best of these spots. Before 1816 it was almost in its virgin state. In that year a Lieutenant Ross cleared the jungle and built the first cottage. Since then Simla began to grow up. But it had all along been used for what it was intended and the population on that account was always within its capacity to bear. It was not until the year 1864 when it

was made the summer retreat of the Government of India that the influx of visitors became very great and that influx went on increasing year by year until the station came to be over-crowded. Yes, Simla has become over-crowded. The population of the station during the winter months now exceeds what it used to be during summer in the days of the Governors General before Lord Lawrence, and one may easily therefore infer the pressure of population during the summer months of the present day. The station boasts of an area of eighteen square miles on the top of the hill and on its sides from Boileaugunge to Chota Simla including the lower ridge of Jacko on both sides. But the whole of this area is not available for habitable purposes. Fifty houses were at one time thought to be excessive, but that number has increased to nearly five hundred, besides, the hovels of the native population whose number has also increased in proportion. As every slope would not admit of its being utilized for the purposes of habitation, the houses have been built irregularly and on the first available site from the top of the lower ridge of Jacko down its sides to the very khuds. The salubrity of the climate of Simla is materially contributed to by its forests and arboriculture ; but with the view of making room for building sites fearful havoc has during the recent years been committed on these material conservatives of its salubrity. The vast increase of its population, the ravages committed upon its forests and arboriculture to provide building sites for its people, together with the want of efficient drainage for the disposal of its sewage, which in the absence of water courses or other means of conveyance, must lie gathered and go on increasing year by year

in some ravines or other, nearer to the station itself or to any distance from it, have naturally caused the deterioration and robbed the station of its glory. Its inland position and the other physical difficulties common to hilly tracts would not permit of whatever drainage it might possess, being improved so as to prevent any accumulation of filth that so injuriously tells upon it. These facts, which can neither be disputed nor explained away, prove incontestibly that the outbreak of cholera which had threatened almost to devastate the station was not owing to any accidental cause, but to the natural cause to be found in over-population and in its attendant circumstances. So marked is the deterioration that the mean temperature of the station which before 1864 was 55° Fahr : has now risen to 75°, and the average temperature during the summer months is still considerably higher. One other fact also testifies to this deterioration. The sojourners in the plains never desired more than a few days residence at Simla during summer and in fact Simla afforded them all the comforts they sought for. But now, not content with the station, they seek the cooler shades of the interior during the months of June and July and there is as much eagerness now to fly to Mushobra, Mahaseo, Narunda and Chini as there once used to be to fly to Simla. Lord Sandhurst, then only Sir William Mansfield, had a summer retreat at Mahaseo about twelve miles in the interior from Simla whither he used to reside regularly during the months of June and July when he felt the shades of Woodville, situated on a spur of Jacko, to be too hot for him. Nor is it unusual for high officials even now to provide themselves with temporary lodg-  
one or the other of those stations. It is undoubted

therefore that Simla has ceased to be that delightful sanitarium it once was and for which it was intended and it is undeniable also that the annual and prolonged visits to it of the Government of India has served to hasten its downfall and to deprive, the station of its glory, and the invalid and the work-worn, of a salubrious retreat. It took about half a century to built up the sanitarium and for half a century it afforded relief to those who sought it. But that work has now been undone and it would take at least another quarter of a century to repair the wreck. To restore Simla to its original salubrity it would have to be built anew. It would have to be entirely abandoned, the houses dismantled, trees replanted, forests regulated, and rains and snow induced. Unless the entire thing is done over again there is but little prospect of the station being restored to its original character, and when so restored it would be necessary strictly to guard against over-population, otherwise the crash would again follow.

The first time that cholera broke out at Simla was in 1867. Number of persons belonging chiefly to the cooly population was carried away by the disease and the medical officers had an abundant work of it in administering relief to the sick. A cholera hospital was opened and by means of some other special arrangements the epidemic was prevented from spreading and in course of a month or two it was effectually stamped out. In 1869 the Punjab Government at the instance of the Government of India earnestly set about in improving the sanitation of the station. The civil surgeons of the station were charged with the duties of



sanitary officers and their terms of appointment were extended from two to five years. Other improvements were also undertaken, but all these precautions failed to arrest the growing deterioration of the station. In spite of them cholera and other diseases continued to break out at intervals and in the present year it had been possible for a full-fledged epidemic to fly over the Mall doing a considerable amount of injury to the residents. It is evident therefore, that no patchwork would answer, and that the only hope lies in the absolute abandonment of Simla as the seat of the Government of India. The habitable area of the place cannot be enlarged for the population to be scattered over so as to prevent overcrowding. The station is so peculiarly situated that its climatic advantages are confined within the area bounded by Boileaugunge on one side and Mount Jacko on the other, extending towards south-east as far as the Strawberry Hills, and by deep ravines on either side of the main ridge. A mile outside this boundary and those advantages are not obtainable, besides the physical difficulties of obtaining building sites therein. A trial was made sometimes ago to make some of the adjacent hills habitable with the prospects of a climate as salubrious as that of Simla, but the result proved unfavorable. Any hope from the extension of the area is therefore a vain hope and had better not be entertained.

But the climatic deterioration is not the only consideration which renders Simla an ineligible site for the seat of the Supreme Government of India with all its necessary paraphernalia. The seat of Government must be located at a

place that would be easily accessible. This Simla is not. It would be possible to push railway on to the foot of the hills as far as Kalka, but there the steam-horse must pant and would refuse to be led further. From Kalka Simla is approached by means of two roads, both of which are extremely unfavorable to meet the requirements of an increased traffic. These two roads are the Cart road, measuring about fifty-six miles in length, with an average width of six feet, and the old hill road which is forty-seven miles long with an average width of four feet. It is possible for light-weighted carts and spring vans to pass by the former at a moderate speed, but it is not capable of sustaining much weight. It is not adapted for the conveyance of heavy draughts, being supported as it is in most places, upon twigs and branches and loose stones. Besides, it is rendered impassable every year during the rains and for a considerable time after that on account of landslips which sweep it down in many places, into the khuds, when all communications with the plains by means of this road are entirely stopped and when as matter of course the markets at Simla are affected. As yet it has not been found possible for engineering skill to prevent these landslips which generally occur without giving any premonitory signs. The other road, although comparatively free from these casualties, being cut out along the sides of the hills and therefore more substantial than the Cart road, would not admit of wheeled conveyances being run over it on account of its tortuous and abrupt acclivities and declivities and smaller breadth. The first ascent commences at Kalka and rises up to Kussowlie, a height of upwards of 7,800 feet. Arrived on the top of Kussowlie, you

will have to go down on the other side about the same number of feet to the Gumbhur. Then you will have again to ascend by slow acclivities to Kunkerhattee and Subathoo and then to traverse a table land as far the Hurripore bridge. After Hurripore you will have to traverse several small acclivities and declivities till you arrive at Syree whence the ascent to Boileaugunge is almost perpendicular and such as to frighten the nervous and to make giddy the heads of persons of the stoutest constitution as they toil up the ascent. It would baffle the highest engineering skill to bring the giddy heights of Kussowlie and Syree to a level with the table land which runs between Kunkerhattee and Hurripore. This road is not very convenient for passengers, but it is preferred to the Cart road with all its disadvantages of acclivities and declivities on account of its being a shorter cut to Simla. For the passage of goods it is utterly unsuited, except what can be carried on the backs of coolies and on the sides of mules. Thus the difficulty of access alone renders Simla an ineligible site for the seat of Government. Then again it will have to be remembered that the water supply of the station is very limited. During the greater portion of the season, although preceded by an average fall of snow, the scarcity of this necessary element is very badly felt. Its supply is rather plentiful during the rains, but it would not be sufficient for an increased population. Even in the months of September and October, scrambles often take place and scuffles ensue on the part of the bheesties and other water carriers at every well supplied Boulie, whose number is not very great, to obtain water when the demand for it increases with the arrival of the native princes and chiefs on visits to

the Viceroy. These scuffles which are generally attended with bloodshed find abundant work for the Police and to prevent which a constable is placed at every Boulie to preserve peace. Numerous experiments had been made to improve the water supply but none has as yet succeeded.

These are some of the physical difficulties towards the adoption of Simla for the seat of Government, and these difficulties would be felt more and more every year with the increase of population which must necessarily follow in the wake of the Government processions to the hills. The over-crowding of Simla cannot be prevented unless it is abandoned as the seat of Government. Government must necessarily be followed by numerous officers and large establishments. Besides, the heads of departments, other than the secretariats, are always prepared with causes to show why they should remain with their establishments wherever the head-quarters of the Government might be located. The ceremonial visits of the native princes and chiefs which take place mostly during the months of September and October, when they begin to pour in, one after the other, and each with a populous retinue cannot be put a stop to. The accession to the population by these means has already robbed the station of its envied salubrity and if it goes on at this rate for any number of years yet to come, things would certainly become worse. It would not do to tell off the station into wards with the necessary complement of medical officers and adequate stock of medicines. You might put an embargo upon the import of edible herbs and vegetable upon which,

and upon which principally, the natives live; you might break up the rendezvous of the cooly population and disperse them to different directions to the great inconvenience of the more respectable portion of the residents, you might multiply the number of Boulies for the storage of water during the rains for the consumption of the inhabitants throughout the year; but all will not do. If possible you must enlarge the habitable area of the station with all the advantages of forests and aboriculture. You must level down the roads and ways, so as to admit of wheeled conveyances, a team of carriages, if not railways being run over them and you must devise effective drainage for the conduct of the sewage of the station, before you think of planting on it the seat of the Supreme Government of India. But there are insuperable difficulties in the way of effecting these improvements and it would be as great a folly to attempt to overcome them as it is, through partiality for the station, to disown them. Simla abandoned it would not be expedient to adopt any other hill station in its stead. The same considerations which recommend the abandonment of Simla, apply with greater or less force to the other stations as well, and one cannot be adopted unless it is intended to strain it of its salubrity and to convert it into a plague-spot.

But we do not see the necessity of this annual migration. If it were to serve any political purpose we would have been reconciled to it. The migration doubtless is a costly affair, and what a considerable sum of money would be annually saved to the state if it were put a stop to. The plea of the climate of Calcutta during the summer months is no justification whatever for the enormous

annual expenditure and the interruption to business for a considerable period during the transit of the Government to and from the hills. Undoubtedly the climate of Simla is superior to that of Calcutta and that the residents at the former station enjoy greater comfort than at the latter, but we can never persuade ourselves to believe that life at Calcutta during summer is an absolute impossibility. For more than a century it was not found to be so. It must be remembered also that the work of founding and consolidating the empire was done in the plains. Has the climate of Calcutta deteriorated since the time when it was made the head-quarters of the Government of India. If so, the crores and crores of rupees which have been expended for its sanitary improvement have been laid out to no purpose. If it is possible for one European to maintain life in Calcutta during the summer months it must be so for another as well. We observe that the majority of European officers as hard-worked as any of the members of council, find it possible to go through their usual quantum of work from year's end to year's end. Some of these latter have the further disadvantage of working in the midst of crowds from which the nature of their work would not permit them to run away nor which they can otherwise keep at a distance. They cannot have the advantage of working in their own chambers furnished after their own tastes, with the additional comfort of Khus Khus and Punkahs, and undisturbed by any noise, not even by the creaking of the Punkah wheels, advantages which are within their reach and which are largely availed of, not to say the Governor General himself, but by every membe

of council and by every secretary. It cannot be supposed that because of the disadvantages under which the officers, whom the nature of their duty chains down to the plains, labor, they doze over their work or perform it in a perfunctory manner. You can easily conceive the temperature which prevails in the catcherry of a district officer on an average day in summer. Are we to suppose that justice goes wrong because the judge is made to hold his office in the plains, that the police is inefficient because it cannot resort to the hills or that a collector makes blunders in settlement business because he cannot hold his office in a sanatorium. The plea of the temperature therefore is no plea, but at best but mere lame excuse.

We have no objection to the Viceroy's making tours throughout the empire. It is not absolutely necessary that he should stick to one place and direct the operations of Government being guided by official reports and maps. On the contrary it is highly desirable that he should be constantly on the move, visit different places and see things with his own eyes. But that condition does not necessitate his moving about with his council and hold sittings at every nook and corner of the empire. It was not the practice in former days and no inconvenience was hitherto experienced. It is a legacy bequeathed by Lord Lawrence and is largely taken advantage of by his successors. Politically the measure is objectionable. A Peripetitic Government does not command that amount of dignity, especially in the eyes of the oriental nations as a fixed Government. With those nations prestige is a great thing, but the work of Government would, in their estimation, appear to be

easy enough if it could be performed any where and every where. This idea is very damaging to the prestige of a Government and should be carefully prevented from spreading, especially in this country. We have shown that it is physically impossible to adopt Simla as the heads of the Government of India. We have shown that it is not absolutely necessary for Government from climatic consideration to resort to the hills, and we have shown also that it is inexpedient from political consideration, from the consideration of dignity and prestige, that the system of Peripetitic Government should be maintained. There cannot be any doubt that public business suffers from delay in consequence of this system and that the communities whom the authorities profess to consult in the measures of Government are apt to take it to be deliberate slight to them that measures should be carried out independent of them. Government has taught them to expect that in measures of general interest they should be called upon to express their opinion, but when they observe that measures after measures are carried out without their previously knowing any thing of them, they might be excused if they give way to any anguish of heart and take the annual flight of the Government of India to the hills as an escape from them. Nor must we omit to mention that Simla is not an eligible site as the seat of Government from a military point of view. If it is not exposed on all sides to outward attacks it cannot be said to be in a protected state. Its position would not permit of its being efficiently protected and the state of the roads would not admit of heavy arms being conveyed to it readily.





## ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATE LORD MAYO.



*(The following paper was written by an European gentleman who had an extensive literary renown in this country and who was largely connected with the Anglo-Indian Press, but who unfortunately departed this life before he could finish it and read it over. Whilst living his opinions on public questions were of great weight and were largely sought for by the administrators of our country. Some of the personal friends and relatives of the writer, believing that though incomplete, the paper might still be found interesting to the public as a review of the late Lord Mayo's administration has placed it at our disposal. We insert it in our magazine, as one view of Lord Mayo's administration and not that we agree in all the points with the writer.)*

WHEN Lord Mayo, at a crisis in the fortunes of the Conservative Ministry, was selected for the Viceroyalty of India, the announcement was received by the public with surprise, if not with absolute incredulity. It is natural that at this moment the public estimate of his administration should be coloured by the painful feelings excited by the news of his assassination. But we do not fear to incur the charge of exaggeration when we say that, by the death of the Viceroy, the Ministry, the Public Services and the Native Community have lost a statesman who had shown himself singularly fitted for his post; who had evinced great skill and tact in the art of governing aliens; who had by his own personal example maintained and

increased the discipline, honour and integrity prevalent amongst the civil and military servants of the crown; who in the space of three years had inspected the most celebrated marts, the most important frontier posts, and the most civilized and the wildest districts of our great dependency; and who, having done much to further and consolidate the many practical schemes left unfinished by his own predecessor, had given fair promise of leaving his own mark on the country and of bequeathing to it some legacies peculiarly his own. We have elsewhere discussed the recent terrible event in its political aspect. We shall here consider the principal measures of the administration which has been prematurely cut short.

When Lord Mayo, after visiting the minor presidencies, assumed charge of the Supreme Government, on the 12th of January 1869, he found that three great controversies, analogous to those which arose out of the land tenure in Ireland, had been happily terminated. He at once saw that the settlement of these vexed and perplexing questions ought not to be disturbed, and that he would have time for those branches of administration to which he could contribute something of enlarged statesmanship, or even of practical knowledge. And, from the very first, he announced his intention of undertaking the Department of Public Works, and of controlling and guiding financial experiments, whether of expenditure or taxation, in addition to the work of the Foreign office, which has always been the peculiar province of the Viceroy. In the latter department Lord Mayo found matters ripe for an interview with Shere Ali,

the ruler of Cabul, who after a series of romantic adventures, had regained possession of the throne of his father. Thoroughly imbued with Lord Lawrence's sound doctrines with regard to Affghan politics, Lord Mayo, arranged the first of his grand ceremonial displays for the benefit of the Amir, at the large military station of Umballa. Nothing was wanting that could impress the foreigner with a sense of the vast resources of the British power or with a feeling of reliance on the sincerity and good faith of its representative. A man of war from his youth, the Amir witnessed with delight the evolutions of disciplined troops, and the scientific practice of artillery directed by the best officers of the Indian army. Needy and impoverished, he received splendid gifts, ample munitions of war, and large sums of ready money; lately a fugitive and a pretender, his title was publicly proclaimed; the brother of one who had slain our envoy and annihilated our forces, he saw himself placed far above the native chiefs and princes of India, and treated on a footing of equality by the delegate of the British Queen. The precise forms and the results of the negotiation with the Amir, which was carried out in the intervals of durbars, reviews, and fetes, have never been made public. But we have warrant for asserting that the effects of the Umballa meeting have been to secure the Amir against vague fears of aggressive and ulterior objects on the part of the Government of India; to give us on our frontier, one well disposed and friendly power; to moderate the alarms felt in consequence of the undeniable advances of Russia in Central Asia; almost to prohibit, by moral example, sanguinary and cruel retributions in

Cabul itself, and even to give promise of financial and social improvements amongst a high-spirited but fanatical and conservative nation. As a proximate consequence of the Umballa durbar, the late Viceroy turned his attention to the long standing dispute between the Amir and the Shah of Persia relative to the boundaries of Siestan. Viewed by itself the controversy was not pressing. But as every quarrel between the Court of Teheran and a neighbouring Khan or Amir may afford a pretext to some European power to interfere with advice and assistance, even the limit of a howling desert or a useless lake may assume an importance far beyond its intrinsic merits. To Lord Mayo's tact, sound judgment, conciliatory spirit in his dealings with the Amir, and to his perseverance with the home authorities, it is owing, not only that we have a friendly ruler at Cabul, but that we may hope, quietly and firmly, to put some stop to Persian encroachment and aggression. No one who has not studied a map of the dominions claimed and occupied by Persia within the last twenty-seven years, can form a correct idea of the art and astuteness with which pretensions have been put forth, one after another, to slices of territory belonging to Beloochese chieftains, or to convenient ports in the Indian Ocean. Lord Mayo also at a very early period became aware of the importance of maintaining the prestige in the Persian and Arabian waters. Since the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1861-62, it had been found impossible to keep Her Majesty's vessels in the Persian Gulf for a large portion of the year. At length, after a great deal of argument and persuasion, the Admiralty was induced to sauc-

tion a plan by which a compact naval force, better suited to the climate and the locality, should be placed under the orders of the Viceroy for continuous service, and the Government of India agreed on its part to make a yearly contribution of some £70,000 to the expences of the fleet on the Chinese station.

Of the contest for the sovereignty of Muscat, Lord Mayo was a vigilant observer. He continued to direct all the influence of the Government towards the suppression of the slave trade of Zanzibar; and taking advantage of an avowed relinquishment of the claims of the Dutch Government, unostentatiously but formally, took possession of the Nicobar Islands in the name of the Queen. The propriety of this proceeding will be appreciated by all those who admit that, whether we interfere in continental matters or not, we cannot in common prudence allow even a friendly power to occupy a vantage ground within three or four days sail of the mouth of the Hooghly. Then, continuing to carry out his fixed plan of establishing what has been termed a fringe of independent, but well disposed, native powers to the north of the Indian Peninsula, Lord Mayo lost no opportunity of strengthening the relations existing with the able and vigorous ruler of Nepaul. The brother of Maharaja Jung Bahadoor had been received in Calcutta with some of the honours and exemptions only accorded to independent rulers. The Maharaja of Cashmere has been re-assured, as far as possible, against the apprehensions not unnaturally created by the loose and unguarded talk of subalterns and sports-

men, who openly discuss the propriety of annexing a tributary state with such delicious fruits, so fine a climate and such lovely scenery; and it is fresh in all our recollections how Mr. Douglas Forsyth was directed to cross plains of blinding salt and passes some 17,000 feet high, in order to encourage trade with the energetic ruler of Yarkand.

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In importance to a clear and well-defined foreign policy, laid down and controlled by the late Viceroy himself, is the conduct and regulation of the finances. Early in the year 1869, the financial member of the viceregal council was compelled to absent himself from his duties in order to recruit his health in England. In his absence it was discovered that some of the calculations on which the years' budget had been based were erroneous, and that, instead of a small surplus, there would be a startling deficit of one million and three quarters. Lord Mayo spared no pains, and even sacrificed for a time all his popularity, to restore the balance and to make two ends meet. All the luxuries, as well as some of the necessaries, of a beneficent Government were retrenched, the income tax was increased in the middle of the year; and the increase was only submitted to by the European and native community in dependence on the exertion and personal character of the Governor General. After a great deal of acrimonious discussion, charges and counter charges, after allegations of bad faith, of unnecessary economy on the one hand, and then of needless impositions on the other, an equilibrium was reached at the date of the budget of 1871-72. It seems to us unquestionable that Lord Mayo's rigid enquiries, severe

re trenchments and additional taxation, were amply justified by the results of a twelve month ago. We are afraid this commendation cannot be extended to the continuance of the income-tax. \* \* However imperative it may be to command a surplus, to build roomy barracks, to plan state railroads, and to irrigate provinces in order to save them from famine and desolation, it is of the last importance not to annoy and excite the native population by fruitless endeavours to get at even an approximate average of their gains. Had Lord Mayo lived, he would this year have devised some other and more politic mode of replenishing his exchequer, and we gladly turn from what is perhaps the only vulnerable point in his rule to the consideration of other measures of decided originality and breadth.

One reform was what is termed the decentralization of finance. That the power of the purse, as well as of war, should reside with the Viceroy and his council, seems to us as fundamental an axiom as ever. In Lord Mayo's own words, the supreme council must be able to provide for the defence of the country, for the efficiency of the services, and for the public credit, and it would be a grievous mistake to permit local Governments to raise loans on the security, express and implied of the general revenues, to create new offices or to increase the stipends allotted to old ones. \* .\*

On the other hand it is quite certain that forms of Indian taxation must be suited to castes and creeds, varying in associations and manners. A capitation or house tax, perfectly well understood in British Burmah, would raise and even has raised, a riot at Bareilly or Benares, an octroi in Umritsur,



submitted to cheerfully by the shop-keepers [and shawl merchants, would, if attempted in Lower Bengal, result in a series of legal actions in the High Court. \*      ● In the end, however, the partial decentralization of the finances was carried out on a principle which, as carefully fenced and limited, seems political and sound. Public credit and general efficiency will be maintained by the supreme council. Local wants will be met, and local peculiarities will be treated with consideration, by the administrator who knows the provinces and is responsible for his management of a half-educated or suspicious community.

Equally just and sound were the principles contended for by Lord Mayo, following closely in the steps of Lord Lawrence, regarding the imposition of an education cess in Bengal. All who have heard of Lord Cornwallis and his permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal, are also probably aware that this excellent measure has been invariably used by natives and their advocates as a bar to any additional or increased burden or imposition whatever. This contention if admitted, would simply relieve one of the richest parts of India from all liability to contribute to the growing wants of the empire and would throw the burden on districts and races much less able to support it. In other words the landholders of lower Bengal, whose rents have increased enormously since their liabilities to the state were fixed for ever, would have exemptions in almost everything, because they had been specially favoured in one thing. The Secretary of State fortunately saw the drifts this argument in a clearer light than several members of his council,

endorsed the view taken by the Government of India, and authoritatively ruled that the landholders of the Gangetic Delta must bear their fair share of general and increased taxation, just as much as if they possessed nothing, but fleets of rich merchandize, stately mansions in Calcutta, or rolls of five per cent. paper. The support given by the Duke of Argyle to the late Viceroy in this and other matters deserves recognition.

Not very remote from this subject was the creation of a special department of state for the interests of agriculture and commerce. In a country where mineral resources are yet undiscovered or undeveloped, agriculture is the main pursuit of the rural population. It was obvious that, although the Indian ryot with a light plough, a pair of bullocks, and primitive means of irrigation, could produce much, the application of science and a successful example, might enable him to produce more. And the Government of India which is expected to take the lead in all improvements, will ~~show~~ have it in its power to establish model farms, to encourage the scientific rotation of crops, and to vary the valuable products of rich and fertile plains on some more enduring and continuous style than that of distributing prizes for fat beasts and huge sugar-canes at agricultural shows. So a sixth department was added to the Viceregal Secretariat, and was entrusted by Lord Mayo to Mr. A. O. Hume, who is a son of the veteran reformer so long member for Montrose, and who, not inferior to any of his contemporaries in vigour and independence, had some, how been left out in the cold shade, in spite of the distinction which he gained in the mutiny.

Great activity was displayed in the extension of railways. In the commencement of 1870 the whole line was opened from Bombay to Calcutta, and this was followed by the completion of a small unfinished section between Delhi and Lahore. The lines from Bombay and the Madras next met at a given point, and as the system of trunk lines, originally laid down by Lord Dalhousie, was then finished, Lord Mayo settled an important question regarding the breadth of the gauges on account of which many projects had been held in abeyance. A line, small in extent but commercially important, has been opened in the cotton districts, and more or less of progress has been made in the survey or the actual construction of railways for Rajpootana, for the Indus valley, in Hyderabad, and on the line from Lahore to Peshawur, the decision in favour of the narrow over the broad gauge will effect a very considerable saving in the construction of lines, the political, commercial, and social effects of which we can at present only dimly conceive. The Public Works were next overhauled. The higher posts in that department are always entrusted to engineers of the Indian services, who form a corps inferior to none in India for talents and acquirements in their particular lines. Nor were the civil engineers employed by the Government untrustworthy. But a great deal of the actual work of building and repairing must be entrusted to natives or to subordinate Englishmen, bound by no feelings of professional honour. The distances were great. The control was imperfect; and the consequence was that mal-practices in the subordinate grades were alternately the jest or the scorn of Indian journalists,

and that buildings erected at a disproportionate cost by skilful designers, were less able to resist the inroads of the climate than the works of untrained amateurs. Lord Mayo took advantage of a grievous failure in the case of the barracks at Allahabad to apportion responsibility and to mete out punishment with decisive clearness and vigour.

The occasions on which Lord Mayo appeared to most advantage in the eyes of the native community were, we have been reminded, the levee, the reception-room, and the durbar. It is said that the days of the paternal or patriarchal Government of India are well nigh past. No doubt, in all the older and more settled provinces the Hindoos and Mahomedans are becoming aware of the degrees and distinctions of authority. They can distinguish between the will of a Commissioner and the decree of a Judge. A large number of them know that it is useless to ask a Viceroy or a Governor to interfere with a legal process, to compel the execution of a decree, or to settle a disputed boundary. But, though a perception of the difference, between the power of judicial and executive agencies is gradually gaining ground in the oriental mind, there is still ample scope for the influence of high position and the exercise of social qualities by a Viceroy. The native chiefs or princes are really settling down into their position as loyal feudatories or tributaries of the Crown; and the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh five years ago, as well as the ceremonial displays of the Viceroy before and subsequent to the Duke's visit, have materially contributed to widen and deepen this feeling.

Nothing could have been managed with more tact and delicacy than the presentation of the native aristocracy to the Duke. He was accompanied everywhere by well selected officials. His time was passed in visiting object and insatiable institutions of interests, historical cities, picturesque camps. Every one was invited to look on the illustrious visitor, and yet no native was deluded into the belief that the Duke came to India to redress grievances or to supersede the Viceroy. It is no easy matter to conceive and to carry out such a programme without failure or contretemps, and to convert splendid, but ephemeral, pageants into sources of permanent loyalty and good will to the throne. Oudh Talookdars, Sikh princes, even Mahratta sovereigns, were more or less charmed, dazzled, and fascinated by the dignity and condescension of the Viceroy. But the most timely and effective of his addresses were perhaps that delivered at Ajmere to the blue blood of Rajpootana. No Governor General since the days of Lord William Bentinck had addressed the oldest Hindu chieftains on their own soil. And to go from legislative assemblies in which natives deliver speeches in English, from the commercial activity of Calcutta or Bombay, from the agricultural development of the Doab, to the sands and lakes of Rajpootana, is like going back at one step from the Georgian era to the middle ages. Princes fighting with unruly nobles regarding privileges of investiture and feudal homage; stalwart and handsome Rajahs, with pedigrees of two thousand years old, expert riders, crack shots, and yet often wilfully ignorant of the commonest rudiments of administration, caves and fastnesses occupied by wild Bheels and hereditary

cattle-lifters; torturing of witches and burying alive of lepers—these are some of the characteristics which make a report on Rajpootana read like a chapter of Walter Scott. Nothing could be more judicious or forcible than the Viceroy's address to these haughty and sensitive chieftains, assuring them, as he did, of the full enjoyment of their lawful rights, but intimating that the Government expected in return something to indicate that sovereigns exist for the welfare of their people. It is remarkable that only two noted instances occurred in which the late Viceroy was compelled to exchange the language of courtesy or of encouragement for severity and censure. The Maharaja of Jodhpore, who was ill-advised enough to insult the Viceroy by refusing to appear at a durbar on a paltry pretence of etiquette, was sharply reprimanded; and the Nawab of Jinghura, a Mussulman who owns a principality lying south of Bombay, was deprived of the power of mismanaging his territories, after repeated but ineffectual warnings.

In the dispensation of patronage Lord Mayo evinced much penetration and discernment in selecting the best instruments. Sir Henry Durand, in spite of his many valuable qualities and attainments, was not always easy to manage. Lord Mayo acknowledged his merits as a councillor, and then sent him to govern the Punjab. When the State was deprived of his services by a fatal accident, Lord Mayo supplied the vacancy by Mr. R. H. Davies, from Oudh, who was bred in the school of Lord Lawrence and who is thoroughly acquainted with a difficult and

extensive frontier. To fill the Chief Commissionership of Oudh thus vacated, he selected general Barrow, a Madras officer of great knowledge of the province and high character; and when he was disqualified by a temporary illness, the Viceroy confided Oudh to Sir G. Couper, who had served with distinction under Lord Dalhousie and Sir George Edmonstone, and who had been one of the illustrious garrison of Lucknow. To Colonel Malleson, a gentleman of marked culture and attainments and an accomplished writer, was assigned the difficult task of preparing the young Maharaja of Mysore for the duties of sovereignty, while the whole administration of that kingdom was confided to the experienced Colonel Meade on the departure of Mr. Bowring. Two able civilians have been sent to Burmah, one was judicial and the other as Chief Commissioners; Colonel Daly, once known as the chief of the Sikh Guide Corps, was nominated to the important agency for Central India: Mr. George Campbell, whose name is more familiar to Englishmen than that of many other Indian notables, was made Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; and when the Secretaryship of the Foreign Department became vacant Lord Mayo offered it to a young civilian of only fourteen years' standing whom he had never seen in his life, and whom he knew only by reputation. In not one of these appointments could there be traced the slightest political bias, and all we believe were dictated by an exclusive regard for the best interests of the state, justified by the event in every single instance.

We cannot now write of the many kindly and generous traits of Lord Mayo's private character. It is sufficient

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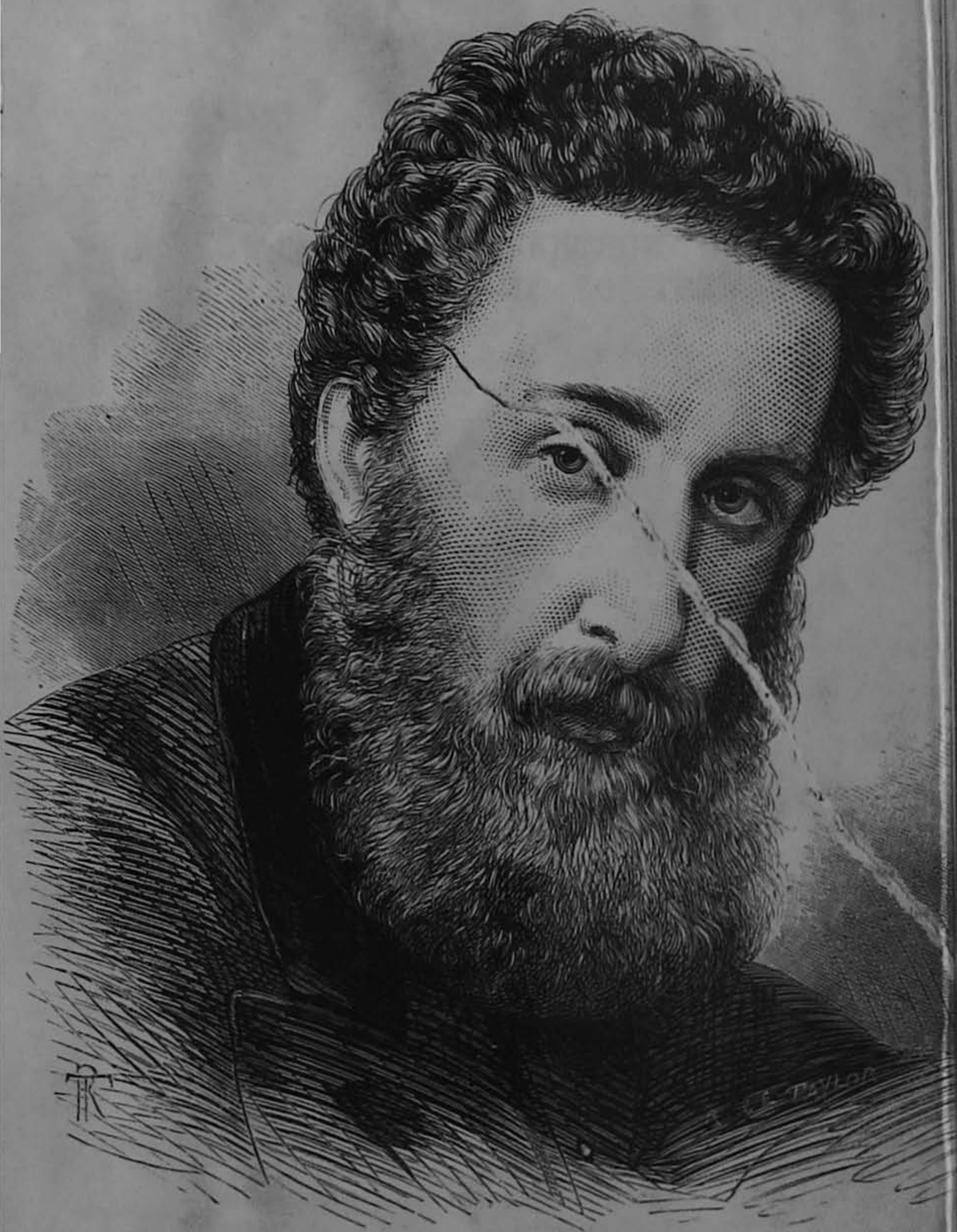
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1876.





Lord Northbrook.





Lord Lytton.

