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the country to the front; and the more India can draw upon herself, the attention of Parliament, the larger space will her affairs be permitted to occupy in the English newspapers, and the more will Englishmen generally come to think of her and to know about her. In any case, there remains a most arduous work to be done in removing prejudices, in correcting optimistic opinions, and in spreading in Great Britain a reasonably full and accurate knowledge of the main facts of the political and material condition of India.

May effective assistance reasonably be expected from the presence of Indian representatives of English constituencies in Parliament? There can be no question but an immense impulse to an interest in Indian affairs in England has been communicated by the memorable election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji by the London constituency of Central Finsbury. Mr. Naoroji has borne himself so well in his high office as to win golden opinions from all fair-minded men of whatever political colour. It has been rumoured that one or two other Indian gentlemen propose to make the attempt to enter the House of Commons as the chosen representatives of English constituencies. All friends of India will cordially wish them success, whatever may be the party whose fortunes they may propose to follow; for, so far as Indian affairs are concerned, they will at least give expression to their knowledge and views with freshness and with a certain amount of authority. At the same time, it must be recognized that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's position is to a considerable extent unique. He came to England with the prestige of a scholar and a man of affairs; he has long personal experience of English life in diverse ways; he has been distinguished by unflinching tact and calm judgment as well as by fullness of information; and the discovery of the prejudice of colour in his case was reserved for the divination of no less a genius than Lord Salisbury. The success of Mr. Dadabhai, of course, smoothes the way most materially for an Indian colleague in English representation. It seems clear, however, that the opportunities for championship of India by this mode must be, at most, only very limited.

There are larger elements of hope in the recent movement for the closer association and concerted action of those British Members of British constituencies who cherish an interest in India. Towards the shaping of this movement, it must be remembered, Mr. Dadabhai has energetically contributed. The Indian Parliamentary Committee already shows an imposing list of names, many of them distinguished, and all of them influential; and there seems to be no good

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reason why the number of members should not be greatly increased. The moderation, reasonableness, and tact of the Committee cannot fail to bring many other cautious and fair-minded men into the ranks, and to conciliate the independent support even of some that may continue to stand aloof from formal adherence. In the future also lies the further hope of fresh and younger members, the more so as the position of India is brought home more fully and vividly to the people of England. The development of this vicarious means of making the voice of India heard at Westminster appears to deserve the utmost attention and care. It ought, under assiduous and energetic management, to prove a very powerful aid to the efforts of Indians in India. The union of hearts and hands across the seas must be fruitful, of mutual encouragement and impulse, and eventually of joint achievement.

But there is another important suggestion in regard to the representation of India in the Imperial Parliament. This is that India should send representatives direct to the floor of the House of Commons. In his presidential address to the Congress at Lahore, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji expressed the idea in these words: "As all our Imperial questions and relations between India and the United Kingdom, all amendments of Parliamentary Acts already passed and existing, or all important Acts that may be and can be only passed hereafter in Parliament, and all our ultimate appeals can be settled in Parliament alone, it is of extreme importance that there should be some reasonable direct representation from India, in the House of Commons, and the representatives may be Indian or Europeans as long as they are the choice directly of Indian constituencies, just as you have delegates to this Congress of Indians or Europeans." The idea is suggestive, and ought to be kept steadily in view. There would probably be no serious obstacle to its realization in practice, if the principle were once conceded. The elections of representatives to the National Congress have demonstrated that much. Even if the imperfect and indirect representation on the Legislative Councils were reproduced in this relation, it might be welcomed as a tentative step in the right direction. The Legislative Councils and the National Congress might both nominate representatives to proceed to Westminster. The direct representation of the Colonies, however, could hardly be postponed to the direct or indirect representation of India; and so the Colonies might bar the way.

Yet another form of Indian representation at Westminster must receive at least a passing notice. In the *Nineteenth Century*

