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AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL—I.

[The following article contains the first half of a Paper read by Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., at a meeting of the National Indian Association held at the Imperial Institute on December 6th. The chair was occupied by Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E.]

INTRODUCTORY.

MR. LECKY, the historian, in his address delivered here a fortnight ago, is reported to have said as follows:—

"Remember what India had been for countless ages before the establishment of British rule. Think of its endless wars of race and creed, its savage oppressions, its fierce anarchies, its barbarous customs, and then consider what it is to have established for so many years over the vast space from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin a reign of perfect peace."

This is not the occasion for appraising the exact amount of truth in the eulogium of British rule which follows; but in his sweeping generalisation concerning the past of India, I must make bold to say that I fail to recognise the master-hand which gave us the History of the Eighteenth Century. If, as is surely fair, we take as our standard of comparison, not Utopia, but the actual condition, in each successive period, of the most civilised parts of Europe, and if by "countless ages" be meant the three or four thousand years of ascertainable history, we shall find that India has
been nearly as often in the van as in the rear of social progress.

It is true, however, that we have not the means of individualising the saints and heroes, who must have existed in India in order to account for the progress made, to anything like the same extent as in ancient Greece or Rome, or in Christian Europe. My own reading, at all events, has only disclosed to me two figures standing out with real grandeur and attractiveness from the crowd of shadowy Hindus and commonplace Muhammadans. One is Sir Edwin Arnold's hero, the "Light of Asia," commonly known as Buddha. The other is the latest hero of our late Laureate. It is the chief aim of this paper to assist those who may have read that nobly-conceived poem, entitled "Akbar's Dream," to judge for themselves how far the real Akbar was worthy of being so idealised, and to induce those who have not read the poem to do so.

ANCESTRY, INFANCY, AND MINORITY OF AKBAR.

It will be well, in the first place, to take note of the stock to which he belonged.

The first irruption of the Moguls from the steppes of Tartary into Central Asia, under Chengiz Khan, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, has been called by a very sober historian "the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge." They were then ugly and brutal savages, but in the course of a century they became largely intermixed in blood, and assimilated in language, manners, and religion, with the handsome and civilised Turks and Persians, among whom they had intruded themselves.

Unfortunately, the Muhammadan culture of that age, though superior in some respects to that of contemporary Europe, was better fitted to improve the head than the heart; and in one case, at all events, a fair share of it seems only to have superadded the refinements of hypocrisy and treachery to inherited ferocity. The famous Timur who, five or six generations after Chengiz, led the Moguls in a new career of victory from Samarcand as his centre to Moscow in the north and Delhi in the south, is perhaps entitled to be reckoned at once the greatest and the wickedest conqueror in history.

Akbar was the eighth in descent from this hateful person, and his position in India was not entirely unconnected with the fact that Timur once honoured Hindustan with a brief visit, in the course of which he massacred an
enormous number of people, destroyed nearly everything that he could not carry off, and left (says Elphinstone) "famine, anarchy, and pestilence behind him."

Akbar's grandfather, Bābar, sixth in descent from Timur, was a dashing, jovial, not altogether unamiable military adventurer, known to us pretty intimately from his own memoirs, who took a lively part in the scramble still going on for fragments of his ancestor's empire, and having at last acquired a tolerably firm hold over Cabul and Candahar, began to cast longing eyes over the plains of Hindustan, which he had the coolness to claim as part of the inheritance of Timur. The distracted state of the country favoured his enterprise, and before he died he had established a precarious supremacy as far eastward as the frontier of Bengal. He is therefore in some sort the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India.

Akbar's father (Humayūn) was the eldest of Babar's four sons, and succeeded to the eastern part of his dominions; but he let himself be driven out of India, and kept out for about fifteen years, which he spent partly in Persia as an exile, partly in contending with his brothers for Candahar and Cabul, the sole remnants of their common patrimony. It was when his fortunes were nearly at the lowest, and he had barely reached a friendly fort near the Indus, with his young wife and his few remaining adherents, after a miserable flight through the desert, that she gave birth to Akbar. About a year later, as he was passing Candahar on his way to seek an asylum in Persia, a warning suddenly reached him that one of his hostile brothers was close at hand. He had just time to gallop off with his wife on the same horse, leaving the baby with its nurse and some other women to the mercy of the uncle, who did, in fact, take good care of them until Humayūn reappeared on the scene. During the next eight years the brothers contended for the possession of Eastern Afghanistan with varying success and with intervals of hollow reconciliation. In the course of the struggle, young Akbar was recovered, lost, and again recovered by his father, and on one occasion there was a threat to expose the child to the fire of the father's artillery if the cannonade was not stopped; but apart from this he seems always to have been kindly treated, and the ladies immediately in charge of him won his enduring affection. In after years, his foster-brother, the son of the woman who had nursed him in the mother's absence, presumed on the great favour shown to him at
Court and became very troublesome; but Akbar put aside all suggestions that he should deal severely with him with the remark: “Between Aziz and me there is a river of milk that I cannot cross.”

At last his father found himself without a rival at Cabul, and in a position to strike another blow for the empire of Hindustan. He had actually fought his way through the Punjab, and made himself master of Delhi and Agra, when he met with a fatal accident, and young Akbar, now a boy of thirteen, became the heir of the vast pretensions, and slender resources, of the house of Timur. He was in the Punjab at the time, in nominal command of one of Humayun's armies, really under the tutelage of an experienced warrior called Bairam. They had already quite enough to do with an enemy confronting them in that province, and the messenger who brought the Imperial insignia from Agra was quickly followed by others showing that both Agra and Delhi had since been lost, that Cabul was in revolt, and that the territory of the new sovereign was practically limited to the ground occupied by his army, which was itself a motley host of undisciplined adventurers.

For his extrication from this almost desperate position, and for the recovery of the Punjab and Central Hindustan, he was mainly indebted to Bairam, who fought and governed in his name for five years. But if Bairam did a good deal for him, he also sowed the seeds of much trouble. His methods of war and government were as harsh and arbitrary as they were vigorous. Akbar noted the vigour for imitation, but the harshness for avoidance; and at last, perceiving that his guardian was provoking enmities of which he himself would ultimately have to bear the brunt, he resolved, though barely eighteen, to seize the reins of Government into his own hands. The haughty minister did not give way to the stripling without a stand-up fight; but he was vanquished, pardoned, and liberally pensioned off, on the understanding that he would go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, that being the usual resource of good Moslems when not particularly wanted at home. It was by no fault of Akbar that he met his death on his way thither. His son was taken into favour, and ultimately rose to very high commands.

From this time to his death, a period of 45 years (1560—1605), Akbar's policy was all his own. We shall be better able to appreciate it if we pause here to review the situation with which he had to deal.
THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN INDIA DOWN TO AKBAR’S TIME — BUDDHISM, BRAHMANISM, AND ISLAM.

Some influential writers seem never tired of reminding us that India is not the name of a nation, but a geographical expression. That is no doubt one side of the truth, but I fancy that just now we are much more in danger of over-estimating than of under-estimating the forces that have been steadily making for the spiritual and political unity of the peninsula, ever since the “Light of Asia” first shone out in the person of Gautama Buddha, somewhere in the fifth century before Christ. No one doubts that his noble, if somewhat depressing theory of life, had diffused itself in the course of a few centuries throughout the length and breadth of India, and that the elaborate system of voluntary discipline founded on it moulded everywhere vast numbers of congenial spirits, though it may not have penetrated very deeply among the unthinking masses. The edicts of King Asoka, the Buddhist Constantine, graven on pillars and rocks, and enjoining kindness to men and animals, seem to show us a single ruler, strong in his tolerance and righteousness, exercising influence, if not direct authority, from Peshawar to Ceylon, and from Orissa to Gujarat.

But Buddhism, though a native product and a powerful uniting force within the peninsula, is the common property of all Eastern Asia; and, so far as India was concerned, the system, as a system, had “had its day”—a day of more than 1,000 years—“and ceased to be” many centuries before Akbar’s time. But it seems doubtful whether there is not as much of its genuine spirit still surviving in the country from which it was violently expelled, as in China, Japan, or Burma, where it nominally flourishes intermixed with foreign elements.

The system which ousted Buddhism, and which is commonly known as Brahmanism or Hinduism, is undoubtedly peculiar to India, and is also diffused, more or less, over the whole of India. It consists largely of beliefs and practices older than the rise of Buddhism, and never really eradicated from the popular mind; but these were only able to re-assert their supremacy by means of a compromise.

The impersonal rule of inexorable necessity, linking with every act its appropriate consequence, retired into the background in favour of deities and demons innumerable, more certainly propitiated by ritual than by righteousness;
but it remained as the mystic, esoteric explanation of all mythology and all ritual.

Instead of the celibate and monastic ideal, obviously inconsistent with the persistence and expansion of a community, marriage was insisted on as the most sacred of all duties, and as a tie not necessarily severed even by death; but retirement from the world was still recommended for the closing years of a Brahman's life.

So, again, men were now taught to regard the funeral offerings of descendants as the safest passport to the other world; yet, regardless of consistency, the Brahmanical books still inculcated the Buddhistic doctrine of transmigration. And, lastly, the Buddhistic abhorrence of bloodshed was reconciled with the experienced need for soldiers and police, by sanctioning the use of force, and the infliction of punishment, but confining them to one hereditary caste.

This last fatal admission of different codes of morals for different classes was directly opposed to Buddhism, and on this point there was no compromise, but a decisive victory for the lower view.

The history of the rise and fall of Buddhism in India is that of a prolonged, heroic, but largely misdirected, effort for the regeneration of mankind, having for its inevitable sequel a proportionately long period of moral lassitude and reaction, the strongest proof of which, to my mind, is the general acceptance of Manu and similar ancient scriptures as the last word of Revelation on things divine and human. The triumph of Brahmanism was a great step towards the unification of India, and the spiritual subjection of kings and people alike to the same privileged priesthood tended to make the political divisions less and less important. But, as your Chairman remarked in the paper read here last June, "the law superimposed by a caste on a people, needed constant nurture and expansion from new wishes and new views as circumstances changed; and this process was made impossible by the sacredness alike of the law and of its administrators."* And thus it came about that in Akbar's time the largest and wealthiest part of India lay helpless in the grasp of unsympathetic conquerors, outnumbered by their subjects in the proportion of about one to six.

Early in the 7th century, just when Brahmanism was beginning to get the better of Buddhism in India, Mahomet.

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* See the Indian Magazine & Review for August 1893, p. 396.
was proclaiming in Western Arabia a creed as radically unlike both as he was personally unlike Buddha, and as his countrymen were unlike Brahmans.

Mahomet certainly avoided Buddha's mistake of ignoring the legitimate use of the sword, and the Brahmanical mistake of confining it to a special caste; but he committed a worse error (as I venture to think) when he employed the sword for coercion as well as for defence, and a far worse error still when he dared to claim a literal Divine commission for revolting descriptions of the torments of hell, as prepared for those who rejected his authority.

He is neither the first nor the last eager reformer who has yielded to similar temptations, and the mischief would have ended as in other cases with his life, had not his followers in their turn been tempted, for want of any better bond of union, to go on claiming for the dead prophet even more absolute authority than he had claimed for himself, and insisting that in his heaven-sent Koran, with other records of his teaching and example, was contained all necessary wisdom, not for Arabs only, but for all mankind. The contents of the Koran being what they are, this meant continual warfare without, for the conversion or subjection of the infidel, and strict enforcement within, of just the rules that had happened to commend themselves to the prophet during his brief tenure of power.

The flood of Muhammadan invasion, which so rapidly overflowed half Christendom, beat for five centuries on the borders of India before the barriers completely gave way. By this time the political unity of Islam was broken up, and the countrymen of Mahomet had ceased to be the pioneers of his religion. Arabic was a foreign language to the Persian-speaking Turks who invaded India, and the system of religion and law which they offered to the natives at the point of the sword was unintelligible to themselves without the aid of a learned class called Mulas, or Maulwis, collectively Ulama. I can, perhaps, best give you an idea of their functions by asking you to imagine our clerical and legal professions rolled into one, our Courts of Justice basing their decisions on the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, and no power anywhere, in King or Parliament, to alter the law so declared in accordance with new social needs.

What hope was there of mutual understanding, when two such hide-bound systems came into armed collision, each embodying some elements of truth ignored by the other, crusted over with a mass of error peculiar to itself?