## LORD NORTHBROOK'S GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 1872-76.

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*(Re-printed from the Times of India.)*

THOMAS GEORGE BARING, LORD NORTHBROOK, late Viceroy and Governor-General of India, leaves Calcutta for Europe this day. His Lordship arrived in India and assumed the reins of Government in April 1872, and he has consequently ruled over the destinies of Her Majesty's Indian Empire for the space of four years, or one year less than the regulation time. These four years embrace a period of profound peace; and this fact alone is sufficient to deprive the reign of the departing Viceroy of that brilliancy which has given *éclat* to the government of some of his predecessors. But if, during Lord Northbrook's tenure of office, there have been no wars followed by annexation of territory, rapid promotions in the services, accompanied by lavish distribution of honors and rewards, the past four years make up by no means an uneventful period in the history of India. It is far too soon yet to review comprehensively and dispassionately the proceedings of the Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook—first, because all his councillors and coadjutors in the Government remain behind him; and secondly, but mainly, because, in regard to some of the principal acts of his Government, and especially those acts which have been most severely criticised, infinitely

more light is required before the public can form any just estimate of the share of praise or blame which of right belongs respectively to the Home and Indian authorities. Still, we cannot allow the ex-Viceroy and Governor-General to leave our shores without some brief retrospect of the leading features of his government; for, whatever difference of opinion may exist regarding the wisdom of some of his official acts, upon one point we do not believe that there can possibly be one dissentient opinion, and that is, that His Excellency has faithfully, honestly, and fearlessly tried to discharge the duties of his high office, in such a manner as he conscientiously believed would be most beneficial to the people over whom he was set to rule.

Four years ago, when Lord Northbrook assumed the reins of government, the country was suffering from the effects of a very rude shock—a shock which had re-opened old sores, barely yet healed, and which caused by far the most violent disruption of the bonds of good-feeling between the governed and governing classes which had taken place since the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857-58. The strange discovery had been made that, so far from the terrible retribution which British vengeance had exacted for the rebellious and cruel acts of those eventful years having cowed the disaffected to our rule, an extensively organized conspiracy had for some time existed, which had for its object not only the fomenting of sedition within the empire, but actually the aiding and abetting of those beyond the frontiers, who were actively engaged in waging war upon the Queen's Government. More startling even than the discovery of the conspiracy itself, was the disclosure that its headquarters were situated in the very heart of one of the oldest of the British provinces, and that

the leaders of the movement were men highly favored and implicitly trusted by the head of the Government of Bengal. The facts seemed so improbable that they were disbelieved, till a lengthened and deeply interesting judicial enquiry, and the conviction and condemnation of the leading conspirators, left no room for doubt in the minds of the most sceptical. Then only was the full force of the truth realized, that a new and great danger had taken root, had grown and been developed beneath the smooth surface of Indian society, of which the authorities had not even a remote suspicion until accident revealed its existence, and brought to light the traitorous designs of its secret agents. Vague fears of some impending mischief were immediately engendered in the minds of both Europeans and natives—fears which were very shortly to be increased manifold by a terrible tragedy which took place shortly afterwards, and which, rightly or wrongly, was at the time, and has ever since been, associated with the results of the legal proceedings just referred to. We allude to the murder in open day, on the steps of the High Court of Calcutta, of Mr. Justice Norman, the Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal. But a catastrophe was to follow—and that within the space of a few short months—which was destined, by imparting a *quasi*-reality to these fears, not only to raise them to the highest point, but to cast a solemn, and in some respects a sullen, gloom over the whole empire. It was the assassination of the representative of the Sovereign—a ruler respected—nay, in good truth we may say, beloved—by all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. We adopt no figure of speech when we say that this dastardly crime, this supreme act of wickedness, sent a thrill of horror throughout the length and breadth of the empire. The blood of every European boiled

within him as, with difficulty, he curbed those feelings of suppressed rage which incited him to revenge the double crime of murder and treason which had been perpetrated. The blood of every native curdled in his veins as, blanched with fear, he reflected in his terrified mind what might be the price which British vengeance would demand for the precious life which had been taken. Some silently thought that a general massacre of all the Mahomedans in India would be decreed; all felt certain that some terrible retribution—they knew not what—would be exacted alike from the innocent and the guilty. A few bigots and fanatics may have rejoiced in their inmost souls that the representative of the Christian power had been struck down by the hand of a Moslem; but the general feeling in native society was one of sorrow, intermingled with terror for the consequences. Their fears were all the more exaggerated because the punishment which they dreaded was vague and undefined; and the judicial calm with which the calamity was treated by the British authorities, served merely to convince them that the Government were deliberating on the measures of severity which it was their intention to put in force. And these false fears on the part of the natives were not simply momentary. It was a considerable time before the native mind awoke to the fact that a crime so audacious, so terrible, and so new in the annals of Indian History, as the murder of the representative of the Sovereign, would not give rise to feelings of such undying hatred in the hearts of the rulers of the land to the races which they governed, as to bring upon them a series of pains and penalties little short of persecution. Whether the reaction which succeeded this abject state of depression was favorable or not to the supremacy of British rule, we are not prepared to say.

Such was the state of feeling in society, both European and native, immediately preceding the arrival of Lord Northbrook in India. We have described it and dwelt upon it at greater length than many may think necessary, because we have means at our disposal, especially regarding the native side of the picture which we have drawn, which enables us to certify to its correctness. Further, as it is one of the most peculiar features of English rule in India that its progress is marked by epochs, and that it is consequently perpetually taking a new departure, it would be manifestly unfair to any Viceroy to review the proceedings of his government without giving due and careful attention to that *status quo ante* of public affairs when he entered upon the scene of his labours, which in great part must guide his future action. For this reason it is desirable to note that, in addition to the disturbing elements of society above alluded to, there were others which had recently given rise to considerable anxiety regarding the feelings of the subjects towards their rulers. The rapid advance of the Russian arms into the countries bordering on Afghanistan—consequent, chiefly, on the extreme ignorance with which the so-called Central Asian Question was discussed by a portion of the English and Anglo-English Press—had created, for a time, considerable uneasiness in the minds of the natives. By the active foreign policy of Lord Mayo, however, their fears on this point were in great part allayed, and they were considerably re-assured. But the financial collapse—grievously misunderstood, if not imaginary, though it was—which took place in 1869-70, involving, as it did, the severest retrenchments in the Public Works and Education Departments, accompanied by the sudden and unexpected doubling (much against Lord Mayo's inclination) of an irritating and hateful impost, caused much dis-

satisfaction amongst a people who, like the inhabitants of India, are extremely averse to changes of any kind, especially to direct taxation, which they look upon as the worst form of *zulum* or oppression. Beyond that chronic state of anxiety regarding the absolute tranquillity of all parts of the country which must ever affect the Government of an empire with extensive lines of frontier bordered by wild or savage tribes, the Government of India was at peace with all its neighbours. And it was fortunate, for the great railway, canal, and irrigation questions were still unsettled; and the finances of the country, though relieved from immediate strain, had been by no means placed on a permanently solid foundation.

There are, no doubt, many other circumstances regarding the condition of Indian affairs at the time Lord Northbrook entered upon his tenure of office, which in a more comprehensive review of his four years of government it would be proper to notice. But sufficient has been said to show that, at the time of his arrival in the country, things were not, by any means, of that *couleur de rose* hue which, by some optical delusion, they were invariably made to assume at the precise moment when Mr. Grant Duff was accustomed to deliver his annual financial oration from the Liberal Benches of the House of Commons. On the contrary, two things are abundantly clear—that Lord Northbrook, on ascending the Viceregal *gadi*, had very great difficulties to contend with, some of which, moreover, involved evils as dangerously insidious in their nature as they were extensive in their magnitude; and that these difficulties were within and not without the boundaries of Her Majesty's Indian Empire. Lord Northbrook has ere now been called slow; but it would seem that His Lordship was very quick indeed to detect wherein lay the most serious of all the dangers which



threatened, not simply the popularity of the Government of which he was about to be the head, but the stability of the foundation of the empire itself. He saw with alarm the growing decrease in that contentment of her subjects upon which Her Majesty the Queen has declared it to be her desire that her Government in India shall be based. He was very forcibly struck by the strong opinion recorded by Lord Mayo in 1871, that "a feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction existed among every class, both European and native, on account of the constant increase of taxation which had for years been going on;" and that "the continuance of that feeling was a political danger, the magnitude of which could hardly be over-estimated." When he was appointed to succeed Lord Mayo, it was unknown to him whether he would not be called upon to introduce the Budget for 1872-73, and therefore, *before* leaving England, he devoted his most serious attention to Indian taxation as the most certain means of removing that discontent with British rule which had already assumed such alarming proportions. He had before him the opinions of three successive finance members of India—Messrs. Laing, Trevelyan, and Massey—against the income-tax; and after consulting all those in England who were most competent to give him sound advice, he came to the conclusion that, if the estimates for 1872-73 presented an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure without this tax, it would not be advisable to re-impose it, and he informed the Secretary of State of it. The considerate action of Lord Napier and Ettrick relieved him of the responsibility of the Budget of 1872-73; but had it been otherwise, His Lordship could not have carried out his intentions, as the estimates without the income-tax showed a small deficit. But, although the new Viceroy's opinion was so strongly against this tax, that

had he brought in the Budget of 1872-73, and the estimates admitted of it, he would have relinquished it, he did not therefore make up his mind to do so without fortifying the opinion which he had already formed, by further enquiries on the spot. One of his earliest acts was to call for reports on the subject from the several Local Governments and administrations, replies to which were received in the course of the succeeding cold season. Within his own Council, Lord Northbrook met with some opposition. Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. (now Sir) Barrow Ellis were opposed to the abolition of the income-tax; but, with these exceptions, the Local Government and other officers of experience were almost unanimous in their opinions against it. The late Sir Henry Durand—and it would be difficult to find one whose opinion, from a political point of view, was deserving of more weight—declared that he believed the income-tax to be “odious to the country, unsuited to the people, and very poor in its return.” Mr. Samuel Laing, whose opinion, from a financial point of view, should outweigh the opinions of all others, recorded his belief that an income-tax was “about as bad and obnoxious a mode of raising revenue as it is possible to imagine in a country like India.” Thus strengthened in the opinion which he had formed before his arrival in India, Lord Northbrook, in opposition to three of the members of his own Council, including his Minister of Finance, on introducing his first Budget (April 1873) repealed the income-tax, and thereby removed what, in the opinion of the most competent judges, had been, ever since its imposition, a source of irritation and discontent throughout the country. And that the opinion formed by His Lordship was sound, there can hardly be a doubt upon the mind of any one acquainted with the

circumstances of India and the condition of her people. For, as the experience of the last three years has proved that the finances of the country can be maintained on a very sound footing, without having recourse to irritating and inquisitorial taxes—taxes which produce the maximum of discontent with the minimum of money—it is obvious that the abolition of this tax must have been politically a clear gain to the Government. It is our unqualified opinion that, had the departing Viceroy, during his tenure of office, done nothing more towards improving and giving stability to the financial position of the Government of India, he would still have placed the country and its people under an obligation which should entitle him to their lasting respect. But Lord Northbrook, during the last four years, has done infinitely more in this direction than repeal that obnoxious tax. As might be expected from the name which he bears, finance is one of His Lordship's strong points. Without exaggeration we may say that he knows more of the theory and principles of finance than all the statesmen and financiers, always excepting Mr. S. Lang, who have devoted their attention to the subject of Indian accounts, put together. "Had he been plain Mr. Baring," we have heard it said by one highly competent to judge, "he would have quadrupled the wealth and power of Baring Brothers." It is the fashion in this country to laud to the skies the financial abilities of Mr. James Wilson because he first grappled with the fearful hydra of deficit, bequeathed as a legacy to the Government of India by the Mutiny of 1857; and we would be the last to wish to deny them. But Mr. Wilson failed lamentably where Mr. Lang succeeded admirably, and that was in regard to a point which, above all others, it is essentially necessary should *never* be lost sight

of in dealing with Indian financial questions. It is that, although, as Mr. Wilson was never tired of repeating, "a principle is the same all over the world," it is its *suitable application* to the conditions and circumstances of a country and its peoples, rather than a blind adherence to the bald principles of financial or any other science, to which we must look for the happiest results, *viz.*, a full treasury, and a sufficient annual income, secured upon the contentment, the prosperity, and the happiness of those who have to pay it. Pre-eminently, and high above all those to whom have been committed the destinies of this great empire, has Lord Northbrook subscribed to the truth of this maxim. In all the measures which he has adopted, connected with the fiscal or financial policy of his Government, or involving the outlay of large sums of public money—some of which we shall shortly notice—he has kept it steadily before him. And what is the result? It is that he, this day, stands in the proud position of having been able to make over the Government of India to his successor with an annual income of Rs. 5,05,70,177 amply secured against all contingencies. And this satisfactory state of things has been happily brought about without the imposition, during the whole term of his government, of a single fresh tax, and consequently, as far as financial measures are concerned, without having given cause for the least discontent or dissatisfaction on the part of the people over whom he has so ably and so wisely ruled.

Nor was Lord Northbrook slow to grapple with other difficulties, and especially a cancerous evil before alluded to, which, during the Viceroyalty of his predecessor, had given unmistakable signs that for years it had been silently eating into the very vitals of the Government, and undermining its popularity

with a large portion of the population, and thus sapping its very foundation. We allude to a feature in the educational measures adopted, and with the most honest intentions, for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people; but which had been the cause, in great part, of rendering the Government odious and obnoxious, if not to all, to at least thirty or forty millions of their number. To connect cause to effect in this case, it would be necessary to go back to the days of the hard-fought "Battles of the Orientalists and the Anglicists," and to refer to the memorable education minute of Lord Macaulay which gave victory to the side of the latter, and, through the English language, opened the doors of knowledge to the natives of this country. To give even a partial review of the circumstances which led up to the state of feeling we assert to have existed, it would be desirable to revert at some length to the proceedings of the Government of the Marquis of Dalhousie. But for neither have we time or space. We shall therefore briefly state that the greatest of India's Pro-Consuls, though occupied in devising and carrying into effect schemes for the conquest and subjugation of kingdoms embracing a fourth of the existing Indian Empire, had found time to turn his attention to measures for the education of the people; and had sent home a communication on the subject to the Court of Directors, out of which originated the celebrated education despatch of 1854. The great principle of that despatch, from our present point of view, was universality. Every thing was sacrificed to it. Religion, race, creed, class prejudices, pride of birth—in short, all that nations grasp most firmly, hold to most tenaciously, and sacrifice least willingly—were ignored. No minister worthy of being called a statesman, who had the most superficial knowledge of the circumstances of India and her

peoples, could or would have predicated for the policy of that despatch, provided it was carried out to the bitter end, fruitful and happy results. And these remarks are peculiarly applicable to ministers and statesmen who had before them the extraordinary difficulties which have for centuries beset the education of the people of England—to say nothing of those of Ireland—who are of but one race and creed, differing only in denomination. No minister, unless possibly one of the *sic volo sic jubeo* order—an order which recent events would seem to indicate is possibly not yet quite extinct—would have dared to direct that the provisions of this despatch should be carried out in its integrity throughout all parts of an empire differing so widely in its circumstances, its languages, its customs, and whose peoples were in such varied stages of civilization. And Lord Halifax and the Court did not do so. The despatch of 1854 was one of the last, and was certainly one of the most noble and honorable, despatches which ever emanated from the grand old Company of merchants trading to the East Indies. It enunciated and laid down principles only, and specially provided against the evils which its framer had the foresight to be aware might follow a too close adherence to them. It was in the misapplication of those principles in India that mischief was done which is now irreparable. The Hon'ble Court, moreover, in laying down their principles cautiously, did so tentatively, wisely directing that results should be most carefully watched, and, from time to time, fully reported upon. And five years had not elapsed before Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley), as Secretary of State for India, in an elaborate despatch (1859) called for a comprehensive report from the Government of India upon the working of the new educational scheme. But the re-settlement of the country after the events of 1857-58 was, at the time, paramount to all other

considerations, and this despatch remained a dead-letter. For the great and good Lord Canning's inattention to this call, therefore, there was an ample and sufficient excuse. Lord Elgin, who succeeded this noble-minded statesman in the government of India, expressed his willingness to take up the subject; but "it is a legacy," said he, to use his own words, "which has been left me by Earl Canning, and must wait the disposal of more urgent and pressing affairs of State." Ere six months had elapsed His Lordship was laid in his hillside grave, close to the little village called "Dalhousie" after his great predecessor. After Lord Elgin came Lord Lawrence; and for His Lordship's neglect of this singularly important duty we regret that we are unable to find any excuse whatever. In the meantime, whilst the Indian authorities were indulging in dreams of "masterly inactivity" in regard to their foreign policy, an invidious and contagious disease had been setting in at home, and was rapidly spreading throughout the country. Though the races and religious sects of this great peninsula are numerous, the creeds of the people are few. For practical purposes they may be divided into two great classes, Hindus and Mahomedans. The former had eagerly accepted the educational scheme of 1854. It having been announced that, in future, proficiency in English would be the shiboleth to Government patronage, they saw in it the high road to influence, power, and wealth; and they at once girt up their loins and started for the goal. Not so the Mahomedans. For reasons which to those who know and understand the all-pervading influence of the spirit of Islam, are too obvious to need recapitulation, they declined the proffered benefits of their English rulers. In brief, they preferred to barter the future for the present; and refused to sink their individuality of

creed and class in that of a conquering race, still less of races which they themselves had subdued. Their power, and with it their influence, was gone, their means of existence was threatened—nay, was gradually passing away—and nothing remained to them but the sad reminiscence of the former greatness of their class—reminiscences kept ever fresh by the noble monuments which their emperors and kings had left behind them, and the literature which they refused to discard. Sympathy on the part of their rulers for their position and condition they felt there was none, and they brooded in sullen silence over their wrongs—wrong which, since the events of 1857-58, they were hopeless of redressing, much less of avenging. It was left to Earl Mayo, sixteen years after the promulgation of the despatch of 1854, after careful enquiry, to make the significant and unpleasant discovery that, speaking generally, the Mahomedans of the higher and middle classes throughout India stood wholly aloof from co-operation with the Government educational system. On further enquiry, he found that Government had in many instances absorbed charitable bequests left for the service of God or for the benefit of Mahomedans into the general fund for the education of the people, and devoted them to the service of idolators, and in some instances confiscated them altogether. He found that Mahomedans, who formerly had held almost a monopoly of revenue and judicial appointments, were steadily dropping altogether out of Government employment, and were gradually becoming impoverished. He was as ready to acknowledge that Government had failed in its duty to this large and important class of Her Majesty's subjects, as he was quick to perceive the danger with which the State was threatened if the evil thus brought to light was not speedily remedied. In August 1871, Lord Mayo issued a resolution drawing



attention to the facts which we have alluded to— a State paper which is as creditable to his high-minded and honorable feelings as a man, as it is worthy of his reputation as a statesman. This resolution he forwarded to all the subordinate Governments, with instructions to them to report upon the remedial measures which it was desirable to adopt. Sad is it to reflect that the heart of that Viceroy, which first felt a pang of sympathy for the wrongs of the Moslems of India, and sought to redress them, should have been that heart into which one of their number plunged his bloody dagger. "God alone was my partner in the deed," said the assassin, and truly it is denied to us to fathom the depths of His inscrutable wisdom. A less thoughtful Governor-General, with the two terrible crimes committed by members of the Moulvie creed fresh in his memory, might have deferred the consideration of measures for ameliorating the condition of their class. Not so Lord Northbrook. It was one of the first subjects to which he directed his attention; but the reports from all the subordinate Governments and administrations not having been received, he was precluded from taking it up as early as he would have desired. In the meantime, in reply to a communication from the Government of Bengal, he issued a resolution in the Education Department, in which, with the view of removing "some misapprehension" which existed "as to the general policy of the Government of India with regard to education," he took the opportunity "to state that policy distinctly." He declared it to be founded upon the despatch of 1854, and he traversed the salient points of this despatch, paragraph by paragraph, pointing out the misconceptions that had arisen regarding it. He approved cordially of the measures adopted by the Government of Bengal to limit the distribution of the imperial funds to higher

or English education, in favor of a larger expenditure of these funds in the education of the people through means of the vernaculars, as strictly in accordance with the views of the framer of the despatch of 1854. Finally, he expressed his entire approval of the efforts of the Government of Bengal to give a more *practical* turn to education in Bengal, as well as his gratification at the encouragement that had been given to the primary education of the people. He thus early in his career, authoritatively set his foot down upon an evil which has of late been assuming dangerous proportions, and especially in Bengal, the over-education of large numbers of the people for whom no suitable opening in the Government service, the learned professions, or otherwise can be found, and who have no means to support themselves in a position suitable to the *status* in society given them by their education. Such men—men too proud to dig and ashamed to beg—turned adrift to eke out a precarious livelihood, or to starve, *must* become a danger to society, if not to the Government to whom, rightly or wrongly, they are certain to attribute their misfortunes; and Lord Northbrook saw it. It is proper to state, however, that the initiative in this matter had been taken by Lord Mayo. Well had it been for the country, the Government, and the people, if the insane career which the educational policy of the Government of India has been allowed to run since 1854, had been earlier arrested: but let us hope, now that the keynote has been struck by a cautious and careful ruler, the policy which he has forcibly reiterated and re-laid down will be carefully and steadily kept in view by his successors, and not departed from.

Having thus delivered himself upon the general policy of the Government of India in educational matters, Lord Northbrook took up the

question of the special education of the Mahomedans. The last reply to the resolution of Lord Mayo of August 1871—that from the Punjab—was not received till March 1873. In that month the energies of the Viceroy were taxed in comparing the estimates, and generally in maturing the Financial Statement of the year 1873-74, in which the income-tax was abolished. In April came the exodus to Simla. In May the reports of the subordinate Governments on this question were considered in Council, and on the 18th of the month following a resolution on the subject was issued. It will thus be seen that, however other Indian authorities may have slept over the resolution of the murdered Viceroy, Lord Northbrook and his Council lost not an hour in considering and disposing of the replies which were made to it. The resolution falls short, very far short, of the requirements of the case; for, beyond passing rapidly in review the measures adopted by the Local Governments for giving effect to the objects and intentions of the late Lord Mayo, it alters little. The Viceroy in Council, however, expressed his willingness "that the entire body of Mahomedan [as of Hindu] classic literature shall be admitted and take rank among the higher subjects of secular study, and that the languages shall form an important part of the examination for University Degrees." This is something; in some respects too much. In others it is not enough, because it is not precisely what was wanted. His Lordship, however, further expressed his willingness "to listen to any well-considered proposal for modifying or extending in these directions the existing educational system." But whilst we desire to give Lord Northbrook credit for the very best intentions in regard to this subject—the political importance of which, in our estimation, can scarcely be exaggerated—we would beg to observe that it is

for the Government of an empire as large as the whole of Europe without Russia, and which certainly ought to have within itself elements of strength sufficient to enable it to rule the country in all its departments, to propound schemes of good government, and not to invite its subordinate authorities to submit them for its approval or rejection. It is unfortunately the rule in India—a rule strongly animadverted upon by Colonel Chesney if we recollect rightly—that the ideas for great schemes in the various departments of Government generally originate with junior assistants, and percolate *upwards* till they reach the supreme head of the Government. We cannot here discuss this inverted process of governing a great empire, so we must leave the subject for others to reflect upon should they be so disposed. The question of the special education of Mahomedans has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and will some day re-assert its importance if it be not again taken up. Lord Northbrook, however, has shown considerable interest in it, which is more than can be said for any of his predecessors in office, except Lord Mayo; and for that the thanks of forty millions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are justly due to him.

But we have already devoted more time to questions connected with the internal politics of the country than to some may appear necessary. Their important bearing upon the happiness of the people, and the ignorant apathy and neglect with which they are usually treated, must plead our excuse. We must nevertheless hurry on to the review of Lord Northbrook's government in its more purely administrative aspect. And first we shall refer to the Public Works Department—that great Department of the Government service including railways, canals, irrigation, and navigation, military works, and other works of public utility, with

which the public interests and convenience, combined with the welfare, prosperity, and the health—nay, the very lives—of the people, are so intimately bound up. It was the Department in which Lord Mayo took the deepest interest, in which he effected the greatest reforms, and which, as he took the administration of it into his own hands, his name will in the future be most intimately associated. We desire to speak with the utmost tenderness of the failings of a Viceroy for whose honesty of purpose, and whose energy of action, we entertain such sincere respect. But, in justice to the memory of the deceased nobleman, if for no other reason, we feel bound to record our deliberate opinion that perhaps unconsciously, yet not a whit the less materially, in many of his measures of internal policy he suffered his better judgment to be influenced by the counsels and opinions of two clever advisers, and that the exercise of that influence had a baneful and pernicious effect. By the exaggerated and inaccurate representations of the former of the causes which produced the financial crisis of 1869, he was induced, suddenly and hastily, to adopt extreme measures of taxation and contraction which brought very serious, if not disastrous, consequences in their train; and through the empirical and crochety and unsound views of the latter, he was led to give his adherence to measures—including the greatest blunder in Railway policy that has ever been made in any country in the world—which we believe not to have been wholly in accordance with his own unbiassed opinions. And these are but a few out of the many instances which might be adduced of the truth of the assertion which we have hazarded. We are compelled to notice this fact, because, if there is one point more than another on which the character of the departing Viceroy differs from that of his predecessor, it is that whatever opinions he formed,

in however much they may have been modified, re-shaped, or re-formed by the information obtained from others, and the experience gained in India, they were cautiously, perhaps laboriously, arrived at, deliberately formed, and were unmistakeably his own. If, in 1866, the then Viceroy and the Bengal Board of Revenue had looked on unmoved, whilst a million of the human race sickened, starved, and perished miserably before their eyes, Lord Lawrence in some measure atoned for his crime by leaving behind him elaborate and very carefully prepared plans for the extension of railways, and especially for irrigation works of a protective or preventive nature. Had these latter, or any modification of them, been carried out in the years 1869-70-71-72, much suffering must have been avoided; and as they, or other plans similar in purpose if not in design, must now be undertaken, vast sums of money which have been wasted would have been saved. So far back as the cold weather of 1868, Colonel Rundall, the Chief Engineer of Bengal, submitted a scheme of canals for navigation and irrigation through Sarum and Tirhoot, which was to irrigate 870,000 acres at a cost of £1,385,000. In 1870, a "large project" was submitted by the Government of Bengal for taking out a canal from the Upper Gundhuk, at a cost of £1,075,000, which was to command about 1,000,000 acres, and to possess "an inexhaustible supply of water." It contemplated irrigating the district extending to the Baghamutty in the east, and Mozufferpore in the south. Other schemes were also proposed at or about the same time. Now, many or all of these schemes may have required reconsideration, and some have since been rejected in favour of the lightest kind of railways, which in certain districts were thought to be more efficient for the purposes required. But the fact remains, that, although the destruction of life in Orissa,

was fresh in men's minds, in consequence of the unnecessary panic which was created in the mind of Lord Mayo by the exaggerated representations which were made to him regarding the finances in 1869, *nothing at all was done*. Even the "exhaustive enquiries" suggested by Colonel Rundall, preparatory to undertaking the preventive works which he recommended in 1868, had not been made; and Lord Northbrook, when in 1874 he issued his resolution on railways and works of irrigation in Behar, was compelled to admit that "there was but little information before the Government of a reliable character with respect to schemes of irrigation other than from the Gundhuk," and to direct that the surveys be at once made.

Such was the state of things in Bengal and Behar when, upwards of six years after the disastrous loss of life in Orissa in 1866, the famine of 1873-74 burst upon the Government of India. This episode in the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook has been the subject of very severe criticism, a good deal of which has been adverse to the departing Viceroy. Much of it, however, has been criticism of a partizan character, and is consequently unworthy of serious attention. Whilst some have asserted that there was not even scarcity, others, admitting "scarcity," have declared that a "famine" was manufactured to bolster up the ignorance of the Government regarding the actual condition of the country, or for the aggrandizement of officials who hoped to obtain credit for the destruction of a Frankenstein of their own creation. On the other hand, others have with equal pertinacity insisted that a famine, equal in its intensity and far wider in its incidence than that of 1866, actually did take place, and that every one engaged in dealing with it has covered himself with glory. We have taken

extreme pains, both by enquiries from persons employed in the districts situated in the very heart of the famine area—persons, too, the most competent to judge—and from others under whose eyes the whole history of the calamity, from its earliest commencement to its close, have passed, and we assert with the utmost confidence that, in 1873-74, there was a famine in parts of Bengal and Behar of very great severity, and that, if the Government had not acted with the energy that it showed on the occasion, there must inevitably have been a most lamentable loss of life. That there was lavish—nay, reckless—extravagance, and consequently needless waste, is undeniable; and the only question that remains to be considered, in regard to this melancholy waste, is—who is responsible for it? We unhesitatingly say that, whoever is responsible for that portion of the expenditure upon the famine of 1873-74 which may be written off as “waste,” it most certainly is not Lord Northbrook; on the contrary, his proceedings throughout this crisis were marked by extreme caution, extraordinary foresight, and very great ability. We find in the forecast of expenditure on reproductive Public Works published in the July preceding the famine, that his Government contemplated spending, in the five years ending 1877-78, no less than 22½ millions sterling to secure 50,000 square miles from drought. He refused to believe in the famine when first it was represented to him, because the information furnished to him was not as complete as, in his opinion, the circumstances needed, and he declined to sanction the moderate outlay which the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal asked for, till satisfied of its absolute necessity. He further declined to sanction the “prohibition of the export of rice from the Indian dominions to foreign countries,” or the more extended form of the same recommendation, which was subse-



quently made "to prohibit the exportation of food-grains from British Indian ports." For this he was attacked by the Press all round, with perhaps the solitary exception of this journal, but he defended his action on this point in a minute which remains a monument of his ability as a statesman, a political economist of the highest order, and a beacon for the guidance of his successors who may find themselves placed in similar circumstances. It has remained unanswered, for the plain and simple reason, that the arguments which he used were unanswerable. Meantime, whilst refusing to supply the Government of Bengal with money, and declining to prohibit the exportation of rice or food-grains, the Viceroy was not inactive. He sent his Finance Minister to traverse the districts said to be threatened with famine from end to end, and to bring him accurate information from the spot; and on the first indication that the aid of Government would be absolutely necessary to save life, he ordered large stores of rice to be secretly purchased in foreign markets. We fail to perceive in these measures aught but the wisdom of a thoughtful and cautious statesman, for the exercise of which Lord Northbrook is entitled to the highest praise. If an officer holding the high position of Finance Minister was deceived himself, and if, in turn, that Minister deceived the head of the Government; or if, for any other reason, he represented the calamity to be both more intense and more extensive than it in reality was, is the head of the Government to be blamed for not disbelieving his reports? Certainly not. But, it has been asked, why did Lord Northbrook not check Sir Richard Temple's wasteful expenditure? With the *London Times*, backed up by the whole English Press, thundering forth the denunciation that the people of England would hold Lord Northbrook personally responsible, and hunting that, if he suffered the life

of a single Hindu to be lost through starvation, he would be tried for murder and hanged, and the Secretary of State telegraphing to his Government that the expenditure of any amount of money would be sanctioned, but at all costs and at all risks he must save the people alive (*vide Times' telegrams*), could Lord Northbrook have been justified in withholding the sums demanded by the officer immediately responsible for the lives of the people? We do not think so. Truly, a certain air of ridicule was thrown around the incidents of this famine by passages—we cull at random from a serious report—such as the following, written where the Queen's subjects were said to be dying of starvation in thousands, and millions were being spent in keeping them alive:—"But in the autumn of 1873, the crop grew up, then faded, and at last withered. Its color became brown, deepening by the effect of distance into red. The unnatural aspect of such apparently endless expanses of cultivation, the presage of the coming desolation, produced a striking, almost an appalling, effect upon the beholder." On reading such highly-colored, though slightly inappropriate, official utterances as the above, it is assuredly somewhat difficult for the uninspired reviewer to disabuse his mind of the idea that the writer did not imagine, when penning them, that he was describing a scene in some serio-comic performance rather than the realities of a terrible calamity. In this lies the secret, we believe, of much of the hostile criticism which has appeared in India regarding this famine; but it ought to be borne in mind that such passages appear in Sir Richard Temple's ordinary reports with as much regularity, and quite as inevitably, as palm-trees do in all Indian scenes which are produced in the *Illustrated London News*. It would manifestly be as unfair, however, on that account to ignore the real hard-work which the Lieutenant-Governor

of Bengal and his subordinates did in the famine of 1873-74, as it would be unjust to hold Lord Northbrook responsible because Sir Richard Temple has a picturesque mind. A great work was done, a work which had never before been attempted, and consequently never before been accomplished by any Government in the world. What is more, it was well done. It may have cost a third more than was necessary—nay, it may even have cost twice as much; but the lives of thousands of poor people were saved, and of all those to whom honor and credit are due for that noble work, by far the largest share is due to the Viceroy who has just laid down the reins of government. In addition, a precedent has been set, of which the people of this country will reap the benefit for all time, whilst England and the English will be saved any renewal of the reproach which must ever attach to the nation for the terrible loss of life which occurred in 1866.

And the famine over, Lord Northbrook did not neglect to profit by his experiences. In the cold weather in 1874 he visited Durbungah, the heart of the famine districts, and, having satisfied himself by the closest enquiry on the spot as to the extent of the calamity, he carefully investigated the proposals for the preventive measures which had been recommended to him. He did not certainly remain long; but he made good use of his time, travelling in carriages and horseback over fifty miles a day. Whatever Lord Northbrook has done in India, he has done cautiously and conscientiously, and with a careful regard for the finances of the country. The results of his enquiries were, that he revised entirely the plans for the prevention of future famines in these districts, disallowing the more expensive works which were proposed, and substituted in some instances very light railways and canals. We doubt not that the mea-

sure which have been projected and sanctioned by His Lordship will meet the requirements of the case, whilst we know that they will be far less expensive than those previously contemplated. At the present moment a review is being made of the whole of Her Majesty's dominions in India as regards liability to famine from the want either of works of irrigation or of means of communication.