for May, 1894, the Earl of Meath proposed the question: "Shall Indian Princes sit in the House of Lords?" Lord Meath answered his question in the affirmative, recommending the project as a decided and practical step "towards the fulfilment of the popular idea of Imperial Unity, if not of Federation." "The Crown," Lord Meath thinks, "with the sanction of the House of Lords might, on the recommendation of the Governor-General, create a certain number of native life peers, say two for each Presidency; or the native Princes and aristocracy of India might, subject to the above sanction, be invited to submit to *Her Majesty* the names of some of their number for the honour of a life peerage; or they might be invited to elect as candidates for the distinction double the number of persons to be proposed to be raised to the dignity of the peerage, and *Her Majesty* might express her willingness to choose from amongst the candidates those whom it was her pleasure to honour, or, both plans might be adopted, and half the number of life peers proposed to be created might be recommended to the Crown by the Governor-General, and half by the native magnates." Lord Meath arrays a dozen possible objections and surmounts them all to his own satisfaction. But if the House of Lords are determinedly hostile to the principle of life peerages for Englishmen, it is not very likely that they would welcome natives of India as life peers. The principles of selection, suggested by Lord Meath, do not appear calculated to work smoothly in practice. It would not be very surprising if *Her Majesty* were to decline the somewhat invidious task of selection from the list submitted to her. Nor is it very easy to see how native princes could perform a double duty in India and in England. It is not necessary to go deeper into the question. The fundamental fact, after all, is simply this—that Indian life peers in the House of Lords would be in the wrong place for the exercise of any influence they might possess, and would certainly not be consoled by the "honour" of their new "dignity" for the deep permanent humiliation of the voting-lists. There is hardly a ray of help for India in this fantastic scheme.

When all is said and done, it is in India, and by Indians, that the great cause of Indian nationality and welfare must eventually find its vindication. In the present stage of the movement, the value of English sympathy and co-operation at Westminster and throughout England cannot be easily overrated. But, fundamentally, India must work out her own salvation. Already, in this rapid survey, especial stress has been laid upon the inestimable importance of the steady, unhesitating, unrelenting, progress of sound Municipal

and local administration. The results are patent and undeniable; they speak for themselves. They will justify to the most critical eye the fullest extension of the representative principle. They will support, and eventually compel, the admission of that principle, unfettered by the overcautious restrictions of timidity or prejudice, into the Legislative Councils. At present, the principle can barely be regarded as having effected a footing in the ruling assemblies of the country. The "real living representative voice of the people"—to use an expression of Mr. Gladstone's—has not yet been heard within the walls of an Indian legislature. Still, the thin end of the wedge has been inserted by the Indian Councils Act and there must soon be effected a breach whereby that voice may enter. The earnest contention of the National Congress for "the great living and quickening principle of election" (as Mr. Eardley Norton eloquently described it at the Bombay meeting in 1889) is undoubtedly on the high road to realization. And such realization is demanded no less for the true welfare of India than for the stability and success of British administration.

The right of interpellation with regard to the policy of the Government of India, and especially with regard to the execution of that policy, is no doubt an exceedingly important matter. But it necessarily falls far short of its proper effect so long as the interpellators do not occupy their seats by the authority of the free voice of their fellow citizens. Besides, as has been already mentioned, the Government itself is inevitably placed at a most serious disadvantage in not being able to comprehend with certainty and promptitude the trend of opinion and feelings in the country. The true position of matters was expressed with point and energy by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in his presidential address at Allahabad in 1892, and the description is essentially valid to-day. "At present," said Mr. Bonnerjee, "the *modus operandi* is this. A secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed, and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which, unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen, generally coincides with the views he himself holds. The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is: 'Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed.' I hold the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship." Unquestionably it is. On the other

hand, Mr. Bonnerjee pointed out most justly, "by the reconstitution of Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to these Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people, and which would get rid of their grievances." The authorities ought to be able to show some particularly strong reasons for being so reluctant to avail themselves of one of the most fundamental requisites of just, efficient, and tranquil government.

This is not the occasion for propounding any scheme of representative Government for India, or for reviewing any of the schemes that have been suggested. It may be well, however, to guard a recommendation of the general principle by recalling the fact that no responsible person desires the application of it beyond the limits of unquestionable safety and advantage. Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, C.S.I., who can speak with the authority of experience both in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and in the Council of Bengal, used wise words on this point at the close of an instructive paper on the amendment of the Indian Council Act, which he read before the East India Association in 1892. Having propounded and explained a scheme of reform on the lines of a qualified representation, Mr. Reynolds concluded thus: "Such is the brief outline of a reform which is loudly demanded by the popular voice, and which the Government might concede not only without the least danger, but with the greatest possible advantage to itself. No sane person wishes or expects to see India brought under a system of representative Government for which she is at present quite unfit, and will be unfit for many years to come. No one proposes to invest the Legislative Councils with the powers of the House of Commons; to see them refusing supplies, turning out ministers, or deciding questions of peace and war. But there is a wide difference between these wild ideas, which no one entertains, and the sober deep-seated feeling which millions in India entertain, that, though we hold India by the sword, we cannot hope to retain it, and do not deserve to retain it, by the sword alone; that the people may fairly claim to be treated with more confidence, and even to be entrusted with some share of power; that they have outgrown the laws and institutions of thirty years back, and that the time has come for amending those laws, and remodelling those institutions, in a generous and large-hearted spirit." There is no necessity to put the case in

stronger terms than these measured words. A reform of the Legislative Councils, admitting a reasonably substantial proportion of thoroughly representative members, is certainly "calculated to improve administration, to quicken the sight and strengthen the hands of the Government in dealing with abuses, and to unite the rulers and the people in a bond of loyal and cordial sympathy."