I know of only one Moslem before Akbar's time who
set himself seriously to study the Sanskrit language and literature, and Al-Biruni's report was that their customs and ideas were as nearly as possible opposite to those of his co-religionists on every point. He ventured the remark—which, however, fell on deaf ears—that their respect for Islam was not likely to be increased by plundering their temples and carrying off their people into slavery. He would have said the same had he lived to see the policy adopted after their submission, which was that of making them pay heavily for the privilege of going to perdition in their own way.

The Brahmans, on the other hand, ruled the minds of the Hindu population more absolutely than before—just as the Catholic priests in Ireland were most influential when Protestant ascendancy was most oppressive. The expulsion of the Buddhists had removed one competing influence, and now the disappearance of the fighting caste removed another; for when resistance in the plains of Hindustan was seen to be hopeless, these retired to the more defensible region, thenceforth known as Rajputana; while the priestly, trading, and agricultural classes settled down into an attitude of passive, but unreconciled, submission.

Here and there, no doubt, to use the phrase that Macaulay borrowed from Gibbon, "A spark of freedom was produced by the collision of adverse servitudes," and in the Punjab, where the Brahmans were never very strong, some such sparks had managed to escape instant extinction, and were represented in Akbar's time by the professors of the Sikh religion in its originally pure and peaceful form.*

* The following is Elphinstone's account of the origin of the Sikh religion (History of India, p. 678): "Their founder, Nanak, flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. He was a disciple of Kabir, and consequently a sort of Hindu deist; but his peculiar tenet was universal toleration. He maintained that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial, and that Hindu and Mahometan worship were the same in the sight of the Deity. The spirit of this religion promised to keep its votaries at peace with all mankind; but such views of comprehensive charity were particularly odious to the bigoted part of the Mahometans; and accordingly, after the sect had silently increased for more than a century, it excited the jealousy of the Mussulman Government, and its spiritual chief was put to death in A.D. 1606, within a year after the death of Akbar. This act of tyranny changed the Sikhs from inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors.*
Muhammadan India, like Brahmanical India, had a theoretical unity of its own, which was indeed only a part of the still more theoretical unity of all Islam. For a brief period one dynasty had actually governed from Delhi the greater part of the peninsula. But for more than a century the power of the Moslems had been divided and subdivided against itself, and the intervention of the Moguls had so far only increased the confusion. Not only in Rajputana, but in South India and parts of Gujarat, independent Hindu princes were able to hold their own by playing one Moslem chief against another, while along the west coast the Portuguese had for half a century been teaching the Muhammadans of the Deccan fresh lessons of cruelty and intolerance in the name of Christianity.

THE WARS OF AKBAR.

Returning now to Akbar, we must first take a hasty glance at the wars, which are superficially the most prominent feature of his reign. Some twenty years of hard fighting gave him at last an effective control over nearly all India north of the Deccan, and in that quarter his frontier continued to advance slowly during the remainder of his reign. About this fighting, what our peaceful Association will chiefly want to know is, how much of it can be brought under Tennyson’s description of “the sword that conquers men to conquer peace”? Time will only allow me to say in very general terms that the ideas of his age necessarily determined his earlier measures; but that whenever he departed from the general practice of his contemporaries it was uniformly in the direction of a more pacific policy, as well as of humaner modes of warfare, and that the general effect was to leave India vastly more peaceful than he found it.

The ideas of his time suggested two closely connected objects as the most glorious that a Moslem warrior could set before him—(1) to restore the political unity of Islam in India, and (2) to complete the subjugation of the Hindus. Union against the infidel, under some leader or other, was confessedly a common sacred duty, while Moslem tradition could suggest no better method than the sword for determining the claims of rival leaders. The successive collapses of ephemeral dynasties had left a host of pretenders, as against whom Akbar’s claim through Bābār and Timur looked almost respectable; but his real title consisted in the proofs of superior fitness elicited by the struggle-
itself. An abundance of anecdotes, if time would allow me to quote them, might serve to illustrate the qualities in which this fitness consisted; his headlong courage; the rapidity of his movements; his close attention to every detail of business; his quickness to discern and reward every kind of merit; the trustfulness by which he turned vanquished rivals and rebels into faithful supporters, and his own absolute trustworthiness. His humanity in actual warfare would not satisfy Exeter Hall or the House of Commons, though it is really remarkable if we compare him with his contemporaries or his ancestors; but in the matter of openness and good faith towards enemies as well as friends, his long record seems to be absolutely stainless as measured by any standard whatever.

Of course, from the Moslem point of view, the most convincing of all proofs of fitness would be victory over the idolaters, and in this also he fully satisfied all reasonable expectations. But the military conquest of the greater part of Rajputana proved only the prelude to a moral conquest, of a kind quite different from the orthodox notion of conversion. Not a single Rajput chief was converted to the religion of Mahomet, but most of them were converted to a belief that their own interests were bound up with the stability of the Mogul Empire; and they remained firm in that faith, not only while Akbar lived, but throughout the reigns of his son and grandson,* altogether a full century.

THE POLICY OF RECONCILIATION.

And thus we are brought to the cardinal feature of Akbar's internal policy, namely, his attempt to close the long religious conflict on the basis of mutual toleration, frank interchange of ideas, and an open career to merit without distinction of race or creed.

It is the policy to which the British Government stands pledged; but he carried it further than British statesmen have hitherto found practicable. We shall have to wait

* And through the first twenty years of the reign of his great-grandson. The whole period during which the alliance remained unbroken extends, as measured by English history, from the middle of the reign of Elizabeth to the latter part of the reign of Charles II. And when the Rajputs were at last driven to revolt by the conscientious bigotry of Aurangzib, they had a Mogul prince—a namesake of Akbar—on their side. I, of course, speak only of those Rajputs who originally entered into the alliance, excluding the house of Udaipur, which remained hostile from first to last.
some time yet before we see a native Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-Chief. Akbar had three Hindus among his most trusted generals, and one of them is also remembered to this day as the greatest finance minister prior to British rule.

But Akbar also went straight to the root of the matter by a path in which Englishmen are perhaps still less prepared to follow him.

**INTERMARRIAGE WITH HINDUS.**

He had the boldness — strict Moslems might say the impiety — to unite himself in marriage with the daughters of idolaters. Already, before this Rajputana war, he had married a daughter of the Raja of Jaipur, who had been on friendly terms with his father. After the Rajputana war he obtained from the Raja of Jodpur a princess, who became the mother of the son who was destined to succeed him as the Emperor Jahangir, and for that son again he obtained in course of time a bride from the house of Jaipur, who became the mother of the Emperor Shah Jahan. You will not be surprised to hear that the male relatives of these ladies were constantly employed in high commands, and were devotedly loyal to the empire.

The real wonder is that any Rajputs could be induced to take the first step. The scruples to be surmounted on Akbar's side were as nothing as compared with those on the other side. Both religion and the pride of race were dead against any intermixture of blood even with other Hindu castes, still more with foreigners who would not worship the same gods. In obedience to a passionate and misguided sense of honour they had repeatedly, when hard pressed in a siege, burnt all their women in one huge pile and then rushed out to seek death at the hand of the enemy. The last instance of this horrible usage was witnessed by Akbar himself at the taking of Chitor.

One Rajput clan held out to the last in sullen isolation, and his partial victory over their deep-rooted prejudice was doubtless largely due to the display of his power, and the material advantages he was able to offer; but I think we are justified in attributing more to the winning personality of this true king of men, who warmed them into reciprocity by his frank recognition of their really fine qualities.

You may perhaps think that something ought to be said from the point of view of the women, who were the passive instruments of this magnanimous reconciliation. It is, I
fear, pretty certain that their wishes were not consulted, and you will also observe that I spoke of Akbar marrying two of these princesses. In point of fact, he had many more wives than two. I cannot tell you exactly how many, but we know the name; of eight—twice as many as even the law of Islam is commonly understood to allow. Nevertheless, I incline to the opinion that these ladies were quite as well off as they were likely to be under any other arrangement then possible. In any case they would have had to accept the husband chosen for them by their parents, and in any case they would have been liable to the inconveniences of polygamy.* As things went in Asia, Akbar's wives had many advantages. They were allowed to worship as they pleased, after one formal declaration that “there is one God and Mahomet is his prophet.” Their comforts were very carefully attended to, and they must have had opportunities for mental culture, as one of them (not a Hindu) acquired fame as a poetess, under an assumed name. From what we know of Akbar's time-table, it does not seem that any of his wives can have had very much of his society; but that when he was with them he was almost too indulgent to their whims, may be inferred from his shaving off his beard to please them, in defiance of Moslem usage. But even if they were worse off as wives than they might have been with husbands of their own race, they were certainly better off as widows. Raja Mán Singh, the greatest Rajput noble in Akbar's service, is said to have left 1,500 wives, of whom sixty had themselves burnt on his funeral pile. This was in the reign of Akbar's successor. I don't know how far Akbar's own sympathies were quickened by his Hindu marriages; but at the risk of disturbing his new friendship with the Rajputs, he positively forbade Sati, except where the sacrifice was proved to be absolutely voluntary, and on one occasion hastened personally to the spot in order to prevent it. He also asserted the freedom of Hindu widows to re-marry, and prohibited child marriages; though, judging from the experience of the far more powerful British Government, I doubt whether either edict had much practical effect.

* The Imperial harem is officially stated to contain more than 5,000 women, but there is nothing to show how many of these stood in any sort of conjugal relation to the Emperor. In the Ain-i-Akbari it is stated that “his Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with princes of Hindustan and of other countries, and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world.”
TENTATIVE MEASURES OF TOLERATION.

It was a much more ticklish matter to interfere, on any plea of justice or humanity, with the real or supposed precepts of his own religion, of which not he, but the ulama, were the recognised guardians and interpreters. However, in the ninth year of his reign, he abolished the special tribute exacted from infidels as such, which was as plainly enjoined as anything in the Koran, and as habitually enforced. In previously abolishing the lucrative tax on pilgrimages to the Hindu shrines, he was not so directly violating the letter of the law, but the reason he assigned, that it was wrong to prevent any one from trying to approach his Maker in his own way, involved logically a condemnation of the whole policy of Mahomet. These, however, were merely isolated instances in which he gave effect to his statesmanlike desire to remove causes of irritation, without much concern for logic. His subsequent advance from practice to theory was due mainly to contact with a very remarkable pair of brothers.

FAIZI AND ABUL FAZL.

In 1567, while he was besieging Chitor, a young man was brought into his camp as a prisoner, not from the enemy, but forwarded by the Governor of Agra as though to answer a charge of heresy. No sooner, however, did Akbar see him than he gave him a hearty welcome, having, in fact, sent for him on account of his fame as a poet, though his enemies had hastily jumped at the conclusion that he was sent for to be punished.

The more the king saw of Faizi—so the young poet was called—the better he liked him; and the esteem in which he was held paved the way for his younger brother Abul Fazl, who came to Court in 1574, and was destined to play the more important part of the two.

The orthodox were quite right from their own point of view in taking alarm at their promotion. Their father, Mubarak, was a man of immense learning and very independent mind, who had narrowly escaped death as a heretic—once under the preceding dynasty, and again quite recently under Akbar himself. For it must be clearly understood that, except in his own camp or court, or in dealing with unbelievers, a Moslem sovereign was not at all expected to interfere with the regular course of law, and ran considerable risk in doing so; and that the regular
course of law included at this time a regular system of inquisition by the ulama, and of capital punishment in cases of heresy and apostasy. The protection which Akbar did at last, with some hesitation, afford to Mubarak, was itself a rather bold new departure, the fore-runner of much bolder measures. And the two sons of Mubarak resembled their father, both in their devotion to learning and in their hardihood of speculation.

The elder brother's influence was chiefly seen in the revival of that interest in Hindu literature, which had slept since Al Biruni's time. Akbar could, unaided, win the hearts of the Rajputs with his soldierly frankness, and of the common people by relieving them from oppression; but if there was to be any sort of friendly intercourse with their spiritual leaders he needed the help of a scholar, or rather of many scholars, laboriously translating, one after another, the works which would best illustrate the chivalry, the philosophy, and the religion, in short, the distinctive genius of the ancient rulers of the country.

As for Abul Fazl, the real founder of the religious movement now to be described, he shall speak for himself.