In his railway policy Lord Northbrook has been eminently successful. He prevented the gigantic blunder, which had been committed by the Government which immediately preceded him, from being carried out. It was concurred in by Lord Mayo solely under the mistaken notion that it was an alternative forced upon him by the exigencies of his financial position. We allude to the link of rails between Kotres and Multan, and the line from Lahore to Peshawur, which it had been decided to make upon the narrow-gauge system. We are justified in defending Lord Mayo to the extent which we have done, for he himself has stated that he knew that his decision would be severely attacked, but he considered that the question for India was "*cheap railways or none.*" But Lord Mayo misunderstood the position as regards both the railway and the financial questions, or rather his distorted view of the latter blinded him to the merits of the former. Lord Northbrook thoroughly mastered both questions, and the country has the result in an unbroken chain of arterial lines of railway extending through the length and breadth of the empire, on the broad gauge, and a subordinate system of minor and feeder lines on the narrow gauge, which will answer admirably, when completed, all the purposes for which they are intended. When Lord Northbrook took charge of the government of India, he found 5,136 miles of guaranteed

railways open and 1,598 miles in progress, and 68 miles of State railways open and 1,503 miles in progress. He leaves with 5,693 miles of guaranteed railways open and 217 miles in progress, and 652 miles of State railways open and 1,184 miles in progress. And here we may state that the net return from the State railways in the year 1874, excluding the famine operations, was £25,000 over and above their working expenses. During the past year it was doubled. On the 1st April 1872 there were 15,336 miles of telegraph open, and on the 1st April 1876 there were 16,649 miles open. We might refer to the splendid Financial Statement of 1875, giving a review of Budgets of 1873-74, which contains not only a most complete and comprehensive report, not only of the financial position of the Government of India, of all the great public works completed and in progress in Her Majesty's Indian Empire, including their cost and the present and prospective income; but we have not space for it. Suffice it to say that no empire in the world could show a more honorable record; and when we consider that the present soundness of the finances of India—when considered without reference to the losses by exchange which swallow up surpluses and threaten to swallow up more—is unassailable; that the credit of the Government is but a shade lower (half a per cent., if so much) than that of Great Britain; and that the grand position the Government of this empire now occupies, both as regards the enormous magnitude of works for the development of the resources of the country, and the security, protection, and welfare of its people, has been attained without burdening them with a single fresh tax, it is impossible to withhold from Lord Northbrook and his Government that measure of high praise which they have undoubtedly earned.

But we now come to a dark spot in the administration of the late Viceroy which we fain would pass over, were it possible. We allude to the Baroda "muddle." The term we have applied to it is not classical; but, being ungifted with a "picturesque mind," we can unfortunately find no other that will suit our purpose. The iniquities of the Baroda Court were not of yesterday, nor confined to the proceedings of the ex-Gaekwar. They were very notorious, and of very old standing. Of the late ruler it will suffice to state that he was taken from a prison where he had been incarcerated by the late king, his relative, on a charge of having attempted fratricide, to be placed on the throne. This was the act of the Government of India, and the Government of India had no right, therefore, to anticipate the happiest results from their choice, morally or ministerially. On the contrary, they had the best reasons to look for the reverse; and if they did so, they were certainly not disappointed. The misrule of the ex-Gaekwar commenced with his reign, and shortly attained such notoriety that it became a scandal to the empire. An official investigation was held, and the disclosures made by it showed clearly the utter unfitness of the occupant of the *gadi* to rule or to reign. Had he been then deposed, we believe the voice of the people of the State, as well as that of the princes and people of India, would have unanimously acknowledged alike the wisdom and the righteousness of the act. But Lord Northbrook, ever cautious, and unwilling to take extreme measures, preferred to give him a limited period (eighteen months), *before deposition*, within which to reform his government. And this fact in the consideration of this question is of much importance. Meantime, the life of the British Resident was attempted by poison, and the Gaekwar was accused of being the instigator of the

crime. Colonel Phayre was the representative of Her Majesty's Viceroy at a foreign court; and the matter was considered serious, as viewed from this point no doubt it was. Still it was, by no means strange. Outram, when at Baroda, never went to bed without a suspicion that he might awake in the world to come. His drinking-water was invariably padlocked. He would have treated such a discovery as that of the sediment in the pummeloe juice with supreme contempt. Sleeman would probably have sent a message to the king, advising him to instruct his people, when next they attempted the life of a British officer, to use better and more certain implements of destruction. John Nicholson would have set a watch, and, as the fatal dose was being put into the tumbler, he would have severed the head of the assassin from his body with his own sword. This head, reeking with blood, he would have sent, with his compliments, to the reigning monarch, with an intimation that "such was the punishment reserved for traitors who attempt the lives of British Residents." The Gaekwar would have trembled in his presence ever afterwards, and the wishes of the Bombay Government would have been law in the State. Under no circumstances would any of these men—and many others we could mention—whatever might have been their secret suspicions, have committed so terrible a political blunder as to accuse the Gaekwar of the crime, or to involve the Government they represented in such serious complications as arose out of the thoughtless proceedings of Colonel Phayre. No political officer, but a bungler, would have thought of such a course of procedure. Let the Gaekwar have been ten times more criminal than he was or is, the Government of India had morally no responsibility for the crimes which, in his *private* capacity, he may have committed. The Resident's

first duty was to his own Government, and he ought carefully to have considered the consequences of his act to the Crown and the State he served, than the risk to his own life, which was comparatively of no consequence whatever. He acted differently, and a mighty scandal has been the result. A Commission—a mixed Commission of natives and Europeans—was appointed to take evidence and report to the Government of India. But this Commission resolved itself into a tribunal for the public trial of the accused, and its proceedings became a public scandal. How, in the face of Lord Northbrook's order, this second blunder took place, we are unable to say. Lord Northbrook has been blamed first for appointing a mixed Commission, and secondly for appointing a Commission at all. For this, however, no blame is attributable to the ex-Viceroy. With the case of the Nawab of Tonk before him, and the very strong opinions expressed on the case both times it was brought before Parliament, Lord Northbrook had no alternative. Besides which, the Commission as convened was ordered from home. In further proof, moreover, that blame is wrongfully allotted to His Lordship on this score, had there been no division of native and European opinion, it is unquestionable that the wisdom of this measure would have been lauded beyond measure. It was an attempt to introduce into India the noblest principle of English justice—the trial of an accused by his peers. It failed, and all that can now be said on the subject is, that experience has been gained which may prove of great value to future Governments of India.

It is, however, of no service to the Government of the day, as will shortly be shown. The verdict of the court—we have no alternative, notwithstanding the orders of the Viceroy to the contrary, but to treat the decision as judicial—was



one of "not proven," which it is well known is tantamount to an acquittal. The sentence was that the Gaekwar was to be deposed for his previous misconduct. In other words, he was punished for a crime for which he was never tried. It is worse even still; he was punished for misconduct for which the honor of the British Government was pledged to allow him time to atone for, and which its own representative had reported that he was doing, if he had not already done it. It is proper to mention that the sentence, as published, contains *two* judgments—that of Her Majesty's Government, and that of the Government of India, both of which are in many important particulars conflicting. It is improper in any case, if differences of opinion exist between the Indian and Home Governments, that these differences should be made public. In many instances such a course of procedure must be mischievous; in some instances it may be highly dangerous. As if to improve matters, the Gaekwar, though not found guilty of any crime, is kept a close prisoner, denied the privilege even of seeing or consulting his legal advisers, except in the presence of a British officer. These are facts which consort strangely with the attempt to introduce the highest principle of British justice, and which deprive the Government of India of the benefits it might otherwise have claimed. Credit is taken for it on the ground that its decision re-affirmed the non-annexation policy of the Queen's Proclamation in a decisive and practical manner; but that claim is wholly inadmissible. Had the Viceroy or Secretary of State, or both, wished to annex the Baroda State, Parliament would never have sanctioned it. Annexation and mutiny and rebellion are too closely allied in the public mind at Home for any Minister of the Crown to dream of the former in the case of any crime short of

"waging war." But as it is utterly impossible, from the published records in this case—and no other sources are available to us—to determine where the responsibility of the Government of India ends, and that of Her Majesty's Government begins, it is clear that we have no alternative but to take shelter behind the ambiguity of the unclassical term which we made use of on opening up this dark spot in Lord Northbrook's administration—that is to say, declare the whole thing a "muddle," and there leave it.

Having done so, we gladly turn to a subject in which the administration of Lord Northbrook shows to much advantage. It is the "Indian Customs and Tariff Act" which was introduced last August. We pass over the suddenness with which this Act was introduced, and the fact that the law was passed at Simla, when none of the commercial members of the Legislative Council were present. The former has been made a ground of complaint by the Secretary of State, and the latter gave offence to the mercantile community of India. Both points would be of no importance were it not for the principles they involve. The Act itself, it appears to us, has not been well understood—a fact which is due to the unfortunate circumstance of a difference of opinion regarding it having arisen between the Indian and Home authorities. It has been generally assumed that the Marquis of Salisbury was desirous of removing the 5 per cent. import duty on Manchester goods, and his public speeches fully warrant this assumption. It has been asserted, moreover, that His Lordship's object in wishing to do so was to give a sop to Manchester in return for political party services. But this notion is so absurd that we should not notice it were it not that it has been frequently put forward. Lord Salisbury is far too high-minded a man, and

far too upright a minister, to be actuated in his public proceedings by any motives other than those which spring from the most exalted of all sources—a firm conviction that the cause which he advocates is based upon the principles of justice and right. If he advocates the removal of the import duties on Manchester goods, he does so because he believes that they are in principle wrong, and that the benefits conferred upon the millions of Indian people, who will thus obtain cheaper clothing, will far outweigh the benefits now derived by the comparatively few mill-owners of Bombay by the retention of this duty. And were the question one simply of Manchester *versus* Bombay mill-owners, we should be disposed to agree with the Marquis. We do not, however, take that view of the case. The Tariff Act embraces a good deal more than the cotton duties. It abolishes export duties which produced a revenue of £178,000, and import duties which produced a revenue of an equal amount, imposing import duties to produce only a revenue of £100,000. It revised the Tariff valuation at a net loss of £62,000, giving, on the whole, a net relief to the Indian public of £308,000. Now, here we have an important fact to deal with. Lord Northbrook sacrifices a revenue from customers of upwards of a quarter of a million. He had two years before sacrificed a revenue of upwards of half a million by the removal of an obnoxious and irritating tax, and during the whole term of his Government he has imposed no fresh taxes. The Secretary of State, we are told, says—"I do not object to your removing the duties you propose to remove, but you should first remove the duty upon Manchester goods." Lord Northbrook replies in the memorable words used by Lord Halifax to the Manchester merchants when they wished him to coerce the Government of India with compelling the people of India to grow cotton

for their benefit, but refused to pledge themselves to purchase it, in case of a cessation of hostilities in America—"Whatever is for the real interest of India I will do, and do willingly, but no more." And it would be very difficult for them who recollect the action of the Manchester cotton-spinners in the cotton famine of 1862, and the fact that Manchester was the only city in the whole of Great Britain which, in the first instance, refused to subscribe a shilling to the Indian Famine Fund of 1874, to sympathise with them in any question where their interests alone are concerned. The duty yields a revenue of £800,000. Lord Northbrook had no objection on protective grounds to its removal; but he saw no means of doing so without imposing fresh taxes; besides which, he was of opinion that other burdens pressed more heavily and more unequally on the people of India than this duty, and ought therefore to be first removed. The question, therefore, about which so much has been written, has nothing whatever to do with free-trade or protection, and may be resolved into one of purely—Who is responsible for the financial position of the Indian Government, the Secretary of State for India, or the Viceroy? If the former, it is certainly not sufficient that he should say to Her Majesty's Viceroy—"I order you to abolish this tax or that duty." He should at the same time provide the ways and means to make good the deficiency which his order thus creates, and in addition hold himself answerable for the result. Will Lord Salisbury, will any Secretary of State, do this? If he is wise, he certainly will not. But, on the other hand, should he or any Secretary of State be so unwise as to act as though he approved this doctrine, he must necessarily relieve the Viceroy of that responsibility for the sound condition of the finances of the empire without which it would

be perilous to entrust any man with the powers to rule. Considerations of the deepest interest to the good government of this country, and of high State policy, are involved in the question raised regarding this Tariff Act. Lord Northbrook has acted with both dignity and courage in the stand he has made on this occasion; and as we conscientiously believe that he is right in his views, he has our sympathies in the course that he has seen fit to adopt. Lord Northbrook's financial policy, as a whole, is entitled to the warmest admiration of the Indian public, and we should regret to see it altered. Upon the four years of his government there has been, in round numbers, a saving of some £7,000,000, which has paid the whole cost of the famine of 1873-74, and left over and above a considerable surplus. His foreign policy has been marked by extreme caution. The country has been involved in no wars. A political mission was sent to the Ataligh Ghazee, which was moderately successful; and also a political mission to the court of Ava. The latter was at first pronounced to be a failure, but it was not fully understood by the Indian public, who seem to have considered the whole question to be one of "boots." The real issues were—(1) a territorial boundary dispute; (2) the question of allowing a British escort to pass through Burmah. On both points the king yielded, and that was all. Affairs have been disturbed in Khelat for some time past; but the double system which has hitherto been observed in dealing with the tribes in Upper and Lower Khelat has been abandoned; and to carry out this measure more successfully, British relations with Beluchistan have been made over to the Governor of the Punjab. The north-west frontier also has lately been somewhat unsettled in the neighbourhood of Kohat; and our relations with the Afreedees

have not yet been placed on the most satisfactory footing. Still, the country is at peace, both internally and externally. Of legislation during Lord Northbrook's Viceroyalty there has been comparatively little; and it is one of the happiest features of his reign. There has lately been too much of it in India. The natives do not understand it. It irritates them, and they do not like it. But, thanks to the splendid work of Sir H. Sumner, aided by Sir H. Harington, and supplemented by the labors of Mr. FitzJames Stevens, the law has been placed on a sounder footing in India than in any country in the world; and there will not in future be a necessity for any very great action in this department.

In the opening of this review we have endeavoured to show that what was mainly required at the time Lord Northbrook entered on office, was to restore the confidence of the people in the British Government, which, from a variety of causes, as admitted by Lord Mayo, had been somewhat shaken. Lord Northbrook has, we think we may say, eminently succeeded, during his four years of office, in effecting this great political end. The visit of the Prince of Wales at its close has set, as it were, the seal upon the wise measures which he adopted to bring about this happy result. Lord Northbrook received His Royal Highness with the dignity and splendour becoming the representative of the Sovereign of this empire, and the brilliancy of the Heir Apparent's reception in all parts of India which he visited, must, in great part, be set down to the spirit of loyalty, liberality, and hospitality which His Lordship from the outset encouraged. Lord Northbrook is personally reserved and distant, perhaps somewhat cold in manner; and he has not, consequently, enjoyed the popularity which his geniality, frankness, and *bon-homme* ensured

for his predecessor. But his courtesy, true kindness, and consideration for others, cannot fail to have favorably impressed all who have been brought closely in contact with him. In the distribution of his patronage he has been discriminating and just. In all his public acts his first and chief consideration has been the interests of the public service, the good of the country, and the welfare of its people. India may have had a more brilliant, but we doubt very much if India has ever had a better, ruler than Lord Northbrook.

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THE  
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APRIL, 1876.

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OURSELVES.

With the April number, the *National Magazine* ushers itself into the second year of its existence. The conductors of the journal take this opportunity to return thanks to their numerous friends and patrons for the steady support accorded to them during the past twelve months. Periodical literature in this country labours under a peculiar difficulty. Those difficulties, always formidable, are at times overwhelming. It would be impossible fully to analyse the nature of those difficulties or to trace them to their source; but the fact of their existence will be patent when it is remembered that upto this time not a single journal in this country has reached the standard of a second-rate periodical in England. Baskets-ful of them spring into existence every year, but not a single one can be pointed out which has survived a decade and continues to flourish in health and vigor. Most of them die in their infancy, and the few that survive merely linger. Talents to conduct such journals are not wanting, nor is public spirit either to support them, yet there seems to hang a blight upon journalism in this country. It is not that the Native periodicals alone are exposed to it, but the journals of higher pretensions and conducted solely and supported mainly by the European community seriously suffer from its effects. In the midst of this blight, so detrimental to projects that start under more favorable auspices, the conductors of the *National Magazine* cannot be sanguine of success. But that the blight

has not already come upon their project is a matter of congratulation. The magazine has its shortcomings, and those shortcomings are owing as much to the difficulties inherent to periodical journalism in this country as to other causes which are peculiar to the *National*. But in spite of those shortcomings, the Magazine has struggled successfully for existence and that success is due entirely to the generosity of its friends and patrons. Its shortcomings are many and none are more painfully conscious of them than the conductors of the Magazine themselves. But in spite of them the support of the generous public to the undertaking may be said to have been unflinching. The steadily swelling list of subscribers testifies to this fact.

The *National Magazine* does not acknowledge itself to be the recognized organ of any particular shade of opinion, or of any particular clique or community. It seeks the dissemination of truth and eclecticism is its chief motto.\* A rigid adherence to this principle during the past twelve months, has found its supporters whose number is steadily increasing and its conductors hope to persevere in that line of policy and to maintain it as their guide. Such a venture finds but little support in the world. All the great communities have their respective standards which they rigidly maintain even at the sacrifice of truth and honesty. No undertaking which goes forth to the world without the impress of any particular standard has any chance of success. What is every body's business is scouted as nobody's, and no body would lend its support to any undertaking that does not bear its impress upon it. There is a sort of intolerance of each other's thoughts and partyism may be said to be rampant in the world. But it happens to be the peculiar feature of the state of society in this country that rampant partyism has no place in it. The Indian community is certainly divided into many sections, and each section has its own way of thinking. But in all these sections there prevails a spirit of toleration for each others' views and sentiments. It is thus that journals founded upon eclectic principles have any chance of success in this country, which seldom attends those which are founded upon sectarian principles, and it is thus that the *National Magazine* hopes for success.

The internal management of the journal has not been quite so satisfactory as its conductors would wish. In fact, it has been very annoying to its subscribers, and were it not for the generous forbearance of the latter, the journal would have ceased to exist. Arrangements are however in progress and are expected soon to come into operation which might remove all causes of dissatisfaction and reduce the present arrear of four months.

## LITERARY.

It is very difficult to know the true position of woman in Athenian life. Was she a slave and her home a prison; was the spouse of a noble, on a par with a legitimate wife of a pacha? These are some of the questions that M. Lallier raises, but does not answer, in his volume "The condition of woman in the Athenian family." It is impossible to fix this condition with precision. The religious, so intimately tied with the civil law of Greece, is in contradiction with the latter respecting the position of woman. Documents are wanting to settle the question; the fragments of Attic law that exist, enable a kind of reconstruction to be made, such as Cuvier effected for the ante-diluvian world. The tragedies represent manners very differently, and underneath the brutal masks of ancient comedy, we cannot find woman. Respecting new Comedy, our authority is, "dust of broken marbles," according to M. Villemain. The philosophers and moralists give but little help. Xenophon points only an ideal portrait of woman, and treats her disdainfully; Plato is more gallant, but Aristotle roundly declares woman is a being inferior to man, and maintained that "a slave, a woman, and a child had need to be governed," and a state of tutelage was really the condition in which an Athenian woman lived. Her father disposed of her, and she married the husband he selected, she had no choice; if the father died without naming a husband for her in his will, his nearest of kin performed that duty, and an orphan without fortune and friends, became the ward of the public Treasury. When married woman exchanged the tutelage of home for that of a husband, who had not the power of life and death over her, however, as among the Romans;

## LITERARY.

he had the control of her fortune, but which in case of divorce had to be restored to the donor. She could not possess property in her own right, nor sign any deed, &c., nor defend herself before a Tribunal if accused; it is, thus Pericles spoke for Aspasia, and Hyperides for Phryne. The husband could repudiate his wife on a very slight pretext, and marry again where wealth or ambition were the attractions, or if he believed his wife would be happier with a husband richer and younger. He could also compel his wife to abandon her new-born, if it were a girl, in case he had no dowry to give the little stranger; he could marry his daughter without consulting his wife, and designate in his will, the husband his widow ought to select. If the husband and tutor failed to protect his wife, the law replaced him. As her husband, the wife could demand a divorce. The home-life of the young Athenian girl was very secluded; her occupations were general reading, writing, music, singing, needlework, and spinning; she assisted her mother in house-keeping and distributed work to the servants; she took part in the public religious processions, and wove the sacred Veil of Athena; she was educated "to see nothing, to hear nothing, and to ask no questions"—all the contrary of a girl's education to-day. Between the ages of 15 and 17 the Athenian girl was married; often she never saw her husband till the wedding day, and he may only have seen her in one of the sacred public processions; the object to attain was, that the young couple were equal in point of fortune and social standing. Marriage was, in fact, a duty as the law declared bachelors ineligible for public functions. "I pay my taxes in bearing children for the state," exclaims one of Aristophane's heroines. Man and wife were not to lead an idle life; he was the bread-winner; the wife was sovereign mistress of the home, and was expected to wisely expend her husband's earnings. She was, as Xenophon remarks, "the queen bee resting in the hive and sending the others out to work, and what each brought back, she conserved and administered." The Athenian wife bestowed much attention on her toilette; she painted her face—and with a thick coat too; she colored her eyes and eye-brows, took several baths daily; wore what we might call very high-heeled slippers; she was a coquette; her head-dress was a little scaffolding, she had a

weakness for rich tissues, scarves and veils woven with gold or embroidered with flowers; though living retired she was not a prisoner; she could pay visits; go to see tragedies performed; she was prohibited to witness comedies, as severely as ladies to-day are refused admittance to the secret museum of Naples. She took part in the religious processions, and could give parties in the absence of her husband. In proportion as the household was poor—woman was more free—as in the fourth category of citizens, because she might not be able to have a slave, and so had to market for herself. Athens erected in the middle of the Acropolis, statues to distinguished women, just as Rome honored Lucretia, Virginia, &c. Many wives often left home clandestinely, and Plutarch suggested the best means to prevent them, was to lock up their embroidered slippers, their jewels, and rich purple robes. The laws of Egypt prohibited woman from wearing shoes, in order to force her to keep within doors. M. Lallier rejects the sophism, that it was Christianity emancipated woman; some maintain that after 1876 years of the Christian era something remains yet to be done for her complete emancipation; she complains alike of legal and social shackles still. The enfranchisement of woman dates from the first ages of antique civilisation, from the day when she ceased to be slave to become the companion of man as in the Hellenic monogamy. Cato Major deplored this influence of woman; what would he have thought of that old German chivalry which described woman as, "sitting on a throne of gold, with twelve stars for crown, and the head of man for a foot-stool!" Paganism peopled Olympus with goddesses equal, and often superior to powerful gods. After Zeus, the great divinities are goddesses. Per contra, M. Menard remarks, "the feminine has no place in the Trinity," and "Catholicism has no priestesses."

There is no eminent writer more complex than Alexandre Dumas fils, and his admirers and detractors form two equal camps, and it may be said with truth, he deserves all the evil as well as he merits all the good expressed respecting him. He pleases and irritates, attracts and repels; he has such immense natural talent that one is inclined to pardon him, and he makes such use of it, that one regrets his ability.

He is a dramatist, and it is to the theatre he owes his popularity; his romances are but dramas, and he himself has discovered, that romance writing was not his peculiar gift. While other accomplished authors have failed at the theatre, Dumas has never descended lower than a demi-success. M. Charles Bigot, who has made a masterly examination of Dumas as a writer, states, Dumas has received from nature the gift of composing an action; he has also the art of disguising difficulties and causing spectators to accept improbabilities. His wit is unquestionable, and so profuse, that he confers it on all his characters; it is eminently Parisian also, which accounts at the same time for its want of variety; his lyre has but one cord. Of all the passions that agitate the world, he can only paint one, and this one only in special conditions. He cannot depict young girls, honest men, or aged individuals; such as he has given are but manikins; he portrays only the woman of thirty years, she who has suffered by men, or caused men to suffer; the courtesan and her surroundings are all that he can give with fidelity; the best female portrait he has made, is that of the *Princesse George*. In addition to being an artiste, Dumas has the weakness to claim to be a moralist. His earliest theory was that of pardoning fallen woman, as in the *Dame aux Camelias*; this he has long since relinquished; instead of being the judge, he now is the executioner of the *Demi-monde*; he shows the hideous creature of the Apocalypse in all her horror. "The perverse woman has no right to exist, and it is the duty of man to crush her; the harem is the best place to confine her; man is the instrument of God; woman is the instrument of man. The ideas of Dumas are not commonplace, but uncouth; this is the consequence of his not being educated; he has read but little, and he belongs to that class of people who discover America every three months; he likes social questions, but has never studied a treatise on political economy, and considers graphology, chiromancy, and spiritism, as real sciences, as chemistry and physics; he claims to be a professor though he has never been a student. Dumas was thrown all young on the world, and had to make his way in all worlds; he knows nothing of the virtues of middle-class life, and the salons of the aristocracy have been closed temples for him.

One redeeming quality Dumas possesses and preaches—the love of work and the hatred of idle pleasures; it was the choice made by Hercules also. Had Dumas received an education and a direction commensurate with his natural gifts, he would have produced works that posterity would not willingly let die.

Italy like France, is devoting much attention to literature, as one of the most efficacious means for making good politics in the largest sense of the word. But Italians trust to Reviews as the vehicles of literature, while the French rely on the daily press. There is strictly speaking but one review in France, and it is humorously said, to have fewer readers than subscribers; the French prefer to have their literature, as well as their science, and philosophy served up in a newspaper form, and hence, why the journals have the most eminent men in the country for contributors. In publishing the *Revista Europea* in Paris, in French, simultaneously with the Italian editors at Florence, the conductors have made a mistake in counting upon French support. The *Revista* is largely devoted to the scientific study of facts, and the establishing of experience in the place of imagination; to encouraging the science of things and not of words, and recognising reason as the sole authority.

A new edition of the "Works La Bruyere" has appeared, by M. Chassang. There is nothing fresh to be said respecting La Bruyere as a writer; he composed only one book, that he was occupied during his whole life revising and retouching, so that finally it acquired such perfection as to become one of the *chefs-d'œuvre*, the most original and polished in the French language. As a moralist and a philosopher he is open to discussion; he was Christian as he was the adulator of monarchy; he knew when to practise his devotions and to make his genuflections—he obeyed the usages. Boileau said, La Bruyere was a very honest man, and would not have been wanting in anything, had nature only made him as amiable as he himself wished to be. Despite the most minute investigations we know very little that is reliable respecting his private life; his position of tutor, or "domestic" as the Princes described him, in the house of the Condé, was not calculated to give him an exalted opinion of the great; the father of his pupil

was a fool, if not worse, so the preceptor was but too justified in writing; "how many men there are whose name only is of value; seen very near, they are less than nothing—they impose by distance." La Bruyere possessed ability rather than vigor and courage; but after strength, and perhaps sometimes before it, ability is the queen of the world. M. Chassang gives fifteen new letters from La Bruyere to the Prince de Cende, but they contain no decisive fact, nothing which lays bare the man, and permits us to discover those causes that produced his manner of seeing and judging humanity. As a critic then, La Bruyere only can be estimated. The two volumes are beautifully printed and the notes instructive.

Don Jose del Perojo of Madrid has published an interesting volume, and in excellent and easy Spanish, on the result of a tour beyond the Rhine, to study the intellectual movement in Germany. All the recent phases of German thought are scrupulously examined. The chapter on Henri Heine is enriched by several hitherto unpublished letters from that cynical son of Fatherland and pensioner of Louis Philippe. The work is written to meet the new order of things in Spain; it is very reliable and can be thus very profitable. In the collection Rivadeneyra, and forming volume 65, Don Adolfo de Castro recalls the titles of Spain to count in the history of European Philosophy; in tracing them to Seneca, he perhaps goes a little too far, but some allowance must be made for castilian pride. However, Spain can feel proud of Raymond Lulle, Vivés, Valdes and Huarte. "*Acrossa Spain*" is a readable and amusing scamper by M. Meylan, being a series of daily sketches of men, manners and scenery. In Andalusia the plains are as fertile as they are gay; according to the local muse, the soil is so rich, that if you tickle it with a rake it will respond by a harvest. Sydney Smith must have remembered this Spanish gasconade when he observed of the soil of Australia, that if, one tickled it with a straw, it laughed a harvest.

M. de Saint Amond, in his *Femmes de cour de la Louis XV.*," enables us to obtain a closer insight into the life, and to better comprehend the monarch who was the incarnation of despotic power, and invested with absolute authority from his cradle. The book commences with the



year 1715, and terminates with the death, in 1768, of Marie Leckzinska—the last queen who had finished her days on the throne of France. During the first years of his reign, the pious pupil of Cardinal de Fleury was a model of domestic virtue and conjugal fidelity; then succeeded the domination of the favorites; the three Nesles-sisters, became in turn the mistresses of the king; later succeeded Madame de Pompadour, and then that last shame of all, la Du Barry—"the portress of the Revolution." The volume though dealing with scandals, is not a book of scandal; the author respects himself and his readers. The only questionable parts of the book are the religious tendencies of the writer. Louis XV. was a Sardanapalus who consumed himself, but who had not the misfortune to finish in the apotheosis of a grand catastrophe. M. Klaczko, ex-member of the Austrian Parliament, has published his contributions to a French serial.—"The two Chancellors," in one volume. These remarkable papers treat of Princes Bismarck and Gortchakoff. The author does not illustrate Lucian's theory, that an historian ought to be without country, without altar. In the astonishing fortune of Bismarck, the strongest and most happy event for him, has been the constant fidelity of Prince Gortchakoff, and it is the common hatred of Austria, which has made them such fast friends. The author says it is difficult to decide whether France or Russia has lost the most by the success of Prussia. It was the influence of the Czar that prevented Austria and Denmark from aiding France in 1870, but sooner or later Germany and Russia are destined to engage in a mortal combat for the supremacy of Europe.

Two safe novels—*Méline*, by Mme Siefert, written in an excellent tone, full of generous life, and elegant delicacies of style, where man counselled to make woman what he wishes her to be, by education; *La Fortune d'Angèle* is an agreeable story, where a poor young girl prefers the love of a provincial attorney's clerk, to that of a Parisian poet. The moral is not new; the young Charlottes have been over and over again cautioned not listen to Werther, but to marry the honest working Albert. Readers will experience a solid pleasure in perusing the "*Cahiers de Sainte-Beuve*," which are the daily notes and epigrams,

recorded by that eminent and ever youthful critic, on men and passing events; the wit and maxims are either his own or what he has heard—in either case excellent.

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## INDIAN FAMINE OF 1874.

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DELIGHTFUL Ind whose fertile soil,  
 Source of gain for all strangers' toil;  
 Whose lands abound with wholesome food,  
 Forests full with rich Sandal-wood;  
 Craggy rocks store of healthy air,  
 Display above a glitter fair;—  
 Streams infuse a contin'al flow,  
 Of liquid gold with yellow glow;—  
 Sweet is the charm in open plain,  
 Thrice a-year to view the grow'ng grain,  
 Fruits of sorts in every part,  
 Mingled view of nature and art;—  
 To suit the seasons whole year round,  
 Hang fruits on trees over the ground;  
 Of vari'us type and colour fair,  
 Pleasant aspect with no despair;—  
 Fabled apples rare Ibra's boast,  
 Are but trifles in Ind'an coast;—  
 No want was dreamt for future store,  
 All fertil'd in time more and more;  
 So abundant grew all the best,  
 That the nations of the West,  
 All who aim'd to be rich and great,  
 Ne'er failed its wealth to covet;  
 By plunder, loan or earn or gain,  
 Reaped their wealth with toil and pain

Betook'to flight their native way,  
 Each at home grand'ur to display ;  
 Enrich'd they ran their native shore ;  
 Ungrateful them Great India bore ;  
 When wheel of fortune took bett'r course,  
 \*England for commerce had recourse,  
 It wisely chos<sup>e</sup> this golden land,  
 Serv'd its purpose with able hand ;  
 Possess'd the soil, remov'd the curse,  
 Improv'd its sons, as well its purse ;—  
 Both nations in harm'ny past,  
 Long and wide in bliss, till at last  
 The great blast of locust—like swarm,  
 Poured from North to create a harm :  
 Land near and nigh as Otto's throne,  
 Shown thus devastation prone :  
 It prov'd the fact as thought by all,  
 India's harvest it gave a call ;—  
 Unknown its store past Cashmere tract,  
 Full their supply found out a fact ;—  
 In little time vanish'd the corn,  
 Cry of want heard every morn ;—  
 Fragments of distress here and there,  
 Form'd harmon'us whole ev'ry where ;—  
 The grim panic with dreadful pace,  
 Walk'd o'er the land from place to place ;  
 With long legged steps pushing down  
 The victims of the surround'ng town ;—  
 Its mighty grasp with torments full,  
 Gave life to life a heavy pull ;—  
 Shrunken mis'erable show'd their looks,  
 Such haps we never read in books ;—  
 The weight of bones they could not bear,  
 Emaciate full here and there :—  
 The lamp of life to flicker in,

Seldom thought of, or felt within ;—  
 Yet scramble snarl and scratch pice thrown,  
 With reviv'ng hope to buy their corn ;  
 To save their lives, to work for gain,  
 Each t'feed his wife and child again ;  
 While such horror seen hover'd here,  
 It reach'd a philanthropic ear ;  
 Brook-like swift s'rene from further North,  
 Approach'd our North-Brook full of mirth ;  
 With vigour of mind and belief,  
 He past to and fro for relief ;  
 To save the poor he bent his whole,  
 True in his heart 'ts no cajole :—  
 His'wn temples found a Temple more,  
 Thus Temple cub'd the people 'dore ;  
 Canals and brooks on ev'ry land,  
 Alms and bounty pour ev'ry hand ;  
 Famine flies, Great-Brooke turns his course,  
 Leaving Ind'a in great remorse.

JOINTY CHUNDER SEIN.

## THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL CONSOLIDATION ACT, 18

THE Act IV of 1876 B. C. purports to give to Calcutta an elective Municipality. This concession persistently demanded for a long time by a certain section of the Calcutta community, has come at last, but not to the fullest extent to which it was demanded. Nearly seven years ago, Mr. James Wilson, the Editor of the *Indian Daily News* and a Member of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta which has just been abolished, in an elaborate pamphlet broached a scheme for the muni-

pal self-government of the Town. Although that scheme in the abstract was not an unpractical one, yet the time when it was broached not being very propitious it produced no practical result. The Justices' corporation which the corporation of 1876 supersedes, was then in its middle age. Causes which latterly made it detestable to the rate-payers had not then accumulated so thickly. Abuses had begun to crop out, but the people did not despair. There were yet hopes of reform. People never expected nor wished for a radical change, such as has now taken place, and there were ample reasons to believe that it was possible to maintain the principles of the constitution of the corporation, yet at the same time so to amend its details as to prevent all possibilities of abuse. Hence Mr. Wilson's scheme which contemplated a radical change failed to create much impression. But abuses latterly thickened and the cry arose for a new constitution. In an evil hour Sir Stuart Hogg proposed a scheme for the consolidation of the municipal law of Calcutta. The people taking advantage of the opportunity pressed hard their demand and, the Government of Sir Richard Temple yielding to that cry granted the concession but charily. It is not the object of the following pages to discuss upon the principles of the municipal self-government which has now been accorded to the people. Taking all circumstances into consideration the new constitution may or may not be superior to the old. But the concession has been granted and a law passed purporting to substitute an elective municipality for the Town of Calcutta in the place of the Justices' corporation. Apart from any consideration of the main principles, upon which it has been founded, the law is defective in the extreme. The details appear to have been settled in a very perfunctory manner and the phraseology in some places are obscure beyond all powers of comprehension. To point out some of these defects is the object of the present paper.