The importance of the Press in giving voice to the thoughts and desires of the people on the great question of Indian nationality and welfare need only be mentioned. It would be unbecoming on our part to dwell upon the action of the press in England. But it is right to recognize in the amplest terms of satisfaction the wide tolerance permitted by the Government of India to the strongest public expression of fair and honourable criticisms.

THE DUTIES OF INDIAN CITIZENS.

RECENTLY I had the pleasure of being present as a guest at a most interesting meeting. It was the annual dinner of the London Indian Association, a body composed of the elite of the young Indians at present in England preparing for entry into the learned professions or the public service. Being myself an Indian citizen,—for in that term I include not only those who by birth, but those who by domicile, are entitled to enjoy the privileges, and in consequence called upon to perform the duties, incident to citizenship of the Indian Empire—I ventured to utilize the opportunity to point out, so far as the limits of postprandial utterance permitted, what I believe to be deficiencies attending the performance of these duties, on the part of some at least of us. I found that my subject struck a responsive chord among my hearers; and when asked to contribute an article to the first number of this Review, I thought the time a fitting one, and its pages an appropriate place, for expanding somewhat the remarks I made on that occasion and appealing to a more numerous auditory.

The subject is one that comes home with special force to non-official Europeans and to educated natives of India; for while duties of greater importance are, I believe, imposed upon no one of us, fewer duties are, I fear, more generally disregarded or held in light esteem. No doubt we have plenty of talk; on all sides preaching or cursing—as may be deemed most seasonable—without end; there is no lack of effervescence when Congress time comes round, when exchange compensation is to be claimed, when an age of consent bill is under discussion, when excise duties on cotton are to be protested against. But these are very different affairs from the daily round of working citizenship, pursued without hope of profit or even for the most part of applause, whose best reward is often but a surly thanks. Many men we have indeed among us who strive arduously and honestly to attain this ideal of citizenship, and have raised correspondingly the whole tone and temper of their town or taluq; but the very parochialness of their labours

prevents their influence spreading and secures, that their example shall be non-contagious. Good citizenship is a visitation, at present sporadic, to be welcomed as epidemic; an ill to which we would gladly see all flesh heir.

The subject is necessarily a wide one; it might, indeed, be said that in one sense the duty of the citizen is co-extensive with the whole duty of man. I shall not endeavour to treat of it in such a comprehensive aspect, nor on the other hand shall I make any attempt to strictly define it by metes and bounds. Shrinking from any such severely systematic treatment, I shall rather pick out a few of what seem to be the more important duties of a citizen of India at the present time, and handle them in a more or less discursive manner. These duties may conveniently be grouped under the following heads:—

- I. To know and understand the history, the institutions, and the government of the country.
- II. To take greater interest and to more continuously participate in the conduct of municipal and local affairs.
- III. To promote education.
- IV. To support and improve the indigenous press.

I. The duty I have placed first is one of which the importance cannot be over-estimated, and that importance increases *pari passu* with the spread of education and the development of our political institutions. A knowledge of history performs a double service; it enables us to discern and shun real dangers, it prevents us being frightened and driven back by mere bogies. At no moment is its service more necessary than when new education, carrying therewith new ideas, new hopes, and new fears, is beginning to spread and ferment among the masses. England itself is becoming instantly alive to this momentous fact. It is difficult to realize that only in our own generation has such knowledge ceased to be the appanage of the privileged few. For but sixty years have the masses—as distinct from the classes—possessed a share in the government of their country; their education, in any appropriate sense of the word, is less than thirty years old. With this increase of power, with this permeation of education throughout the masses that have thus acquired the power, have come the recognition of the value of the lessons of history and a demand for the teaching of them. *Mens agitat molem*; and as the mind be well or ill-instructed, so will the agitation of the mass be well or ill-ordered. A landmark in this