"My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon. I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the padris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis and the learned of the Zendavesta. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the Emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy indeed am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world, and a comforter in lonely retirement. In him meet my longing after faith, and my desire to do my appointed work in the world... It is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonise with the spiritual unity of truth."*

It is natural, but I believe it would be thoroughly unjust, to see in language like this the mere flattery of a courtier. All we know of the two men, and of their intercourse with each other, points to the conclusion that it was a case of genuine friendship and mutual admiration between two kindred, and yet different spirits.

Picture to yourselves the young man of books and

* Blochmann's *Ain i Aklari*, p. xii.
ideas, the son of a hunted heretic, whose training and associations disposed him to regard kings and warriors with such philosophic scorn as Diogenes bestowed upon Alexander, gradually brought to recognise in his sovereign aspirations no less large and generous than his own, combined with a martial energy, a power of bending men to his will, and a talent for organisation, which must have seemed to the young student little short of miraculous. And picture to yourselves, on the other hand, the delight of Akbar, the imperfectly educated man of action, chafing under the dogmatism of his Scribes and Pharisees, feeling intuitively that what they declared to be the Law of God was working for unrighteousness in practice, profiting every day by the faithful service of men who, according to his creed, were doomed to hell fire, when he found at last a man capable of foiling the ulama with their own weapons, and of giving shape, consistency, and eloquent expression to his own dim intuitions. What wonder if the servant was not over-careful to measure his words in sounding the praises of such a master, or if the master followed a little too unreservedly the promptings of such a servant?

(To be continued.)
SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRESERVATION OF INDIAN ART.

ENAMELS.

The fair art of enamel, as many other beautiful things, came to us from the East. No records have been kept of its beginnings; but it was very early in Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylonia, and Assyria. And to judge from its wide diffusion and the high degree of perfection to which the art has attained in India at the present day, it probably was practised there long ago. Some hold that its introduction into the Peninsula is likely to coincide with that of china, which, say the Celestials, was brought to them by the Scythians, 422—451 A.D. However that may be, we have literary evidence in the Mahabharata of the use of glass at the distant period when the book was written. Enamel specimens have been found in Greek and Etruscan tombs; these, in all likelihood, as those of the Hindu and other Eastern workshops of all ages, as well as those of the Renaissance, were effected by incrustations. The oldest Indian enamel known is said to be the staff of one of the courtiers of the great Akbar, who was an old chief from Jaipur. Not a few authorities are inclined to regard enamels in the light of a Touranian invention. However that may be, it is unquestionable that in Europe the best enamellers were Etruscans, whilst Florentines in modern Italy are distinguished for the extreme delicacy and finish of their enamels. Without going so far from home, any one can test the fact for himself by simple inspection of Signor Giulano's exquisite work in Piccadilly. On the other hand, the most skilful native enamellists are said to be likewise of Touranian blood.

Enamel is compounded with sand—i.e., some siliceous substance with potash, or soda, and a little oxide of lead to promote fusion. The mixture is reduced to the finest powder by trituration, then made into a paste, and applied to the piece, previous to its being subjected to the action of fire. The vitrified substance is translucent, but may be made opaque by the addition of oxide of tin. Metallic oxides give the colours.
Enamels may be divided into three classes: (1) embedded or encrusted, the oldest of all, these are subdivided into cloisonné and champlévé; (2) translucent upon relief; and (3) painted. Cloisonné enamel is produced by fillings, which are placed into compartments formed by slender strips of gold, fixed or welded on to the ground. The piece is placed in the furnace, and when the fusion is complete, each cell appears set in minute bright wire, which serves to retain the enamel slightly raised on the surface. It is then withdrawn and left to cool very slowly, and afterwards ground and polished. The old artists were very careful in the preparation of their materials, using none but the purest gold and extremely fusible enamels in order that neither the ground nor the wire should be injured from the heat that melted the paste, at the same time securing evenness of tone throughout.

There is a form of enamelling in vogue among the Chinese and the Japanese, which consists in painting in the designs coarsely, such as animals, flowers, foliage, the rich plumage of birds, the metallic glitter of serpents' scales, undulating water, &c., all the elements being encircled in a bright rim whatever their distance.

Encrusted enamels must not be confounded with the so-called "enamels" found in Egypt as far back as the fourth dynasty, 2,000 B.C. These are no more than an inlay, wherein jasper, lapiz-lazuli, and other stones, or opaque glass to imitate them, were cut of the required shape, and set with the utmost nicety in gold cells. Toreutic work, or inlay, was also in great favour among the Assyrians, Persians, and Eastern people generally. From them it passed to the Byzantines and the West. As a rule old cloisonné pieces are small and costly. The reason why they are so seldom found in any collection doubtless arises from the fact that they were laid on gold; hence their destruction for the sake of the metal. To this should be added the difficulty at any age of finding skilful artificers capable of making them.

Another style of enamel, very soft and pleasing, is produced by two or three graduated tints in the same cell. Some of the cashmere champlevés, though more sparing of their colours, seem to be elaborated on similar lines. The effect of turquoise blue shaded with dark green is somewhat severe but artistic.

More rare still than the last described is a kind of encrusted enamel with no background. It is made to
imitate transparent stones, or the glass panes of window tracery, set clear, and melted into the cells on a net-work of gold.

In champlevés a piece of metal, generally of copper, about a quarter of an inch thick, is first carefully polished to receive the outlines of the subject, which the artist traces out with the graver. The compartments for the reception of the colouring matter are cut or hollowed out, leaving tiny lines level with the original surface, so as to keep the form quite distinct. Champlevé is applied to comparatively large surfaces, wherein the enamelled parts alternate with the blanks left in the ground. These are either covered with tracery or nielloed, in pleasing contrast with the enamelled spaces. As will be easily understood, greater expenditure of time and labour is required for champlevé than any other style of enamel; and with it all the forms cannot be made as flowing as with the flexible gold wires.

Enamelled pieces of different periods are distinguished by peculiarities which enable us to fix their date: thus flesh tints and colours in the draperies are attributable to the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the manner of disposing the enamel on the ground only, the figures being expressed by fine engraving on the gilded metal, or by reliefs. The chief manufacturing centres of enamels was undoubtedly Limoges, where, too, the most important and highly prized pieces were produced. The date of the early beginnings of artistic enamel there is unknown; but we shall scarcely err in placing it before the year 1050, inasmuch as about 1200 the fame of Limoges work had spread far and wide. We hear of "cofres de Limoges" as among the gifts of a bishop of Rochester; and pixes are specially mentioned as fitting presentations to be made to churches by a Welsh bishop. Again, about the same time we read of a messenger being sent to Limoges to negotiate the price for a monument of enamel to decorate the tomb of another English prelate.

The fashion for translucent enamels upon relief was started c1300 by the Italians; somewhat coarse and imperfect at the outset, they soon improved, and reached the highest excellence in the sixteenth century. An interesting description of the mode of preparing and applying enamel occurs in Benvenuto Cellini's Memoirs. "The colours," he says, "should be pulverised and carefully washed, then dried as much as possible by pressure, and the enamel laid very thinly upon the surface of the relief, to prevent the colours running the one into the other. The
piece should then be placed in a moderately heated furnace, and watched with the greatest care to see that it does not run. It is then withdrawn and left to cool, when another layer of enamel is applied, and the same process of fusion is repeated. When the piece has again become quite cool, its thickness is reduced until sufficiently transparent, and afterwards polished."

The home of painted enamels in the West must be sought at Limoges. The public favour they enjoyed was fully shared by translucent enamels upon the precious metals. The earliest specimens of painted enamels have thick paste, sometimes partially translucent and in slight relief, with pearls and jewels on the ornamental details of the subject. The method employed substantially differed from those before described. A graver was no longer required, the metal being entirely concealed under the enamel, which at once expressed the outline and the colouring. Painted enamels show slight modifications and improvement throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Enamels of this date, as a rule, are painted upon somewhat thick plates of copper, slightly convex, to prevent warping in the oven, with a thick coating of enamel at the back; whilst the hair and draperies of the figures are heightened by touches of gold and imitations of jewels. The effect produced by the vivid tints of these early enamels is that of an illumination. The truly splendid Limousin enamels are to be seen in every national collection, and not a few private ones. The collection which was sold last year at MM. Christie and Mansel was probably the finest and most complete ever found in the possession of a private gentleman, and must abide in the memory of those who examined it.

During the reign of Francis the First, the great influence of Italian artists was felt in France in every branch of art-workmanship. With improved designs, frequently copied from those of Raphael, the raised disks of foil to imitate jewels was abandoned for a more sober and harmonising scheme of colouring. Not a few of the best specimens of this epoch are painted in chiaroscuro, with light flesh tints.

The excellence of manufacture attained by the Limoges enamellists is partly attributable to traditions handed down from father to son for two, and perhaps three, generations. Far above their fellows stood the names of Penicaud and Courtois, whose enamelled dishes, ewers, coffers, and caskets, soon replaced the massive plate of gold and silver.
of the preceding ages. Even greater than these was Léonard, surnamed the Limousin, 1532—1574. His finest examples are preserved in the Louvre, and are admirable pieces of workmanship. He is remarkable for light and harmonious colouring, relieved by touches of bright or turquoise blue upon a shining ground; and for pink and limpid flesh tints. If not on the same plane with him, certainly immediately after, should be placed his contemporary, Raymond. The decline and general decadence which fell upon every branch of art, in the closing years of the 17th and throughout the 18th century, extended to enamel.

Among the Indian presents made to the Prince of Wales is a monumental round plate, which took four years in the making, and is the largest specimen ever attempted at Jaipur, the chief centre of enamel manufacture. No less remarkable, though on a smaller scale, is the covered cup and saucer with a spoon, belonging to Lady Mayo. The bowl of the spoon is copied on a Hindu sacrificial model, and consequently is in line with the handle. The material is a solid emerald, and one of the choicest jewelled pieces to be seen anywhere. Along with these instances of Jaipur activity, should be mentioned a box intended to hold perfume, with a cone-shaped cover. Around the body is an Arcadian scene, in which fair shepherdesses, cows, and Krishna are represented wandering amid leafy bowers. Birds of rich plumage sing among the branches. Around the cover, green hills, dales, and fields form the background, where Krishna and the shepherdesses are seen dancing. The colours employed in the decoration of this charming piece are green, blue, white, red, and orange. Another piece in the Prince of Wales’ collection is a dainty ink-bottle in the shape of an Indian boat. The resemblance to the Venetian gondola and the caique of the Bosphorous must strike the most casual observer. Dark and light red, green and blue are displayed on the cover of this ink-bottle. The head-piece of the boat is a peacock, whose gorgeous tail sweeps down half the length of the skiff.

Hindu artists, not only at Jaipur, but Lahore, Benares, and Lucknow, are very skilful in painting their deep and light greens, their turquoise and sapphire blues, their crimson and light reds, and fixing them on pure gold. Still more notable, perhaps, are those qualities of eye and manipulation displayed in their work on copper, whether encrusted or painted. Colours, as is well known, are
comparatively easy to handle on a gold or even silver ground; but they require much coaxing and untiring patience ere they can be made to adhere to copper. Again, the material is very apt to get warped in the fire, and consequently cannot, like the nobler metal, be as often placed in the furnace without ruining the piece; or, again, the different enamels are not equally fusible, and many require to be treated separately, whilst the light red is not only very fugitive but most difficult to produce. Hence the duty laid upon the artist to learn precisely the degree of heat which each will stand without running over the sides or into one another; placing the hardest first, then the hard, and so on. The amount of care and practical knowledge required in securing a successful issue to the piece, may be gauged from the fact that not infrequently the plate goes as many as twenty times into the oven. All the colours known can be applied to gold. Black, green, blue, yellow, pink, and a salmon colour can be fixed on silver. The only colours affected by the Jaipur enamellist on copper are black, white, and pink. Other localities, however, are less Puritan in their taste, and in addition to these is found a liberal display of blues and greens. Generally, the piece is pannelled by strips of gilt brass in slight relief; narrower shreds encircling leafage and flowers so as to form a net-work of shining metal. Goblets, bowls, cups, sugar-basins, coffee-pots, trays, water bottles, caskets, and the like are so enriched. Nor are these the only places where the fair art is practised: Multan, Kangra, Cashmere, and many more are known for excellent work; but Jaipur stands above them all. None equal the boldness and precision of its designs, or the skill of its colouring. The intrinsic merit of the Jaipur enamel is so real as almost to disarm criticism.