The Calcutta Municipality henceforward to be termed "the Corporation for the Town of Calcutta" is to be composed of seventy-two members, forty-eight to be elected by the rate-payers and tax-payers after the manner prescribed in the Act and twenty-four to be appointed by the local Government. Certain qualifications have been

prescribed for the elective members, but none in respect to those who are to be appointed by Government, except as in the case of elective members that they shall be male persons above the age of twenty-one years and residents within the Town or the Suburbs. It is certainly very necessary that there should be some restrictions upon the choice of the electors, and that Government should appoint a certain number of members upon some equitable principles of proportion, but the choice of the latter has in effect been left entirely unfettered. It is not likely that this freedom of choice would ever come to be abused, but it gives an advantage to Government which has been withheld from the rate-payers. It might be urged that that advantage on the side of the Government is counterbalanced by the advantage of number which has been conceded to the latter, but that consideration does not weigh much when it is remembered that Government is not entitled to send more representatives than it has been empowered to send, and strictly speaking not even quite so many. If the Government were rated according to the qualifications of the general body of voters, the number of representatives which it would be entitled to send, would be considerably less and hardly exceed unit. An individual rate-payer whatever might be the value of his property, above the minimum which entails the payment of an annual rate of rupees twenty-five in any one ward, is not entitled to give more votes than the number of commissioners assigned to the ward in respect to which he chooses to vote, and the largest number of commissioners assigned to any one ward is three. Taking this fact into consideration and assuming the Government as holding properties in six wards only, it would appear to have the benefit of four Commissioners for each of the six wards independent of the Commissioners to be elected by the rate-payers. If it be urged that Government does not base its claims upon its property qualification like the rest of the rate and tax-payers, but upon other considerations, the number twenty-four and that number in addition to the power granted to it of appointing the Chairman, would appear to be more than sufficient for all legitimate purposes. The assumed disadvantage therefore of number is counterbalanced by these advantages, and the advantage of the free-

dom of the choice of representatives irrespective of the qualifications which are prescribed in the case of the rate and tax-payers, would appear to be one too many. The evil of this restriction of choice imposed upon the rate-payers is that the field for their selection becomes limited. Property and intellectual qualifications are not always combined in one and the same individual, and where the both are not so combined, the people would have to elect for their representative a person whom otherwise they would perhaps have least thought of, and the inevitable result would be that dummies on the part of the people would be set against the intellectually-gifted representatives of the Government; and the influence of the *aplavastes* would prevail.

Section 8 of the Act prescribes qualifications for voters. Any male resident within the Town or the Suburbs who is above the age of twenty-one years, and who has paid on his own behalf and not otherwise any of the rates mentioned in Chapter IV, or taxes mentioned in Parts I and II of Chapter III or any of the said rates and taxes to the aggregate amount of rupees twenty-five in a year, shall be entitled to vote either in the ward in which he resides, or in that in which his place of business is situated. The extent of the application of this Section is not clear enough, or if it be taken to mean what its words import, a large number of *defacto* rate-payers, who are otherwise fully qualified according to the terms of the Act would be debarred from the privilege of giving votes or of presenting themselves as candidates for election as the case may be. It is a known fact that a large number of holdings in the Town of Calcutta stand registered in other names than of those who pay the rates in respect thereof—names of persons long since dead, whilst the ownership of the present proprietors is not disputed. Whatever might be the cause, it is a common practice with the proprietors of houses to continue to pay rates, though in their own behalf, yet in the names of the original proprietors from whom their title to the properties descend. Seldom it is that change of proprietorships is registered in the books of the Municipality or in those of the Collectorate. Sometimes properties stand registered in the names of women and pass on from hands to hands the registered names continuing the same.

In most cases the registered proprietors are no where or being females have no *locus standi*, whilst in the terms of the Act the proprietors *defacto* are barred from the privilege of proprietorship. Then again in some cases the law as it stands might be interpreted to favor the claims of the registered proprietors who have no interest whatever in the properties in respect of which they claim, except that the properties stand in their names, to the prejudice of the claims of the *defacto* owners. This uncertainty as to the intention of the law would lead to much confusion. The rate-payers would not know exactly what their position would be, and the executives, to take a charitable view of the case, would meet with much difficulty in successfully setting the schemes going. The same remarks apply to Section 11 which prescribe qualifications for the candidates for election.

Section 9 declares the title of the voters who possess qualifying properties in more than one ward. A voter having his qualifying property partly in one ward and partly in another, is at liberty to choose one ward or the other for the purpose of giving votes. But the law does not seem to deal fairly with those persons who possess properties in more than the ward, and in respect of each of the property the rates, &c., which they pay exceed the minimum. It is fair that a person should not be allowed to give more votes in any one ward than the number of Commissioners assigned to that ward whatever might be the value of his property in that ward. It is nothing but fair also that if he possesses qualifying properties in more than one ward, he should be entitled to vote in all the wards in which he possesses the properties. But it is unfair to restrict to him the privilege of voting in more than one ward in respect only to the properties paying rates under Chapter iv. and to refuse it to him in respect to those for which he pay taxes under Parts I and II of Chapter III. A person possesses land or masonry building in five wards and he is therefore entitled to vote in all the five wards. In the sixth and seventh wards he has his places of business. If he chooses to vote in the wards in which he owns land and masonry buildings, he is debarred from voting in the wards in which his places of business are situated. The reason of this restriction is not apparent. If it is



intended to limit the number of votes which an individual voter might give, that purpose is not served by the restriction imposed. The maximum number of votes which an individual might give, has not been fixed. There are forty-eight elective members in the corporation in all the eighteen wards into which the Town is divided. There is nothing in the law as it now stands to prevent a person from giving forty-eight votes in all the eighteen wards, if he is fortunate enough to possess a house or two in each of the wards. But it is an anomaly, that possessing landed properties in five of the wards and having places of business in two others, he should not be allowed to vote in all the seven wards, simply because as a rate-payer he chooses to vote in more than one ward. It is not only an anomaly but a gross inconsistency, which does utter discredit to any body of legislators. The inconsistency is apparent on the very face of the scheme. A person is equally entitled to vote whether the amount payable by him to the commissioners is made up wholly of rates payable under Chapter IV. or of taxes under parts I and II of Chapter III or of the aggregate both. If he owns no landed property in Calcutta and therefore not liable to the payment of rates under Chapter IV., there is nothing to prevent his appearing as a voter if he keeps a place of business in the town and pays taxes under Chapter III. If he keeps more than one place of business and in more than one ward, would he be denied the privilege of voting in more than one ward? If so, the phraseology of the law loose enough. If not, the restriction put upon his privilege of voting in respect of his landed property in several wards and of his business-places in several others is unaccountable.

Sections 10 and 12 provide law for the joint stock companies and joint undivided families being represented in the Corporation. The former of these Sections prescribes that any Company registered under the "Indian Companies Act, 1866," which has paid any of the prescribed rates or taxes up to the prescribed amount and on the prescribed date shall be entitled to one vote in the ward in which the place of business of the said Company is situated, and such vote shall be given by the Secretary of the Company or some other person duly authorized in

that behalf, and Section 12 provides that members of a joint-family or firm paying the aggregate of the prescribed rates and taxes to an amount not less than Rupees hundred a year, any one member of such family or firm shall be eligible as a candidate for election. Here we have the qualifications prescribed for joint stock companies and joint undivided families being represented in the corporation, the former as voters and Commissioners, and the latter as Commissioners only. The specific mention of the Joint Stock Companies as voters and the omission of all mention of the latter as such favor the supposition that the omission is deliberate. If no mention whatever had been made of the joint stock companies, the eligibility of such companies as also that of the joint families would have been inferred, and Section 8 of the Act held applicable to them. But as it is that inference is absolutely impossible and the supposition gains strength from the fact of the qualifications of the latter for commissionership having been specifically laid down. Certainly the scheme for the elective municipality such as has been conceded to the residents of Calcutta could not have contemplated the exclusion of the joint-families especially when members of such families have been deemed qualified to be Commissioners. The omission apparently is an oversight, but it is an oversight that leads to a serious injustice. The joint-family system happens to be one of the principal features of the Hindu society. Isolated living is an isolated instance, and if such families, because of the system, are excluded from the privilege of voting for the election of Commissioners, three-fourths of the rate-payers of Calcutta would be debarred from that privilege. Then again the property qualification of a joint firm as also of a joint family has been laid down at rupees one hundred whilst an individual rate-payer on the payment of fifty rupees is considered eligible to be a Commissioner. The rationale of this distinction in respect to joint-families is not apparent, more especially when not more than any one member out of every such family is to have the privilege of presenting himself as a candidate for election.

Section 23 refers to the personal qualifications of the members, and it also lays down that a person who is absent from Calcutta for six months consecutively shall not be qualified to be a Commissioner. It is certainly

very proper that a person absent for six months should sacrifice his right to be a Commissioner, but what about those who being qualified to vote remain absent for any length of time, or in other words, nothing has been said in respect to the absent proprietors or those at least who remain absent from the town during an election.

These are some of the defects which strike a hurried reader of the Act. Nor does any careful study of it rectify the impressions thus formed. It needs be mentioned that the defects pointed above occur mostly in the second Chapter of the Act. Other Chapters yet remain to be gone through, but from the specimen of the second Chapter, they do not promise to be more free from similar defects.

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## A DEFENCE OF THE BENGALI MIDDLE CLASSES.

*(Communicated.)*

IN these days of hymning the glory and beauty of the aristocracy, the task of awarding due mead of praise to the middle classes does not sit lightly on any one; and I should have shrunk from it, for fear of offending 'ears polite,' had I more minded praise or blame, than the sacred call of duty. Being thus actuated, I raise my voice, which may be humble but not the less potent for that, in behalf of the most important member of the social organism; and shall not fail to give battle to any that may take the opposite side, and fight for the kingdom of darkness. Such an exposition ought to have been a superfluity; but the Evil One is continuously scattering dust on our eyes and thus preventing us from seeing many palpable things.

The middle classes are the most important section of every community. They are the most intelligent and educated. Intellect like the body improves by exercise. And the poor need must work as they have to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. A motive is thus

brought to bear on them the result which is irresistible, which is a primal necessity of our nature. Take then, the oft-recurring emergencies—the attendant hope and fear, the attitude of the mind on such occasions being on the alert and trying to find out means to get over the impediments which obstruct their course. Then again, the need that exists of a middle-class man's receiving an education to enable him to assert his rights. A rich man has a thing which dispenses with intellectual labor—riches; and being thus circumstanced, he avoids as much straining of the intellect as he possibly can; and thus grows up a puppet pulled to and fro by leading strings. The management of the estate or the capital is placed on the shoulders of middle-class people; and he has only to examine their doings. The superficial varnish of intelligence displayed by the aristocracy is the outcome of the very many means at their command of doing substantial good to their intelligence; and the superficial varnish tricks them out as sensible creatures, while there is nothing but 'rank corruption, within. If an accurate statistics were taken of the number of the really intelligent among them, how many would be included in the category? Again the middle classes are happily beyond the reach of many a noxious influence which acts upon the rich. Most of those by whom rich people are surrounded, are flatterers, who contribute in no small degree to obscure their minds, representing them as they do, as the heirs of creation, and everything else as made for them. Thus wealth is looked upon as the chief blessing of life, and virtue as subordinate to it; inflated with this idea, the rich man thinks patriotism, courage, benevolence, &c., as below wealth. When we consider the good many temptations attendant on wealth and from which the man placed between the two extremes is exempt, the balance on the side of the latter gains in weight. Regarding education, it is found that the rich are badly off. Consult the history of whatever country you like, you will find that education is higher and wider among the middle classes than among the aristocracy. To what class did Shakespere and Milton—two of the master spirits that graced this planet of ours—belong? And Kālidās and Jayadeva—what were they? Then, Newton and Laplace,

Hegel and Kant, Luther and Melancthon and Erasmus and our own Chaitanya, Spinoza and David Hume, Locke, and Hobbes, Adam Smith and Ricardo and Bentham and James Mill and John Stuart Mill and Auguste Comte? Take, again, the living *savants*—Max-Muller and Whitney and Wedgewood, Huxley and Carpenter and Mivart, Tyndal and Balfour Stewart, Professor Bain and Reverend Martineau, Herbert Spencer and Gladstone. As extreme instances in point, the names of Burns and the Ettrick Shepherd, Otway and Collins and Savage and the antique blind harper, Homer, need to be alluded to. Indeed, with the exceptions of Lords Bacon and Byron and several others, it may be, it would be difficult to find many distinguished names in literature and science, belonging to the aristocracy.

Respecting character, the middle classes are in advance of the aristocracy when possessed of sufficient means of enjoyment, the human mind naturally turns to selfish pleasures, if its moral education has not been of a substantial nature. Now, sympathy is one of the elements, and the most sacred element, of the moral sense. The position of the rich places them far from the sight of the dark side of nature, and as a consequence their sympathetic development is not complete. This being so, their moral sense being defective in the disinterested element, the elements of prudence and fear of authority, belonging as the latter most generally does, to obligatory acts of morality, and being as the former, is, of circumscribed sphere, and of weak force, cannot do anything in the way of leading men to good actions or actions of optional morality. In this case the psychological analysis is so satisfactory, and the rest of the facts rests so much on good evidence as almost to dispense with verdict of history. But history ought to be appealed to, and I would perhaps have succeeded in making history verify my proposition, had I had the requisite space in respect of this subject.

Concerning courage, perseverance, industry, and hardihood, precedence must also be accorded to the middle classes. Those who are subject to the 'slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,' who suffer alike from physical and mental uneasiness, who are often called on to meet emergencies and to face dangers, must from the very law of their condition, acquire a good deal of courage. As to perseverance, industry and

hardihood, their position creating the necessity of constant and intense labor, brings about the thorough development of these stirring qualities. Who are the main pillars of government, that is it who rule the bar and the bench, who try their best to ameliorate the social and political condition of their fellow-creatures? Look at the Legislature, or the Executive, and you will find that the middle classes are the real props. Having thus taken a general view of the position of the middle classes, I will examine the state of the Bengali middle class men, and try to hit off the importance of this class its their economic position.

Let us first take the intellect. Those who are aware of the intellectual character of the middle classes of the Bengali society, cannot hesitate to give them precedence before the native aristocracy. The middle class Bengali is gifted with no common share of intelligence. His clear notions contrast strongly with the obtuse vision of the Zemindar. Chaitanya and Jayadeva, Matilál Sil and Rámghopál Ghosh, Harish Chandra Mukerji and Girish Chandra Ghosh, Jagannáth Tárka-Panchanan and Bháráf Chandra, Iswar Chandra Gupta and Madhu Sudan Dutt, Dwariká Nath Mittra and Onukul Chandra Mukerji belonged to the middle classes. Keshub Chandra Sen and Ishwara Chandra Vidyáságar, the Hon'ble Kisto Dás Pal and Ananda Mohan Bose, Bankim Chandra Chatterji—a great luminary, Romesh Chunder Mitter and Ashutosh Mukerji, Káli Mohan Dás and Surendra Náth Banerji belong to the middle classes. I challenge any body to point out as many intelligent men among the aristocracy. Here and there a solitary flower of rare beauty and fragrance—like Ram Mohan Ráya—may be found, but most of the rest is a dreary waste of sand. Indeed, the rich classes of the Bengalis are conservatives to the backbone; they consider any change as bad, and would have the present state of things crystallized into an adamant mass. All attempts at reform are looked upon with a perfectly evil eye; the widow marriage movement fares no better at their hands than protests against idolatry and castism. It is found that most of those who have made any real strides in the direction of reform, pertains to the middle classes. Hinduism with its ninety-nine millions of gods and goddesses

its hierarchy of tyrannical and fraudulent priests, and its mighty system of caste, holds its own among the aristocracy.

Concerning education, it is an undoubted fact that by far the greatest portion of those who are educated in the wisdom of the West, belongs to the middle classes. The saying is proverbial that a rich man's son is doomed to be ignorant. Our notion of education is thoroughly pecuniary; we value education not because of its power of searching purification, but because of the money to be acquired through its means. This being the case, the aristocracy, who are not actuated by the prevalent motive, are practically without any motive; and grow up practically ignorant. Not to speak of the Mufussil Zemindars, many of those who dwell in Calcutta, and who figure in levees and public meetings, when sifted with due care, will be found to be full of 'sound and fury,' which, if it signifies anything, signifies their utter worthlessness so far as education goes.

Regarding worth of character, the Bengali middle classes are not an exception to the general rule. If they have an intellect to apprehend, they have also a heart to feel, if not intensely, at any rate with sufficient force. If discontent with the doings of Government prevails, it prevails among the middle classes. The arbitrary rule of the English affects them in a very particular way; revering, as they do, the English sceptre, and feeling, as they must, that England is doing much good to the country, they do not take to the despotic way in which things are done—they clamour for a voice in political matters; and are they, after all, so unreasonable? They in a like manner feel the great social ills—the inequalities, the tyrannies, and the prejudices that infest their social existence; and the protests of such men as Vidyasagar and Keshub Chunder Sen are typical of this tendency. The love which the British Indian Association feels for the masses, has been evidenced many a time, and notably in its conduct in the affair of illegal cesses; while Bankim Chandra and Ramesh Chandra have testified in an equally unequivocal way to *their* love for the suffering millions.

As respects courage, perseverance, industry and hardihood, who will deny that the Bengali middle classes are superior to the aristocracy?

What has been achieved in regard to religious reform or social amelioration,—what has been recovered from the region of tyranny and darkness, in the presence of great difficulties, is due to the noble exertions of the middle classes. If there is a being who more faithfully personifies timidity, indolence, milk-soppism—if I may use the term—than another, it is the Bengali aristocrat. Of pride, he has enough, and more than enough, but it is not Miltonic pride, which contemns danger in the discharge of duty, but it is the pride of wealth, pride which exults at the sight of misery and ruin, pride which feeds on the prostrate millions. It is quite probable that the contempt with which the English cherish us, and which makes them shun our company when they possibly can—is due to the impression made on them by our aristocrats with their flaunting *chogas*, and fawning looks.

Let me cast a glance at the economic position of the middle classes. Were the Zemindars to be swept off the face of the earth, the country would not be a jot poorer for that. What do they contribute to the production of the national wealth? Simply *nil*. The higher functionaries of Government belong to the middle classes; from the Deputy Magistrate to the pigmy *kerani*—all belong to the middle class people. Lawyers, tradesmen, schoolmasters, &c., pertain to the middle class men. All who are acquainted with the elementary principles of Political Economy must be aware that these contribute *indirectly* to the production of wealth; but for them production would be greatly hampered. But what is done by the Zemindar, or the rich man? The former squeezes the *rydt* with might and main, and the poor fellow being half-fed and ill-dressed, cannot produce what he under better circumstances might have produced. Thus the production of wealth is interfered with. Let us take the case of the capitalist. What does he do? He lends money to Government and gets securities. If the Government employs the money productively, *i. e.*, in the production of wealth, such as Public Works—the wealth of the country is increased, but if the sum be spent in carrying on war, in buying gun-powder and instruments of war the capital is destroyed, 'virtually' to quote Mill 'thrown into the sea.' So far as the capitalist is con-



Rucktobheej who in this respect, reminds one of the Lernean Hydra destroyed by Hercules, was a monster who "died hard." From each drop of his blood which fell to the earth, innumerable monsters sprung. It will be remembered that when Hercules fought with the Hydra of Lerneæ, he was forced to lift the Hydra up bodily, and to strangle it as he held it off the ground. Whatever may be the true interpretation of the myth, it was the offspring of the manly Greek race. Kali in her turn had to resort to stratagem, for even the footstep of the gods do not appear to set themselves in smoothly paved ways, and they have difficulties to contend against which call for the exercise of politic ingenuity. Kali spread out her tongue, and by receiving on it the blood which streamed from the wounds she inflicted on Rucktobheej, she overcame her enemy. The deep red colour of her tongue, is due to the blood which stained it on this memorable occasion. It is considered that most of her sex are endowed with well developed lingual organs. It is needless to enter on any consideration of the subject, but Kali's tongue was of surprising dimensions, it covered the whole earth! Without going learnedly into the meaning of this portion of the myth, it may well have been that Kali was one of those ladies who succeed in making themselves heard, and that her voice reached to the ends of the world.

Rucktobheej was tough work, and Kali had some difficulty in conquering him. She, however, was victorious, but worked her feelings up in the effort to such a dreadful pitch, that after the monster was slain, and all apprehension on that score was at an end, she continued to slash her sword about her to the imminent danger of the very gods whom she was sent to aid. As there seemed every probability of the remedy in the case proving to be worse than the disease, the gods again cried out for help, and this time against their deliverer. Shiva, the husband of Kali, and husband general of the Hindu pantheon, was delegated to perform the not altogether pleasant task of endeavoring to calm the lady's disturbed feelings. Shiva approached with caution; but the excited goddess was unmindful of presence of him who is popularly adored as the chief of all the gods. The narrative at this stage is not very clear. It however was not until Kali flushed with victory, stood on the prostrate, but unwounded form of Shiva, that she fully recognized her situation. She expressed her surprise in orthodox Hindu style, by putting her tongue out of her mouth. Un-

fortunately while she yet stood in this unpicturesque attitude, her historical portrait was painted, and so has she been handed down to fame. Guido, a Christian painter, had once to depict an immortal nature in a moment of victory. We all know what Hawthorne has said of the great picture; how he thinks that Guido should have drawn Michael as he came out of the terrible struggle with Satan, marked and scarred, and not as he has depicted him, with his wing plumes unruffled, and serene peace beaming uncloudedly on his youthful countenance which is radiant with the light of invincible hope. The Hindu genius strangely enough has passed over the spirituality of Kali's conflict and the divine triumph over evil on which alone Guido fixed his gaze, but which existed in Kali's case not less than in Michael's; and that which has attracted the Hindu mind seems to have been the startled sense of surprise and humiliation which sprung up in the goddess when the ecstasy of victory had left her.

There the history of Kali ends. Her work on earth done, she was re-absorbed into the divine nature, of which she was but one of many manifestations. When the festival commemorating her stay among mortals draws to a close, her well-known image is thrown into some sacred river, and thus is she symbolically borne back to the place from which she came. Surely we too blend at last with the great ocean of being, in whose far surging waves, the ripples of all the troubled time streams fall and sink to rest.

NOTE.—Only the current popular tradition of the Kali myth has been adopted in the above paper.

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## CONCERNING NEBULAR LIGHT.

AN admitted difficulty is experienced in determining the era of "the beginning," and the enormous interval while separates it from us; and though I can scarcely hope that the views I am about to advance will bear severe criticism, they may still be worth some degree of attention as being so far as I am aware, a novel method of dealing with certain ascertained facts. I seek to employ some of the irresolvable nebulae as guides to the approximate ascertainment of the time when according to the nebular theory this earth became a separate planet. The physical history of the earth as revealed in the rocks of which it is composed carries us back a vast way into the past, but it does not bring

us to that terrible convulsion when our planet as a fiercely hot mass was detached from its parent sun. That fact itself can only be inferred from cosmical evidence.

The nebulae consist as is well known of the resolvable and the irresolvable, or those which the telescope separates into immense clusters of distinct stars, and those which baffle the highest powers of that instrument, and remain clouds of light swimming in the pure ether of space. From the earliest ages these distant objects have attracted attention, and by one of those happy guesses of which the history of science furnishes other examples, the ancient philosophers regarded the nebular clouds as matter in a diffused and chaotic state, mere cosmical self-luminous vapour. When the nebulae were subjected to the telescope, it was discovered that some of them certainly were built up of distant star-systems, the rays of light from which blended in their long journey into cloudlets of uncertain haze, which only the searching power of the telescope could resolve into radiant atoms. Others, however, even under the telescope remained mere luminous patches, but these too it was believed would burst into clusters of stars, whenever a glass of sufficient power was brought to bear on them. Their resolvability, in a word, was only a question of time. Doubtless the increased powers would themselves bring into view systems which were beyond their own defining range, but with regard to these, too, their eventual disintegration would be but an incentive to still further progress.

The powers of the telescope have in modern times been immensely increased. Lord Rosse's giant instrument was constructed with special reference to the resolution of nebulae; and yet some of the best and longest known groups still hold out against the most formidable batteries of lenses and reflectors that are brought to bear on them. What the telescope failed to do in this respect, has been accomplished by the spectroscope, and the results are so marvellous and unexpected that they alone should make physicists cautious in propounding their theories, and in the reliance they place on inferences drawn from observations made with only the instruments now at their disposal. Some of the nebulae are not resolvable because they are not clusters of stars, as some of the earlier investigators with the telescope sweepingly asserted they must be, but are actually what still earlier physi-

cists who had no telescopes to mislead them happily guessed they were: some of the irresolvable nebulae are simply luminous matter from which it is surmised that star systems, aye, and even the minds which contemplate them, are alike evolved under the operation of natural and immutable laws acting through a long course of ages.

The way, in which the spectroscope has led to this great discovery may be best explained by giving the substance of what a recent writer says on the subject. It was observed by Dr. Huggins that the luminous portion of the spectrum of a nebula in the constellation *Draco* consisted only of *three bright lines seen on a dark ground*. Now if the nebula had been a cluster of stars giving out light like our sun from a white hot nucleus enveloped in an atmosphere, the absorptive power of the atmosphere would have converted the bright lines into dark ones, and the spectrum like that of our sun, or a single star, would have been continuous. Now bright lines on a dark ground in the spectrum indicate—so far of course as modern scientists have been able to ascertain by researches conducted among known objects—that the light in which they are found proceeds from elements in a gaseous and luminous condition. Sodium, magnesium iron, and other metals in a state of incandescent vapour project bright lines on a dark ground. Dr. Huggins did not confine his observations to one nebula, and the conclusion he drew from the examination of several of these interesting objects was that they were, in a gaseous, or vapoury condition, because they gave the characteristic bright-line spectrum. But Dr. Huggins' investigations led to further results. The bright lines in the spectrum of the nebula of *Draco*, shew that at least hydrogen and nitrogen are existent there, and constitute one proof more, if such were needed, that difference is not to be inferred from distance, and that the universe is one in all its remotely existing parts. Light as is well known requires time for its transmission. Romer, a Danish astronomer, who is credited with this discovery, is said to have made it on a consideration of certain irregularities in the computed times of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. The eclipses were always later than their computed times when Jupiter was furthest from the earth, and the error diminished as the planet approached us. Bacon in the second book of the *Novum Organum* says significantly "the flight of a musket ball is too swift to allow an impression of its figure to be conveyed to the sight."

"This last instance, and others of a like nature, have sometimes excited in us a most marvellous doubt, no less than whether the image of the sky and stars is perceived as at the actual moment of its existence, or rather a little after.....It appeared so incredible to us that the images or radiations of heavenly bodies could suddenly be conveyed through such immense spaces to the sight, and it seemed that they ought rather to be transmitted in a definite time." Bacon died about twenty years before Romer was born. The credit of the discovery that light travels at an ascertainable rate must however, rest with Romer for Bacon let it slip through his fingers.

To return, to the subject before us, and to connect the known laws governing the transmission of light with the observation at the present moment of the chaotic matter of the irresolvable nebulae. It is clear that the nebulae as we now see them do not reveal themselves to us as they are, but as they were when the light-rays which are now reaching us left them. While those light-rays have been on their journey physical changes of a startling nature may have taken place in the nebulous matter itself. It may not now be what it was when those rays winged their flight earthwards; indeed it may not be at all. The nitrogen and hydrogen which Huggins and his brother spectroscopists see in the nebula of Draco, were once undeniably there, but it does not necessarily follow because they literally see them there still, that the two incandescent gases are still there in the condition in which Huggins finds them at the present moment. If a star from which light takes one thousand years to reach the earth, were suddenly and instantaneously to cease to exist now, we should still for one thousand years see the star, and we could in that interval draw perfectly legitimate and accurate conclusions regarding its nature and apparent motions although it had really ceased to exist.\* Now the light from some of the more distant nebulae has been speeding on its unwearying flight to us for very much more than a thousand years. In speaking of certain stars which have either suddenly appeared in the heavens, or suddenly increased in brightness, Humboldt says, "these events in the universe belong with reference to their historical reality, to other periods of time than those in which the phenomena of light are first

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\* A paper on this subject, by Professor Leitch which well deserves careful study, appeared some years ago, and was entitled A Journey through Space.

“revealed to the inhabitants of the earth; they reach us like the  
 “voices of the past.....The elder Herschel was of opinion that light  
 “required almost two millions of years to pass to the earth from the  
 “remotest luminous vapour reached by his 40 foot reflector. Much  
 “therefore has vanished long before it is rendered visible—much that  
 “we see was once differently arranged from what it now appears. The  
 “aspect of the starry heavens presents us with the spectacle of that  
 “which is only apparently simultaneous.....It still remains more than  
 “probable, from the knowledge we possess of the velocity of the  
 “transmission of luminous rays, that the light of remote heavenly  
 “bodies presents us with the most ancient perceptible evidence of the  
 “existence of matter.” (Cosmos Vol. I., p. 144 Bohn's edition.)

It is only possible to conjecture what has occurred in the nebula  
 itself in that tremendous interval of two million years; but during the  
 same interval what has occurred on earth? Geology tells us something  
 about it, and tracking its course backwards it eventually pauses to point  
 to a nebulous beginning, a chaos when the earth was formless and  
 void. Was the earth two millions of years ago what the nebula re-  
 ferred to by Humboldt was at the same period as revealed by light-  
 rays which are only now reaching us from it? Are we sure that our  
 sixty-four elements, are elements, and that further analysis will not  
 prove some of them to be reducible to simpler forms? We shall  
 know hereafter whether in the course of ages the nebula of Draco  
 has been developed into worlds like ours. Can we, in the meantime,  
 by carefully observing (and carefully preserving our records of) the  
 appearances presented by nebulae, use the light we have even in our  
 day, though it may come from the seething chaos of inglobate worlds,  
 as a time-measurer, a creation-era standard, for the past history of  
 our own earth?

Our histories of the Cosmos as it is are then verily made up of frag-  
 ments of ancient and not even contemporaneously dated histories. We  
 live in the light of perished worlds, and base our theories of the uni-  
 verse and its laws on *they are*, on the long vanished and perhaps even  
 the non-existent. Viewed in this aspect what an incongruous thing  
 all is our modern science!

With thistles, thorns and poppies, in it, left,  
To intermingle in the pilfered soil  
One vast expanse of herbage, rank bereft  
Of all soft color giving sap, where toil  
Of husbandman is ill repaid, and where  
There's scarce a living tendril not torn low,  
Or ruby rose, or laughing lily there,  
Not stricken in its loveliest bloom, While grow.

Around defiantly the poisonous tare,  
The wild inodorous briar, and tall dank weed  
Out-breathing noxious vapours to the air,  
Remains of what was erst a flowery mead.

Thus tis with man, and through the tide of time  
It has been so. The childless widow's wail  
Was early heard in Shimen's sultry clime  
And oft re-echoed is the pensive tale

Of woe, "alas my child has passed away."  
It was thus with thee, my sister and friend,  
Mary. That treasured name; the other day.  
We talked of friends who lived of those whose end

Was early death, talked of future joys;  
Planned distant pleasures, spoke of present pains  
Of honor, fame, the means that jealousy employs,  
To bind the prosperous with accursed chains,

And how with peace and wide dispensed good will,  
The venom'd tongue of malice to unarm

Of terror-- hates sharp sting to steal, and still  
Walk honestly and happily

\* \* \* \* \*

When thy sweet spirit slept  
I rested far away, not knowing it ; but when  
I read the solemn sombre scroll, I wept  
Large binding tears of sorrow, while my pen

Fell from my trembling hand, and bowed with grief  
I felt death's bitter edge. Sorrowing alone,  
And time shall bear my sorrowing soul relief  
Fond memory of thee shall live :—no stone

Reared o'er thine ashes, graven with thy name  
And virtues, mote there be to guide the sight  
Of my remembrance ; in my heart the flame  
Our love upsent, shall burn, till in death's night.

My dream is blent, and my soul hath fled  
Through the dead medial space to him who gave  
And when to meet thee, I am seraph led  
While all that's mortal of me waits the grave.

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Note. These lines are dedicated by her brother to Mrs. M. A. Bates, who died deeply regretted at Meerut in 1872. With Mrs. Polehampton and some other ladies, Mrs. Bates had passed through those trying months in the Lucknow Garrison during the mutiny attending the sick and wounded, until the Garrison was relieved by Sir James Outram.



# OUR DURBAR NUMBER.

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THE

## National Magazine.

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### THE IMPERIAL ASSEMBLAGE.

WHEN Lord Beaconsfield first announced the purport of the 'Royal Titles Bill' in the Commons' House of Parliament, he had a full knowledge of what opposition he would have to encounter, but, at the same time, he was sustained by a thorough confidence in the strength of his own party. To say that Lord Beaconsfield was ignorant of the fact that the title 'Empress' Victoria would be unpopular in England is certainly to say what nobody can believe. To suppose that the Premier was really influenced by the motives he announced in proposing the addition to Victoria's Queenly Title, would be to suppose an absurdity. For if Russia has really any intentions of a hostile nature upon India, she can hardly be hoped to be checked from carrying those intentions into practice, by the Queen of England calling herself "Empress of India." Yet it is impossible to suppose that the Premier, who must be fully alive to the interests of his own party, or for that matter, to his own interests, would, without cause, offend the feelings and prejudices of a nation, one of whose unaccountable freaks only raised him to power ere his part had been fully played out. We are not far believing, however, that any domestic quarrels in the Royal Household, of the nature described by the very gentlemanly specials in England of our Anglo-Indian Dailies, have had anything to do with Lord Beaconsfield's latest freak, or our Sovereign's change of pleasure. There must

be some cause, grave or light, adequate or apparently inadequate to outsiders in general, for which, after the lapse of ages, the Sovereign of England has thought it proper to accept Imperial honors. With that cause, however, we have nothing to do, although we may share a curiosity in common with most people, to know the secret whatever it be. To us of India, the opposition set up in England against the assumption of the title of "Empress" by the British Queen, seems to be only a question of sentiment. For the British Queen, whether as Queen, or Empress, of India alone, or of India and England, is likely to continue as much a constitutional Sovereign as she ever was. There is not a single Englishman who believes for a moment that his liberties are endangered, or who feels himself lowered in his own esteem, by being compelled to own allegiance to the 'Empress' Victoria. And when further, the assurance has been given that the Queen will not unnecessarily obtrude her new title upon her English people, she or her Chief Adviser has made every concession that could be desired by a sentimental portion of her subjects.

We do not profess to have any sympathy therefore with those who, rightly or wrongly, sneer at Mr. Disraeli himself for his own ungraceful acceptance of a Peerage almost simultaneously with the passing of the Royal Titles Bill. He might have yielded to the solicitations of friends, or to the influence of his expressed motive, or the Queen herself might have signified her pleasure to see the man who has made her an Empress, himself also take a leap into the Upper House so as to be never out of her sight, or at any rate never be dependent for it upon the good-will of her offended subjects who have the power to push him to notoriety or condemn him to obscurity. It might even be that he really sought to hide himself within his aristocratic title after an extremely unpopular act, just to escape being generally pointed at as "the un-English statesman who has made our Queen an Empress." All this might or might not be; but we must confess our inability to judge of Lord Beaconsfield and his act by the light of English sentiment.