direction was the recent opening of a course of twenty-five lectures to teachers—the first I believe in London—on “The Government of Great Britain and the rights and duties of English Citizens,” under the auspices of the London Society for the extension of University teaching. In the course of a most pregnant introductory address the Hon. James Bryce, M.P., bore strong testimony. He said that “The subject was one which had been neglected in a most extraordinary way almost down to the present time, but he was glad to note that there was now a general feeling that it should find a place in all schools where the age of the pupils admitted of its being taught. He firmly believed that elementary teachers would have much to do in moulding the citizens of the future, and he hoped, that those teachers who were going to address themselves to giving instruction in this subject would be encouraged by the thought of the great mission which was committed to them and the great fruit which their efforts might bear. They would not merely have to instruct their pupils, but to interest them in the subject. Democracy rested upon the intelligence, interest, and public spirit of the masses of the people, but important as it was that the people should be intelligent it was not less important that they should take an interest in their duties, for of all the evils which democratic government had to encounter, ignorance and party spirit were not so much to be feared as apathy.”

The ignorance as to the mere elementary facts of history is appalling and too often over-looked because highly comic. There are not many so bad perhaps as the old colonel, who, coming home recently after thirty years' service in India, found not only his fine old crusted arguments but the convictions of a life turned topsy-turvy by the discovery that the Mahrattas are not and never were Mussalmans. I found a friend of my own the other day, an Oxford man, who had taken history in the schools, to be under the impression that Brahmans and Hindus were identical, and that all non-Brahmans were non-Hindus. One can hardly fathom the depth of ignorance and confusion of ideas whereby the “Bengali Baboo”, has become the most redoubtable bogie-man of the sciolist of the English press. Think again of the extraordinary jumble of misstatement and misconception underlying most of the daily talk and writing about the warlike races and nationalities of India. Fluid ignorance seems generally to have coagulated into some such concrete form as this; all the Muhammadans belong to warlike races, and all the warlike races are Muhammadans. So far is this

carried that some Muhammadans seem actually to imagine that all their co-religionists in India form a nation, in the sense that they are of one race, one blood, one origin, mutually inclusive and exclusive. Many Hindus on the other hand go equally far astray in appearing to believe that the Muhammadans are solely descendants of invading foreigners, aliens now and in the past. These are indeed gross instances; but if such monstrous distortions are possible, how vast must be the ignorance when we come to matters of greater detail and nicety. Thanks to his school books, elementary though they be, the educated Indian is preserved from the more fatiguing errors of this description; but when he comes to deal with the origins and history of the institutions of his country, he is—or perhaps I should more correctly say, until recently was—not a whit better-instructed than his English neighbour. It is, or ought to be, needless to press home the value of such knowledge; but I am tempted to quote again from Mr. Bryce. In the address already referred to he said,—“that there was a very remarkable feature about our institutions which he thought could not be too strongly impressed upon the minds of all patriotic Englishmen, for it gave our country a position that was unique in the history of the world—viz., that English institutions were the product of a great variety of diverse interests. English institutions were the product of three diverse sources—the primitive Teutonic institutions which our forefathers brought from the mouth of the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic, the Scandinavian elements which came in the great invasions of the Norsemen; and the influences which were derived after the Norman conquest from the Continent of Europe, which were partly the results of the institutions which the Roman Empire bequeathed to the nations over which it held sway, and partly of the institutions which the Franks brought from Germany into Gaul. These sources from whence our institutions had been drawn must be appreciated and understood if we would have a due idea of the spirit of the British Constitution. In the course of the last century our institutions which had been welded together in the Middle Ages, had begun to spread themselves into divers streams, though our first settlements on the American continent dated back to the first decades of the seventeenth century. Since the political severance of the United States that country had been working out for itself those developments of ancient English institutions which we had been working out in the mother country, while still later each of our colonies had started upon its own path,

and in Australia, Canada, and the Cape we saw developments of British institutions. In each case the development was to a large extent different, yet in every case they found that the institutions that were at work to day were institutions to understand which it was necessary to go back to centuries before Magna Charta.”

I suspect if Mr. Bryce had but allowed India to occupy a corner of his thoughts, he would not have employed the word *unique*. I should venture to say that Indian Institutions of to-day are the product of even a greater variety of diverse interests. We have the primitive institutions of the aboriginal races (aboriginal, that is, as existing in the origins of history) now mainly represented by the Dravidians; then come the elements introduced by the Aryan immigrants from the north; next the influence of the Muhammadan conquerors; finally the importation of new blood from the west, culminating in the imperial system of British administration. The time is ripe for the penning of a history of the weaving of this intricate texture: the man will doubtless soon appear; nor when was the man wanting when the time had come?