There is yet another subtle mode of enamel decoration generally applied to the human figure. The design is first carefully traced; the portion composing the principal subject is struck up, bosses in the round, half or quarter round being reserved for the high lights, such as the face, neck, the hands and feet, which receive a light flesh tint. Rich colouring is reserved for accessories, robe, tunic, mantle, &c., the sunken background being inwrought with a delicate network, kept low in tone, of floriated scrolls. These enamels have all the effect of a bas-relief.

Enamels have not escaped the whims of fashion. Hence it is that the dominating notes of one age are forgotten in
the next, and that differences and peculiarities of style are observable from one artist to another. Thus sometimes flesh tints are expressed by half and full tones; sometimes by light colours or half tones alone; at other times the colouring matter is kept for the ground, and the subject or figures are either finely engraved on the bright metal, or hammered up. Again, green is the prevailing hue of one season, but at another blue reigns supreme. Then, too, as the art improved other modifications crept in, such as touches of gold for the high lights upon the draperies, or the hair, and small disks of foil in relief to imitate jewels, whilst the copper plates are thicker than of yore and slightly convex to prevent warping in the fire, and coated with enamel at the back. Again, the love of display prompted the artist, induced thereto by his patron, to enrich his work with gem incrustations—rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, brilliants and pearls. Circlets, rings, pendants for the ear, forehead ornaments, bracelets, cups, bases of spear points, &c., are so decorated.

The Pertabghar work is not true enamel, but a kind of green glass, upon which quaint patterns of figures, landscapes, and flowers are traced in gold. What gives the peculiar depth and lustre which is so much admired is a piece of white foil with silver backing placed behind the glass. The mode of preparation is kept carefully secret by the two or three families who manufacture and sell it in plaques of different shapes, which are either used as separate ornaments or as backings for enamelled pieces, which can thus be worn with either side uppermost. The designs, on the authority of native artists, are etched into the glass, and the lines thus produced are filled with very fine and pure powdered gold, which is made to adhere to the ground by exposing it to a very high temperature in a furnace, and then to prolonged gentle heat in an oven.

Except in colour, which is blue, the quasi enamel of Ratam is precisely similar to that of Partabghar.

Enamel painting is of later date, and does not require the use of the graver; the vitrifiable tints are applied to the whole surface in the same way as water-colours are applied to paper, or oils to canvas. An endless variety of objects are made by the Hindus in this style of enamel. Their charms of form, shape, and exquisite workmanship must be seen in order to be fully appreciated.

The working palette of an enamellist is almost as rich as that of an oil painter, and well adapted to delicate designs, modelling of forms, and refinement of detail.
The art of applying enamel to gold and silver is supposed by some to have originated in China, whence it passed to India, Assyria, Persia, Egypt, and Europe. The value of enamel as a means of decoration has been felt from the earliest times by every civilised nation. Unfortunately the work, whether cloisonné, champlevé, translucent, or painted, owing to the cost of production, is only for the opulent in Europe at least. How enviable are Anglo-Indians who can indulge the luxury of procuring beautiful specimens of the art at comparatively very low prices.

J. Gonino.

Letter from the Honorary Secretary to Mr. Havell:
16 Grenville Place, S.W., Dec. 1893.

Dear Mr. Havell,—I have been asked by our Chairman, Sir George Birdwood, and the members of our Committee to convey to you their sincere thanks for the valuable work you are doing in India for the encouragement and preservation of Indian art.

The Certificate from our Society which I now have the pleasure to enclose is presented to you—

First, in recognition of your thorough knowledge of Art in all its branches, and of your great success in the superintendence of the Madras School of Art, where you have always uniformly upheld the traditional patterns of the Indian workman, weeding out of their designs the Western influences, which, from causes that might easily be stated, have crept into their work.

Secondly, in recognition of your very clear and instructive memorandum on Technical Education in Madras.

May I add from myself, knowing so well the work which is carried on in Madras, and having for so many years helped native artisans to be true to their perfect Oriental colouring and designs, that I trust you may have many years of useful work before you in a country where such knowledge as you possess is of the greatest importance to the several Art schools established in the Indian Empire.——Yours truly,

Sara M. Carmichael.

Answer to the above:
64 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park, W.
Dec. 13, 1893.

Dear Mrs. Carmichael,—I beg you will kindly convey to Sir George Birdwood and the members of the Committee,
and also accept for yourself, my sincere thanks for your kind letter of the 9th inst., and for the honour you have done me in voting the Certificate of the Society.

I can never feel sufficiently grateful for the kindly support which the Society has always given me.

* * * * * *

I shall always retain a sense of gratitude towards the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art.—I remain, truly yours,

E. B. Havell.

CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.

Though it should not be needed, it may be worth while to remind our readers that it is within their power at this season to aid the cause of S.E.P.I.A. by selecting such presents as they give to their friends from amongst the great variety of Indian art productions now available in this metropolis. In this column we cannot advertise any of the depôts where Indian handicraft work is most readily obtained; but many resident Anglo-Indians can guide their friends in this direction. There are also at least two or three members of our Committee who could give more special guidance as to what classes of work are most likely to be genuine, unsophisticated by Western designs, and truly representative of traditional Indian art. But in several of the establishments where these Oriental wares are kept in stock, the principals can always be relied on to discriminate on behalf of their customers between meretricious and true examples. It may be well to remark that, in suggesting choice for this pleasing purpose of Oriental rather than Western artistic objects and Cadeaux, we are not leading our readers to extravagance. In many instances, half the money spent on trinkets or knicknacks from Birmingham, or even "Made in Germany," will, if judiciously laid out in Indian art work—textile fabrics of sorts, brass or enamel work, ivory, ebony, or sandal-wood carving, or silver wire—confer more pleasure on the recipients, because of the charming appearance, and the essentially true art quality, always more or less apparent in the products of Indian handicrafts. Here, we venture to think, is a really practical method of furthering the objects of the S.E.P.I.A.

W. M. W.

This new volume of the Pseudonym Library well maintains the character of the series. It deals with a place and peoples but little known to English readers, and the stories are told with delightful freshness and spirit. Where the European element is introduced into a native community, whether in India or in the Far East, there is often much similarity in the incidents of common life, and these have seldom been more brightly or sympathetically described than in this little volume. The scene of the idylls is the settlement of Haiphong in the kingdom of Tonquin, or Tonkin, in French Cochin China. "The Tonkinese and the Anamese (Dr. Balfour says) are of the same race." But the native of Anam is the ugliest of all the Mongolian race. He is scarcely of average height. His nose is not only flattened, but it is the smallest Chinese nose to be met with. The household servants in Tonkin are all Anamese, and it is to this class that most of the incidents related refer. In a sparkling introduction the writer describes her first impression of the country and its people.

"It is very difficult (she writes) for a European woman to get an insight into purely native life. We get a glimpse here and there. Sometimes the servants are truly attached to us, and they tell us their domestic troubles, which are many, and their pleasures, which are few.

"We walk through their villages, and peep into the cottages, so tiny and so full of people. Their pagodas are our resting places, always in the prettiest spot in the landscape—their cool hall and their shady trees are precious in this sunny land."

* * * * *

"I have tried (she continues) to put something of the Eastern sunshine into my story, but where the light is very bright, we must remember that the shadows are deep."

And, amidst many charming descriptions of scenery
and character with which these idylls abound, there is undoubtedly an element of pain and sorrow, which transforms the brightest day into night. Even the brightest of the idylls—"Those Ferns"—closes with a pathetic incident.

The writer goes one morning to visit the Pagoda Balny. Passing through a wilderness of trees, bushes, and bamboos, she arrives at a big lake.

"There is a sort of little tank walled off from the lake, railings run round the top of the wall, and some steps lead to the shore. I suppose this reservoir must have something to do with the pagoda which stands on the left side of the road. I scrambled up and sat on the top of these railings, my feet dangling the while over the wall and the lake under them, my back to the road. There I sat and thought of all the fairy tales that had ever been told me in my life.

"Nowhere could I see the shore. Big trees with their branches lying on the water made the most beautiful bordering. The lake was covered with aquatic vegetation. The lotus were not yet in flower, but countless heavy buds, with their pink petals just bursting the green leaves, were appearing above the surface. Wherever the water was visible it was dark and liquid. On the leaves sat here and there a paddy bird, and ever and again I saw the blue wings of a kingfisher bent on business. All this to myself. Glorious! . . .

"In the tank, and round the edge of the lake there grew a lovely fern. Having come to the end of my contemplations, I resolved to gather some, take some plants of it home, and see whether I could make them grow. But let me try to describe it. . . . To begin with, this fern has a long slender stem or stems, and they lie on the water and the mud; the leaves shoot out of them in all directions, and are like ordinary feathery fern leaves. The strange part is that the new leaves grow out of the old ones, and other ones again out of these, until there is a perfect-net work of them, and their trails are yards long."

Having secured quite a little pile of ferns, and a handkerchief full of river mud "to help their acclimatisation," the writer hastened to visit the pagoda, where she meets with a startling adventure (for the exciting details of which we must refer the reader to the book), and escaping safely she hastens home. The next morning she went to the pottery street, to get something to plant the ferns in, and found some terra-cotta boxes which seemed made for the purpose. They were about a foot and a-half in length, and rather less in width. On all sides there were holes as large as a shilling piece. In these the ferns were planted and thrived amazingly. On leaving home for a visit, the ferns
were placed, with full instructions, in the care of the houseboy and coolie. And this is what happened:

"When I came home, as I entered the hall, I saw both boy and coolie, armed with waterpots, making a wild rush for the verandah. I did the same.

"My poor ferns were dead—stone dead, shrivelled, scorched, petrified, done for—the mud, one solid brick in each of the twelve boxes. And there were my faithful servants pouring water on them by the ton, and under my very nose, too, muttering all the time to themselves that they loved me very dearly.

"'Boy,' said I, 'go and fetch me a stick.'

"He did so.

"'There, now give the coolie five strokes.'

"But the coolie did not make the necessary preparations. He had something on his mind—that was plain—presently he chin-chinned in humble and approved fashion—

"'Madam,' he said, with the face of a grave-digger, 'when the coolie has had his licking, where shall he put the unlucky boxes?'

"'What is the matter with the boxes? They are very nice.'

"'Yes, madam, they are beaucoup jolie, but they are unlucky. The ferns must die in these boxes. Madam sees they are dead, quite dead. These are bad boxes; they are for the dead ones, the ones born dead, the dead born little ones. The mistress understands that the boxes are not good.'

"Poor old coolie! I had unwittingly made flowerpots out of children's coffins. Was it a wonder the ferns withered?"

The foregoing quotation will give a fair idea of the style of these idylls. Many of them are more deeply pathetic and more exciting. But they all of them give touching and realistic descriptions of both European and native life in Tonquin.

JAS. B. KNIGHT.


HERE is a striking and scholarly study of a great man, and one worthy to rank amongst the best contributions to the "Rulers of India" Series. Mr. Hutton has performed his task in a way that will be appreciated by every student of the times and scenes it treats of; whilst that more exacting personage, the casual reader, should find in it much to interest and instruct him. To have condensed so concise and, at the same time, so complete a summary of
Lord Wellesley's long and varied career from the enormous mass of material available deserves particular commendation, the more especially as Mr. Hutton's pages abound with evidences of conscientious care in the selection and arrangement of facts, and display a scrupulous exactness in dealing with the orthography of Oriental names. A tolerably careful perusal discovers the book to be almost faultless in this particular, and the only error worthy of notice into which Mr. Hutton (in common with many previous writers) has fallen is the substitution of the name of "Perron" for "Piron" on page 26.

Richard Colley Wesley, or Wellesley, was a scion of the same Irish family that gave the world the great religious leader of the eighteenth century. The son of the second Lord Mornington, and born in 1760, he was the eldest of four brothers, three of whom subsequently became Earl of Maryborough, Duke of Wellington, and Lord Cowley. Well might the mother of such a progeny exclaim in her old age, with pardonable pride, that she was the mother of the Gracchi!