To us, Indians, the change in the Royal title is not thoroughly unmeaning. If the Queen by calling herself "Empress of India" holds

forth a pledge to her Indian subjects that their interests are as much her care as those of any other section of her subjects, that change deserves to be welcomed by all Indians alike. Unfortunately, Lord Beaconsfield is too much of a political trickster to encourage easy-going people to put such plain constructions upon anything he does. Rightly speaking, the Queen can hardly, under any circumstances, style herself the Empress of *India*, as, indeed, all the Opposition journals pointed out rather sharply. *All India is not British India.* There are independent Kingdoms within it, and Kingdoms whose relations towards the British Government of India are determined by existing treaties guaranteeing to them rights and privileges incompatible with their being dependent Kingdoms. The assumption, under such circumstances, by the Queen of England or the Sovereign of *British India*, of the title of Empress of *India* is possibly as reasonable as, indeed, the assumption by the Emperor of Germany would be in Europe of the title of "Emperor of *Europe*." Such an assumption in India is equally censurable, although the resentments of the native monarchies are not likely to prove very harmful. It is much to be regretted that Lord Beaconsfield did not manfully meet this argument of the opposition. Indeed, his attempt to meet it by a reference to the wishes of the Native potentates themselves, as manifested in some doubtful and ill-considered expressions, was altogether feeble. Hence is it that persons are not wanting who believe that the Imperial title is only a stroke of policy to deprive the Native States of their independence. But it might be said that for all practical purposes, the Native States have long since ceased to be considered as independent States, all treaties notwithstanding; and that Indore and Gwalior, Hyderabad and Baroda have, if not willingly, at least not very unwillingly, accepted the position of British Feudatories. Without seeking to examine this position minutely, let us hope it has been so, for it is not wise or advisable to oppose a measure after it has become a fact, especially when such opposition, without being able to remedy the evil, will only lead to needless heart-burning in the present and possible ills in the future. If Holkar or Scindia, the Nizam or the Gackwar are not themselves offended, why, we must all feel grateful to Lord Beaconsfield who has made *our* Empress, the Empress of *all India*.

Apart, however, from all *such* objections, we are disposed to view the assumption by Her Majesty of an Imperial title as acceptable to the generality of her Indian subjects. Accustomed as we have ever been to Imperial rule, we should have had an Emperor or Empress, when the Great Moghul's nominal possessions finally dwindled before the progress of British arms and the representative of that illustrious House was so shorn of dignity that a General of a Mercantile Company could safely ask a seat in the Presence. At any rate, if from vague fears, the formal installation of the English power in the Delhi-Musnad could not be resolved upon by a Mercantile Company, there should have been nothing to prevent the Ministers of the Crown from so doing in 'Fifty-eight when the Crown assumed the direct government of these possessions. But it was not from vague fears alone that the formal installation of the English power in the Dewan Aum was delayed. For it is not altogether reasonable to suppose that English statesmen who have ever been mongers of prestige, and who knew their own position in India then, should be restrained from an act so much calculated to add to their prestige from vague and undefined fears alone. It is possible that justice towards the Independent chieftains of Native India with whom the British Indian power had its relations determined by formal treaties had its due weight allowed in their deliberations upon the matter. We know we would provoke a smile of incredulity in many when we speak of abstract justice influencing political moves, especially moves of *such* political significance; but we are sure we are speaking of a decade when the new doctrine of Might being the highest Right, though enunciated in many quarters, was not accepted so universally as it is now. For that was an age when Treaties were not looked upon as a dead letter, only serving the purpose of gaining time. That was not an age when statesmen could be applauded for the success with which they could bamboozle each other. Political justice was not *then* so openly defied, and the few cases in which it was defied could still be held up to abhorrence yet. The saying that "Honesty is the best Policy" had not yet lost all its force. And it is possible to suppose, therefore, that British statesmen still felt reluctant to ride rough-shod over Independent Princes and Monarchs, by ob-

strusively assuming, even in name, the position of the Great Moghul, by raking up expressions from a dead feudal age, without the expressed consent of those princes and monarchs, in order to regulate, in their own chambers, the relations subsisting between themselves and those potentates. For the British power in India had not as yet become *Paramount*, nor the Native potentates, *Fendatories*. Indeed, Lord Beaconsfield, in the course of the debate upon the Titles Bill alluded to some talk having taken place among the Ministers of the Crown, about making the Queen an Empress in 'Fifty-eight, but with his wonted reserve in all matters in which alone his garrulity would be tolerable, he did not enlighten us as to what were the considerations that prevented the Ministers from carrying out the point. We would have been saved these unpleasant surmises if his Lordship had added an explanatory word or two.

We do not wish, however, to be supposed to hold, that the assumption of an Imperial title has been very wrong in its consequences, immediate or ultimate, so far as the interests of Her Majesty's Indian Empire are concerned. As loyal subjects of Her Imperial Majesty we ourselves have no inclination to do otherwise than congratulate those advisers of Her Majesty who have extended Her prestige and made her a Sovereign *over* other Sovereigns. Nor, (so far as ourselves are concerned) are we disposed to view the fact of such an assumption of a title as threatening the integrity of the Native States in the slightest degree to any greater extent than may be implied from the existing course of things. The acceptance, by the Native Princes, of provinces, and jygheers and honors too at the hands of the British Government of India, has made it apparent that these Princes have, long since, recognised the Indian Viceroy as the fountain of Honor, and therefore their Sovereign, towards whom, *after* that, they stood in *new* relations although *he* might continue, as of old, to address them as his honored or esteemed *friends*. However unjustifiable might have been the means by which all this has been brought about, we do not altogether deplore the result. India, such as it is, has for several centuries, been an Empire, and should not be anything else. And however jealously we might be disposed

to watch the actions of our own Government so far as these relate to the integrity of the Native Powers, we would not willingly restore, after the experience we have dearly bought, to these powers the means of troubling themselves and their neighbours, after the manner of what they did during the days when the strong hand of the Moghul Empire, which had kept them under its controlling grasp, was enfeebled and palsied from a variety of causes. For, it is needless to deny that the Scindia and the Holkar, and the Gaekwar and the Nizam of to-day are far better off as regards their own position which can no longer be threatened by internal or external aggressions of any kind, and at the same time more tolerable because powerless to convulse India by their mutual wars of aggrandisement. The cause of Progress or Humanity requires that there should be, so far as possible, freedom from anarchy or misrule, and so far as it is possible to cast the future, this freedom in India is likely to be ensured by a firm union between the British power and the Native Princes in bonds let it be of protection and allegiance.

So far then as to the justification of the title. When it has been assumed and assumed as we are willing to accept as a pledge to ourselves of our Sovereign's increased affection for us, we are not for raising our voice against it. On the other hand, we should like to see the fact such an assumption published with fitting ceremonies. An Imperial Durbar of all the Feudatories of the Realm with simultaneous Durbars of provincial and district magnates for the purpose of celebrating the new event will certainly add grandeur to such celebration. The spectacle is not altogether unimposing, even in these hard practical days of the Feudatories of a great Empire gathering from all parts to cheer and congratulate their Sovereign, although in the person of a Representative, on Her assumption of a new title of such significance. The moral force such a Durbar can have, on occasions like these, ought never, perhaps to be lightly counted. Even shows, such as they are or can be, have their value.

But here we must guard ourselves from a misconception. It is no part of our intention, when we recommend Durbars and shows on such occasions to say that these, such as they are,

are very excellent things in themselves We would here wish, to make a few observations upon the usefulness of Durbars in general. We are sure that so far as a Durbar can be made useful, the imagination of the Statesman who is their guiding genius *will* make it so. Much has been said and written upon the possible benefits of Imperial Assemblages of the kind. There has been no lack of imagination displayed in the expatiation of those benefits. But we are bound to confess that Imperial Durbars, so far as they are supposed to be the fittest agencies for civilising the comparatively uncivilised Native Chieftains, by the opportunity afforded to these of studying European manners or European Institutions, are so much waste of money and trouble. We have no hesitation to say, (although it was our private opinion for a long time) that Durbars instead of producing such gratifying results, only foster in our Feudatories, great and small, a desire to imitate the costliness of European civilization without any of its relieving incidents. Viewed from this stand-point we might, if we chose, even demonstrate the positive banefulness of such assemblages. The stories are not wholly untrue, (though they are always to be received with caution) of Native Chiefs returning from Durbars imposing new taxes in order to build costly edifices or to create new offices, altogether sinecure, or even to reimburse themselves for the expenses they incur for the very excusable vanity of appearing among their fellow brethren in more than becoming state. Thus every effort the British Government of India might make towards humanizing its Feudatories with the ultimate object of securing to the people the benefits of a more enlightened rule, may not improbably have a direct tendency to make the position of those very people more irksome if already so.

We do not wish to be understood, however, that we are for maintaining that Durbars as such are baneful either or incapable of producing any beneficial results, except, as we have already said, in adding grandeur to the celebration of new events. On the other hand, they are useful Institutions, and might be made more useful with certain slight changes in their constitution. At present they are, apart from what we have already said, so far useful and no further

that they afford opportunities for the display of friendly feelings between the Chiefs and the Imperial Government. It is not impossible also that the Feudatories of the Empire might be impressed by such interchange of good-wishes and constant contact with the dominant power, with the very wholesome feeling that whatever might be the difference between themselves and that dominant power in other matters, their interests are identical with the latter, against an internal or foreign foe. It is to be regretted therefore that the dominant power does not openly and unambiguously adopt such measures as might *directly* produce such healthy understanding. We believe we have in Durbars the germ of an Institution which, as we have already hinted, with slight modifications might be made very useful towards that end. What these modifications should be, it is needless to discuss on the present occasion. Closely connected as they must be with the great question of Indian emancipation or some form of representative Government for India, it is very sparingly allowed that the time has come when such discussion can be practically useful.

Instead of such a discussion therefore which for the present can have only a speculative interest attached to it, we think we might employ our time more profitably in dealing with the question of Precedence affecting the Imperial Feudatories. If we cannot readily improve our Durbars into instruments for effecting positive good, we may at least seek to lessen the harm they do. Questions of precedence would frequently crop up and keep back Native Chiefs, whose presence would, on all grounds be essentially needed. Or if the Native Chiefs come, they come sullenly, with their grievances unremedied, possibly forced by the aggressive and insolent tone of our Foreign Office working through its too willing instruments. We do not exactly know what the considerations are, that at present do, or are supposed to, regulate the relative precedence of the Indian Princes. These considerations, for aught we know to the contrary, might be purely arbitrary, or might be based upon the extent of territorial possessions or revenue, or the importance the dominant power attaches to the service each Chief can afford in time of need, or for that matter, upon the suavity or otherwise of the behaviour of



these princely houses towards the English power from their first contact with it. But at any rate, this is notorious that considerable heart-burning has been the result in whatever way the question might have been settled. From time to time it is seen, the Foreign Office has to reconsider the matter when it becomes desirable to have the presence of a Chief who would not otherwise be present. It is very evident, therefore, that the Government has not as yet succeeded in discovering any satisfactory method of settling the matter. The question actually is not so very easy of settlement as might appear at first sight. The question is a large one, and necessarily involves the discussion of many curious points. Nor can we, in this place, deal with it exhaustively, even if we could. We will, however, glance over it in a cursory manner. For the apparent invidiousness of the thing, we shall not speak of the Native Princes individually as to what the considerations should be in order to regulate the position of each with reference to the others. But we shall make a few general observations touching the standard that ought to be applied under the circumstances.

Social position in India is never regulated by the same considerations that obtain in Europe. Wealth, which in every country, is supposed to lend social dignity to the owner, in India, or indeed in any other Asiatic country, hardly carries with it any social influence whatever. To quote the words of an able Native writer: "Here a man might by a very Croesus for his wealth and yet remain a social Pariah, whose touch even to his poorest neighbour, would be pollution, requiring a bath or a purification before the touched can eat or drink or offer a prayer to even a minor god of his pantheon." The purity of blood alone can lend social dignity. The fact is notorious that some of the plutocrats of Calcutta, who happen to have a blood, which, however pure in its origin, was some centuries ago defiled by contact with the Moslem, have to pay a very heavy price yet for marrying their daughters every to beggar's brats happening to have purer blood. We point to these beliefs of our countrymen as matters of fact. Right or wrong, they have been radicated deep in Asiatic nature, and so far as India is concerned, a century of English rule has not been able to make much impression on them.

We do not mean, however, to say, that the Foreign Office of the British Indian Government should be converted into an office of heraldry for the purpose of ascertaining the purity or impurity of blood of each Native Prince. However much might the considerations of blood affect the social relations of subjects, Monarchs or Sovereigns should never have those considerations applied to them. Although it is a matter of fact that the Native Princes do affect a disdain for each other on the ground of inferiority of origin, we cannot however suffer that disdain or similar jealousies to embarrass us in settling the table of their precedence. We think a practical solution of the difficulty would be to settle that table by a correct appreciation of the position of each Chieftain or Prince under the Moghul Empire. Judging by that standard, we think, the existing Native States would fall under those several heads. The first class would comprise all those States, which, though ostensibly founded under the implied authority of the Moghul, subsequently became independent. In the second class we would include those Hindu or Mahomedan States, which, during the days of Moghul misrule, originated in successful rebellion. Under the third class may fall those Hindu States, which have, notwithstanding temporary submissions, succeeded yet to preserve their independence. It is needless to say that we enumerate these classes not in the order of superiority or inferiority.

Of all the States belonging to the class first mentioned, the Native State of Hyderabad is unquestionably the pre-eminent. For the Prince of Hyderabad is the Representative of the Nazim-ul-Mulk or the Nazim or Chief Officer of the Empire. Judging by the standard of territorial or other possessions, the importance of the services it can render, and the perfect suavity of its relations towards the British power from its first dawn in the Carnatic (for we are not wholly opposed to the application of such a standard too) the first place unquestionably belongs to Hyderabad, we hold. The three principal Mahratta States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore should rank second. All of them sprang into existence upon the dismemberment of the once formidable Mahratta power, and founded by fortunate soldiers who had once been servants of that power. As amongst these, it is not desirable that there should

be any difference on account of difference of territorial possessions or as regards uniform good feelings with the British Power. Of the ancient Hindu States that have, amid the vicissitudes of fortune, succeeded in preserving an independence, Jeypore occupies the first place. But judged by the other standards, Jeypore can hardly rank with Baroda or Gwalior or Indore. We think, the several Sikh States like Puttialah, Nabha, &c., ought to rank with Jeypore.

Closely connected with the question of precedence as affecting the Native Princes themselves, there is a subject which, as far as we know, has rarely received any attention from writers in the Indian Press. It is the question of precedence as affecting the higher officers in the Native States, in Civil or Military employ. While the officers of the British Government, from the Commander-in-Chief or Commanders or the Chief Justices of our High Courts to the civilian clerks in the Secretariats, have each and all a defined position in Durbars and Chapters that might be held as occasion requires, the similar officers of Native States have hardly any position assigned to them when they follow their own Chiefs to such assemblages. We should like to know whether the Chief Justice of Hyderabad or Baroda or Indore or Gwalior, or indeed, of any Native State, has *any* position, or if he *has*, how high or low *that is*, compared with British officials. We recommend this matter to the earnest consideration of our Foreign Office and the Government of India, for we can say that half the vexation that Native Princes feel in the matter of precedence is due to their servants being unregarded where they go. It is for this reason, too, that Native Princes, when they go to Durbars are unattended but by a few personal Aides-de-camp, if we might so say. Upon such terms, Durbars can never be popular, and must continue to be looked upon by those whose presence is so much desired to be only occasions of humiliation to themselves and to their servants.

We have made a rather long digression, but we have made it purposely. To us the approaching assemblage at Delhi is an event of some significance, and we have made these suggestions in the hope that they will be attended to if there is time. Now to return: we have recommended the usefulness of pageants and shows on occasions like these.

But we regret that it is not given to all Englishmen to be able to produce striking shows. India is peculiarly a land of grandeur. From the pettiest landed chiefs to the person of the Emperor himself Indians are fond of *eclat*. The country whose princes sat on peacock thrones, and erected to the memory of their consorts mausoleums-like the Taj can rarely be expected to be struck by the procession of an English Viceroy moving in his coach and four and undistinguished in his person from ordinary Englishmen. Of all the Governors-General of India, Lord Canning alone rightly understood this disposition of the people, and it was certainly a fortunate circumstance for Britain's Indian Empire that it devolved on Viceroy Canning to first proclaim, in 1858, the fact of the assumption, by the Crown, of the direct sovereignty of India. He gave to Indian Durbars what constitution they have. It is a matter of regret that Lords Lawrence and Mayo, and Lord Northbrook too, could not improve that constitution. It is altogether an auspicious circumstance, we are disposed to view, for the approaching festivities and ceremonies, that Lord Lytton is their guiding genius. He is at once a poet and a diplomat. As such, we are confident there will be no lack of imagination and policy to give grandeur to the occasion and to smooth all ruffled feelings. We have said that shows are necessary and we have also expressed a hope and confidence in the genius of Lord Lytton being found capable of producing a striking show. The occasion, though new in the annals of British India, is *not* new in the annals of India. The Proclamation of the Imperial title corresponds in form and scope to the celebration of a *Rajsuja*. In the days of Hindu independence, when India was parcelled out into numerous independent Kingdoms, all, more or less, busied in their petty feuds, the occasion was rare on the part of any Chief to assert his paramountcy over the others or any considerable portion of the others. For the assertion of such paramountcy necessarily involved the dependence, at least nominal, of the other powers, and necessarily the accession of *one* power to Empire and dominion. However scant the materials of Hindu history, traces of struggles and considerable wars are noticeable yet, undertaken for the formation of *Empires*. The small Kingdom of Ajodhya swelled into a gigantic

Empire during the reign of Rama and his brothers. The little principality of Hastinapore, by the untiring exertions of Arjuna acquired universal dominion in India during the reign of Yudisthir. There are other instances too, later many of them in point of time, of the formation of Empires in Aryan India, but with these we have nothing to do, as not having been sung by the poet, nor recorded in history, and therefore not so universally known.

When all opposition had been overcome and dominion established, the celebration of the *Rajsuya* became a duty. The grandeur and pomp of such celebrations, making even due allowances for the proneness of the poet for exaggeration and imagery, exceed anything recorded in European history. Lord Lytton himself is a poet, and we think he may not be disinclined to take a leaf out of an Eastern poet in the matter of devising a *Rajsuya*, supposing even that no part of the description was really based on facts, but the whole a fabrication of fancy. How the author of the Mahabharata speaks of the preparations of Raja Yudhisthir's *Rajsuya*, however, is well known and may be found in most ordinary books of Indian history.

The question being one of Imperial policy and much political significance as has been reiterated on all sides, the question of expense ought to be subordinate. We sincerely regret that the arrangements of the Viceroy have become seriously embarrassed by the Famine that is now devastating Southern India, and the distress in Eastern Bengal caused by the late cyclone. We do not share the exaggerated-alarms of those who believe that the famine in Southern India has been a very serious one, chiefly because the services of Sir Richard Temple have been found to be needed there for grappling with it, nor are we of the same mind with those who are for under-rating the calamity. But, taking a sensible view of the matter, we are bound to say the projected expenses of the Imperial Assemblage require to be cut down to a tolerable sum such as the Imperial Government can *safely* spare under the circumstances. If the arrangements had not progressed too far, we would have supported the suggestions for a postponement, if only for the purpose of enabling the Indian Government to celebrate the proclamation in a more *Imperial* style. Unfortunately, those

arrangements have all been made. And we confess to a feeling of disappointment, after all, that almost in the eleventh hour calamities would befall so as to materially impair those arrangements, and the moral force as well of the end or purpose in view. We think the assurance was not needed that in the matter of the Delhi expenditure, much of it, in the present critical state of the public finances is to be met by private subscriptions. Many of those who opposed the expenditure of vast sums of money on the occasion, did so, we are sure, simply on the ground that *those* sums could *now* have a greater use. We are not for cutting the estimates down, whatever they might have been, but for raising them still, if only we could so do with any decency when there are admittedly so many causes of heavy drains around.

And now we wish to make a few observations upon the choice of the place when Her Majesty is to be proclaimed as 'Empress,' or 'Kaiser-i-Hind' as Sir William Muir is supposed to have rendered that word. That place is DELHI, and we are bound to say, the choice has been exercised wisely. To India and the Indians, Delhi is a place of thousand associations. However blasphemous might be the comparison, the saying has passed into a proverb that "the Lord of Delhi, or the Lord of the Universe. *दोहीश्वरवा जगदोश्वरवा* ; Sovereignty as represented by the Moghul of Delhi, at least as regards grandeur, has rarely been surpassed even by Rome in the days of the Empire. Honors and more substantial gifts flowed from Delhi with a liberality that is almost fabulous. In spite of the alleged inability of the Moghul Government to identify itself with the people of the land, that very people were deeply impressed with the idea that their natural Sovereign was the Great Moghul and in Delhi alone he was to be sought. Even *one century* of British rule could not dispell the feelings of reverence which the old and enfeebled representative, in 'Fifty-seven, of that once proud dynasty could inspire in the bosoms of Hindus and Mahomedans alike. The immediate march of the Sepoys to Delhi followed the outbreak at Meerut a matter of course. We grievously suspect the truth of the story that Bahadur Shah or Zebat Mull had anything to do with the march of the Mutineers towards Delhi, however much the Imperial household had afterwards identified itself with the cause of rebellion.

Considering all these circumstances therefore, we are bound to applaud the wisdom of the Statesman, whoever he might be, who directed the ceremonies of the Proclamation to take place in Delhi, and in the sight of the old Imperial Residence. Such an act very plainly gives the people of India to understand who could not otherwise understand it so well, that the Imperial authority has passed, in name as well in deed, from the Moghul to the Queen of the British isles. Indeed, the idea of the old Mercantile Company—who in one of the strangest freaks of fortune found themselves called upon to rule an Empire instead of casting up and examining figured and tabulated statements—of keeping up a phantom of Royalty that would serve to disguise the change of power already effected, has had a sufficient trial. In Bengal, Warren Hastings speedily gave it a rude shock, though his Mercantile employers were found too strong, for him in their stolid ignorance.

The assumption of the Imperial title and its proclamation at Delhi with fitting ceremonies, we would had for another reason. The charge is very frequently preferred against the people of this country, that they are wanting in feelings of loyalty towards their Sovereign. Whether this charge is true or false, it is not our present purpose to examine; but this we may very safely say, that if it be true, the fault is not wholly theirs. Oriental imagination, however extravagant, can rarely grasp, in its distinctness, the character of a *corporate* body. In their efforts to grasp that character, to most Indians, the late East India Company was not a collection or assemblage of English capitalists incorporated by Royal Charter for reasons of convenience, but a person of some shape and colour (*Company Bahadur*) living beyond the seas and evincing his power through the red-coats and policemen they so often see. It would have been something yet, even if this idea were distinct. But in the nature of things it could not well be so. If Loyalty means feelings of love and respect for the *person* of the Sovereign, it is impossible to expect that such feelings could be evoked towards a Corporate Company, the very idea of which is, as we have already said, unrealizable to the average Indian. During the days of the Moghul Government, the Provincial Lieutenant of the Padsha might have been a very cruel tyrant, but there he was, almost before the eyes of his subject,

surrounded by his grantees, making tours official or otherwise, through his province. It was at least possible to love him, and indeed he was loved when only he laid aside a little of his insolence and rapacity. But the idea is perfectly ridiculous of loving a *Company* incapable to a *personal* manifestation.

The assumption by the Queen, in 'Fifty-eight, of the direct Sovereignty of India, could neither mend matters. In spite of what British Statesmen could do in the matter of promulgating the fact of that assumption, to most Indians it was still a meaningless change from "the Hon'ble E. I. Company" to "Queen Victoria," for, there was as yet no visible Sovereign whom the people could reverence. To expect that loyalty would at least be inspired by the *Viceroy* (the direct representative of the Queen) is, we think, as much absurd, under the circumstances; for whatever might be the constitutional theory of the *Viceroy's* representing the real but unseen Sovereign, to the majority of Indians, he is only an Englishman placed above other Englishmen of India (Bair Lat Shueb) but rarely distinguishable in dress or outward show. It would have been, even under such circumstances, something, if *Viceroy's* had appointments for life. But no, no sooner the people begin to love one, his five years are over, and a new man from beyond the seas, unknown, and unknowable at least for the first year or two, occupies his place and rudely destroys the illusion that was about to succeed.

The careless or the unthinking European, official or non-official, not possessing any insight into the Native heart, is ready to charge the whole lot of Indians yet, as wanting in Loyalty. Many of these were agreeably surprised at the sudden burst of Loyalty evoked by the Duke of Edinburgh's visit. Indeed, there are men who still disbelieve in the sincerity of those feelings with which we greeted the second son of our Sovereign. But they are few, and after the explanations we have given, the fact will not appear as surprising. Since 1858, India for the first time saw a true and unmistakable relic of Royalty, and hence her devotion. The same explanations will suffice for the devotion manifested towards the Prince of Wales so generally in this country. The feeling, however it might appear unaccountable to Englishmen who do not know the Native heart, was certainly characterised by the utmost sincerity



and genuineness. If the Queen Herself were to similarly grace India by a personal visit, the result, so far as binding her Indian subjects to the throne by feelings of Loyalty is concerned, would certainly follow more effectively. Indeed, it might raise a titter in most Englishmen at the sight of Ram Sankar Ghose or Khoda Bux expressing a wish that Her Majesty Herself, who rarely proceeds further east than her palace at Balmoral, should come all the way over to satisfy her Indian subjects, the fact is true that such a visit is a most powerful instrument for good.

To sum up these results the assumption, by the Queen, of an Indian title, brings her nearer to the hearts of her Indian subjects. Physically, the distance continues as much as ever. But morally, that distance is considerably lessened. The Sovereign of India is no longer the Queen of England, nor Queen Victoria, but MOHARAJADHIRAJNI-SREE-RANEE VICTORIA KAISER-I-HIND, something that is intelligible to all Indians alike, and consonant to those ideas of sovereignty that Indians have. That hitherto the Queen was an abstraction, partly, if not wholly, no body can doubt, but after the assumption of Her new title, she promises to be an entity realizable in Her personality by all.

We cannot well close these remarks without making a few observations upon the Indian form of the title "Empress of India." His Excellency the Governor-General on the occasion of his complimentary speech on Sir W. Muir and his services gave the public to understand that Sir W. Muir was the coiner of this form. We do not know on what authority His Excellency so said. As for ourselves we are inclined to believe that De-Lietner was its real coiner. The words "Kaiser-i-Hind" first appeared in one of the May numbers of the Indian Public Opinion. The title, though a compound of Sanskrit and Arabic, is a happy selection. No other would have done so well. *Padsha* is known to all Asiatics and is associated with many good as well as evil ideas. *Moharajness* there are many in India, and besides being a complimentary title would not be expressive enough for the Empress of India. *Adhupaty* would be much less fit for conveying the idea of the extent of power and possession the word Empress conveys of itself. No other title yet adopted Indian or Asiatic Sovereigns would be so telling as

*Kaiser-i-Hind.* Besides there are omes charms in the novelty of a  
ing. The title our Queen assumes, therefore, suits very well her  
gnity in India and circumstances under which she has been destined  
rule.

THE following is the official list of ruling Chiefs (68 in all) expected  
attend the Imperial Assemblage:

### NAMES OF CHIEFS.

#### GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Nizam of the Deccan  
Gaekwar of Baroda

Maharajah of Mysore,

#### CENTRAL INDIA AGENCY.

Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior,  
GCSI  
Maharaja Holkar of Indore,  
GCSI  
Begum of Bhopal, GCSI  
Maharaja of Rewah, GCSI  
Raja of Dhar  
Raja of Dewas (Senior Branch)  
Raja of Dewas (Junior Branch)

Maharaja of Oorcha (Tehree)  
Maharaja of Duttia  
Nawab of Jowrah  
Raja of Rutlum  
Rajah of Sumpthur  
Maharaja of Charkaree  
Maharaja of Purna, KCSI  
Maharaja of Adjeygurh  
Maharaja of Bejawar

#### RAJPOOTANA AGENCY.

Maharaja of Oodeypoor of Mey-  
war  
Maharaja of Jeypoor, GCSI  
Maharaja of Jodhpoor of Mar-  
war, GCSI  
Maharao Raja of Boondee  
Maharaja of Kerowhe  
Maharaja of Bhurtpore

Nawab of Tonk  
Maharaja of Kishengurh  
Maharao Raja of Ulwur  
Rana of Dholepoor  
Maharaj Rana of Jhalawur

#### GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

Raja of Kolhapoor  
Rao of Kutch  
Maharaja of Edur  
Ali Murad Khan of Khyrpoor  
Thakoor Saheb of Bhownuggur  
Dewan of Pahlunpoor  
Raja of Rajpreepla  
Nawab of Radhanpoor

Raj Saheb of Drangdra  
Raja of Chota Oodeypoor  
Raja of Barria  
Rana of Loonawarra  
Nawab Babee of Balasunore  
Raja of Soanth  
Nawab of Junjeera  
The Nawab Joonagtrur and Six  
Dessae of Sawantwaree

#### GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

Maharaja of Travencore, GCSI

Raja of Cochin, KCSI

## GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

No list of Chiefs expected at the Assemblage has been received from the Punjab, but probably all these will attend :

Nawab of Bhawalpore	Raja of Chumba
Raja of Jheoud, GCSI	Sirdar of Kulsia
Raja of Nabha	Nawab of Putowdie
Raja of Nandi	Nawab of Loharoo
Nawab of Maler Kotla	Nawab of Dojana
Raja of Furrzedkote	Raja of Gooleria

## GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Nawab of Rampore.	Raja of Theri (Gurhawi)
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.	
Raja of Kharond	Mahant of Kondka
Raja of Sonpur	Mahant of Naindaon
Raja of Bairakhol	Raja of Chinkhadon
Raja of Bamra	Raja of Raigruh

## CENTRAL INDIA.

RULING CHIEFS not entitled to salutes and not receiving a return visit from the Viceroy :

Raja of Beronda	Jageerdar of Jori
Jageerdar of Poldeo	Jageerdar of Alpoora

## LIST OF NOBLES (176 IN ALL) OTHER THAN RULING CHIEFS EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE IMPERIAL ASSEMBLAGE.

## GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Sir T. Madava Rao, KCSI Minister of the Baroda State.	Sirdar Anand Rao Gaekwar of Baroda
Nawab Mir Kami-ud-din Hassain Khan of Baroda	Sirdar Baiwant Rao Ghartkey, of Baroda.
Sirdar Mir Ibrahim Ali Khan, of Baroda	Naib Dewan Vinsyek Rao Kurtane of Baroda
Sirdar Anand Rao Viswas Rao Rao Mane, of Baroda	Darakdar Chuntamon Rao Musumdar of Baroda
Sirdar Khosai, Rao Sirkay of Baroda	Furnosis Madho Rao Ramchandra of Baroda.
Sirdar Jagdeva Rao Jagtab of Baroda	Vakil Raghunath Rao of Baroda.
Sirdar Baiwant Rao Mane of Baroda	Ganpat Rao Mahajan of Baroda
Sirdar Dault Rao Mane of Baroda	

## GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

Maharaja Rama Chundra Deo, of Jeypore	Nawab Futteh Ali Khan Bhadur of Banganapalle
Rao Gundadhara Rama Rao, Zemindar of Pittapur.	Muttu Vijaya Raghumatha Katama Na- chiyar Zemindar of Shivaganga.
Raja Veingoti Kumara Yachaa- Rma Nayuda of Venkatagiri	Jagadvira Ramakumara Ettappa Naya- kar Zemindar of Ettapuram
Damara Cumara Venkatappa Nay- udu, zemindar of Calahastri CSI	Raja Manavikrama, Zamorin of Cal- cut.
Raja Siva Shan Mukha Rao of Sun- door	

## GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

The Raja of Cooch Behar	Raja Harendra Krishna Bahadur Raja Narendra Krishna
Maharaja Luchmessur Sing Bahadur of Durbhanga	Raja Jotendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur Nawab Abdul Gunny, CSI
Maharaja Moheshur Bux Sing of Doomraon	Nawab Syud Ashgar Ali Khan Bahadur SCI
Maharaja Krishna Protob Sahee Ba- hadur of Hatwa	Nawab Syud Muhammad Ameer Ali Khan Bahadur
Maharaja Sir Joy Mungal Sing Ba- hadur KOSI	Eldest son of King of Oudh Eldest of Nawab Azim
Raja Hurbullub Narain Singh of Sombansa	Head of Mysore Family.
The Maharaja of Burdwan Babu Degumber Mitter, CSI	

## GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.

The Maharaja of Benares	Raja Mahesh Narain, af Raja Bazar
Nawab Syud Ali Shah, or Sardhana	" Haribat Dat Dube, of Janapur or Badlapur
Nawab Syud Ali Khan of Karool	" Jat Kishen Doss CSI CSI
Nawab Muhammed Faiz Ali Khan Bahadur ROSI of Pahesu	" Maja Mahadoo Chaud of Gopalpur
Rajah Tikam Ring, of Mursan SOSI	" Rudra Partab Singh of Unaula
" Ranbir Sing	" Uday Narain Mal of Majhauil
Maharaja Mahendra Singh, of Bhadwar	" Bishan Partab Bahadur Shai of Tamkui
Raja Pirthi Singh, of Awa	" Ram Sing of Banst
Nawab Tajamul Hussin Khan	" Maesh Sitla Buksh Sing, of Busti
" Hardeo Baksh, CSI	" Bhawani Ghu'am Paul, of Mahuli
" Udit Narain Singh	" Bhub Indar Bahadur Singh of Kantil
" Lachman Sing of Karauli	Rani Bed San Kunwar of Agori Barham
" Ram Partab Sing, of Main- puri	Rajah Udit Narain King of
" Hira Sing, of Eka	Rani Pirthi Raj kuuwar of Bjaagarh
" Raghunath King of Bura	Raja Mahammad Salam at Khau
" Jaswant Rao of Lukna CSI	" Shambu Narain Singh
" Lakendar Sing of Partabnar	" Shiva Prasada CSI
Rani Baisui	" Thakur Pashad Narain Deoji of Haldi
Raja Lalsuk Rai, of Bilram	" Kesho Rao Dinkar, of Gurserei
" Kushal King of Rajaur	" Ran Mast King of Katera
" Ram Chandar King of Ram- pur	" Man Singh of Rampur
" Jagat Singh of Tajpur	" Rup Sah of Jagamanpur
" Kalka Parshad	" Gajandar Bali of Kadela
" Jagan Nath King of Powayan	" Paup Singh of Hardui
" Lala Ram Partab King of Manda	" Parachat of Baona
Raja Tejbal King of Daeya	" Sheeraj Singh CSI
Raja Banspat Singh of Barah	
Rajah Lachmaa Singh of Asothar	
Raja Lala Sheo Ram King, of Urgan	
Nawab Ahmad Hossain Khan	

## THE HONORABLE ASHLEY EDEN, C. S. I. \*

The Honorable Ashley Eden has, in the course of his official career, made many enemies and many friends. His friends have, on the whole, been true to him, and since he became Lieutenant Governor, his very enemies have begun to find that they almost love him. It is difficult for us, therefore, to realise at the present day the conflict of opinion in respect of him that divided Indian society not many years ago. The following extract from a sketch in the *Pioneer*, expresses very fairly the state of the case at the time to which we refer. "The portraits of the Honorable A. Eden in the Anglo-Indian Press" (says the writer) "convey the idea of an official Ghoul of naturally malign proclivities or of a bad-tempered Indian Machiavel. The Native papers, on the other hand have, uniformly held him up as the undaunted champion of their rights and claims, their chief protector against 'the self-seeking of the

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\* It is perhaps desirable to state that in the following pages no regular biography of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden as an individual has been attempted. We fully subscribe to the opinion so happily expressed by the writer in the *Pioneer* that "there is not, in the whole Indian Service, one who is more *emphatically a public man* [than Mr. Eden.]" Connected with him, more or less intimately, there are numerous questions of permanent historical interest, and the endeavour of the present writer has been to discuss some of these questions with an eye to their true historical import, and, therefore, necessarily, more largely than he could otherwise do if he had kept before him the limited requirements of a mere biography. Besides, in the following pages, official records have been very largely used, but as the language has been, in many instances, modified to suit the requirements of a narrative, the writer has not been scrupulously exact in always marking these off with the usual quotation signs. He has, however, in every instance fully indicated the source of his information.