Knowledge of the facts of political history and of the development of institutions and constitutions will not leave the citizen fully equipped for his task. The practical working of Government machinery at the present day must be studied as complementary to the other branches. The highest theoretical knowledge coupled with the extreme of practical ingenuity will not preserve the engineer from disaster, if he be ignorant of the strength of his materials and the circumstances under which his apparatus is expected to work. A bare allusion to this important consideration must suffice; adding that here is an inviting and by no means dishonourable field for the wisest and most experienced of our citizens. It is one, too, in which public servants, dexterous in handling the machine, could assist to the great profit of both rulers and ruled—as only too few of them, alas! condescend to do.

It is further to be borne in memory that knowledge such as I have described, useful even necessary though it be, is not the sole or perhaps even the highest object of the study of history. The crowning advantage is the production in the student of the historic spirit, of the historic frame of mind. The habit of orderly arrangement and deliberate weighing of facts and circumstances, the power of discerning the presence or absence or confusion of motives, the tracing

of cause and effect, the tact of reading character, and estimating the forces acting between man and his environment, the training of the sense of perspective, all tend to create a habit of thought which, when applied by any considerable section of the community to actual facts and contemporaneous events, is the surest safeguard of a country's peace and prosperity. The greatest catastrophes—apart from foreign invasions—in the histories of nations, occur when the mind of the nation as a whole is off its balance, and the course of the aberration can generally be traced by the historian to its antecedent causes. Sometimes these causes are recent, more often remote; but a perfect acquaintance with their symptoms and course in the past is of incalculable assistance in diagnosing the ailments of the body politic to-day.

It is then cheering and encouraging to find that the pursuit of historical studies is taking firm grip of the younger generation of students. Since the introduction of history and especially of the ~~writing~~ writings of Sir H. St. Maine as subjects for the Degree Examinations of the Indian Universities, they have proved instantly and powerfully attractive. Thus, in the University of Madras the Bachelors of Arts who have graduated in History since the reorganisation already number 409; thus distancing all other subjects except Mental and Moral Science, where the number is 601. The latter subject had a great start, as it nearly coincided with the old curriculum, while the History Branch was quite new; and this handicap accounts for the difference, which the younger science is quickly lessening. At the Degree Examination of 1894, indeed, the numbers registered were nearly equal, being for Mental Science 254, for History 239. Having been privileged both to teach and to examine in History in connection with the Madras University, I may be permitted to express—for what it is worth—my assured conviction that the study is pursued by most, not merely as a necessary and distasteful prelude to a degree and entry into professional life, but with real ardour and intelligent interest, as of a traveller entering into an unknown pleasant and fruitful region. And these studies have not seldom been prosecuted long after the necessity for doing so has ceased; while many of the younger generation are engaged in independent work—which need not here be particularised—not only in Madras but throughout India. It may be added that there is every indication that these studies are raising the tone of legal knowledge and leading to the formation of a school of lawyers in whose pleadings and judgments historical evolution will be secured the seat of honour.

It is not of course possible or desirable for all our citizens to specialize in history; but it is the duty, in the first place, of the specialist to place the results of his studies freely and honestly at the disposal of his fellow citizens, the public; it is the duty, secondly, of the educated members of the public to popularize and spread these teachings among their less-favoured fellows; and above all it is the duty of the wealthy members of the community to help with money in some one or other of the numerous ways wherein money is essential to progress. Such are the provision of libraries; the encouragement of research by endowment of scholarships, or direct subsidies to scholars; the recovery, utilization, and if need be printing of ancient manuscripts; and the publication of historical works and of the proceedings of historical societies. Each of my readers will be able to recognise where lies his duty and how he may best accomplish it. Let me pass from this subject by calling to mind one solid achievement of historic research of our generation; it has dispelled for ever the delusion that the idea of representation is foreign to the mind and nature of India. If any fact is more firmly established than another it is this; that representation and its mother co-operation were the greatest political instruments in India in days when as yet the sun of Rome was beneath the horizon and Britain plunged in the darkest night of savagery; and though their influence has often since been overshadowed, it has never been extinguished. If historical research had done no more than this in one generation, India could truly say it had done its duty.