Richard was educated at Eton and Oxford, where he won the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse in 1780. In the following year his father died, and the young peer, now come of age, soon began to make his mark in the Irish House of Lords in Grattan's day. In 1784 he entered the British House of Commons as a lukewarm Whig, but with the progress of the French Revolution his views were modified, only, however, to return, after an experience of Conservatism and Imperialism, to broad Liberalism in his later life.

In 1793 he began his connexion with Indian affairs by joining the Board of Control, and for the next four years studied India closely under the advantages of an intimate acquaintance with Lord Cornwallis. In 1797 he was appointed Governor General of India (whither his brother Arthur had preceded him in the previous year), receiving at the same time an English peerage in addition to his Irish earldom.

Lord Wellesley's Indian administration lasted seven years, and Mr. Hutton does not overstate its importance when he writes that "on the roll of British rulers of India there is no name greater than Richard Lord Wellesley. Warren Hastings alone can claim to be his equal. When Wellesley landed at Calcutta there existed, in Mr. Sidney Owen's well-weighed words, "a British Empire in India; when he left he had secured the East India Company the Empire of India." The British possessions in India in
1798 consisted of about 200,000 square miles. Wellesley nearly doubled the Company's territories, and made British influence paramount over the rest of the Peninsula.

In what way this was accomplished those who run may read lucidly set forth in Mr. Hutton's pages, wherein will be found recorded how Lord Wellesley, acting on the maxim *Divide et impera*, assailed his foes in detail. First, he reduced the Nizam of Haidarabad to impotency; then in a brilliant campaign conquered Tipu Saheb, and divided half his kingdom of Mysore; following this annexed, in practice, the Karmáitäk and Tanjore, secured supremacy over Surat, and circled Oudh with a ring fence of red; and finally, in one splendid year of battle, broke the stubborn might of Maráthá dominion, extirpating the lingering elements of French influence and sedition, securing for his country the command of the entire seaboard of India, and annexing the capital of the ancient Muhammadan Empire, wherein the Great Mughal was henceforth to reside a pensioner under British protection.

Such, in a few words, were the actual achievements of the Marquess Wellesley in India. They were accomplished with a European force that at no time exceeded 14,000 men, and of whom seldom more than 10,500 were fit to take the field. Vast and splendid as was Wellesley's success, it was made the more remarkable by the unworthy and unceasing opposition he endured from his masters in England, whereby his difficulties were doubled. For his white foes behind his back were more wearying than the black foes that faced him; but he met and fought both on their own ground with their own weapons—the sword and the pen—and issued victorious from the contest. Verily, in the little puny frame of this mighty ruler of India, lurked an unconquerable spirit, an invincible determination that enabled him in his own words,

*The Majesty of Empire to sustain.*

And yet, having achieved all this, he came home in disgrace, a scapegoat for the transient disaster that overwhelmed a brave but incompetent military officer, and which, in the strained relations between the Company and the Governor General, was able to engulf Wellesley. But thirty-six years later his masters made the *amende honorable*, as testifies the marble statue which to-day looks down upon the broad flight of stairs in the India office, "a public conspicuous and permanent mark of the admiration and gratitude of the East India Company."
Lord Wellesley's career of usefulness and honour in India was not circumscribed by the battle field; but there is not space to more than allude to the many benefits he conferred, or desired to confer, on the country and peoples he governed. He sought to establish a college for the better education of the notoriously ill-educated Indian civil servants; he prohibited the sacrificial exposition of children in the Ganges; he made a distinct effort to disseminate Christianity; he placed the Empire in such state of defence as the economical idiosyncracies of his commercial-minded masters would allow, and nearly doubled the strength of the Sepoy army; he restored the credit of the Indian Government which, on his arrival in India, could not borrow money under 12 per cent.; he increased the commerce of the east, and opened the export trade of India to country-built shipping; and he advocated free trade in practice in India before it had even been considered in theory at home. Such was the man who left India in his forty-fifth year—just about the age at which his successor of nearly a century later is assuming office—and left it unrewarded and undecorated.

Shortly after his return to England, Wellesley lost his great friend William Pitt, whose death deprived him of a staunch defender. For there were signs that the same treatment was preparing for him as had been meted out to Warren Hastings: but the better and juster sense of Parliament prevailed, and a resolution of the House approving of Wellesley's Indian policy sent him back to public life.

He now turned his attention to foreign affairs. Napoleon Buonaparte was in his zenith with Europe prone at his feet. But he wanted ships. Denmark possessed them, and it was feared he would coerce her into an alliance. In this pass the British Government made themselves masters of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen and of the island of Heligoland. It was a bold stroke, only to be justified by the public safety, and Wellesley's defence of the audacious action of the Ministry marked his entry into the front rank of English political life. His speech was the first of many hard blows he was to inflict on the Corsican tyrant.

In the following year, 1809, he sailed as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain, where his brother Arthur was now General in Chief. The Diplomat's task was to secure adequate support for the army; but he failed (not, assuredly, from want of trying), and the British troops retreated into Portugal. Whereupon Wellesley was recalled home to
strengthen Canning's Ministry as Foreign Secretary, and a few months later received the Garter.

Public feeling was strongly opposed to the Peninsula War. It was Wellesley's task to keep the Cabinet in heart, and firm in its policy of assisting Spain, "which he would not cease to recommend to his Sovereign to the latest moment of Spain's existence." His indomitable determination carried his colleagues with him, till his brother's urgent demands for money "to feed the troops" were complied with. Slowly success began to dawn, and Europe tardily recognised the service rendered to the Continent by the Spanish resistance. Russia was drawn towards England, and new life sprang up in Germany. Wellesley's policy was justified, and he seemed destined for Prime Minister; but domestic legislation wrecked his chance, and he broke from the old Tories without being welcomed by the Whigs, and early in 1812 resigned his seals of office. Still he had remained in power long enough to secure the final triumph of the British arms in Spain, and raise all Europe against Napoleon.

For the next few years he took but a slight part in politics, except that "he protested again and again against the Government's repressive policy in Ireland, and at home against lavish armaments and excessive taxation." Men were crying for the bread denied them by the baneful Corn Laws. These laws Wellesley opposed, and at the same time advocated retrenchment in the Army, Civil List, and establishments of every kind. "One rule," he asserted, "should be applied to them all, that nothing, however ancient, should be suffered to exist that is not necessary for the safety and very being of the country." These were great and liberal sentiments for a peer of the realm in the days when George the Third was king.

In 1821, Wellesley was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and welcomed to the sister island as the harbinger of conciliation. But although a friend of Grattan, he was and ever had been a Unionist. The same problem confronted him which has confronted all his successors. He found it impossible to govern the Irish without coercion. An Insurrection Act was passed, and the Habeas Corpus suspended, and he strove to substitute a fear of the majesty of the law for the terrorism of conspirators and secret societies. He struck party men off the Commission of the Peace in hundreds, inaugurated relief funds for the prevalent distress and subscribed handsomely to them himself. But his known sympathy with Catholic Emancipation embroiled
him in Irish faction strife to the extent of a quart bottle
thrown at his head, under the inadequate excuse of "No
Popery," at a state performance at the Theatre Royal,
Dublin—"a display of Irish humour he did not take in
a humorous spirit," with the result that he narrowly
escaped a vote of censure in the House of Commons. He
returned to conciliation; but he was never a popular ruler.
He resigned office in 1828, when his brother, the Duke of
Wellington, became, by the irony of events, Prime Minister
on the lines of Protestant ascendancy to pass the Catholic
Relief Bill within a twelvemonth.

Between the two brothers an estrangement had long
been growing up. Their political views were opposed—
"Arthur," said the elder, "is a great soldier, but he will
never make a great statesman." The younger said nothing
—not even in appreciation of many and great obligations
received. Leech's pencil in later years figured the Duke
as "the Greedy Boy" who declined to let any possible
rival have "any of the nice things." Lord Wellesley was
to have none of them, being offered no post in the new
ministry.

Two years later Lord Grey's administration saw
Wellesley Lord Steward of the Household, and subsequently
he again filled the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lastly,
in Lord Grey's second administration he held the office of
Lord Chamberlain for a few weeks. But the post was
immeasurably beneath the claims of his great fame and
talents, and he resigned it, and at the age of seventy-five
retired from public life to spend his last seven years in
seclusion.

In person Wellesley was small and symmetrical, and his
face remarkable for intellectual beauty, as the excellent
portrait in Mr. Hutton's book demonstrates. "His deport­
ment was elegant and dignified, and he possessed a fine
manly voice. He was well served by a bright sense of
humour, and a keen and natural Irish wit. He shone in
society, and half the beauties of London were at his feet.
As a talker he could hold his own with the best, and
Madame de Stael acknowledged his superiority. He was
undeniably proud, but with the pride of a great not a small
mind."

Of his domestic life much need not be said. Twice
married, he lived in his early days what has been called "a
life of pleasure." And while Sir James Mackintosh
dubbed him "a sultanized Englishman," and Mr. Torrens
has bestowed on him the title of "the great pro-consul," it
may be fairly stated he deserved both designations, combining their qualifications in a way that perhaps no other Englishman of his exalted position has ever done.

"Lord Wellesley's achievements," summarises Mr. Hutton, "place him high in the rank of great worthies. He saw and tried to solve the eternal Irish question. He was a Free Trader before the days of the Manchester school. But for him it may be truly said it is more than probable Napoleon would not have been overthrown. . . . He never feared to stand against class interests or public feeling. . . But it is to his Indian Administration incontestably that we look for proofs of his greatness. . . . He found India the battle ground of races and of rulers, and taught these races [where to look for union and rule. He destroyed the cruel and threatening Muhammadan power of the south. He changed Oudh from a danger into a safeguard, and set Bengal free on every side from fear of foreign attack. He paralysed, if he did not destroy, the Hydra-headed confederacy of the Marathás. He made the name of England honoured from Persia to the Red Sea. He taught her rulers, her civilians, her judges to trust for their power only to the uprightness of their lives and the completeness of their labours."

Nor can this notice of Mr. Hutton's admirable work be more fitly concluded than by the quotation of a quatrain written by Lord Wellesley himself, in which, perchance, he gives expression to the principles that guided and governed his illustrious public career.

"Firm, incorrupt, as in life's dawning morn,
Nor swayed by novelty nor public breath:
Teach me false censure and false fame, to scorn,
And guide my steps through honours paths to death!"

HERBERT COMPTON.
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FEMALE MEDICAL AID FOR THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

BY MRS. SCHARLIEB, M.D.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA.

It is very difficult for women born and brought up in England to realise in any degree the conditions of life which environ the women of India. Some hazy ideal vision arises of "India's coral strand"—a dream more or less beautiful, in which appear feathery palms, skies of the deepest blue, floods of golden sunshine, and gorgeous flowers. In this romantic setting we picture the gentle Hindu girl with her slender frame, delicate limbs, and dark pathetic eyes. We have some idea of her costume; we see the snowy diaphanous drapery, the barbaric pearls and gold; the scent of sandal-wood is in our minds, while the tinkle of fairy bells accompanies her slow, graceful movements. The whole picture is beautiful, unfamiliar, and bewitching. It is not untruthful nor even exaggerated, but it is delusive; for it expresses only one fragment, one phase, of the life it purports to represent. The life of a Hindu woman is very essentially a life of suffering, of narrowness and incompleteness. Even in infancy her troubles exist. It is but seldom that the little girl is welcome. The great desire of parents is for boys. According to the Hindu faith, a son, whether natural or adopted, is necessary to save his father's soul. Woe to the man who dies without a son to perform his funeral obsequies. His soul is unredeemed, and must depart to the gloomy shades of "Put." So deep-rooted is this conviction that, if a man's wife bear him daughters only, he may supersede her, and bring home another wife, who may be more fortunate. I knew a native lady who had six little girls; when the seventh was born, she asked whether it was a boy, and on the question being answered in the negative, she remarked, "Then I shall never face my friends again." She turned her face to the wall, and refused to be comforted. She fretted continually, took no food, and finally died when her baby was a week old. Probably the happiest years of a
Hindu girl's life are those of early childhood. They grow up with the freedom and carelessness of kittens—even in wealthy and aristocratic families there is but little care, and less discipline. The boys and girls play together all day. They have no nursery, and no nurse or governess to check their heedless gambols, and to turn their energies into any useful channel. I remember the house of a wealthy and very learned Brahmin in Madras. It stood in a large garden, among magnificent trees and flowering shrubs. A verandah extended along the whole front of the house, and there were to be seen a swarm of children, from the infant in its swinging cradle suspended from the roof, to lads of eight or ten, who had begun their school work, and who were very superior in their suits of gaily-coloured cottons, with curious pointed caps to match. The little girls of the group usually wore one garment only—a full petticoat of red or blue print, with gold bangles on wrists and ankles, and strings of coins or beads round their necks. As the day grew hotter, and the sun rose high in his terrible majesty and power, when the hot land wind breathed over the shivering trees like the blast from a furnace, even the energy of these restless little people flagged, and they might be found all over the house asleep on the red-tiled floor. The outer doors were shut, the heavy wooden windows closed, and within all was dark and quiet—cool, too, as compared with the brazen glare outside. As the sun declined, and the cool breeze from the sea gained the mastery over the land wind, vegetation, animals and men revived, and again the old house, with its cellar-like rooms, re-echoed to the patter of little feet and the cries of childish voices. The lamps were lighted, each affording a tiny light about as powerful as that of a wax vesta. Still, the lamps were numerous—placed in small niches in the wall, on window ledges, and verandah walls. In the principal rooms they were reinforced by less romantic lamps of Western manufacture; so the light was good enough for the children's play, and for the interminable story-telling or gossiping of the ladies.