European adventurer.' The English public has not on the whole, in Bengal at least, cherished towards him very friendly feelings. He has been too frequently in opposition to great interests to be much loved; and men will ascribe all evil to him who puts their craft in danger, however closely he may follow ideas of duty, false or true. Even those who have suffered nothing at his hands regard him with suspicion as a clever and prejudiced official, whose pen drops gall, and whose tongue cuts shrewdly; who came somehow to grief in Bhootan, and is, therefore, presumably the author of every misfortune that has befallen the country since. Among his brother officers there are many whom his sparkling abilities and social geniality have made his friends; and it is said no stauncher friend than he could any man possess. But his inability to overlook an inanity, forgive an injury, or endure a snob,—his reckless satire and love of pungent antithesis,—have made him seem to many a very guerilla, the Ishmael as it were of the Civil Service—

*Impiger iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,  
Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.*

There is not in the whole Indian Service one who has been more emphatically a public man, regarding whom more facts are known or more lies told, or who has been the happy recipient of more rapid promotion."

Mr. Eden was born on the 13th of November, 1831. He is the third son of the late Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and therefore, a nephew of the late Earl of Auckland, the Governor General of India. He received his early education at Winchester, and of course, completed it at Haileybury. At College he was rather idle but got credit for natural abilities and a remarkably quick apprehension. At an earl,

age he displayed that perfect geniality of disposition which was destined to win him in after life an unbounded popularity among a strange people, such as rarely falls to the lot of persons in power. It is said that the suavity of his manners and his thorough frankness made him loved by almost all with whom he came into contact. As he grew up, this frankness became developed into a fearlessness in advocating the cause of truth regardless of consequences.

Mr. Eden began his Indian career in 1852. He was first appointed to the Assistant Magistracy and Collectorship of Rajshaye, and then, for a few months, he was put in charge of the Subdivision of Nattore. He was next posted to the Subdivision of Aurungabad in Moorshedabad. Even then he was popular with the Natives, and was "as restless an assistant as ever plagued methodical Magistrate." But no man knew his jurisdiction better. Much is said, in these days of luxury and quiet, of our local officers being over-worked, but Mr. Eden, after doing his official work, found sufficient time to cultivate friendly intercourse with those who were placed under his charge. His Bungalow was open to all who cared to visit him, for there could be no information bearing on his district, or the districts near, which he did not welcome at the hands of those who were only too ready to assist him with what he wanted. Between this young officer and the people of his subdivision, there was a perfect cordiality of understanding. This thorough knowledge of his jurisdiction and the relations that existed between him and the people came to be useful in many ways to him and to the Government he served. When the Sonthal insurrection broke out, (notwithstanding the belauded efforts of Mr. Pontet,)\* the first intima-

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\* We are sincerely glad that the *Friend of India* has changed hands and "the house that John built" at Serampore has passed away. Here is

tion of the rising that reached Government was from Mr. Eden at Aurangabad, simultaneously with despatches from Rajmahal which was seriously threatened, and not from the authorities immediately concerned. To quote from the author of *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, "it was in or about the 25th June, 1855 when some servants of an Indigo planter residing at Aurangabad and who had gone into the Sonthal country to collect coolies for the Indigo manufactory, returned, terror-stricken, to their master with the intelligence that they had been seized by a large body of armed Sonthals on the war trail, who warned them to retire at once, for vengeance was to be taken on their enemies for injuries received, and upon Mahajuns and Government officials in particular. They had already commenced by decapitating every Policeman, Inspector, or Mahajun who was unlucky enough to meet them." Information of this was immediately sent to Mr. Eden who was then in charge of Aurangabad. "It was well for the interests of Government, and for the protection of life and property," observes Mr. E. G. Man, "that

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what John wrote of Mr. Pontet—"with little more jurisdiction than that of a Deputy Collector, he has acquired among this wild people a power which is almost regal. He has increased the revenue paid to Government from 2,000 to 43,000 Rupees a year, and this with so little oppression that the Sonthals have increased in number to 82,795 souls, inhabiting upwards of fourteen hundred villages. The most unobservant way-farers can instantly discover the circle of Mr. Pontet's jurisdiction, for whereas beyond it there are villages containing Five thousand inhabitants without one solitary hackery, within it there are broad roads from Village to Village, and the country is alive with the activity of a quiet and prosperous people." Indeed, a tacit satire, as Mr. Man observes, (in *Sonthalia and Sonthals*), upon the article quoted above "is offered by the fact that, sometimes after it was written, this very contented happy and prosperous people rose up, goaded to rebellion by the wrongs they were suffering, and fought until their hearths were bathed in blood, their villages, and themselves, in the district towards Deoghar, reduced to a state of starvation and utter misery."



this intelligence came to one who had ability to conceive, and energy to carry out, a plan which probably saved the towns of Jungipore, Moorshedabad, and the surrounding country from being looted." A bold demand for troops startled the Magistrate at Berhampore, who, however, failing to realise the full extent of the danger, sent only a squad of Burkundazes, and even this, after "plentitude of questioning as to how, and why, and when, for which hereafter due reprimand from Government." In default of troops, however, Mr. Eden armed the upcountry servants of the neighboring zemindars, and with such force as he could command, held the insurgents in check till succour came. A special commissioner was appointed for the suppression of the rebellion and Mr. Eden was his first Assistant. The activity and energy he displayed on this occasion were invaluable. The hot sun of July was no obstacle to him, and one officer writes "he was everywhere and did everything." In fact, the speedy suppression of the rebellion was entirely due to Mr. Eden's untiring exertions.

In distinct recognition of his services on this occasion, Mr. Eden was made the first Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Purgunahs. His attention was first directed towards removing those causes that had provoked the hostility of an otherwise quiet and inoffensive people, and chief among which was unquestionably the oppressions committed by a corrupt Police. His report, with its recommendations, was the first instalment towards the freedom which the Sonthals at present enjoy, and the first great blow struck at the oppression that had for some years weighed down the light-heartedness of that primitive people. The outlines of the special rules for the administration of the Sonthal Purgunahs were originally dashed off by Mr. Eden, though popularly these have always been ascribed to Mr. Yule who only afterwards elaborated them. The result of these special rules was that "the whole

of the Police, with their stations and all their paraphernalia of oppression, extortion, and cumbrous red-tapeism, were swept clean out of the Sonthal Pergunahs, and the duty of keeping the peace, arresting criminals, and of carrying on all executive duties, was vested in the villagers themselves, the head-man of each village being made responsible that the duties were carried out. A few regular guards were left merely as a personal escort, and as a protection to the Assistant Commissioner." The Regulation Courts also, "with their herds of leeches in the shape of badly paid and corrupt Amlah and pettifogging Mooktears, were abolished, and in their place a number of English gentlemen termed Assistant Commissioners were set down amongst the Sonthals," with a code of simple rules for their guidance.

These are the outlines of what is known in this country by the name of the Non-Regulation System and which has, with various modifications as to detail, been applied to many parts of India. Of its adaptability to the requirements of a primitive people, there ought, after the experience of more than a score of years, to be no two opinions. But the tendency of the times is to suppose that the Sonthals are pampered unduly by the Government and that they had better be brought under the Regulation system. Of course, it is the wish of all the large landed proprietors of the Sonthal Districts to see the rough and ready mode of administration at present followed give way to the regularity and perfect security that they suppose the ordinary law affords. But we greatly fear that those who lend themselves to the advocacy of these views of the Land-holders are much mistaken as to the true character of the Non-Regulation system. The difference between this and the Regulation system will be best understood, at least as regards some of the salient points of each, from what the author of *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* has said of the two. Here is how he describes them,

"In the Regulation Provinces, law in all its majesty and technicality is enforced, and no discretion is left to the presiding officer to temper his decision according to the caste or customs of the parties in the suits. In the Non-Regulation Provinces, equity, in the true acceptation of the word, guided by the spirit of the law, is enforced without any of the cumbersome rules, intricate procedure, or expensive formula of the sister system. In the Regulation Provinces, the more subordinate officers, even to the Magistrates and Collectors of the first grade, are but mere cogs in the wheel of the Government machine; while in the Non-Regulation system, the Assistant and Deputy Commissioners have more independent action, and are more powerful for good and evil. In the former, a man of small energy and mediocre abilities, or positive corrupt qualities, is under so many checks, that the evil he is capable of committing is reduced to a minimum, and his incapability and corruptness may pass along unnoticed; while in the latter case, a man of the same calibre is a powerful engine of wrong and oppression, and soon has his district in such a state of disorder, that a moderately just and penetrative superior has no choice but to obtain his removal. Whilst, however, the fact of his incompetence and infamy is becoming known, the district may be suffering, and countless cases of hardship and injustice undergone by the people for the protection of whom he has been placed. But on the one hand, while a bad man can temporarily do more harm and injustice in a Non-Regulation than the same person could do were he in a Regulation Province, yet, on the other hand, an active, energetic, and high-minded gentleman, with a just idea of his duties, can do a great deal more good in a Non-Regulation than the same man could do in a Regulation Province, for he is less tied and has more power for free action."

Considering the general ignorance of the people and the

surrounding circumstances of Sonthalia, we think the time yet far off, when law, as understood at present in the Regulatio Provinces, can be fitly introduced among the Sonthals.

To return. The Sonthal insurrection was quelled and Mr. Eden's services were recognised ; but his health was gone. The exposure of the campaign had been too much for him. He fell ill and a change of air became necessary. He proceeded to the Mauritius to enjoy the sea breezes for a time ; but ever here, there was *work* before him. To a man of his large sympathies which always rise superior to the prejudices of creed and color, oppression coming from whatever quarter is capable of giving active work. The Creole planters treated the coolies they imported from India with grievous cruelty. The authorities quietly slept, not knowing what was the state of facts, or not caring to know it. It was Mr. Eden who first directed public attention to the heartless conduct of these capitalists, and well was it for the unfortunate coolies themselves that it was Mr. Eden who took up their cause. To quote the words of the writer in the *Pioneer*, "the massacre of the Indian coolies perpetrated at Flat Island under the name of quarantine, roused Mr Eden's indignation. His scathing letters in the local papers drove the Creole planters wild ; while his statements to Government on his return to Calcutta led Lord Canning summarily to suspend all Coolie emigration to the Mauritius until the Colonial Government gave substantial guarantees that such a scandal should not recur."

Mr. Eden returned from the Mauritius in 1856, after a stay there of only a few months. He was then appointed as Magistrate and Collector of Baraset. He continued at Baraset till 1859, when he was called upon to officiate as Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue. In the following year, however, he was once more a Magistrate and Collector, but this time of Cuttack in Orissa. It was hinted at the time that Mr. Eden's transfer

from Bengal to a neighbouring Province was a concession to the Indigo planters, of whom here-after ; but there was little truth in this rumour, for it is well known that Mr. Eden's conduct, throughout the Indigo controversy had Sir J. P. Grant's emphatic approval.

Here closes Mr. Eden's subordinate executive career ; and before we proceed, we may well stop to consider some of its most salient features. We have already noticed his eagerness to acquire a thorough knowledge of the districts to which he was posted, and his restless activity in the discharge of his duties. But, above all, we think, that career has been characterised by two very noble qualities,—a desire to mix with the people and know by personal contact their wants and aspirations, and a thorough impartiality of behaviour. It can, we think, be said of few officials, in these days, that they are capable of rising superior to the prejudices of creed and color, and of taking the Natives by the hand as subjects of the same Crown. The average civilian not unfrequently discourages by a frown all attempts at familiarity on the part of even the most respectable Native, and is too often willing to attribute such attempts to merely selfish motives. In some cases, impressed with the belief that his covenanted dignity is too sacred to permit a familiar approach, he seeks by his demeanour to scare inferior mortals away. Indeed, it is our firm conviction that the gulf that at present exists between the two classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India is, mainly owing to the exclusiveness of the Englishman. Those Englishmen, who like Mr. Eden, forgetting the distinction of color, have largely mixed with the Natives of the country, can best say whether the Natives are not forward to contribute all they can towards promoting that healthy intercourse which is desirable on so many grounds. It is idle to talk to the Native of throwing open his zenana and receiving Europeans in his domestic circle. A Native never

throws open his zenana; even to a Native, and yet there is no want of good understanding between Orientals on that score. Nevertheless, it is particularly gratifying to be able to state that the number of Englishmen is steadily on the increase who are not ashamed to own friendship for or acquaintance with a Native. Since the Mutiny, among those who have earnestly laboured towards the promotion of equal intercourse between the two classes, the Hon'ble A. Eden unquestionably occupies a foremost place. It is said that while at Baraset he knew almost all the large tenant-proprietors by name—veritable plebeians who, according to some, carry contamination wherever they go and have the peculiar property of defiling the precincts of an Englishman's abode. His memory is yet cherished by thousands of ryots with affection, and many now joy to think that it is *their* Eden Saheb who has at last been made their Lieutenant Governor.

The impartiality of Mr. Eden and his adherence to principle were, we think, thoroughly tested during the Indigo excitement. We would not willingly call back those times, when the leading organs of the planting interest sought to prove that the Government of the country lay under immense obligations to the Indigo planters who sought only to develop the agricultural resources of the country and to rescue the people from ignorance by establishing *pachalas*, or from death by opening charitable dispensaries; and that therefore it would be exceedingly ungenerous, nay, positively thankless, on the part of the servants of that Government to offer opposition to such good men by releasing the persons they might think proper to imprison, often in the choicest of places, or by seeking to punish them for having only set fire to a few ryots' houses, (perhaps for the purpose of purging the atmosphere of all tainted matter,) or for having only killed a few individuals who had better die than live if they would be obstinate enough

to refuse to live happily and in affluence by cultivating Indigo;—when the same organs of enlightened public opinion were employed in magnifying every effort the ryots made in their ignorance to free themselves from the dominion of their Indigo masters into rank treason against the established Government of the country, and calling for instant military operations in order to its peremptory suppression—when even the Lieutenant Governor of the Province was not found unwilling to arm Indigo planters with judicial authority, doubtless for the purpose of increasing their power of doing good,—when the acceptance of a few rupees from the factory, or rather, the bare allegation of such an acceptance, was openly maintained even by high Government functionaries as giving the factory an indefeasible lien upon the acceptor's land—when those who had the courage to speak out were told by superior authority that they had better hold their tongues and take a lesson from their betters,—and when the pure fountain of justice even was here and there openly impeached as having been defiled by the operation of class sympathy if not of any thing worse.

We have no mind even to dwell upon the unhappy memory of those times; and all that we would say is that when such was the state of public opinion and such the disposition of the authorities of the land, it was no easy matter for subordinate officials to speak out. It required, we think, no small moral courage to openly side with the cause of truth at such a juncture. But be it said to the honor of England's Empire in the East, that even then, among her sons, men were not wanting who dared to incur the displeasure of the authorities, knowing the serious consequences of that displeasure to their best interests, rather than be even silent spectators of fraud and oppression. Among those who could not be repressed by superiors or become accessory to oppression, the name of Mr. Eden, will be long remembered. His worst enemies among

the planters could not but admire the calm courage with which he upheld the cause of the ryots. The doctrine had somehow grown and found supporters among the authorities that the acceptance by the ryot of advances from the factory, or rather the *ex parte* allegation of such acceptance, gave the Indigo planters a lien over the lands of the ryot, such as even the zemindars owning a permanent property in the soil had not, a lien which was frequently enforced by ploughing up the ryots' fields already sown with other crop, and sowing thereon the Indigo seed. Mr. Eden was one of the few who called into question the legality of this strange doctrine. After many bickerings between himself and his Commissioner, in which his orders were frequently upset, he at last issued a *rubakari* which had the effect of teaching the ryots that it was optional with them to accept or refuse advances from factories for the cultivation of Indigo, and that the giving or receiving of advances for Indigo cultivation was a purely civil contract which could, in case of breach, be enforced only by resorting to the regular civil tribunals of the country, and that all attempts of the Indigo planters to enforce these contracts by violence were cognizable by the Police as they constituted guardians of the public peace. The anger of the planters of Baraset, and of their brethren in other districts, when this effort was made to teach the ryots their true rights, may well be conceived. Based as the Indigo cultivation was in those days upon a system of fraud and violence, they knew it could not last a day longer if these principles were accepted. The most urgent representations were made by the planters to the Commissioner for the revocation of this obnoxious instrument. The organs of the planting interest became rabid over it. All this was too much for the quiet Commissioner who cared more for his desk and salary than for the weal or woe of a few thousand natives. Very willingly he sided



with the planters and called upon Mr. Eden to revoke his orders. Mr. Eden, however, was determined not to give way so quickly. He requested a reference to Government, and whatever the decision might have been in former years, the right principle was affirmed in 1859. Mr. Eden forwarded this decision of Government to his subordinates with an explanatory letter. One of these officers embodied the substance of this letter in a Perwanah addressed to the Police. This Perwanah certainly went further than the text upon which it was based, yet it was by no means that inflammatory document which the planters and their friends attempted to make the public believe it to be. The rising generation will have some idea of the inordinate selfishness of the planters, and the utter disregard for decency with which they could discuss questions affecting their interests, if we publish this simple instrument which was stoutly maintained to have been subversive of the laws of honest trade. It runs as follows.

“Be it known,—a letter of the Magistrate of Baraset, dated 17th August 1859, has arrived, enclosing extract of a letter, No. 4516, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 21st July 1859, and addressed to the Nuddea Commissioner, which, in referring to certain Indigo matters, states, that the ryots are to keep possession of their own lands, sowing thereon such crops as they may desire; that the Police should take care that neither Indigo-planters; nor other persons should interfere with the ryots; the Indigo planters shall not be able, under pretence of ryots having agreed to sow Indigo, to cause indigo to be sown, by the use of violence, on the lands of those ryots; and if the ryots have indeed agreed to do so, the Indigo planters are at liberty to sue them for the same in the Civil Courts, the Foujdaree Court having no concern whatever in the matter; for the ryots may bring forward numerous objections to their

"cultivation of the Indigo, and in respect of their denial of  
"above agreement."

"Therefore this general Perwanah is addressed to you. You may act in future as stated above. *The 30th of August, 1859*

In reply to the denunciations hurled at the Deputy Magistrate who circulated this notice, the late Hurrish Chaml Mookerjee with characteristic banter, said,—

"Doubtless, the doctrine is atrocious that the ryot should do as he pleased with what was his own; that he, a British subject and the owner of his land, should sow it with what seed he chose; that he who was told by his Indigo master that his Indigo master was his Government and his God on Earth and who believed it, should be told that he lived under a mere constitutional Government; that he should be told what the real state of the law as affecting his case was."

In 1860, Mr. Eden appeared as a witness before the Indigo-Commission. His evidence before the Commission stands on record a straight-forward and lucid testimony characterised by an earnestness and love of truth, certainly very remarkable. When asked whether the cultivation of Indigo was, in his opinion, the result of free agency on the part of the ryots or was in a great measure compulsory, he stated very candidly that with the exception of Factories which had a large extent of *chur* land in their possession it was in no instance the result of free agency, but was always compulsory, and the reasons that induced him to hold this opinion were that he knew the cultivation of Indigo to have been *unprofitable* and therefore he could not believe that any ryot would take it up, involving as it did serious pecuniary loss to himself; that it involved also an amount of harassing interference to which no free agent would submit himself; that if it had not been so, the Planters would not have been compelled to resort to acts of violence to keep

cultivation ; that the Planters themselves *admitted* that if the ryots were free agents they would not cultivate Indigo ; that the Planters were under the necessity of spending large sums of money in the purchase of Zemindaries and other descriptions of rights admittedly for the purpose of acquiring territorial influence and powers of compulsion without which they could not procure the cultivation of Indigo ; that the ryots themselves would frequently state to him that they were never free agents ; and lastly, that as soon as the ryots became aware of the fact that they were by law and practically free agents, they at once refused to continue the cultivation. Of the five gentlemen who composed the Commission, Mr. W. F. Ferguson, admittedly a friend of the Planting interest, was the only one who attempted to cross-examine, and he began to ply Mr. Eden with question after question, not unoften framed with skill, and with the evident object of involving him in contradiction. But all his efforts only tended to more hopelessly embarrass the situation of his protegés. Mr. Eden's keenness was more than a match for that of his questioner, and, indeed, speaking as he did from mature conviction based upon careful preliminary inquiries, there could be little hope of detecting any crudeness in his opinions.

Mr. Eden was not the man to be affected by the conventionalities of society and he was far too firm in his adherence to principle to be expected to indulge in the unveracities of the time. When questioned as to whether in the then state of the Mofussil Courts with the Judges who then presided in them, he would like to see any European friend of his tried in them, his reply was that "if the courts were good enough for the Natives, they were good enough for the Europeans." Few officials would speak their minds so plainly out. But we need not dilate further upon this part of his career. Many of our countrymen are perfectly familiar with it, and to this day, the

songs composed in his honor by the national poets of Bengal are recited even in the zenana.\*

In 1861, Mr. Eden was selected to be special Envoy to the Court of Sikkim. But in order to understand the objects of this Mission it is desirable to recount a few preliminary facts. Towards the close of the year 1860, the relations between the British Government and that of Sikkim assumed an unfavorable aspect. Constant raids had been made upon British territory, property had been plundered, and British subjects had been carried off from their home-steads and either sold as slaves or detained by their captors. The delinquents who had taken part in these outrageous proceedings were well-known characters, and their surrender to justice was demanded from the Sikkim authorities. At this time the government of that country was entirely in the hands of the Raja's Minister or Dewan, an unscrupulous character of the name of Namgay. The Raja, an aged man, verging upon four

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\* Some of these songs may be seen in that edition of the *Nil Darpana* which was brought out under the patronage of the late Babu Kali Prosunna Singha, composed by our countryman, better known by his *nom de plume* *Dhiraj*. The best, unquestionably, is from the pen of Babu Rajkrishna Boy. At our request, Mr. O. C. Dutt has kindly supplied us with a translation. Here is it.

When like grim messengers of Death, the Planters one and all,  
 Brought utter ruin down upon the peasants of Bengal,  
 'Twas then that to their rescue Grant and high-soul'd Eden came,  
 And sternly put the tyrants down, and stopped their deeds of shame !  
 Condemning thus e'en Englishmen, while for an alien race,  
 They nobly show'd their sympathy, nor cared for pride of place.  
 O rare indeed such sterling men, and rare it is to find,  
 Such sense of Justice and of Right, such loftiness of mind !  
 As rain-charg'd cloud and spreading stream revive a stricken land,  
 So these great mensaved thousands from the white oppressors' hand.

score years, had relinquished all cares of state, and was spending the few remaining days of his life in retirement at Chumbi in Thibet. His minister, Namgay, the virtual Rajah, was an intriguing, avaricious man, oppressive to his own subjects and insolent in his dealings with the British Government. He had first brought himself into notice in 1850 by the seizure of Dr. Campbell, then the Governor General's Agent in Darjeeling, and of Dr. Hooker, who were making a botanical excursion in Sikhim with the Rajah's permission. For this misconduct of his minister, the Rajah had to atone by the loss of a portion of his territory and the withdrawal of a pension which he had, up to that time, received from the British Government.

One of the delinquents who had taken a prominent part in the recent outrages was the Dewan's son-in-law; and from the very beginning of the negotiations, the Rajah's Court clearly showed that it had no intention of complying with the demands of the British Government. The criminals whose surrender was demanded were living with the property they had plundered, and the people they had abducted, almost within sight of the Dewan's residence; and no attempt was made either to arrest the one or restore the other. After some months had been spent in fruitless negotiations, Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, acting under the orders of the Bengal Government, with an escort of only 160 Natives and a complement of European and Non-commissioned officers, proceeded, on the 1st of November 1860, to occupy a portion of Sikhim territory. The inhabitants proved very friendly to the invading force, and Dr. Campbell found no difficulty in the way of an actual occupation. Unfortunately, however, when news of this occupation reached the Sikhim Court, the smallness of the force by which Dr. Campbell was supported encouraged the Dewan to attempt to get back the occupied tract by force of arms. Having succeeded in collecting a number of Bhootea mercen-

aries, the Dewan attacked Dr. Campbell's stockaded camp, and though repulsed with loss, succeeded in cutting off and destroying three outposts which were apparently rather injudiciously placed in isolated positions and out of the reach of succour. Next day the attack was repeated but with no better result. On the 30th November the Dewan retreated, but unfortunately the advantages gained by the British soldiers were counterbalanced by a very short supply of ammunition. It was found that there was not even sufficient to resist another attack in case such attack should be made. Under these circumstances Dr. Campbell thought it advisable to retreat. No attempt was made by the Sikhimites to follow up the retiring force.

The retreat of Dr. Campbell greatly elated the Dewan. He openly announced his intention of driving the English from Darjeeling, and as an earnest of his sincerity, his troops crossed the frontier and committed several daring outrages in British territory. While these events were passing, Lord Canning was absent from Calcutta upon a tour in the upper provinces. On hearing of the retreat of Dr. Campbell, and the insolent attitude assumed by the Dewan, he was of opinion that strong measures and an unmistakable display of English power were necessary to bring the Sikhim Government to reason. A military force of some 2600 men was accordingly assembled at Darjeeling with instructions to march into Sikhim, and if possible to advance to the capital. The direction of the military operations was entrusted to Colonel Gawler of Her Majesty's 73rd; and the Hon'ble Ashley Eden was appointed Envoy and Special Commissioner for the conduct of the political part of the business. The instructions laid down for the guidance of the Envoy were to the effect that atonement for past misconduct should be exacted, the discredit suffered by the retreat of Dr. Campbell should be removed, the Governing authorities of Sikhim should be made to feel

the English power, and finally that the Dewan should be either surrendered, or dismissed and banished from Sikhim territory. At the same time, assurances were to be given that there was no desire on the part of the English Government for territorial acquisition.

Colonel Gawler's force, accompanied by Mr. Eden, started from Darjeeling on the 1st of February, and reached Tumloong, the Sikhim Capital, on the 11th of March. The road lay through pathless forests, over snow-capped mountains, and unbridged rivers. The Sikhimes who had long cherished the idea that their country was impracticable for the march of British troops were paralyzed at the rapid movements of the force, and desisted after a time from all opposition. On the 12th of March, the force entered Tumloong. On the following day Mr. Eden had a public interview with the Rajah. The Durbar was attended by the chief Lamas, Kajees, and other principal persons of the country. The negotiations were facilitated by a revolution that had been previously effected. The Dewan Namgay had fled the Country, and the old Rajah had abdicated in favor of his son who was acknowledged by all the various parties in the kingdom. On the 16th, the Rajah had a private interview with Mr. Eden, and expressed his willingness to comply with the demands of the British Envoy. On the 26th of the month all preliminary arrangements having been previously settled the new treaty was signed in a monastery near the Rajah's house, in the presence of all the officers of the force. It was then read out in English to the European troops; and in Bhootea to the native inhabitants. Copies of the treaty were despatched to all the neighboring States, and were also given to the Lamas and Chiefs of the Country. Its terms were certainly moderate. It exacted no humiliating concessions; it merely asked what it was the Rajah's duty to grant; stipulating that full compensation should

be made to those British subjects who had either been kidnapped or plundered by the Rajah's people; it provided for full indemnification for public losses sustained in Dr. Campbell's retreat; it guaranteed the opening out of the country to trade and the removal of all restrictions on travellers and merchants; it fixed the maximum rates of transit duties to be levied on goods between British India and Thibet; it provided for the construction of roads and the security of those who traverse them; and lastly, it contained a provision for the banishment of the Dewan Namgay and for the future good conduct of the Sikhim Government.

Throughout these negotiations Mr. Eden's conduct was characterised by firmness, tact, and temper; while at the same time he thoroughly understood and acted up to the spirit of his instructions. While complete atonement was to be exacted and immunity from future outrage secured. Lord Canning was desirous that this should be effected without an annexation which would have brought the British Empire into contact with the vast regions and the untractable people and Government of the Chinese Tartary. Mr. Eden himself, in the final report in which he reviews the result of his mission observes, "the instructions under which I acted enabled me from the very first to give the most solemn assurances that we did not wish to retain possession of any portion of the Sikhim territory, and I attributed it entirely to the confidence which was placed in these assurances that the surrounding States held aloof altogether from the quarrel. Nepal is tributary to China; Thibet is tributary to China, and Sikhim and Bhootan are tributary to Thibet and therefore secondarily to China. Had these States not distinctly understood that we were not advancing with an intention of annexation, it is impossible to believe but that with such combination of interests they would all have joined to oppose us, if not avowedly at least secretly."



The Sikhim Mission over, Mr. Eden returned to the Secretariat of the Board of Revenue. In the following year, 1862, he was made by Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He remained in the Bengal Secretariat till 1871 when he became Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. Two short interruptions occurred, the first in 1863-4, when he was sent as Special Envoy to Bhootan, and the second, in 1867, when he went to England on furlough. As Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr. Eden showed "a marked capacity for business, disposing of the overwhelmingly detailed work of the Bengal Office with a regularity and rapidity that few men could ever hope to rival. He enjoyed also the full confidence of Sir Cecil Beadon as well as of his successor, Sir William Grey, but as Mr. Eden cannot be assumed to have been the Government of Bengal, it would be impossible to award him praise or blame on account of measures, his personal share in which, there are no means of estimating." This much, however, can be safely said, that Mr. Eden's personal experience and keen insight into affairs were always of value to the Government which he served.

It was in November 1863, that Mr. Eden set out on his Bhootan Embassy. The result of this Embassy was pronounced a failure, and Mr. Eden's conduct also was the subject of severe comment at the time. The day of vengeance seemed to have at last come. By his out-spokenness and contempt for conventionalities he had alienated the hearts of many of his countrymen, and this seemed the occasion when he could safely be reviled. The English people cannot brook failure and his mission was apparently a failure. Who else but he could, therefore, be blamed? Of all his calumniators, none attacked him more virulently than the late Serampore journal, believed at the time to be under the complete influence of certain men in power who were, perhaps, not

unwilling to pay back the grudge they bore him for what they thought were Mr. Eden's efforts to immortalise them in the columns of the *Indian Field*. But although the publication, of the Further Blue book on Bhootan Missions, presented to Parliament in 1865, has abundantly cleared his reputation by enabling the public to form a correct estimate of the real difficulties he had to encounter, still it will not be unprofitable to recapitulate briefly some of the circumstances connected with his Embassy. It was hinted at the time that the British Envoy did not meet with that active support from the Government of Sir John Lawrence which he had a right to expect. Indeed, the half-hearted approval accorded by the Government of India, the unaccountable mistake committed by the Foreign Office in drawing up the well-known precis of Bhootan papers, the forwardness of Sir John Lawrence in communicating to Mr. Eden the censures of Sir Charles Wood, and his equal obstinacy in not communicating to him the withdrawal by the Secretary of State of those censures, went a great way to confirm the worst suspicions that were entertained at the time by Mr. Eden's friends. We believe, Mr. Eden's success in Sikhim was the reason why the Government of Lord Elgin selected him as the fittest person to be entrusted with a similar mission to a neighboring country; and considering the difficulties of the situation, Lord Elgin's Government could not have made a better choice. But unfortunately, the instructions conveyed to Mr. Eden were of a nature, that require, for their carrying out not a diplomatist but an army. The fact that a more favorable treaty had been obtained from the Sikhimpotee Raja, only three years before, was certainly, to a great extent, attributable to the exhibition of British bayonets, and not less so to the existence of an organised Government, in Sikhim having a stake in the country and consequently

obliged to feel an interest in the result of the negotiations. But no army was sent to Bhootan and it was unfortunately not known at the time that there was no regular Government there. Needy adventurers who lived by plunder and rapine; shewing little consideration even for their own countrymen; and who prided themselves upon their skill in lying and deceiving, were not altogether the class of politicians upon whom a friendly embassy could have much effect. Indeed, it seems to us to be a matter of surprise that the Government of India should have at all resolved, in 1863, upon another friendly Embassy to Bhootan with the fact before them of similar missions from Captain Jones' in 1772 to Captain Pemberton's in 1837 having all failed to produce desirable results.

The instructions, then, under which Mr. Eden proceeded to Bhootan were conveyed to him in Colonel Durand's letter dated the 11th of August, 1863. They were as follows :—

1. "Outrages, extending over a series of years, which have  
"been committed by subjects of the Bhoetan Government within  
"British Territory and the Territories of the Rajahs of Cooh  
"Behar and Sikhim, have rendered it necessary that measures  
"should be taken to revise and improve the relations existing  
"between the British Government and Bhootan. For this purpose  
"His Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor General has deter-  
"mined in the ensuing cold weather to send a special Mission to  
"the Bhootan Court, and has appointed you to conduct the  
"Mission. Credentials and suitable presents for the Deb and  
"Dhurma Rajahs will be furnished when the arrangements for  
"the organization of the Mission are further advanced. In the  
"meantime you will receive from the Bengal Government  
"copies of all the correspondence regarding the outrages  
"committed by the Bhooteahs, with which you will make yourself  
"familiar. The Bengal Government will also furnish you  
"with all information in their possession regarding the country

“ of Bhootan, and of a general kind which may be useful to  
“ you in the prosecution of the Mission. In your negotiations  
“ for accomplishing the special objects of the Mission you will  
“ be guided by the following general instructions, full discretion  
“ being left to you in matters of detail.

2. “Your first duty will be to explain clearly and distinctly,  
“ but in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, to the Bhootan Govern-  
“ ment, the circumstances which rendered it necessary for the  
“ British Government to occupy Ambaree Fallacottah and to with-  
“ hold its revenues. You will explain that the Government has  
“ no intention of occupying that Territory longer than the Bhootan  
“ Government by refusing compliance with its just demands  
“ renders such occupation necessary. This explanation will be  
“ accompanied by a demand for the surrender of all captives, and  
“ the restoration of all property carried off from British  
“ Territory or the Territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and  
“ Cooch Behar and now detained in Bhootan, of which, in  
“ communication with the Bengal Government, you will make  
“ as accurate a list as possible.