II. The second obligation to which I desire to draw attention is that of taking greater interest, and more continuously participating, in the conduct of Municipal and Local affairs. The extension of the representative system so far as it has gone—and it has gone quite far enough to re-establish the principle and prevent any going back for ever from the position attained—is the greatest of the boons we owe to the policy inaugurated by Lord Ripon. We are accustomed to point with pride to the good work which is being performed daily by public-spirited citizens all over India in administering their own affairs. I should be the last to disparage that work; unequal though it be and marked by many instances of ineptitude or apathy. But what is done now is but a tithe of what must surely come in the future, if the people show themselves in an ever-increasing degree capable for the task and worthy to be entrusted with it. The growing burden of Govern-

ment can only be borne by ample measures of delegation. The cost of educated officers in positions of responsibility is already high enough—many of us think crushingly high. Every one would revolt in principle from the Mughal and Roman plan of sending officials into a district to administer it and, doing so, to screw their own pay out of it the best way they can. It was said that the accumulations of a Roman Provincial Governor were devoted, during the first year to paying off the loans raised for bribes to secure his post, during the second year for himself, and during the third to defraying the costs of his inevitable trial for corruption and bribing the judges who should acquit him. But though we shudder at the principle, the practice is but little less cruel to the people of filling positions of power and responsibility with hordes of needy and underpaid minor officials. The power entrusted to subordinates—and the corresponding opportunities for oppression—in many departments, such as revenue, police, excise, forests, is excessive and is increasing. It is increasing simply because the point has been reached at which it is impossible to make the corresponding necessary expansion in the higher grades, to augment *pro rata* the number of superior officers drawing a pay sufficiently high to secure honesty and independence. It is forbidden to go further in this direction simply because the expense cannot be borne by the people. The tension of taxation has approximated so closely to the breaking point that any further strain must produce a rupture. It seems to me that the only possible solution of the difficulty is by the gradual and continuous transfer of the task of local supervision over many branches of administration to bodies—such as Municipalities and Taluk and District Boards—which do the work for nothing. But such transfer can only be legitimate as these bodies prove themselves more and more capable of performing the duties now entrusted to them with ability, energy, and honesty. The extension of representative Government which will be brought about by such an amplification of functions and augmentation of power, will be more far-reaching and of more solid benefit to the country than perhaps any increase of the elected element in the Legislative Councils. There are many who judge, and judge rightly, that the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 and the Local Government Act of 1888, followed by its inevitable supplement, the Act of 1894, have done more to mould the history and direct the progress of the people of England than even the Parliamentary Reform Bills of 1832 and 1885. It is a pregnant reflection “that Government is not altogether a matter of choice”; and it is specially true when applied to the

governors. Unless the people is sunk in the deepest apathy and ignorance—and such interludes do occur in the history of all nations—a Government cannot disregard and is helpless to resist the momentum of the great mass of the people of which it forms the apex. If the tail cannot wag the dog, no more can the head, if the dog is not willing. And that Government is wise which suffers “revolution through reform” ere it is too late to avoid the compulsion of granting “reform through revolution”.

Although much good work is being done throughout the country by intelligent and self-sacrificing members of the community, I am afraid that there is yet room for a very wide infusion of public spirit, that there are yet many who are sadly in need of the invigorating aliment contained in a dose of civic ozone. There are too many—and these it is shameful to say often enough among the educated classes—who look with disdain upon what they deem the humble duties of administering the affairs of their own bourg and safe guards the interests of their neighbours and of themselves; while not a few, having accepted the position for alien motives, utterly neglect the duties they are morally bound to perform and to perform faithfully. This is particularly the case with non-official Europeans and those Indians who have received or completed their education in England. Noble and notable exceptions we have, and the respect accorded to their experience and the estimation in which they are personally held should prove a powerful incentive—if higher and less selfish motives are of no avail—to others to follow in their footsteps.

There is one particular branch in which we in India have as yet much to learn; I refer to the conduct of elections. I hope we shall never graduate in the *haute école* of gerrymandering and wire pulling, which have had such disastrous effects in the United States and from which in England neither party is unfortunately altogether free; but it is a different thing to anticipate greater judgment in the selection of candidates, profounder acquaintance with the questions at issue, less waste of strength in wild-goose chases, a keener watching of the service performed and the pledges kept or broken, a more rigid dismissal of those who have proved unworthy servants. And above all let us recognise, as it is now coming to be recognised in Great Britain, that it is men who have done good service at home, who have borne the burden and heat of the day, that deserve promotion to higher and more honorable seats when the time comes,—and not those who, having stood haughtily aloof from all local effort and work, come forward to carry the more coveted

positions by the sole help of their money-bags, broad acres, or ancient name.