One day resembled another, except when some feast or religious ceremony broke the monotony—and too soon the days of childhood were past. The little maiden was betrothed. In Brahmin families this ceremony may be performed in absolute infancy, but more generally about the age of eight or nine. The bridegroom is usually a little boy about the same age, or a year or two older, but may be a man of any age. Naturally, the marriage is simply one of convenience and suitability, and in many
instances great difficulty is experienced in finding a bride­groom in all respects suitable. The ceremonies are pro­longed and most wearisome; but, luckily, when they are over the child-wife remains in her father's house among familiar faces, and in many instances petted and beloved by the parents to whom her birth brought so little joy.

After a time another ceremony is performed, and then the child has to leave her home and family, and must go with her unknown husband to his mother's house. The severance of natural ties is total, the girl is entirely cut off from her own clan, and is henceforth reckoned in that of her husband. This would be but a sentimental grievance did it not signify a more real trouble. The child-wife is seldom welcome to her mother-in-law, who treats her as her servant and exacts careful service at her hands. The poor little girl, who has grown up without training or discipline, now finds that she has to perform all sorts of domestic duties under the eyes of an exacting task mistress. If she does well she is not praised, but if she does ill she is overwhelmed with a torrent of abuse, and too often severely beaten. Of course, her husband is no comfort to her. It is against the custom for him to talk to his wife, and she dare not address him. She must not even name him—nothing will induce an orthodox Hindu wife to utter her husband's name; she may not even allude to him as "my husband," but must find some periphrases such as "the man," "the Brahmin," or "he." There is no home life, no caresses, no interchange of ideas. The wife is her husband's chief servant; when he comes home from school (nearly all the newly-married husbands are school­boys) or from work she attends him, pours water over his tired feet, lays ready the simple garments worn at home, prepares his bath, cooks his food, serves it (many preparations of vegetables and milk on platters formed of dry leaves sewn together with straws), and stands behind him while he eats. When he has eaten, what remains is for the wife. She would be shocked indeed at any suggestion that she should share his meal, or that he should wait on her.

The isolated position of the child-wife is, to our minds, her greatest misfortune; anyone will gladly work for those they love, no duty is menial that is done for love; but the child-wife has no loving care from her mother-in-law—no companionship with her youthful lord. The only social intercourse she knows is with the serving women and the other young wives of the family. In her moments
of leisure her only idea of relaxation is to sit on the floor chewing betel and nut, and listening to the idle stories imported from the Bazaar, spiteful gossip about relations and neighbours, or the abominable legends of the Hindu gods and goddesses. My sister, who was governess to some Hindu princesses at Ramnad, found they were most intelligent and satisfactory pupils. Their progress was rapid, their interest unflagging; but after they entered the zenana they were changed children—all brightness and vivacity disappeared. They were not forbidden to learn, but they had lost all desire for knowledge, their mental appetites were perverted, their senses dulled.

This picture of "wasted lives and marred," of moral ruin, is sad enough; but there is a still darker page in the life of a Hindu woman, and that is widowhood. The life of a Hindu wife seems dull enough and unhappy enough to us, but what widowhood is to her we can scarcely understand. It is the end of all things that made her life of value to her; with the death of her lord all her natural duties cease, and all pride of position is annihilated. After a certain time has elapsed, the widow, whether old or young, is led out, clothed in her most costly garments and decked with all her jewels. The procession halts at the temple, the officiating priest meets it, and with various religious rites she is divested of her rich robes, her jewels are torn from her, her head is shaved, and with shame and sorrow she enwraps herself in a coarse unbleached cloth, henceforth her only garment. From this day, through, it may be, a long life, the widow eats but one meal a day of coarse food, always cold; she must bathe twice a day in the tank; she must perform long and tedious devotions, and renounce all joy and consolation. Strange to say she is an object of scorn and contempt, her name is a byeword and a reproach; her very touch is pollution. Such is the life of a Hindu woman—a neglected child; a servitor wife; and finally a death in life scarcely more merciful than the funeral pyre, from which the strong arm of the British Government alone saves her.

Medical Aid.—Can any service be more noble, can any career offer more reward than that of a woman who will devote herself to the amelioration of the Hindu woman's life?

Many are the women who have hearts to feel their Eastern sisters' sorrows; many would willingly renounce home and country to attain so great an object; many who say, "Here am I, send me." But something more than
warm hearts and the impulse of renunciation is necessary. "What good gifts have my brothers but it has come of search and strife and loving sacrifice." The noble impulse is essential, but the continuity of purpose is as essential. Our fellow women subjects in India have many needs, and these can be supplied only by English women who have fully prepared themselves for the work. The women are ignorant, and need education. Their surroundings are insanitary, and need to be reformed. Their bodies are liable to accident and to disease, and they need physicians. Other wants there are, and all appeal to us for relief; but to-day I am to speak to you only of the medical aid that is required.

The first essential is that the doctors who work among the women of India should be fully qualified. It cannot be too clearly understood that the work they will have to do is both difficult and responsible. It has sometimes been assumed that medical work among women and children is easier than it is among men. That this is a mistake must be evident, when we consider that women are liable to all general diseases and accidents, while they have certain ailments and states of health peculiar to themselves. Some of these conditions are among the gravest that can exist, and severely tax the resources and courage of the most skilful surgeons. Another point to remember is that in India a woman practitioner is in a very isolated position; her patients will not permit the presence of a male doctor, in many instances they would rather die, and therefore the medical woman has to make up her mind as to the nature of the disease, to determine on the best line of treatment, and to carry it through unaided.

In other lands the young practitioner usually begins as assistant to some senior, and even when independent practice is undertaken, consultation with some one of greater experience and skill is easily obtained. This burden of unshared responsibility and lonely work is sometimes overwhelming, and unless a doctor is very thoroughly trained, is likely to paralyse the energies and injure the nerves.

All women intending to work in India ought to have not only the regulation training of five years, but they should, if possible, hold some responsible post, such as that of resident medical officer in a well-ordered hospital, before going to India. Also all societies sending out medical women should, as far as possible, send the newly-qualified
to work under a senior for a time. This arrangement is
good in all ways—the junior gradually acquires experience
and skill—she has time to learn something of the
peculiarities of disease in India, and she learns the
language of her district. The senior is relieved of much
of the routine portion of her work, she learns from the new
comer many new methods and improvements, and she is
relieved of the ever present fear that a temporary illness
on her part will stop and greatly injure the work for which
she is responsible. She will secure her annual visit to the
Hills, and be able to comply with requests to visit patients
in the district who are too ill to be moved into the town.

Medical women for India, then, should not be contented
with any standard but the highest. They must remember
that they need to be better trained than those who work
among older colleagues, and who can easily obtain a con­
sultant's advice.

Women who intend to be doctors in India should
cultivate great tact and agreeable manners. The native
drives are very quick to recognise the presence or
absence of these qualities, and are much more amenable to
those who carefully avoid offending their prejudices and
hurting their feelings. It is well for those who are to work
among the natives that they should have some knowledge
of the obligations of the religion, the caste, and the family
life of their patients.

We should ourselves shrink from the ministrations of
people whose advice was offered in an unknown tongue,
and in evident ignorance or contempt of the customs and
principles sanctified to us by universal acceptance and long
usage. It is a want of imagination that makes us think
our ideas and advice must be welcome, and that leads us to
consider those to whom they are novel and distasteful as
"stupid, prejudiced, and bigoted."

I have worked for years among the Hindu and
Mahommedan women of Southern India, and can testify
to the courtesy and friendliness with which I was always
treated. Sometimes my treatment was declined, it being
too violently in opposition to their customs—more often
only time was needed to convince my patient and her
friends that she would do well at least to try my plan.
The people have a rather trying habit of expecting that
any medicine or treatment will bear immediate fruit; and
unless carefully warned they will discontinue the remedy
which has failed to cure them in three days of a trouble
that may have lasted many years.
To illustrate the necessity for tact and *s搬到 faire* I may mention that the Brahmins and other high caste people have a strong prejudice against any water that has not come from a holy source—no matter how filthy—and will frequently refuse to drink medicine that has been compounded in the usual way and dispensed in bottles. In such cases the dry ingredients may often be given in the form of powders, to be mixed by the patient with water or milk at the time of administration.

Again, many orthodox Hindu women are sorely disconcerted by an unexpected visit, or by one after the hour of the morning ablutions. They are much perplexed, because to refuse to see the doctor is contrary to their instincts of hospitality, while the touch of an outsider involves a repetition of the lengthy process of bath and prayer before the morning meal can be prepared and eaten. Surely a lady with ordinary courtesy would carefully avoid all unnecessary worry for the patient.

The Training Necessary and Procurable.—The medical education of women has developed rapidly in the last few years; and, whereas in 1878 there was but one medical school (the London School of Medicine for Women) and two examining bodies, there are now in the British Isles eight medical schools in which women can obtain a qualifying education, and there are six examining bodies, which grant them degrees or licenses. The training offered is complete, but it is long and severe, taxing to the utmost both mental and physical fitness for work.

It cannot be too generally understood that the curriculum for women and the examinations for qualification is identical with that of medical men, so that the women we send out are fully equipped for their work. In many instances they choose to spend additional time in post graduate work here or at Vienna.

The Agencies whereby the Workers can be put in relation with the Work.—Of these, the largest and best-developed is the grand scheme which originated with the Queen herself, and was made practicable by the earnestness and business capacity of Lady Dufferin. This organisation is briefly known as "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund," or "The National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India." It was started by Lady Dufferin as soon as she arrived in India, and has developed rapidly.

The objects of the Association are (1) to bring the aims of the National Association before the British public; (2)
to raise funds; (3) to select such lady doctors as may be required for the Association in India.

The Fund employs three grades of medical women, who in a way may be compared with the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of an army. The officers are termed lady doctors of the First Grade. These are all fully qualified, and up to the present time have been selected from women holding degrees, or licenses to practice, registerable in England. The Second Grade are styled Assistant Surgeons, and are composed of women educated in the Medical Schools of India. The Third Grade are the Hospital Assistants—principally native women. This Third Grade is a very important one, and to quote from the speech of the Hon. C. H. Noore at the annual meeting in Calcutta, it is the nucleus of a "Dufferin corps of small practitioners equal in numbers and capacity to cope with house to house work on a scale which, if my imagination does not mislead me, would be able to reach the very core of our subject; and in comparison with which the work done to date, good and great as it is, would seem but the shell." This is doubtless true. To carry home the necessary aid to every native woman and child we need an army of native women practitioners of every caste, speaking the languages and understanding the customs of their patients. Being born in the country, and less affected by the heat and necessary discomforts of the work, they could take sole charge of cases of slight illness, and of normal labour; while they could call to their assistance in case of need the more fully qualified women of the first or second grade, under whose direction they would work. When we consider the enormous mass of the female population of India, when we remember how scattered and difficult of access are the villages, it is evident that the entire produce of all the British Medical Schools for women would be unequal for many years to come to supply their needs. Also when we remember the poverty of the masses of the people, and the small value they set on life—especially on the lives of women and children—it is evident that we must frequently supply medical aid gratis, and look for no pecuniary return direct or indirect. On this point the Honourable Mr Gurudas Banerjee says: "It is only by preparing a large number of female practitioners born in this country (India), versed in its customs and belonging to its people, that the Association can ever hope to supply to the mass of Indian people that medical relief which it is its object to provide for them. . . . A poor purdah woman who
FEMALE MEDICAL AID.

has not means enough to pay for her medical attendant at her house, and yet has sentimental objections strong enough to prevent her from seeking relief in a hospital, is more helpless, and therefore more deserving of charitable relief than one who is not so hampered.” No doubt there are many such women, both Hindu and Mahommedan, and it must be conceded that it will take years, nay, generations, of education to enable them to overcome their prejudices and come willingly to hospital; secondly, if they were willing to come how would it be possible to provide hospital accommodation for such numbers? On the other hand, this sort of work is very trying and unsuitable to European women. Before the Victoria Hospital for Caste and Goslia Women was opened in Madras, I visited native women in their own homes from six to ten or eleven every morning, and although I took all possible care of myself, driving in a closed carriage with a thick white quilted cover (in which I have seen the thermometer register 110°), though I wore dark glasses, and had an umbrella covered with white, yet I found the heat and the insanitary surroundings very trying, and have no doubt that house to house visitation under such circumstances of sun, heat, and glare, filthy accumulations of all kinds, and in small rooms sometimes destitute of any connexion with the open air, would quickly incapacitate any European woman.