3. “Unless these demands be fully complied with, the British  
“ Government will not relinquish possession of Ambaree  
“ Fallacottah. But if the Bhootan Government manifest a  
“ desire to do substantial justice, you will inform the Deb and  
“ Dhurma Rajahs, that while retaining the management of the  
“ district, the British Government will pay an annual sum of  
“ Rs. 2000,—or such a sum as may be equal to one-third of the  
“ net revenues, in the same manner as is done with the Assam  
“ Docars, on condition of the Bootan Government restraining  
“ its subjects from future aggressions on British Territory or  
“ States under the protection of the British Government, and  
“ of their giving prompt redress for injuries which may be  
“ inflicted on the British Government in defiance of their  
“ commands.

4. "From the correspondence which will be furnished to you by the Bengal Government, you will perceive that the Bhootanese Authorities complain of aggressions on the part of British subjects and the inhabitants of Cooch Behar. You will request the Deb and the Dhurma Rajahs to furnish you with details of the specific acts of aggression complained of, and with reasonable proof of their commission, and you will offer to enquire into these cases if the Bhootan Government wish it, and to give such redress as the circumstances of the case may call for.

5. "You will next proceed to endeavour to effect some satisfactory arrangement for the rendition of criminals, by the British and Bhootan Governments respectively, who may hereafter be guilty of crimes within the Territories of either Government. On this point your negotiations will have to be conducted with the greatest care. You must bear in mind that from the inequality of the state of civilization, and the administration of justice, in the British possessions and in Bhootan, there can be no system of strict reciprocity between the two Governments. There are no securities for fair and impartial trial in Bhootan, such as exist under British laws. Moreover, while the procedure of the British Government in the rendition of criminals is limited and defined by Act VII. of 1854, the laws of Bhootan probably impose no restrictions upon the executive Authority in that country.

6. "The crimes for which it will be proper to arrange for the surrender of offenders are those specified in Act VII. of 1854. The British Government will be quite prepared to surrender, under the provisions of that Act, Bhootanese subjects who may take refuge in the British dominions, provided the Bhootan Government will surrender British refugee criminals on the submission to the Bhootan Government of such evidence of their guilt as may be satisfactory to the

" local Courts of the district in which the offence was com-  
 " mitted. It would be well, also, if you could prevail on the  
 " Bhootan Government to surrender for trial by British Courts  
 " any of their subjects who may commit within British Terri-  
 " tories any of the heinous offences specified in Act VII of  
 " 1854. On this point you may meet with much difficulty  
 " and opposition. But the Viceroy and Governor General is  
 " not without hope that, by judicious negotiation and explana-  
 " tion of the just and impartial principles which regulate the  
 " proceedings of British Courts, objections to the surrender  
 " of such offenders may be overcome. The British Govern-  
 " ment will have reason to congratulate you if such a provision  
 " can be secured.

7. " With regard to the Rajah of Sikhim, you will perceive  
 " that by article XVII of the Treaty of 1861, of which a  
 " copy is herewith forwarded to you, the Rajah engages to  
 " abstain from any Acts of aggression or hostility against any  
 " of the neighbouring States which are Allies of the British  
 " Government, and to refer all disputes or questions with  
 " such States to the arbitration of the British Government.  
 " The Rajah of Cooch Behar is by his engagement subject  
 " to the British Government, and as such is restrained from  
 " acts of aggression or retaliation without the consent of the  
 " British Government. You will fully explain to the Bhootan  
 " Government the position in which these two protected  
 " and dependent States are placed ; that any aggressions on  
 " these States will be considered by the British Government  
 " an unfriendly act on the part of the Bhootanese ; and that it  
 " will be proper for the Bhootan Government to refer to the  
 " British Government any questions or disputes with these  
 " States, which the British Government will always settle in  
 " such manner as justice may require.

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“11. You will endeavour to secure the record of the result of your Mission in the form of a Treaty. A draft of such a Treaty as His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General would desire you to negotiate is enclosed. In the main principles you will be limited by the instructions contained in this letter, but in all minor matters of detail, you will be guided by your own discretion and judgment and a regard for the interests of the British Government; and upon the success with which you may conduct these negotiations to a conclusion will depend the credit which will attach to you, and the degree in which your services on this Mission will be appreciated by the British Government.”

These instructions were supplemented by the Government of India as regards certain minor points in their letter of 25th September of the same year, which we need not quote here.

Adverting to these instructions, the writer in the *Pioneer* keenly observes that “seldom, indeed, has British Envoy had such spur applied at starting.” It was pretty clearly intimated to the Envoy how his failure to reach and influence the Bhootan Court would be viewed by the Government of India. The judiciousness of this course is certainly open to serious doubts. We do not know how far this ‘spur’ of the Government of India operated towards placing Mr. Eden precisely in that situation which, of all others, the British Envoy, if he had been allowed larger discretion, would unquestionably have avoided. Mr. Eden was blamed, not only by the Government of Sir John Lawrence but by all his enemies at the time, and also by others who could not even wait for the publication of his Report, for having proceeded to Poonakha when it was manifest from the beginning that the Bhootan Authorities were unwilling to receive him. But we will not anticipate the after-discussion or interrupt the thread of our narrative. This much, however, may be fairly observed here, that it is evident from the above

extracts that Mr. Eden was entrusted with the duty of forcing upon the Authorities of Bhootan a treaty which no Government that has not been already upset by military force, or that was not conscious of its utter weakness, could possibly be expected to accept. Indeed, it appears to us that exaggerated notions must have prevailed somewhere as regards the Bhootanese dread of British arms, and the worthlessness of the Bhootanese soldiery. Without any further reflections, however, upon the policy that gave birth to this Mission we will, for the present, see how Mr. Eden actually proceeded to fulfil it and what were the difficulties with which he had to cope.

In the beginning of November 1863, Mr. Eden arrived at Darjeeling, and commenced to organise the Establishment and carriage of the Mission. No reply having been received from the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs\* he again addressed them on the 10th of November, intimating his appointment and announcing his arrival at Darjeeling, and requesting the Bhootan Authorities to meet him on the frontier, and make suitable arrangements for carrying on the baggage of the camp. Shortly after despatching this letter, it came to his knowledge that there was then no recognised Government in Bhootan, the whole country being in a state of anarchy and confusion owing to a rebellion which had broken out some months previously. A new Deb Raja had been set up, and a sort of straggling fight was going on between the followers of the new Deb and the supporters of the old. All this was reported to Government, and Mr. Eden was informed that as the rebellion had been successful and a substantive Government had apparently been re-established, it appeared to Government that the new Deb Raja might be desirous of cultivating a good understanding with the British Government in order to strengthen his position.

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\* See Appendix \*



On the receipt of these orders Mr. Eden made preparation to advance and wrote to the Soubah of Dalingcote, a Bhootea Frontier officer who had shown a friendly feeling towards the Mission, to send men to him on the Teesta, a frontier stream. There was some difficulty in collecting coolies, and these were unwilling to venture into Bhootan, the people being known to be a very cruel and treacherous race. By the assistance, however, of Cheeboo Lama, the Dewan of Sikhim, who had been selected to accompany the Mission, some coolies were collected and they were started off to the frontier on the 1st of January. On the 10th, Mr. Eden and party left Darjeeling and overtook the camp just as they arrived at the Teesta, thirty miles from Darjeeling. It was here that the troubles of the Mission commenced. The coolies began to desert in numbers. The Lama, however, managed to procure assistance from his own ryots. In the absence of any arrangement by the Bhootaneese, the party experienced much difficulty in crossing the river which is very deep and rapid. However, by constructing rafts, the whole party got off to the opposite bank in three days. On the 9th, they began to move up by a gradual slope through some cultivated villages to Kalimpoong. Here the party was obliged to halt for one day in order to muster the coolies and re-arrange the baggage. After experiencing some difficulty owing to the opposition of some inferior officers of the Bhootan Government, the party proceeded by a path intersected by mountains and ravines and reached Dalingcote on the 12th. The Jungpen (Governor) of Fort Daling who had been expected to store the camp with supplies declined to do so except at very exorbitant prices; besides, being coarse in his manners and too much given to the drinking of ardent spirits, he picked a quarrel with some of Mr. Eden's party, though when called upon by the British Envoy, he was not slow to send in a written apology.

It was while staying at Daling that Mr. Eden received a letter from the Deb Raja. It was evasive and undecided. He was told that he should intimate to the Jungpen what he had come for and that the Jungpen would then arrange for his seeing the Deb. Upon this the British Envoy plainly gave the Jungpen to understand that if the Bhootan Government was unwilling to receive him and discuss in a friendly manner the business with which he was charged, he would instantly report the matter to his Government, and that the objects of the Mission would then be sought by other means. The Jungpen, individually, was not averse to help the Embassy forward, for he had nothing to lose but every thing to gain by so doing. But he feared the displeasure of his Government who had neither instructed him to oppose nor to assist the Mission in any respect. And yet it was impossible for Mr. Eden to move forward without the Jungpen's aid. He was sorely in want of coolies as well as of provisions. Seeing the unwillingness of the Jungpen, Mr. Eden had previously sent Captain Austen to Julpigooree for stores which were brought to Daling in due time. With the greatest difficulty a few coolies were collected, but Mr. Eden was obliged to leave at Daling a considerable portion of his baggage as well as escort. With only Fifty Sikhs and a few Sappers, he moved forward on the 29th. Two days' march through a very unhealthy or desert tract intersected by streams brought the party to Sipchoo where there were only two grass huts and three or four cattle sheds, and a few men and women, although the Daling Jungpen had said it was a strong and peopled city. The coolies supplied by the Jungpen had only engaged to come as far as Sipchoo, so they began to fall back after having reached that place. The Officer in charge of Sipchoo who was to have supplied the Mission with coolies said that he could not do so, that he had received no instruction from his Govern-

ment, and it was necessary for Mr. Eden to stay at Sipchoo for three weeks during which period the Bhootan Durbar might possibly send some orders. Mr. Eden felt that to remain at Sipchoo for weeks after the detention he had already experienced at Dalingcote, on the mere chance of the Bhootan Durbar making some arrangements for his advance after having neglected him so long, was out of the question. There were two courses open to him, either to return at once to British territory, or to go on leaving behind him all his baggage and the chief part of the small escort he had with him. He determined upon adopting the latter course. Whether he was justified or not in this, we have elsewhere considered. Leaving behind all his heavy baggage and stores, and all his escort except fifteen Sikhs, on the 2nd of February, he advanced to Saigong, a fine open plain below the Tublah Pass. On the next day, the little party continued the ascent of the Pass and early in the day came to snow, and had to march till dark through the snow. At night they halted in a wretched place. On the 4th the Pass was crossed. It was 10,000ft. high. The spirits of the men were drooping and many would have deserted, but the fear of having to recross the Pass prevented them from so doing. After resting for a day, the party proceeded with great difficulty to the Fort of Sangbee. The Jungpen of Sangbee when called upon gave Mr. Eden to understand that he had received no instructions from the Durbar to either assist or resist him. The Jungpen, however, could not take upon himself the responsibility of saying that the Deb Rajah would not receive the British Envoy. After making arrangements, therefore, for keeping his communications open between Sipchoo and Dalingcote, and instructing the party left at Sipchoo to return to Darjeeling, for there was no hope of bringing them up, Mr. Eden after many fresh difficulties reached Saybee. Here he was met by some Zinkaffs (inferior

officers) of the Durbar who, on compulsion, showed him two letters addressed by the Deb Rajah to the Jungpen of Dalingcote, one as usual evasive, and the other calling upon the Jungpen to do all in his power to send the Mission back, and directing that if he should see that the British Envoy would take no denial to forward him to the Durbar by another route than that which Mr. Eden had actually taken. They, however, offered no active opposition and accordingly on the 10th of February, Mr. Eden and party left Saybee. They had to ascend a very steep zigzag. About the middle of the day Bhokur was reached, a plain at an elevation of 9000 ft. The Taigonlah Pass was to be cleared the next day. With great difficulty the ascent was made and then the descent was more difficult still. After proceeding a little further, the Sumchee road was found. It was rather easy. A few more marches brought them to Hah Tampien, the residence of a Jungpen. He was very friendly in his behaviour, for he sent firewood, fodder, and some flour. His manners were also very prepossessing. Mr. Eden was prevailed upon to stay at Tampien for one day. In the night, however, heavy snow fell. Fortunately the party was comparatively unaffected by it. On the 17th the weather cleared, but still it was difficult to proceed. Whilst staying at Tampien, Mr. Eden heard that a deputation from the Durbar was coming from the next Pass, either to stop or delay him. Mr. Eden, however, resolved to cross the Pass before the arrival of this deputation. The ascent of this Pass was the most difficult. After starting at day-break and toiling through snow for more than fifteen hours, without food and shelter, the party reached a village, perfectly exhausted.\* On arrival, this village

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\* Mr. Eden himself observes, "the road was continually lost in the dark, and we were delayed sometimes for three-quarters of an hour

was found to have been occupied by the advance guard of the deputation from Paro. After some vexation and annoyance; a letter from the Deb Raja was produced, intimating to the British Envoy that he should return to the frontier for the purpose of re-arranging the boundaries with the Zinkaffs, and that on the event of no settlement taking place, he was to be allowed to proceed to Poonakha and have an interview with the Deb and Dhurma Rajas. On Mr. Eden's representing to them that he would not enter into any negotiations with any of the inferior officers of the Durbar but either proceed to Poonakha and see the Deb and Dhurma Rajas themselves in accordance with his instructions, or return to Darjeeling and report to his Government the unwillingness of the Durbar to receive him, they begged him to proceed to Poonakha and undertook to go forward and make arrangements for his reception. A letter from the Deb Raja was handed to him which was of the usual negative and evasive character but full of many professions of friendship. The messenger proceeded to Paro and returned with the assurance that the Penlow, the Governor in charge of Paro, would receive him with honor. After, however, the usual insincerity and forced politeness on the Penlow's part, the party proceeded to Poonakha. They waited for 16 days at Paro without any communications from the Durbar. It was on the 10th of March that they set out, reaching the capital on the 15th. What followed, we need not describe. How Mr. Eden was treated by the Bhootan Authorities, how he was threatened with imprisonment, how

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whilst it was being traced. Midnight passed and still there was no trace of the village which we were told was just below the Pass. At one in the morning we heard the welcome sound of a Thibet watch-dog baying, and reached the village perfectly exhausted, not having tasted food since the previous morning, and having marched through deep snow continuously for fifteen hours. *Bhootan Missions*

he was compelled to sign a treaty most favorable to Bhootan, in order to be able to get his party safe home, how after forced night marches he reached Darjeeling, and how he was reviled for all this, are matters of fact very unpleasant to dwell upon. It is easy for men who have seldom themselves undertaken any responsible work, sitting by their own fireside, to pronounce this man or that to have failed, but we have not the least hesitation in saying that Mr. Eden did all in his power to carry out the objects of the Mission, and that superior tact, or diplomacy, or call it what you may, could not, under the circumstances, have produced better results. Mr. Eden, in all that he did in Bhootan, was guided by one object. It was to ascertain, by a personal interview with the superior Authorities of the country, whether *they* were cognisant of all the misdeeds perpetrated in their name, and whether they were unwilling to give satisfaction for the same, and he had resolved not to return to British territory unless the Durbar distinctly told him to do so. He was unwilling to give an opening to the Bhootan Durbar to say that *they* were perfectly willing to receive and treat with him for a friendly adjustment of their disputes, but that *his* return, caused probably by the statement of some inferior officers of the State acting without authority, prevented them from so doing.

But, perhaps, after all, the Embassy of 1864 was not altogether a failure, in as much as it produced some definite results. To quote Mr. Eden's words: "it may at first sight seem to be a matter for regret that a friendly Mission should have been sent into Bhootan, but from what I have seen of the Government of that country, I am satisfied that it will in the end prove to have been the best course which could have been adopted. We have so many years borne patiently the outrages committed by these people on our territory that they learned to treat our power with contempt; we now know that

“there is in point of fact no Government in the country, and  
 “that it is quite impossible that there can be a Government  
 “there sufficiently strong to warrant an expectation that they  
 “will ever become good neighbours. We were formerly res-  
 “trained from avenging the insults offered to us by a doubt of  
 “the complicity of the higher Authorities: we now know that  
 “they are the instigators and promoters of every act of law-  
 “lessness and aggression on our frontier, and that all British  
 “subjects captured on these occasions are kept as slaves in  
 “their Forts and residences.”\*

Perhaps, it was characteristic of the behaviour of the Government of Sir John Lawrence towards Mr. Eden that the Government in their despatch to the Secretary of State should say that “it was clear at the outset that the Bhootanese had no intention of receiving him (Mr. Eden); they did much to deter him from marching forward, almost from the very first.” So Mr. Eden had himself to blame for the insults heaped upon him by the Bhootanese, and the physical sufferings entailed upon him for his resolution to do his duty. He had anticipated some such charge, and it is necessary to quote his reply. “The “Mission of 1837,” he says, “had been treated with neglect “almost as great, and yet had reached the Durbar and returned, “though unsuccessfully, yet without any attempt at violence “being shown them, and I felt that if I turned back under such “circumstances, the Bhootan Durbar would make capital out “of the position and declare that they had made arrangements

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\* No doubt, Mr. Eden here speaks with a reserve that is becoming his position as an official, and as such cannot openly disapprove of an act of his superiors. We suspect, however, that if it had been left to him originally, he could never have advised the Government of India to send another friendly Embassy to Bhootan after the failure of all previous Embassies of the kind, and after what the Frontier Officers since 1855 had been so constantly, and he it said, so ably, insisting upon.

"for my reception at Poonākha, and had been prepared to  
 "discuss in a friendly spirit the demands of our Government,  
 "but that their good intentions had been frustrated by my  
 "return. I also felt that if I turned back I should have been  
 "accused of having been disheartened and discouraged at the  
 "first trifling difficulties which presented themselves. Further,  
 "as Government had seen no reason why I should have delayed  
 "crossing the frontier on account of the failure of the Bhootan-  
 "ese to make any arrangements for my reception, it did not  
 "seem to me that they would approve of my turning back now  
 "when no greater hostility had been shewn than was shewn then.  
 "Taking all this into consideration, therefore, I came to the  
 "conclusion that, though I had not been received by the  
 "Government of Bhootan as I should have been, yet that I had  
 "not been treated in a manner which would render it imper-  
 "ative on me to turn back, knowing that my so doing would  
 "necessitate an enforcement of our demands by other means.  
 "I was willing to attribute much of the neglect with which  
 "I had been treated to the disorganised state of the Govern-  
 "ment and the natural *insouciance* of the Bhooteahs\*; the local  
 "Officers whom I met assured me that this was the case, and  
 "that if I once reached the Durbar I should be received in a  
 "hospitable and friendly manner; and though they were some-  
 "what suspicious of my intentions, these suspicions were likely  
 "to be allayed rather than the reverse by my coming on  
 "without any force." Yet this was not all. Mr. Eden was  
 blamed as, at any rate, having erred in judgment. But it has  
 since been made manifest that in every advance that he made,  
 he was directly encouraged by the Authorities at Calcutta.  
 Sir Cecil Beadon also, writing on the 20th of September,  
 1865, said that "he (Mr. Eden) was assured of the  
 support of the Paro Penlow, and though the Durbar had  
 shown an unwillingness to receive him, they had absolutely



refused to incur the responsibility of desiring him to return. It has, therefore, always seemed to me that Mr. Eden was right, under the circumstances, in going on from Pare, and that if the Government approved of his conduct in other respects, he deserved their unqualified support."

And yet, the Government of India did not hesitate to attempt to rob Mr. Eden of the praise that was unquestionably his due for the resolution and constancy with which he had endeavoured to do his duty and carry out their orders. In the well-known precis of Bhootan papers it was very distinctly stated that Mr. Eden proceeded to Poonakha on his own responsibility, without the least intimation having been given to the Authorities at Calcutta, or any encouragement received from them. The truth of this statement was questioned in the leading columns of the *Englishman*, and the *Westminster Review* in a powerful Article\* undertook to show up the disingenuousness of the Foreign Office in this matter. The Secretary of State also took the matter up. Then followed the publication of a correspondence, the most strange that has ever been seen even in India. It had been alleged that the statement contained in the Foreign Office precis of Bhootan papers was entirely borne out by the records of the Foreign Office, that "there was no letter, public or demi-official upon the records, nor was any received in the office at the period referred to, other than those (which had been

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\* Some of the Up-country papers attributed the authorship of the Article in the "Westminster" to Mr. Eden himself. But Sir Cecil Beadon in his letter to the Governor General, dated 25th September 1865, (see Further Papers relating to Bhootan, p. 39) wrote that "he was desired by Mr. Eden to state, though there was hardly any necessity for it, that he (Mr. Eden) had nothing to do with the article, or with any part of it, directly or indirectly, and that he was equally ignorant of the writer and of the source from whence he might have derived his impressions apart from the Parliamentary Blue Book."

quoted in the précis)" although "there was no doubt that certain demi-official communications were received by the Viceroy and the Secretary." These were for the first time brought upon record officially and copies of the same transmitted to the Secretary of State. Upon the receipt of these papers, Sir Charles Wood wrote to the Government of India that "the demi-official character of the correspondence does not affect the question. There are occasions, such as those which attend difficult and hazardous missions when it may be necessary to depart from the formal mode of official correspondence, and in the absence of such communications, demi-official or private letters to public functionaries have all the force of official correspondence, and ought generally to be placed upon your records. The omission to do this in the present instance has led to unmerited imputations being cast upon Mr. Eden, no less than upon Mr. Aitchison, [who had drawn up the précis] in connection with the contents of the précis to which your Excellency's letter under reply especially refers; and an imperfect statement of the correspondence between Mr. Eden and the authorities has been submitted to Her Majesty's Government. It now appears that not only had Mr. Eden, who has been blamed for proceeding from Paro to Poonakha, reported the progress of the Mission to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and to the Secretary in the Foreign Department, but that he had been encouraged by Mr. Beadon to proceed in spite of the obstacles which threatened his advance. Had you been aware of this at the time, your Excellency doubtless would not have recorded the opinion expressed in paragraph 2, of your letter to me, dated 1st June 1864; and I should not, in my despatch of the 18th July, have concurred in the opinion expressed by your Excellency's Government, that after the discouraging circumstances which attended the advance of Mr. Eden in the Bhootan country, especially after

"his arrival at Paro, it would have been sound discretion, upon his part, either to have withdrawn the Mission at once, or to have halted at Paro, and sent an express soliciting further instructions from your Excellency's Government."

After this stormy episode in his career, Mr. Eden continued to work as Secretary to the Government of Bengal. As we have already seen\* he filled this office for a period of about nine years with remarkable ability. Two interruptions only occurred, the first in 1863-4 when, as we have stated, he went to Bhootan, and the second in 1867 when he went to England on furlough.

In 1871 Mr. Eden was appointed to the Chief Commissionership of British Burmah. His four years' administration of the Province may present no one feature which can assert any especial prominence for itself, but from every point of view, it is admitted on all hands, there has been a distinct advance of the country in wealth and material prosperity owing to strong and careful Government. Mr. Eden's statesmanship is not demonstrative; his work, though vigorous, is always quiet, and to be rightly appreciated requires close attention in the observer. The questions with which, while in British Burmah, Mr. Eden had to deal, saving a few measures of internal economy, were principally those affecting the establishment of better relations with the Court of Ava and the neighboring Provinces, the opening of a trade route to Western China, the suppression of frontier raids, and the education of the people. In some of these, he succeeded even beyond expectation; and if in the others the desired success has not been attained, it is certain, at any rate, that if his policy is persistently followed, the day will not be distant when the Government will have cause to congratulate itself on satisfactory results.

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\* See page 21.

The first year of Mr. Eden's administration of British Burmah opened with a distressing dead-lock in trade caused by the King of Burmah's action. With a view to stimulate and extend trade in his own dominions, and appear before the world as a royal patron of commerce, as well as to meet his immediate wants, the King of Burmah, acting under the advice of evil counsellors, succeeded in inducing the European Merchants to give him guarantees that they would sell all their imports of piece-goods and other commodities to him only or his agents, whilst the Chinese and other traders were persuaded to give similar guarantees that they would buy all their piece-goods from the royal brokers. The first result of these measures was that piece-goods were sold very largely. They were in fact purchased by the King in quantities far exceeding the legitimate demand, and consequently the market became depressed. It was impossible for him to sell as fast as he bought, and he began to give away the goods to his troops and servants in lieu of pay; and the latter in their turn tried to convert the goods into cash by selling them in the Bazar for whatever they would fetch. These forced rates soon caused a glut in the market. They were of course ruinous to the Bazar dealers who had given full market rates to the King, and who found their stock remaining unsold on their hands. They accordingly complained to the Political Agent that the King had created a monopoly of trade in contravention of the terms of the Treaty of 1867.

It was obvious, however, that the royal trade in piece-goods bore no resemblance to the creation of a monopoly. Neither the Political Agent nor the Chief Commissioner could, therefore, afford these traders immediate redress. The British Government manifestly could not exercise its authority to prevent the King from buying and selling piece-goods like any one else if he chose to do so, and though his position and capital gave

him an unfair advantage, the right of others to sell and buy was not questioned though it was practically restricted. All that the Chief Commissioner, therefore, could do was to offer friendly advice to His Majesty upon the subject. But for some time, advice could not be expected to produce any salutary effect. So long as cupidity still flattered itself with an endless prospect of gain, so long as the Utopia of state commerce had not received a shock from the irresistible laws of political economy and arithmetic, it was not in human nature, to say nothing of barbaric princely nature, to be dissuaded. When at length the King saw that by his commercial operations he was by no means acquiring the reputation he had anticipated, and was besides losing money, Mr. Eden was at hand with his appropriate counsel. Now the king was, though not without great reluctance, induced to cancel the several guarantees he had received. The change soon manifested itself in its effects, trade returned to its old channels and easily accommodated itself to the laws of supply and demand.

We cannot sufficiently applaud Mr. Eden's behaviour throughout this crisis. The local clamour for direct Government interference was echoed in England by some powerful firms who, as usual in matters affecting their interests, sought by every means to hamper the action of the local Authorities, by moving the higher ones. But from the first, Mr. Eden had correctly understood the position, and was not in the least disposed to apply violent remedies—measures, that is, whose curative efficacy was doubtful, and which were often worse than the disease. His noiseless success, though it brought him no accession of reputation with the vulgar, justified his calm wisdom. Without the exercise of an overbearing pressure, but by friendly advice alone, he effected that which in all probability an impatient administration would have rushed by

endless negotiations to accomplish and burnt its fingers in the attempt.

The commencement of the year 1872 saw the despatch of a Mission to England by the Court of Ava. This circumstance gave a handle to Mr. Eden's enemies to find fault with him. It was openly said that during the very first year of Mr. Eden's administration, the relations existing between the British and the Burman Governments, so far from having improved in any respect, threatened to become more complicated; that the overbearing action of the Local Government forced his Majesty of Ava to turn towards the Queen of England for protection. But the charge had not a spark of truth in it. In order to rightly understand the event, a little acquaintance is needed with the past history of Burmah and the policy pursued by the British Government of India for a long course of years with regard to the Eastern frontier of the Empire.

Of the three divisions, Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim, comprising the Province of British Burmah, Pegu alone represents about a third of the total area. Pegu became British territory in 1852. Since that period, the King of Ava has never ceased his endeavours to recover possession of that province. In 1854, an Embassy from the Burmese Court asked from Lord Dalhousie that the province might be given back, but the reply was, "as long as the sun shines in the heavens, so long will the British flag float over the province of Pegu." For a true explanation of the vehemence of this reply,—doubtless apparently inconsistent with the usual tone of a diplomatic response—we are not to turn to the known proclivity of the ablest of our Indian administrators to aggrandise the limits of the British Empire in the East, (often, it must be confessed, at the expense of Britain's fair fame) or to his known inclination to retain what was thus acquired with a tenacity that is unsurpassed, but to the history of Pegu itself in connection with Burmah,

and the numerous frontier States and Principalities of Eastern Bengal extending northwards to Assam. At the risk of being pronounced tedious, we would attempt a short summary here of that history so far as is necessary to the clear understanding of the subject.

The Mahomedan conquerors of Bengal found their north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern frontier occupied by several independent kingdoms and tribes, the chief of which were those of Cooch-Behar, Kamrup or Assam, Tipperah and Arakan. There were doubtless many others in the unexplored jungle and hills. Indeed, the whole of the Indo-Chinese peninsula was divided and subdivided, like India itself, between an infinity of tribes and principalities. North-east of Tipperah lay the valley of Manipur. East and south-east of Assam were the Shans. Beyond Arakan lay Taungu and Prome, and Martaban and Siam towards the south. East of Tipperah was Ava now Burmah. Last not least was Pegu, contiguous to Arakan. These names, of little significance in these days, are not calculated to raise associations of their former greatness or the extent of their boundaries. The ancient importance of Cooch-Behar may be inferred from the esteem in which it was held by the Court of Akbar, as may be seen in the *Ain*. Assam while continually tempting the ambition or cupidity of conquerors, long struggled for its independence with the Mahomedan rulers of India and occasionally retaliated on them by ravaging the fair but defenceless fields of Bengal. Tipperah, separated from the Indian Empire by the Megna and the Brahmaputra and embracing the whole country from Chittagong to Sylhet and Rangamati and part of Assam, maintained with no little prowess its independence to the last, even though sometimes plucked of its best plumes. Last, not least, Arakan—whether under Asiatic sway or European occupation, preserved its old terror for the Hindu imagination as the

Land of Rakshases, man-eating demons or giants. It never lost an opportunity of laying claim to south Bengal, and if the Mahomedans sometimes humbled its pride, the Arakanese often carried the war into the heart of Bengal, insomuch as to necessitate the transfer of the capital to Moorsshedabad. But during the centuries of Mahomedan dominion in Bengal, the most powerful of the Indo-Chinese states was Pegu. Pegu indeed was the seat of an empire which included the neighbouring states. Pegu was the Lord Paramount, and Arakan, Tangu, Prome, Siam, Martaban, and Ava were vassals. In course of time, however, that great colossal state (which, commencing from the foot of that mountain range which separates Burmah and Cochin China from China Proper, swept across almost the whole region until its shores were washed by the ocean) torn by internal feuds, aggravated by Portuguese intrigue, fell, dismembered into half a dozen smaller states. But the subtle European poison was fatal to the smaller principalities on the sea-board which were accessible to it. After some time of occupation by Portuguese adventurers who entered into both political and tender relations with the powers that were in that quarter, Pegu and Arakan were one by one, rescued from foreign influence, and ultimately incorporated in the rising Empire of Burmah. Before the English ascendancy in Bengal the Burmans had completely turned the tables on the neighbours to whom they had hitherto crouched. Their success in extinguishing the Portuguese power in Pegu emboldened them—a conceit confirmed by the success of their arduous struggle with their cousins of Arakan who hated them with proverbial hate. The other states in that neighbourhood fell an easy prey, or voluntarily submitted. Tipperah alone kept them at bay and thus the safety of Bengal, and possibly of India also, at a critical period in Indian history depended on the exertions of a kingdom now not larger,



perhaps, than the largest Zemindary Mehal in any of the permanently settled provinces of India.\*

It was a real danger at a time when the Mogul empire had fallen to pieces, eaten up by internal decay, ere yet a consolidated, self-reliant British Power had taken its place. On the contrary the Burmese had in the Eastern Peninsula recently established a considerable empire on the ruins of numerous states. Their star was yet in the ascendant; they had not yet tasted of disappointment; they felt within them the self-consciousness of an imperial race. The riches of the Gangetic Delta tempted them with the enchantment of a far-off charm, to which besides they could assert a better claim than many a foreigner. Were they not the conquerors of their cousins of the coast, and hence heirs of that Arakanese kingdom which included a great portion of Bengal? It was for the moment lucky that a strong neutral power occupied the entire hills from Chittagong to Sylhet.

In the dark days preceding the downfall of the Moguls and all through the Revolution in Bengal which gave territorial importance and political power to the British merchants trading to the East, Tipperah alone, of all on that frontier, in

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\* So little is known by the public at large of the history of these border States, that this assertion, indeed the whole account, may be received with incredulity. But all these states have special national annals of their own, whose general accuracy may be tested by the histories of India and Burmah. The success of the Tipperahs in self-government is matter of Indian history. Their power and efficient administration in the last half of the 18th century may, for one reason, be legitimately inferred from the fact that we hear so little of the kingdom. There was neither necessity nor temptation to outsiders for interference. It may here be observed that Mr. Damant in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* testifies to the greatness of Gharib Nawaz, the prince of Manipur (see p. 46) who as H. H. Wilson remarks, "rather unaccountably bore a Mahomedan designation."

spite of minor internal troubles at times, maintained a stable government, prosperous at home and respected abroad. The principalities to the north and north-east were then as since the theatre of endless intrigues and rivalries, or of guilty ambition. In the strait of one party or the other, the patronage was sought of the Great Powers in the neighbourhood. Manipur, indeed, for a short time, was rescued from obscurity by the genius of Gharib Nawaz, who, impatient of the petty hill barriers which confined him, extended his arms all round. Checked on the west by the vigorous resistance of the Tipperahs, he concentrated all his energies on the conquest of Burmah, which he ravaged, in more than one expedition, defeating its troops and seizing its capital. An incapable and lustful parricide, however, he abruptly ended his brilliant career and dissipated for ever the prospects of the Mekli race.\*

Manipur now in return felt the scourge of Burman reprisal and retribution until it was compelled to solicit aid from Bengal. It was that dubious period of our history following upon the Revolution of 1757 which had effected a change of dynasty without establishing a strong native Government. The fame of the fair foreigners, so skilful and steady, who had played such an important part in the war, had penetrated beyond the frontier. The application came to, and was grasped at by them, with a mixture of foresight and foolhardiness. A defensive and offensive alliance being entered into between Manipur and Calcutta, Mr Verelst, the chief of the British settlement, ordered a handful of troops from Chittagong to march against the Burmans who were already in the valley. With such numbers, without the necessary local knowledge, and unsupported by other alliances in that quarter,

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\* The Manipuris are usually called Mekli by the Bengalis.

it was an absurd expedition, encouraged doubtless by the easy success of the English in Bengal, and it failed miserably, as it deserved, even before it could reach the scene of action. Having thus once burnt their fingers, the Calcutta Government conceived a worse than wholesome repugnance to frontier connection. They imbibed an exaggerated dread of their difficulties and dangers.