III. I pass now to the duties of the citizen in promoting the education of the ninety per cent. of his fellow countrymen who are still above high-water mark and have not been reached by the regenerating waters of the sacred stream.

It may be said that surely education needs no impulsive force behind it in this country. And certainly the progress of education in the last sixty years furnishes perhaps the most remarkable instance the world has ever known of the effect upon the body politic of inoculation with this best of anti-toxins. India is proving every day that education is the surest prophylactic against the ills political flesh is heir to. But it is at the same time true that this innate energy, this superabundance of robust life, lures many into the delusion that no help, no guidance, no restraining and correcting hand is required. I do not intend to diverge into discussion of the subjects and methods of education, important though such discussion be. I confine myself solely to a few of the various modes in which citizens may encourage and direct education as a part of the general polity of the country.

And here, referring back to the last head, I would remark that education is the department in which the system of delegation referred to is likely to be first extended. We have this to some extent already in the application of Local and Municipal funds to primary education, but I believe it must soon expand. The demands of education in India will at a very early date outgrow the possibility of satisfaction by private effort, however liberally aided by a maternal Government. A national system will be demanded; and as Government has enunciated and confirmed the policy of withdrawal from the direct maintenance and control—except under special circumstances—of colleges and schools, there is no alternative left but the inauguration of the school-board system for primary and secondary schools, with colleges and other higher or special institutions supported and managed by District Councils. The advantages to education, especially to colleges and technical or professional institutes, will be immense, but cannot be enlarged on now: suffice it to say that here will be a field for the energies of our ablest and best. Plenty opportunities exist for training in the work and gaining that experience which will prove invaluable in the future.

Apart from this public task, there are two more private and universal duties, too frequently disregarded altogether.

The first of the duties is that of every parent to take an intelligent and lively interest in the education of his own children. My

experience of over ten years teaching in India has been sufficient to convince me that this precept is more honoured in the breach than the observance. Either parents are utterly apathetic, or, when they interfere, they do so only for the purpose of endeavouring to support the child in rebellion against the master. The father is too often the helpless slave of the son—doubtless frequently through the intermeddling of a fond but foolish mother,—and strives, without any regard for the boy's future good, to induce the teacher to act against his conscience and render himself ridiculous by breaking his rules and regulations for the gratification of a childish whim. This evil tends to remedy itself with the increase in the number of educated parents; but even educated parents, and especially educated grand-fathers and fathers-in-law, are far from being free from the cruel weakness. It may be said that teachers have themselves to blame for yielding to such influences, but teachers are only human after all. In our great colleges and professional institutions, resistance is easy and effective, but it is otherwise in schools in small towns and throughout the mofussil. When competition is strong and numbers falling or fees precarious; when caste or personal influence is brought to bear; when the teacher's very salt depends upon keeping on good terms with the Manager, or Municipal Commissioner who is urging the relaxation of the rules—who will blame the poor pedagogue if he fall? Therefore it is that I call upon all parents who have themselves enjoyed, and so presumably can appreciate, the benefits of education, to render assistance to the teacher when his action is just and necessary; and rather to endure the evil of broils at home than endanger the peace and efficiency of the school.

The second imperative duty in this connection is to endeavour, by every means and on all occasions to raise the status of the teacher. Unfortunately, the position and pay of the teacher has not kept pace with the progress of education in general. Rather have they retrograded. It is a disaster that it should be so. The public respect and private veneration extended of old days to the guru has not been continued to his modern successor. Even within comparatively few years a great change has taken place, due perhaps to not very remote causes, but none the less to be deplored and if possible remedied. Three causes at least are apparent on the surface.

First there is the severe competition of Government service and the learned professions, which drain the sources of supply of

the highest and most fervent intellects. The schoolmaster's profession has been more and more tending to become the refuge of the destitute, the last resort of those who find themselves unable to pass the portals of law or medicine or special test. Even the young men of ability who by pressure of circumstances, mainly lack of pence, accept positions in schools and colleges, too often do so with the single purpose of saving enough to make a start elsewhere, intending when that object is accomplished to abandon their work with anything but a heavy heart. The glamour of journalism, the fees of the lawyer, the pension of the official, prove too much for the dreary task-work of the map and black-board.