Other agencies for supplying female medical aid to the women of India are found in the several missionary bodies. Of these one of the best known is the “Zenana Bible and Medical Mission.” This Society supports several fully qualified medical women from England, and trains native women as nurses and assistants. This is neither the time nor place to discuss the question of mixing medical and evangelistic work, but no one can overlook the great and good work done by the medical women sent by this Society and other kindred societies, to relieve the sufferings of the women of India.

Compared with these noble agencies, private enterprise can do little, but must not be relinquished nor overlooked. Every fully qualified medical woman who works among the women of India, and who does her work conscientiously and well, is a power for good. The testimony of Lord Roberts, recently Commander-in-Chief in India, is very noteworthy. He says, “The large majority of the women of India live outside these limited areas (the large towns), and for these, probably not less than one hundred and
forty millions, skilled medical aid is at present an impossibility;” and he speaks of all we have yet been able to do as a mere drop in the ocean of Indian female suffering. If they (the medical women) were multiplied by hundreds, or even thousands, their numbers would still fall short of what is really required."

The late Dewan to the Nizam of Hyderabad, the astute and far seeing Sir Salar Jung, writing in 1880, said he was of opinion that it would be a benefit to India, which could not be exaggerated, if a fully qualified woman, trained in England, could undertake medical work in each of the great towns of India. He estimated the number immediately needed at 1,025, but thought that number would be insufficient. He also advocated two or more grades of medical women, so as to secure large numbers of less costly and more acclimatised workers.

As in the promotion of all large philanthropic measures, we earnestly need funds and workers—the one is useless without the other—while we are slowly educating workers and collecting funds, for thousands—nay, for millions—of women, in the pathetic language of Lord Roberts, "skilled medical aid is at present an impossibility." Surely this unrelieved suffering is a national responsibility which each of us must be eager to share. Some can give their silver and gold, some can dedicate their daughters to this service, and some, happiest of all, can give themselves to the work. Let them realise as I have had to realise that "The work is great, the reward also is great, and the Master presseth. It is not incumbent on thee to finish thy work, but thou must not therefore cease from it." None of us will finish the work—it is too great, it extends from the snowy peaks to the southern waves, and it will last so long as there are women who suffer and women to heal their sufferings. Each worker has but a span of time, a brief opportunity, a failing strength; each must work while it is called to-day, for the night cometh, and cometh quickly; but by earnest work among the sick, by patient teaching of future workers, the torch of truth must be handed on, and the work which cannot be completed must be continued.
We regret to have to record the death, at Shikarpur, on November 22, of Rai Bahadur Diwan Navalrai Showkiram Advani, First Grade Deputy Collector in Sind. He died from the effects of a fall from a camel while on circuit. It was only last July that his younger brother died—Mr. Hiranand Showkiram—whose useful life was cut short by a fatal illness. (See September, I. M. & R.) Mr. Navalrai had gained the esteem and friendship of many European officials, and his own people were heartily devoted to him. He was not 50, and had been in Government service for thirty years, rising from each grade upwards. His activity for social reforms was sincere and energetic. He spent much of his income on public and private charities, and, in concert with Mr. Dayaram Gidumal and his brother, he exerted himself to improve the condition of the Amil community. He also laboured hard in the cause of education for women as well as for men. In the Hyderabad (Sind) Brahmo Samaj he sought to promote right principles and religious conduct. He gave much attention to the cause of temperance, and for a number of years he used to visit the Hyderabad Jail in order to gain influence for good among the prisoners. In the Phantix (Karachi), the Rev. Joseph Redman, of the Hyderabad Church Mission School, gives his testimony to the good done in many directions by Mr. Navalrai S. Advani. He writes as follows:—

"He saw the evils around him, and set himself to remedy them so far as he was able. He was a Religious reformer. The Brahmo Samaj owes its existence in Hyderabad to him. He was the leading spirit there, and conducted the services when at home. I shall never forget the devotion and earnestness which characterised a service he conducted at which I was present. He was a Social reformer. Recognising the evils of child marriage, he endeavoured to dissuade from it. As a proof of this I may mention that in 1885 he handed us the sum of Rs. 200, the interest of which was to form a fund for a prize in books to be awarded to a Hyderabadi unbetrothed Amil student of the Mission School over 16 years of age who should pass the matriculation examination with the highest number of marks in English. In many other matters of social reform also he felt the deepest interest. He took a most active
part in establishing the Women's Hospital, and fostering its work. Female Education called forth his most earnest efforts; for he knew that to raise the condition of woman was to raise the whole character of the home. He gave liberally of his means to forward this object. The Showkiram and Chandumal Girls' School building bears witness to this; and when it was first opened he was often to be found there in the early mornings, himself taking part in instructing the children. Seeing that the habit of indulging to excess in alcoholic liquors was largely on the increase, he threw himself heartily into temperance work, and year by year organised a large Boys' Temperance Demonstration at the Holi Holiday, when intemperance was most rife. The poor of the city have lost their best friend. Many a widow had a monthly dole of corn supplied her through his liberality. His generosity and largeness of heart was a striking feature in his character. In 1881, when Mrs. Shirt went to England, he gave us the sum of Rs. 100, the interest on which was to be spent in yearly prizes to keep her name in remembrance. I do not write merely a panegyric in praise of our friend whom we have lost, and whose death we so greatly deplore. I do sincerely feel that Hyderabad has lost its greatest benefactor. He was a real philanthropist. The unostentatious manner in which he did good added a great charm to his character. There was a humility and gentleness of spirit about him, combined with great energy and steadfastness of purpose in carrying out what he felt was for the benefit of his people. No one who really knew could help loving him and truly respecting him."

Mr. Diwan Navairai was engaged to select a camel for a brother officer, and was trying one reported to be vicious. It refused at first to get up after the Diwan had mounted, when a bystander pulled the rein sharply, and it rose, but became very restive, and soon threw its rider, who suffered terrible injuries, and died in two days. Colonel R. J. Crawford, Acting Commissioner in Sind, wrote to the Sind Gazette recording his personal sorrow at the sad event, and the loss to the Province and the Government. The letter continued:

"Small of stature, and apparently of not robust physique, his mind and spirit more than amply compensated for such deficiencies. His disposition was very retiring, and even self-effacing. But his abilities were conspicuous, and he could, and would, unflinchingly hold his own when he considered a principle at stake.

"With the broadest and kindest of views towards all, he still remained esteemed by, and indeed endeared to, those of his own religious persuasion. His colleague, Mr. Giles, writing on the day of the the accident, and giving all the painful details of it, told me how he had that afternoon found Diwan Navairai actually engaged in dictating work to clerks and Munshis, and had taken his books away from him! Being perfectly conscious after his accident not
a moan or murmur escaped him, and he evinced the greatest fortitude. Diwan Navalrai was a truly courageous man; and by his life and death a bright example to all, of whatever nationality or creed one may be, of how to live, and, when the occasion comes, of how to die, is set before us. Let us hope that for Sind he has not lived in vain, but that the youth of the present day, while reverencing, as they must do, the memories of Diwans Navalrai and Hiranand Showkiram, a pair of noble brothers, will honestly strive to emulate their grand example, the record of which will lie in the history of the Province."

Mr. Crawford suggests a joint memorial to these two worthy brothers, and a meeting was at once held at Hyderabad, presided over by Mr. Horsley, the Sessions Judge, to give effect to the proposal. Mr. Giles, the Inspector, was likely to preside over a meeting at Shikarpur. He showed much solicitude for Mr. Navalrai, attending him in his last hours, and feeling deeply the lamentable occurrence.

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RAMABAI AND HER SCHOOL FOR HINDU WIDOWS.

In March 1889, Pandita Ramabai opened her school for Hindu widows in Bombay. She began with only two pupils. Those of your readers who have some knowledge of the social customs of the Hindu society can easily imagine what a tremendous task Ramabai had undertaken in starting a school for high-caste Hindu widows. Ramabai, however, was equal to the task, and by her earnest work the school steadily prospered, as will be seen from the following figures:

In March 1889 there were 2 pupils in her school.

- **1890**: 25 including 10 widows.
- **1891**: 26
- **1892**: 30

The number of widows in the school would, in a few years, have reached fifty or even a hundred; but alas! the Sadan is doomed! Ramabai's life's work is, unfortunately for the poor widows, undone. It is sincerely to be regretted that this misfortune should be the result of an unhappy mistake on the part of the noble founder of the institution.

The Sharada Sadan was being conducted on lines of
strict religious neutrality, and so long as this wise policy was followed it was able to face the most furious storms. The enemies of this institution in Poona—and their name is legion—three times before this tried to demolish it and to scare away the native public, by raising the most shameful scandals about the management of the school; but they failed in injuring it because it had the confidence of the leading men of the Hindu society.

It seems Panditabai has now changed her policy, and has, to all intents and purposes, determined to give her school a distinct sectarian character. The school was professed to be purely a secular institution. It appears that in replying to some comments in a local paper, she disavows having made any such statement. Pandita Ramabai's honesty of purpose and high integrity demand from others an unconditional acceptance of her statements; but she cannot deny that she did give the people to understand something to the same effect, and it is obvious that it was only on an assurance of non-interference with the religious beliefs of her pupils that so many natives were prepared to send their wards to her school.

Miss Sarah D. Hamlin made distinct statements from time to time that the Sharada Sadan was not sectarian, and the President of the Ramabai Association in America wrote in reply to a correspondent from Poona, "If it is not to be a Christian school, neither is it to be a Mussulman school, a Parsi school, a Buddhist school, or a school of any other religion." The same gentleman, in a speech made before a meeting of the Association, held at Boston on the 11th March 1891, said, "We are attacked on this side as being an unchristian association, because we do not choose to place the school in the hands of any particular Christian communion, and because Ramabai's own intention and purpose is to make it what we here call a free school—a secular school." This was, then, the declared policy of Ramabai's school. Latterly Ramabai opened a catechism class in her school, and some twenty girls used to attend this. Before long the rumour spread like wild-fire in Poona, that these girls were going to be baptized, and a few girls declined to go back to their parents.

Some of your readers, perhaps, know that when the Sadan was first started, an Advisory Board was formed to give counsel and assistance to Ramabai when necessary. Amongst others there were then on the Board the following: The Hon. R. B. M. G. Ranade, the Hon. K. L. Nulkar, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, S. B. G. H. Deshmukh, R. B. V.
J. Kirtane, R. B. C. N. Bhat. This Board was a body of persons who had full confidence in Ramabai and her school. Owing to some disagreements, however, the members of the Board resigned their places soon after it was formed.

R. B. Ranade (now a Judge of the Bombay High Court), and Dr. Bhandarkar (now Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University), strongly disapproved of Ramabai's holding a prayer-class in her school, and they issued an emphatic protest, addressed to the Chairman of the Executive Council of the Ramabai Association in America. The following copy of their resignation speaks for itself:

(Copy of the Resignation).

To Mrs. J. W. Andrews,
Chairman of the Executive Council of the Ramabai Association,
36 Rutland Square, Boston, U.S.A.