The East India Company under incapable and unpatriotic local representatives, bent on amassing private fortunes and at feud with one another as in the worst native court, presented the spectacle of a mercantile association but timidly feeling its way into political power in Bengal, as yet unprepared to venture on frontier responsibility, though a little boldness in time might have saved a world of future trouble and sacrifice. Policy indeed demanded vigorous action after the first disgrace, if only to recover prestige. But, in curious contrast to the policy pursued within India and in relation to the states in the west, not only were all temptations to extend influence in the east and north-east firmly resisted, but even the necessary frontier precautions were neglected, and, worse still, even outrages were passed over. Burmah, raised to imperial greatness by the conquests of its illustrious Allompra, in a right Roman spirit, responded in every instance to the call declined by the British, entered Manipur, and Assam, and Kachar—all states save Tipperah—in support of one party or another, raising or upsetting administrations and constitutions, making or unmaking Kings. It was not until the year 1822 when a Burmese garrison in Manipur advanced to Kachar to chastise the treacherous Manipuri fugitives there and re-establish the desposed prince Govind Chandra in his throne, and the inhabitants of Sylhet fled across the Megna and alarm spread throughout East Bengal, that our Government thought it time to take effectual means for protecting its possessions in that quarter

and guarding the exposed frontier. Then it brushed up its knowledge of the extreme east, and proposed alliances it had spurned. But it found the task not so easy. It required all the resources of the British Indian Empire to protect its own dignity from the insolence of Burmah which had too long been left to believe that the East India Company or other local representatives feared to wage war with his Golden-footed Majesty of Ava. It is no part of our intention to enter into a narrative of that arduous struggle which followed the proclamation of war in March 1824 and which ended in a satisfactory peace late in 1825. But this much we may observe, that besides other advantageous terms of that treaty, a considerable portion of Burman territory that the English arms had conquered was permanently ceded to the British Government of India. By the issue of this contest, was set at rest, for all time to come, those exaggerated claims of the Court of Ava for cession of British land, sometimes up to Dacca, sometimes to Moorshedabad, but always comprising the fairest districts of Eastern Bengal, and preferred with all the insolence of unchecked success. Apart from the value of these acquisitions of conquest which were indeed no better than mere rock and jungle then—the impressive lesson afforded to the Burmese must be placed foremost in estimating the value of the advantages secured to the British Empire of India by the war of 1824–25. That war, if it taught anything, taught the insolent and aggressive successors of Allompra that for a Power like theirs to cope with the British Government of India was absolutely impossible. It taught the disaffected or well-affected peoples of India also that the handful of fair foreigners who had obtained dominion over them was really invincible. Yet even the permanent British occupation of the ceded Burman territory, all rocky and jungle as it was, was not without its effects. It served to remove an ambitious and grasping power to a distance from

the more fertile portions of the British dominions, and to substitute, in some instances, a strong and defensible frontier in place of one more open to irruptions. Indeed, as Mr. H. H. Wilson in his Historical Sketch observes, the frontier states "distracted hitherto by incessant feuds and over-run by hostile armies, or peredatory bands, had been converted into wide and unwholesome thickets and ceased not only to be the haunts of man, but had become hostile to human life." A strong frontier line has been secured, and under its protecting shadows, these states which had "ceased to become the haunts of man," have bloomed into fair gardens yielding a considerable revenue.

Viewed in this light, the permanent British occupation of the Burmese Provinces acquired after the war of 1824-25, in spite of its unpopularity at home at the time, must be regarded as a political measure of no small importance. Arakan and Tenasserim were already British. Without Pegu, however, the measure could not be complete. For Pegu comprised all the maritime provinces of Burmah, and completed the frontier line southwards. Hence, in 1852, when the renewed arrogance of the Court of Ava led to a second Burmese war, advantage was taken of the Burmese humiliation to demand the surrender of this strip of land and formally annex it to the British Indian Empire. But although the Court of Ava submitted to this annexation at the time, it could by no means surrender one of its fairest provinces, without, at least, the very excusable weakness of entertaining a distant hope that if not by arms, at least by diplomacy it would at some future time regain what it had then to part with. Considering also the political significance of Pegu in Burman eyes, from its past history, the dignity of the Court of Ava suffered in its own esteem as well as in that of its Asiatic neighbours, by such a surrender. Embassy succeeded embassy, all with the object of re-acquiring Pegu. But Lord Dalhousie, who

well understood, the political significance which the possession of Pegu would confer on the Court of Ava in the eyes of the other Indo-Chinese states, and who was alive to a fault to the advantages of maintaining a vigorous line of frontier defence, in the hope of permanently dissipating this Burman expectation, used those vehement words which we have already quoted. But although so frankly dealt with, the King of Burmah could not give up his master passion of obtaining Pegu by diplomacy, and has persistently pursued his course in this matter, never throwing away a chance and not over-scrupulous in using such means as those chances might offer. Failing in his direct appeal to the Government of India, he sought to reach the Authorities at home, and looked about for help from other Sovereignities. In 1860, in reply to his representations to the Court of St. James, the King was told by the Ministers that no portion of British Burmah could possibly be given up. Local circumstances afforded him facilities for communicating with America, and the friendship of the President was appealed to. A French adventurer took advantage of His Majesty's weakness, and was despatched to the Emperor Napoleon. The King of Italy was approached through other sources. No wonder that Lord Mayo, in 1872, addressing the Native gentlemen and officials of British Burmah at a public reception in Rangoon should repeat the language of Lord Dalhousie, "let no man tell you that any change is likely to occur; Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim are British, and British they will remain for many generations of men." Yet all these fruitless negotiations, and the assured utterances of the British Government, have not succeeded in disabusing the Court of Ava of the idea that their wish can be obtained. Thus the Embassy of 1872 to England had a much deeper meaning than what lay on the surface, and directly proceeded from the King of Burmah's master-passion and the hope of obtaining Pegu by diplomacy for the reasons

which, we fear, we have rather elaborately explained, and was *not* the result of any local tyranny as was at the time sought to be made out.\*

During Mr. Eden's administration, the relations between British Burmah and Siam also were prominently brought under notice. The timber trade on the Salween river carried on by the British subjects had been greatly impeded by the disputes between the Chief of Zimmaï who is a feudatory of Siam, and the Chief of Eastern Karennee, nominally under the suzerainty of Ava. The lives of those who were engaged in the trade were exceedingly insecure in consequence of the numerous gangs of robbers who infested the Salween frontier. The absence of protection of life and property, and the unsatisfactory condition in respect to the rights over the forests and the settlement of the constant disputes arising therefrom, made it most advisable in the interests of all parties that some clear understanding should be arrived at. In April, 1871, Captain Lowndes was deputed on a Mission to Zimmaï with the view of promoting friendly relations with the Chief, and providing for the better protection of foresters. The Mission however was unable immediately to accomplish its primary object. The Chief was friendly, and appeared to be arriving at some sort of understanding with the Chief of Eastern Karennee; but otherwise he was extremely apathetic and it was obvious he would make no effort to redress the grievances alleged against him, excepting under compulsion from the Court of Siam. Under such circumstances application was made to the British Consul at Bangkok, and the Siamese

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\* See "*The Indian Observer*," of the 13th of April, 1872. It is a curious fact that with the history of the two Burmese wars before the world, no other journal should be able, or have the fairness, perhaps, to explain this Burmese Mission to England correctly.

Government commenced the adjudication of claims against its distant vassal, and even paid considerable claims preferred by British subjects. In order to arrive at a more satisfactory understanding, however, a treaty was concluded between the Siamese and the British Governments which provided for efficient means being taken for the repression and punishment of robbers and marauders, as well as for the establishment of a mixed Civil Court in Zimmai consisting of officers appointed by the Siamese Government and a British Officer to watch the proceedings, for the adjudication of disputes between such foresters as were British subjects and the Siamese Chief. Unfortunately, however, this treaty soon proved a failure. Asiatic subjects are not, perhaps, the fittest persons to pronounce verdicts, even in a just cause, against their own Sovereigns. The doctrine that the King can do no wrong, is understood literally in Asia, and does not receive here that liberal and enlightened—and indeed, the only excusable—interpretation that it does in Europe. Instead of the very useful theory that the Sovereign, as the head of the state, is legally incapable of committing a wrong, and thus affirming his inviolability of person, in Asia a wrong is hallowed when committed by the Sovereign, or if not hallowed, is allowed at least to go without a remedy. No wonder that the Siamese Officers, from a dread of responsibility for proceedings which threatened to decree their immediate suzerain liable for large sums of money in favor of British subjects, manifested an unwillingness which proved insurmountable to the discharge of the duties that were expected of them. Indeed, there seems to be little hope of arriving at any satisfactory arrangement with Zimmai unless the very practical suggestion of Mr. Eden were adopted by the Government of India. That suggestion refers to the establishment of a Consulate or Vice-consulate at the head-quarters of Zimmai. When it is



remembered that the allegiance of Zimmai to the King of Siam is at most nominal, it is evident that a treaty concluded with a Bangkok Ministry will command only the most superficial attention from a Zimmai Prince, unless a direct and continuous supervision by a Resident representative of the British Government be rigidly insisted upon. And although the raids on the Salween frontier have been effectively put a stop to by the establishment of a line of strong police stations, yet the Salween timber trade is still in a very unsatisfactory basis.

During the year a Mission also arrived at Rangoon from the Court of Talifoo, bearing friendly messages from Sultan Souleiman, the reigning sovereign over the Panthay territory in Western China. The Mission comprised Prince Hassan, a son of Souleiman, Prince Yusuf, a nephew of the Sultan, and Ibrahim Khan, an interpreter. When Major Sladen in 1868 was despatched for the purpose of opening a route from Bhamo, the Vizier of Sultan Souleiman was Governor of Momein and had hospitably entertained the party and promised every assistance in clearing the routes between Bhamo and Momein. Thus the Panthays having received a Mission of English Officers sent a return one, and although attempts were made to dissuade the party from proceeding to England, yet their instructions having been stringent they were forwarded to Calcutta, and eventually to England.\*

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\* The fact is certainly curious that in spite of all that the Local Government of India and its dependencies have done towards explaining to the Princes and Powers of Asia that as regards the adjustment of their relations with the British Power they ought always to deal with the Local Government and *not* with the Home Government, these Princes and Powers should yet insist upon opening direct communications with England. To many, we are afraid, this circumstance might afford a handle for maintaining that the Colonial Government possesses little

The other important event connected with Mr. Eden's administration of British Burmah is that which appertains to the opening of a trade route to Western China. Indeed, although as yet no success has been achieved in the direction, still the efforts that have been made and the progress already attained, leave little room for doubt that the opening of a high road of commerce between British Burmah and China offering the requisite degree of security to traders and goods is only a question of time. The existing trade routes and their condition might best be described in the words of the Administration Report for 1873,-74. It is said that "British Burmah with magnificent sea-ports, more easily and safely reached than any in the Bay of Bengal, or in or beyond the Malayan Peninsula, has one main artery piercing to the very centre

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credit in the eyes of Asiatic Princes, for fairness and frankness in its dealings with them, and that the superior honesty of the Home Government which is known all the world over is the only attraction why Embassies from Eastern Courts are always directed to proceed to England. But the right explanation of the fact seems to be that delegated Sovereignty, with a fixed pay attached to it, is what the Asiatic Princes can never conceive to be any species of Sovereignty at all. Thus in all instances they turn to the Sovereign in *khás* residing in England, and not to any of Her Majesty's representatives here, who, they openly say, are only paid servants of the Crown doing what the Crown directs them to do. Indeed, in justification of the Princes, it might be said that the idea of delegated Sovereignty in the sense in which the Viceroy of India is a Sovereign, as an out-growth of European civilization, is more than Asiatic Princes can realize. Nor, perhaps, speaking from this point of view, has it been altogether so very wise for the Home Government of the day, to dress up Her Majesty in Imperial robes and presenting Her in stronger relief than before to the Princes and Powers of Asia, overshadowing Her representatives in the East, although of course in other respects, the measure is not calculated to be altogether unproductive of very wholesome results.

of Indo-China. The Irrawaddy river carries steamers at all seasons of the year seven hundred miles into the interior, and at Bhamo a trade *entrepot* is reached which is only one hundred and fifty miles from the frontier of China and but half that distance from friendly Shan states which are tributary to China. This route into western China has, we know from history, existed for five hundred years and even when the lower Provinces of Burmah were under Native rule and the sea-ports jealously closed, there was a valuable trade between Burmah and China. The route is in fact, self made, and of late years opportunities have not been neglected by the Government of India to free the through trade of as many obstacles as possible. Rapid and regular steam communication from the Sea-board to Mandalay and Bhamo has been established by commercial enterprise and Government subsidies, and the Imperial customs demands have been reduced to a nominal amount. \* \* \*

Since the suppression of the Panthay rebellion, the commercial intercourse between the province of Yunan and Bhamo is steadily increasing, and the Chinese firms in Rangoon are establishing branches at the last named mart. The Burmese Government seem inclined to run their steamers between Mandalay and Bhamo and, indeed, from all sides it is apparent that this route—the traditional Western entrance into China—is destined to develop far beyond its condition at any previous point in history. The Rangoon and Irrawaddy State Railway for the construction of which sanction has been accorded by Her Majesty's Secretary of State comes most opportunely as the most fitting exhibition of the determination of Government fairly to take in hand the thorough establishment of rapid and direct communication between the coast and the great inland markets."

The importance of procuring accurate information and a scientific survey of the Bhamo trade route and its capa-

bilities, has been constantly before the Government. In 1868, Major Sladen with a fitting escort had been despatched on a mission of observation. The party, however, succeeded only in reaching Momein ; so, eventually, it was decided to organise an expedition on a scale and with equipments which should contain every guarantee for success, and comprise every essential for reaching the coast of the Pacific Ocean through the almost unknown regions of Western and Central China. Negotiations to secure the unmolested passage of the party and their escort as far as the confines of China were concluded with the King of Burmah, and by an arrangement with the British Minister at Pekin a deputation from the Chinese Consular Service was to leave Shanghai in September 1874, and endeavour to reach Bhamo overland, before the expedition from the Burmese side should commence their march. It is of course well known that the unfortunate Mr. Margary was selected for this arduous duty, who after a tedious journey successfully reached Bhamo in the middle of January 1875. The history of the progress of this expedition and the tragical end of Mr. Margary himself are well known to all. It is not likely that any fresh decisive measures will be soon resolved upon after the complications that resulted from the ill success of the last expedition. But, as we have already said, there is every probability of the traditional Western route to China being, not before long, made available to the requirements of commerce.

In addition to this valuable line of traffic which strikes Western China at the highest point available from Burmah, there are trade routes leading towards the Burman ports from other points of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Shan states reaching from the lower confines of China to the upper borders of Siam, send their produce and draw their English manufactures by roads terminating in Rangoon and Moulmein. These

various routes converge on Tongoo on the North-eastern frontier of British Burmah. The communication between Tongoo and Rangoon being very imperfect, the project recommended by Mr. Eden, of connecting these two stations by means of a Railway, if soon carried out, would certainly lead to those routes being more largely used than now, and could not fail to advance the trade of British Burmah.

We will now turn our attention to some of the chief measures of internal reform that Mr. Eden worked out in the Province. Among these the suppression of Frontier raids into British territory will claim precedence. During the very first year of his administration his attention was drawn to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Arakan Hill Tracts. The Hill District was placed under the administration of a Special Officer called the Superintendent of the Hill Tracts, with an Assistant Superintendent of Police, and a Native Official. The Police within these limits were greatly strengthened, and formed into a separate force. A code of simple rules was also framed for the special administration of justice in these Tracts, more suited to the requirements of the people than the Regulations and Acts of the Government of India. The Superintendent was also instructed to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring Hill Chiefs. The special Police force being a well-trained body and occupying five stockaded positions all along the Frontier line, the raids which constituted one of the great difficulties of previous years, have been almost wholly stopped. Thus, good order and security to property have been introduced into the Hill Tracts and this has naturally been followed by a corresponding development of the agricultural industry of the people.

We come now to the Educational measures that Mr. Eden inaugurated for the advancement of the people who had the good fortune to be placed under his charge. The observation,

however trite, is true, that of all the benefits that it is possible for the rulers of the land to confer on it, that of Education is the most solid and lasting. Mr. Eden was not the man to be regardless of this fact. Indeed, his policy of non-interference where interference would only produce mischief, and his cautious reforms where reforms were needed, have brought about a state of things that would be creditable to the most successful administrator of any country. Mr. Eden found that there were two circumstances affecting Educational work in British Burmah that were peculiar to the Province,—viz, the existence of an ancient and wide-spread system of gratuitous primary instruction in connection with the Buddhist Monasteries, and the facilities which the free social position of women afforded for the advancement of Female Education. Indeed, the influence of these indigenous Monastic Schools and the extent of their work will be best estimated when it is said that, in 1872-73, while there were only seven Government Schools teaching about half a thousand pupils, twenty-two Missionary or Private Schools teaching a little above two thousand pupils, and over hundred and ninety two Missionary Primary Schools teaching a little above four thousand pupils, the indigeneous Monastic Schools numbered four thousand and imparted instruction to no less than half a lakh of pupils. Unfortunately, however, the character of the instruction imparted in these Monastic Schools was of a kind that was of no great value considering the requirements of an age which is eminently practical; and one of the most important questions that occupied the attention of Mr. Eden's Government—the question having first been raised by Sir Arthur Phayre—was how to bring these schools into harmony with the higher educational standard of the Province, and how to create a spirit of emulation which should have the effect of working up the Monastery teachers to the adoption of a better system of teaching.

There is one other point connected with the question of Education in British Burmah to which we would in this place invite attention. It seems to be at first sight a wonder that the Burmese who are of all people the most conservative in their habits and customs, and among whom ancient Institutions thrive in all the freshness of modern vigour, should yet manifest an inclination for English Education. Perhaps, this is only another illustration of the inevitable consequences of a superior civilization coming in contact with an inferior one. Whatever might be the cause, it is a fact that the Burmese have, of late years, begun to show a decided preference for English Education over the culture that their own indigenous Institutions can impart. Up to 1873 there were but few Government and Aided English Schools in the Province, and none of these could provide a curriculum of studies complete in itself enabling the students to finish their Education in the Province. The Burmese youth had frequently to undergo the expense of a journey to India and the troubles incident to a stay of some years in this country in order to satisfy their craving for knowledge.

The measures that Mr. Eden inaugurated with a view to remove these evils and inconveniences were mainly (1) the Organisation of an efficient Inspecting agency, (2) the Opening of the Rangoon High School, (3) the Establishment of additional Middle Class Government Schools, (4) the Extension of Government aid to a large number of Private Schools, and above all, (5) the Improvement of the Indigenous Monastic Schools. Speaking particularly of the latter, in order not to destroy the influences for good which are undoubtedly to be found in them, as a first step, examiners have merely been appointed who visit the Monasteries and if the chief Monk agrees, examine the scholars by their own standard of teaching. In this there is no attempt to interfere with or

influence in any way the present indigenous mode of instruction; but such boys as pass the tests which have been adopted from the usual curriculum of study in the Monasteries are rewarded, and in this way it is hoped they will gradually be stimulated to work up to a higher standard. Another measure in connection with these Monastic schools, which has been sanctioned on a small scale, is the supplying to them, on application, trained Burman teachers who are acquainted with the more advanced subjects, and who are able to teach some useful branches of education. It is hoped that by the introduction of these judicious measures, the proposal of Sir Arthur Phayre to improve the Monastic Schools has now been really solved, and, indeed, the progress which has been made since affords substantial promise of greater success. The establishment of a High School at Rangoon has, to a large extent, removed the necessity of the Burman youth undertaking a journey to India for the purpose of finishing their education. With these aids, and the organization of an efficient inspecting agency for the Province and for districts, as well as by a judicious extension of Government aid to existing private schools, British Burmah may be said to have now made a fair start as regards Education, and to no one in particular is that Province more indebted for this state of things than to Mr. Eden.

Before we conclude our notice, however, of the measures that Mr. Eden undertook for the advancement of British Burmah, we must turn our attention to his reforms affecting the Land tenures of the Province. There are in British Burmah no landed Proprietors like the Zemindars in the permanently settled Provinces of India. The holders of the land are, with very few exceptions, the cultivators themselves. There are no middle-men between them and the state to intercept the revenue, or harass them in a thousand little ways, or watch over them with a tender care from which, if free to choose, they would like to be excused.



The usual extent of these holdings averages about five acres; and considering the cheapness of life in British Burmah, this area, under judicious cultivation, can fully meet all the requirements of an average agricultural family. Prior to the year 1872. there was in British Burmah nothing like a Department of Revenue Survey, nor has any been created since to supply a visible want. To obviate this inconvenience, however, Mr. Eden improvised in that year a committee of the most experienced Officers under his disposal, and the question of Land settlement was very carefully considered by them; and during the years following, all settlements were carried out in accordance with their recommendations. The principles observed in conducting those settlements were that they were all placed under the supervision and control of the Revenue Authorities, the primary duty of the settlement Department being to demarcate and map the various holdings. When the character of the soil or the circumstances of its situation with regard to the neighbouring fields afforded it, a uniform rate of assessment was imposed on the area of each *kweng* or plain. These rates were fixed by the Deputy Commissioner subject to the approval of the Commissioner. The system of individual leases was followed in all cases, the joint system having been found by experience to be productive of considerable hardship and oppression. Indeed, leasing on the joint system, whether as a relic of remote ages when the idea of individual ownership could not be realized, or as a legacy of the Mahomedan times when the establishment for the collection of the public Revenue was not adequate to the task, although countenanced yet in entire Provinces of the Indian Empire, is ill-suited to the conditions of life in the present age. It was a wholesome and salutary change, therefore, that was inaugurated in British Burmah,—a change from the joint to the individual system of the farming of the public land.

Then again no dismemberment of the holdings is allowed,

and leases for portions are not granted. An allowance for *bona fide* fallow land, not exceeding one quarter of the total area of the leased holding, is also permitted. The leases are given for periods varying from 5 to 10 years, but to ensure uniformity, one term of duration only is allowed in each *Kweng*. At first, it would appear, the measurement and assessment of lands were made annually, and although the frequent recurrence of such vexatious operations produced great inconvenience, still the cultivators, for a long time, preferred that practice to the system of leases. But after the establishment of a Settlement Department, the people gradually took to periodic settlements, preferring them to the annual measurements which had formerly prevailed. The lessees, however, are allowed, before the expiry of their leases, if they so like, to abandon their holdings, on giving one year's notice, or if that has not been done, on payment of a year's revenue in advance. Due provision was also made for ensuring that the village enclosures or pasture lands were not encroached upon, and that a sufficiency of grazing ground was allotted to each village,—a provision, the benefits of which are really incalculable to an agricultural community. At the same time, the rights of the cultivators to the waste lands adjoining their leased tracts were declared not to be absolute, but only preferential, and thus was removed one fertile source of disputes the adjudication of which was, in former years, attended with considerable difficulty.

It must not be supposed, however, that the cultivators of British Burmah have no sort of right or interest in the land itself as against the state. Although holding under periodic leases, a continuous occupation of the same land for twelve years confers on them the right of occupancy, which under the Law current in that province, is a complete transferable and heritable right, subject to the payment of the rates and revenue assessed from time to time by the state. In point of

fact, the cultivators are perfectly protected by the fixity of the tenures they enjoy, and this with the very low assessment upon the land has caused a great increase of cultivation. No doubt, the extraordinary prosperity of the cultivating classes of British Burmah is all owing to the fact, that except the small proportion which goes to the Government, the profits go entirely to them and none to any description of middlemen whatever.

The exceptions we have noted in the character of the holdings are where grants of waste lauds were made to Europeans or Natives of India with a view to their reclamation by the employment of capital. The question of these grants, however, was attended with considerable complications, and Mr. Eden devoted his best attention to its consideration. The result of the enquiries he instituted showed a frightful state of things. So little was the foresight or prudence or even ordinary caution manifested in the matter of making these grants, that it was found, in the district of Rangoon alone, Eighty thousand nine hundred and twenty three acres had been granted away in 66 grants of which Nine thousand five hundred and two acres only were partially reclaimed. These lands, were in the majority of cases taken up for speculative purposes, and for the extortion of petty dues from the surrounding villagers, and not for the purpose of cultivation or development of improved agricultural industry through the employment of European capital. Most of the grants, again, and especially the large ones, appeared to have been made without due consideration or enquiry, and with no regard to the rights and interests of the villagers in the neighbourhood, and there could be no doubt that the people were much harassed and oppressed, and that here and there, many of them, were actually driven from their holdings through having been forbidden by the grantees to cut firewood and thatch-grass, to graze their cattle, to burn charcoal, to gather fruits and flowers, and even to catch birds or fish, to all of which by right of

residence and prescription they were entitled, and of which they could not have been deprived, if the land remained in the possession of Government. Then again, the grants appeared to have been made to any body who had sufficient interest to get his application supported without reference to the legality of the grant, the rights of the people, or the pecuniary abilities of the individual to clear the jungle and reclaim the soil. When there was so much laxity manifested by the Officials, there could be no wonder that abuses of every description had sprung up. Lands which were *not* waste, were leased for terms of twenty, and even thirty years, free of assessment, and thus the state was deprived of its legitimate revenue to a considerable extent. In other cases, whilst many of the grantees had not spent a single rupee in improving or tilling the land, they derived yet a revenue therefrom by charging for firewood and everything else that the people of the adjoining villages might require from the lands so leased.

With a view to remedy these various abuses Mr. Eden submitted a Report to the Government of India in which he strongly recommended that the then existing rules for the sale and leasing of waste lands should be wholly cancelled. His recommendations met with approval and a survey of the existing grants was, at the same time, authorized. Some difficulty, however, was experienced at first in carrying on the work of measurement in consequence of the services of a qualified officer not being available for that duty. As the survey, however, began to progress, the areas under actual cultivation by the grantees came to be tested, and stringent measures were adopted with a view to compel them to perform their part of the engagement. Where it was found that the stipulated number of acres was not under actual cultivation, the grants were even resumed, and thus by the use of judicious means a frightful state of things was remedied, noiselessly and slowly, but as effectually as could be desired.

No sketch of the political career of Mr Eden could be complete without some account of his acts as Member of the Council of the Governor General of India. It was on the 2nd of February 1875 that Mr. Eden took his seat in the Council as an Additional Member. His long and varied experience as an executive officer in Bengal, as Envoy of the British Government to neighbouring potentates for the adjustment of political differences, and as a successful administrator of a fair and large province, fully justified his selection. In the language of the popular prints, the Government of Lord Northbrooke in honoring Mr. Eden with a call to the Supreme Legislative Council of the Empire only honored itself. It may be generally premised that during Mr Eden's connection with the Council, he was ordinarily on the side of the Government, although, when occasion required, he did not hesitate to give expression to independent opinions even if opposed to the Government. His labors, however, as a Councillor were chiefly directed towards the passing of measures for the advancement of the Province he had recently so successfully administered. From the circumstances, however, attending a Legislative Enactment, through its different stages from the moment of conception to that of full and mature birth, it is impossible to estimate what was Mr. Eden's special contribution towards the measures of which we speak. But this much can be safely predicated that Mr. Eden was the soul and guiding spirit of the Enactments affecting British Burmah that became law during his continuance in Council. And although for a detailed knowledge of the provisions of those Enactments the reader must turn to other sources than a sketch like this, still, we think, a short summary here will not be altogether out of plan.

From a very long time past the Fisheries of Burmah yielded a revenue to the state not by any means inconsiderable. What was the system followed when the provinces were under Native

rule as regards the assessment and collection of this revenue does not clearly appear. But when these provinces became British, the plan adopted was the letting of these Fisheries by annual leases, and as a consequence, very frequently different persons were selected each succeeding year. Then again the selection of the lessees unfortunately, or perhaps unavoidably, as also the settling of the terms which regulated the leases themselves, was left very much in the hands of subordinate Officials. A system of bribery and corruption had accordingly sprung up which led to a very unsatisfactory state of things. Mr. Eden, however, during his administration, introduced a new system, by which the Fisheries were let for periods of five years, the leases being put up to public auction and the bidders being only persons holding certificates of qualification from district officers. This qualification was based on the residence of the bidder within a certain distance of the village in the vicinity of which the fishery was situated, the object being to ensure the interests of the villagers in the working of the fishery, and to exclude men from distant parts of the country who might work it to the detriment of the villagers as a matter of speculation. This system worked remarkably well, not a single complaint having been made, and the revenue also having considerably increased. As the people themselves explained, they were, under the new system, able to pay larger sums for their leases, the money which formerly went in litigation and in bribing the petty officials and intriguing to upset leases, being paid for their leases at the auction sales. Yet although this system worked remarkably well, the reason for passing a law was obvious. The revision of the rules themselves that had taken place required a legislative confirmation. There were certain other matters also—such as the recovery of arrears from defaulters, the enforcement of the responsibility of sureties, the protection of the public rights as to the use of water, the construction of

weirs and breaches of fishery rules that required to be regulated by law.\*

A Bill embodying the necessary provisions, accordingly was introduced into the Council and Mr. Eden presented the Report of the Select Committee that had sat on it, on the 16th of February 1875. After some discussion which took place at the next sitting of the Council, the Bill was passed and became Law.

The Land Revenue system also of British Burmah needed some legislation. From what has been said of the character of the Land Tenures obtaining in that Province, it may be understood that the Land Revenue system of British Burmah is a ryotwari system, pure and simple, there being no intermediate holders between the State and the Cultivator, and, as such, resembles more nearly the system in the Bombay Presidency than in any other part of British India. The land is held to be the property of the State subject to such interests as are allowed to accrue thereon from time to time. After the first occupation of the Province, in absence of any other method, the old Native one which took the form of a tax on ploughs and a bullocks—a rough and barbaric method of assessment, had been adopted. But although some efforts were made towards the introduction of a system of rate upon land, it was not till after the annexation of Pegu in 1853 that Sir Arthur Phayre drew up a regular code for the public assessment of Revenue, on the basis of the plan first propounded by Mr. John Colvin, the Commissioner of Tenasserim. That code, subject to certain alterations and amendments that the course of time necessitated, continued till the expiry of Mr. Eden's Commissionership.

The plan of the code was exceedingly simple. The country was divided into a number of Divisions, each Division being

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\* See the Abstract of proceedings of the Governor General's Council, 1875, p. 65.

under a Revenue Commissioner ; the division was subdivided into Districts analogous to Districts under the administration of Collectors ; the District was again divided into Townships, which might be compared to the teshildarships in the North-west Provinces, and each Township was subdivided into revenue circles, each of which latter was in charge of a Thongye or collector of taxes, who was responsible for the details of the revenue assessment of the collection in the circle. The Thongye was assisted by an officer who was a volunteer, and who attended to the details of the collection. The Thongye's duty was to prepare a rent-roll showing the rental of each cultivator and the quantity of land cultivated by him ; this rent-roll was filed in the Court of the Deputy Commissioner who prepared a receipt for the rent for which each cultivator was liable ; the Thongye then went to the tenants, collected the money, and paid it into court, giving to the cultivator by whom the money was paid his receipt duly endorsed. Where there was default in payment the Thongye presented a petition to the Deputy Collector, who proceeded against the defaulter in the manner prescribed for the recovery of arrears of Revenue. It may be observed, however, that cases of default very seldom occurred.

Such then was the machinery that existed in British Burmah for the collection of the public revenue. Many of the original rules had become obsolete, and the amendments that were made from time to time to suit the altered conditions of the Province, had not the force of law. On the 25th of February, 1875, Mr. Eden introduced a Bill in the Council for the purpose of declaring the law relating to interests in land and regulating the assessment and collection of the land-revenue, as well as certain other taxes in the Province. While Chief Commissioner of British Burmah he had, indeed, suggested the preparation of a draft Bill on the subject, and he had now the satisfaction of introducing it himself into Council.



Although the general principles of the system already described were left untouched by the Bill, yet considerable alterations were proposed as regards the details of that system, chief among which might be mentioned the provision affecting those cultivators who having acquired a right of occupancy, abandoned their holdings and returned, after the lapse of several years, to claim them with all the improvements which were made during their absence by unsuspecting persons. The right to recover, under such circumstances, was proposed to be limited to twelve years after the abandonment of the land, and to be subject to the payment of compensation for improvements made by the new comer. The Bill was referred to a select committee, the report of which Mr. Eden presented on the 4th of January, 1875, and after some discussion, it became law on the 18th of January following.

The other Legislative Enactments of the session in which Mr. Eden had a hand, were the Burmah Courts Amendment Act, and the Burmah Labor contract Act. An Act had been passed in 1872 which again was amended in 1873, for the purpose of regulating the Courts of British Burmah. But there were various minute things which had not been attended to, and which created considerable difficulty in carrying that Act into operation. A Bill was introduced, accordingly, on the suggestion of the Local Authorities in 1874, for the purpose of consolidating the several measures, as well as to revive certain enactments that had been repealed. It was no small gain to the Legislature that at the time when this Bill was before the Select Committee, Mr. Eden was in it to assist its deliberations with his sound local knowledge. Apart from the difficulty, considerable as it is, always experienced in making complete arrangements for a system of Courts in consequence of a great many small points that require to be attended to, as well as of many things that are not discovered until the Courts

actually begin to work, there was a peculiar source of complication in British Burmah, from the fact of there being in that Province a multiplicity of superior Courts having different areas of jurisdiction, either geographical or legal, or of a mixed nature. Under these circumstances the local experience and sound practical knowledge which Mr. Eden brought into the Council, no doubt, proved invaluable. Indeed, the legal member in charge of the Bill acknowledged as much in presenting to the Council the final report of the select committee. The result was that the Bill was passed on the 10th of September 1875 after very little discussion. Indeed, although the complicated system of Courts in British Burmah has not been simplified to the desirable extent, still, there is reason to believe that the Act of 1875 has become the means of making things work more smoothly in British Burmah. Mr. Eden's connection with the Council ceased in the 2nd of February 1876. Towards the end of that month he went to England on furlough, to recruit a constitution which though vigorous by nature had yet been somewhat battered by the continuous pressure of active and arduous work in a climate wholly unsuited to it. He returned in December 1876, after an absence of about 10 months, as Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

Such then is a bare out-line of the antecedents of the personage who is at this moment at the head of the administration of one of the fairest Provinces of India. The manifold proofs he has given, while in a subordinate capacity, of his sound understanding, his practical good sense, his remarkable activity, and his indomitable energy, added to his varied experience and intimate knowledge of the habits and wishes of the people amongst whom he has moved, are a subject of congratulation to the many millions over whose destinies he may be now said immediately to preside. The news of his appointment as Lieutenant Governor was received with a thrill of pleasure by almost all sections of

the community. The Natives in particular, from the highest to the lowest who had any knowledge of affairs, looked upon his appointment as a piece of individual good fortune. Bengal has been the earliest field of his labours and his glory, and as such, she expects from him much ; and no doubt, if circumstances allow, he will fulfil many of her just expectations. It is true that in the very first year of his administration he has been forced to saddle her with an additional burden in the form of a land cess, and to speak a few disagreeable truths of the character of a few of her public advocates ; but in spite of the sectional clamour that has been raised, and of the interested agitation set on foot that does not yet promise to die out, his popularity is as fresh as ever, and he is regarded still as the true hearted friend with the best men of the country he ever was. May he live to accomplish his mission to the dumb millions placed under his charge and to enjoy, greater honors yet in his native land passing eventually a ripe old age in the bosom of his family and friends encircled by happy faces and never forgetting the claims of the defenceless people over whom he once watched with tender care.

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