Madam,—In the last letter written to you by one of us after the dissolution of the Managing Board (formed with the advice of your deputed agent, Miss Hamlin), it was stated that, as your Committee did not approve of the arrangements made by Miss Hamlin, we were unwilling to undertake any responsibility as an Advisory Board in regard to the Sharada Sadan, though we shall be glad in our private capacity to lend Pandita Ramabai our help when required. We are therefore surprised to find that in the reports published by you our names are still mentioned as constituting an Advisory Board in Poona. We have not met together ever since the dissolution of the old Board under your orders, and no such Advisory Board as you mention has existed for the past two or three years. In the present condition of the Sadan, there is a special reason why we cannot conscientiously allow our names to be connected with the Institution. Encouraged apparently by some expressions contained in your Committee's communications, Pandita Ramabai has, during the past year or so, departed from the lines of strict neutrality on which the Institution was started and managed for some time. We have strong reasons to believe that many of the girls are induced to attend her private prayers regularly and read the Bible, and that Christian doctrines are taught to them. Pandita Ramabai has also shown her active missionary tendencies by asking the parents and guardians of girls to allow them to attend her prayers, and in one case at least to become Christian themselves; and we are assured that
two of the girls have declared to their elders that they have accepted Christ. Such a departure from the original understanding cannot fail, in our opinion, to shake the stability of the Institution, and alienate public sympathy from this work. We are sorry our individual remonstrances with the Pandita Bai have proved of no avail. If the Sadan is to be conducted as an avowed proselytising Institution, we must disavow all connexion with it. We beg you will take note of this declaration, and cease to mention our names as members of the Advisory Board. We have furnished a copy of this letter to Pandita Ramabai for her information also.

—Yours faithfully,

13th Aug. 1893.  
(Signed)  
R. G. Bhandarkar,  
M. G. Ranade,  
C. N. Bhat.

I beg to add that my name is added for the first time in the last report without my consent.

(Signed)  
C. N. Bhat.

The upshot of all this is that the Sharada Sadan is ruined as an institution for educating the high caste Hindu widows, though it may continue to remain as a mission school for a score of daughters of native Christians of Poona.

Meanwhile, a new movement is set on foot in Poona which, if it succeed, will do credit to its promoters. A new Sharada Sadan, entirely under Hindu management, is, it seems, going to be started. Preliminary to starting, a regular school provision has been made for the education of such of the widows as had to leave Ramabai’s school in this crisis. Some of the leading men have each undertaken to bear the annual cost of maintenance, lodging, and education of two widows. No general fund is yet started. Miss Herford, the head mistress of the High School for Girls, has the temporary control of the new institution, if such it can be called just yet. It is difficult to forecast the future of the new Sadan, especially as the managing committee consists of men from both parties, the Reformers and the Reactionists. If the new Sadan steadily rises and becomes a noble institution like the Girls’ High School in the same place, whom are the poor widows to thank for the blessing? To be sure none more than Pandita Ramabai.

She has been the sincere and noble advocate of the Hindu widow, and a grateful community will ever bless her.

London.  
An Admirer of Ramabai.
I.

To move my fourth my third once tried,
When in a crowded street,
But was so jostled, pushed, and squeezed,
It proved no easy feat,
Until my third my second used
(Improperly perhaps),
Having my whole that it could serve
Better than words or rage.
And so it proved—for while my first
Proclaimed this sudden pain,
My third, maliciously amused,
His object did attain.

II.

A blind beggar had two brothers. One brother died. What relation was the blind beggar to the other?

The following Double Acrostic appeared in the December Magazine:

There is no place like it, saith the Poet,
I thought so once, and now I know it.
The sea! the sea! the open sea!
I am where I would never be.

The best of places, worst of states,
Together form one word;
And sure the thought it indicates
That poet's soul had stirred,
When he could write, "Saddest of all
The sorrows man can know
Is, happy memories to recall,
Amid a present woe."
1. A blank! a nothing! still there may  5. Be found an answering word.
2. A mob of Greeks! If you but say  6. Oh Polly! 'twill be heard.
3. And these last words, with quacks will fit,  7. Of remedies still telling,
4. The one in modern fashion writ,  8. T'other with antique spelling.

One correspondent has given the correct answer to the whole word—viz., Homesick.

The words beginning and ending with the eight letters of Homesick are as follows:

1. H iatu  S  5. 
2. 'O i pollo  I  6. 

The first and second puzzles of December have been solved correctly by J. V. Desai and J. Yusufali Khan. The latter writes:

I.—There were three leaves and four birds.
II.—Jones is 36, and Smith is 27 years old. These numbers together make 63. When Jones was 27, Smith was 18, which number is exactly doubled by 36 (Jones’s present age).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDIAN MAGAZINE & REVIEW.

Sir,—In the July number of your valuable and most interesting Magazine, page 375, you gave a Charade, beginning, “I’m the sweetest of notes in an Orchestra heard,” and you added that you would not be able to give an answer unless supplied by any of your readers. We have continued to look (in vain) in the succeeding numbers for any answer, and as all my friends and I having entirely failed to guess it, may we not courteously entreat the author to favour the world with his answer? If there be any good answer the Charade is undoubtedly extremely clever. If there be none, then our answer would be—“You, the Enigma, are a humbug, telling as many falsehoods as you can invent to entrap the unwary into wasting their time.”—I am, Sir, yours obediently,

A CONSTANT READER AND GREAT ADMIRER OF YOUR MAGAZINE.

[We regret that we can only reply to the above letter that we have not been able to ascertain the answer to the enigma referred to. We inserted it in the hope that some one among our readers might be able to supply the right solution.—Ed. I. M. & R.]
The Governor of Bombay visited Kathiawar last November, and all the Rajas, Princes and Thakores assembled at Rajkote to meet his Excellency. On arriving at Jamnagar, after a stormy voyage, Lord Harris received a visit from the Jam Saheb, and performed the ceremony of turning the first sod of the proposed State Railway. This line will connect Jamnagar with Rajkote, and it is likely to prove very advantageous in regard to commercial and passenger traffic. In the evening, the Governor proceeded to Rajkote; and the next day he received, in order of rank, the visits of all the assembled Chiefs. The first received was H.H. the Nawab Saheb of Junagarh, whose Vizier (Shaikh M. Bahuddin) was presented with the Insignia of Companion of the Indian Empire. Next followed H.H. the Maharaja of Bhownugger, who had only lately returned from England. The third First Class Chief—the Raja Saheb of Drangadhra—was received in similar state. In the afternoon the Second Class Chiefs of the States of Palitana, Dhrol, Limri and Wadhwan, were respectively received. Then those of the Third Class, the Thakore Saheb of Saela, the Thakores of Lakhtar and Vala, the Chief of Jasdan, and Azam Suraj Wala of Jetpur. Finally, the Fourth Class Chiefs were collectively received by Lord Harris. A reception was held at the Presidency in the evening, which was attended by many Rajas, as well as by influential European and Indian ladies and gentlemen. The following day the Governor opened the new Durbar Hall, to commemorate the visit of the Duke of Connaught; the Museum in memory of the late Col. Watson; and an Industrial Exhibition. Various festivities took place; the town of Rajkote was much decorated, and public and private buildings were illuminated. Great efforts were made to receive Lord Harris with military honour on this, his last visit, to Kathiawar. A banquet was given to his Excellency by the Chiefs, on the last evening of his stay. H.E. the Governor afterwards travelled to Ahmedabad, paying a visit on his way to Wadhwan, where lunch had been provided by the Thakore Saheb. At Ahmedabad, a Durbar was held for the reception of the Chiefs of Gujerat, and a Durbar on the following day for the investiture of H.H. the Dewan Saheb of Palanpur as K.C.I.E. The spectacle in the beautiful Shamiana was very imposing. An evening party was given in honour of Lord Harris by Rao Bahadur Ranchadlal Chhotalal, C.I.E., at his bungalow, which was tastefully decorated. The entire proceedings in Kathiawar and Gujerat were marked by much enthusiasm and cordiality.
The first Anniversary Meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association was held on Nov. 21, in Pachaiyappa's Hall, Mr. A. T. Arundel presiding. After the report had been read, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer read an interesting paper on Social Reforms, and the Chairman gave an address expressing his sense of the importance of the reforms advocated and worked for by the Society. We hope to refer again to this important meeting.

Mr. Pramoda Charan Bannerji has been appointed one of the Judges of the High Court, Allahabad, on the retirement of Mr. Justice Mahmoud.

Dr. Cowasji Hormusji, who has been a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for twenty-three years, is appointed Sheriff of Bombay for the ensuing year. Another Parsi gentleman (M. Cowasji Edalji Panday) is to hold the same office at Madras.

The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court (Sir Charles Sargent) has appointed Mr. R. D. Sethna, Barrister-at-Law, Registrar of that Court on the appellate side.

Mr. B. De, I.C.S., who is a Persian and Sanskrit scholar, has been elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Madras Mail reports an interview with Miss Billington, the lady correspondent now travelling in India on behalf of the Daily Graphic. At Madras, Miss Billington had inspected 33 different institutions, and she said that "the schools were forward as to all the latest educational methods and progress." "I was present the other day," she continued, "at an examination of one of the circles of the Home Education movement, which struck me as a movement quite in the right direction, because it affords a means of educating the women of this country even after they leave school, and they leave school at a very early age, when, in fact, the education of their European sisters is just beginning."

An afternoon party was given at Kidderpore House, Calcutta, on November 25, by Mrs. Colquhoun Grant, in connexion with the National Indian Association, which was attended by many European and Indian ladies and gentlemen. Sir James Lyall, Prince Mohammed Baktya Shah, Prince Jehan Kudder Mirza, Mrs. Amir Ali, Mr. and Mrs. Peari Lal Roy, General and Mrs. Lance, Mrs. and Miss Ghosal, Rev. Jani Ali, Mr. and Mrs. Seal, were among the guests.
PERSONAL INTELLIGENCE.

In the previous Examination of the University of Cambridge, the following passed. Part I., First Class.—K. Ramunni Menon, Christ's College; Fourth Class.—R. F. Bahadurji, Trinity Hall. Part II., First Class.—K. R. Menon. Additional Subjects—Second Class.—M. M. Doshi, non-collegiate; K. R. Menon; M. Siddique, St. John's.

Arrivals.—Mr. Ali Akbar, the first Indian student at Cooper's Hill Engineering College, on leave, from Bombay, accompanied by his wife, on account of his health; Mr. N. Jamsetji Tata, on his return to Chicago; Mr. Gokal Chand.

Departures.—Mr. Saligram Vyasji, for Meywar; Mr. Deep Narain Singh, for Calcutta; Rev. Hira Singh Puri, for Lahore.

NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Founded by Miss Carpenter in 1871.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

To extend a knowledge of India in England, and an interest in the people of that country.

To co-operate with all efforts made for advancing education and social reform in India.

To promote friendly intercourse between English people and the people of India.

METHODS OF WORKING.

1. Diffusing information on Indian subjects by the publication of a monthly Magazine, and by Lectures.

2. Grants in encouragement of education in India, scholarships, gifts of books to libraries, prizes for schools, &c.


4. Superintending the education of young Indian students in England.

5. Encouraging the employment of Medical Women in India.

6. Affording information and advice to Indians in England, and aiding them in any objects connected with the aims of the Association.

7. Soirées and occasional excursions to places of interest.

The Branch Associations undertake educational work, and promote social intercourse between English and Indians.

In all the proceedings of the Association the principle of non-interference in religion is strictly maintained.

MEMBERSHIP, &c.

Persons desirous of becoming Members of the National Indian Association should apply, in regard to election, to the Hon. Secretary, or to any member of the Council.

The minimum annual subscription is one guinea for all new members; for students, 10/-: A payment of ten guineas (or of an equivalent sum in rupees) constitutes the donor a Life Member.

Members are entitled to attend the Meetings of the Association, and to receive the *Indian Magazine & Review*, which is published monthly.

Soirées are held occasionally, invitations to which are issued to members and others at the discretion of the Committee.

Subscriptions and donations to the Association to be paid to the London & Westminster Bank, 1 St. James' Square, S.W.; to Stephen N. Fox, Esq., New University Club, S.W., or to Miss E. A. Manning, Hon. Sec., 35 Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.

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