The second cause is the very slight prospect of obtaining employment or promotion in the Government educational service. This is now so limited in numbers and so restricted by the requirements of specialism, that only the very select few can hope to enter it, while the prizes to be gained when in are few and far from tempting. Under a national system of education such as I have foreshadowed, things must better themselves. At present, the would-be teacher is thrown back upon private employment. There engagements are uncertain, promotion irregular at all times and often absolutely blocked, while pensions are of the lowest, granted, when they are given at all, as matters of favour and charity and not as a right acquired by virtue of long service.

The third cause is the growing competition of Europeans for positions and salaries which would not so long ago have been deemed utterly beneath their notice. The pressure of the unemployed in Great Britain is so great that many graduates of English, Scotch, and Irish Universities gladly now accept appointments in India at very reduced rates; the permanency of the position compensating for the lowness of the salary. No second grade college however small is now complete without its one or two European graduates, and the bigger High Schools will soon follow suit. I do not disregard or minimize the value of this infusion of foreign schoolmasters, or the healthful influence which such immigrants at least ought to have on the communities in which they are placed; but from our present point of view it is evident that—though relatively few in number—they seize the plums of the service; the legitimate aspirations of the successful native teacher are stifled; and consequently the whole status of the rank and file of the profession is sensibly depreciated.

From these and other causes it has resulted that the outlook of the teacher is a sorry one, his position equivocal, his remuneration

inadequate. It follows that in a country where permanent office is esteemed above all things, the teacher is deemed by his fellow citizens a very inferior being to the lordly denizen of the cutcherry or the registrar's office; and unfortunately his pupils too often catch the prevailing vein—and then the teacher's lot is essentially not a happy one. Time will undoubtedly prove the best remedy for this untoward state of things; but somewhat may be done even at present. And first, we should each of us endeavour to show the teacher the honor due to his profession and to assist him in retaining the respect of his youthful subjects. A recognition of the fact that the pay of teachers is cruelly low and that in addition they are generally abominably over-worked, will often lead to increases in the former and diminutions in the latter; simply because the question had not before been fairly thought out in its true light. Here mischief is often done from want of thought more than from want of heart. And further we should assist and encourage all endeavours to start and carry on pension and provident funds among the teachers. They, it must be confessed, have been extremely apathetic in such matters themselves. They seem to have lapsed into the conviction that they are indeed a feeble folk; and that their function is, to humbly endure the ills they cannot cure. I see no reason why there should not be in each Presidency a strong and efficient Teachers' Union, safeguarding the interests of the profession and administering its various funds. There are practical difficulties, I know, in the way; as a teacher I have experienced them. But they are not insurmountable, and I believe that were the teachers themselves to show any desire to form such an Union and take any steps in that direction, the pecuniary help and moral support from outside and from the public—which would be at first essential—would not be found wanting.

Each man must discover for himself in which direction his help can be most effectively given; but of this I am sure that everyone of us has not only one but numberless opportunities of encouraging education and honouring its teachers; and if we let these opportunities slip, we shall neglect one of the most sacred duties of citizenship.

As an instance of the numberless unsuspected directions in which neglected duties of this kind may be found, I cite one that comes to hand as I write. On the first page of the current number of "Truth," I find Mr. Labouchere writes as follows:

"Just before Christmas I received a very moving appeal from Sir Roper Lethbridge and Miss Manning, Hon. Sec. of the National Indian Association, for a gift of a few toys from the Truth collection

for exportation to the girls' schools in India. The TRUTH Toy Fund being expressly for the benefit of the children in the London Workhouses and Hospitals, it was, of course, impossible for me to comply with this request; but I feel pretty sure that among my readers there will be many only too happy to assist the National Indian Association in the direction indicated. The number of girls in the Government elementary schools in India is increasing steadily; but, unfortunately, there are no funds available for the prize-givings, which usually play such an important and useful part in school life. The National Indian Association sends out from time to time boxes of toys and small presents for distribution in the schools, and these distributions are worthy of every encouragement, for they serve not only to stimulate the interest of the children in their school life, but also to implant in the rising generation a kindly feeling towards their English benefactors. Unfortunately, for the present the Indian Association's stock is exhausted, and those who may be willing to assist in replenishing it cannot do better than to communicate at once with Miss Manning, at 35, Blomfield Road, W."

My strongest feeling on reading this appeal was one of shame. It is doubtless over-coloured, for I know of many girls' schools in India which are as well provided with prizes as the schools for their brothers; but that, even so, any solicitation at all of the kind should be possible, is humiliating. It is not a pleasant thing to realize that a large section of the British public must be under the impression that we in India see no disgrace in cadging on the poor and sick children of London for school prizes for our own little girls. I should hope that never again would there be even the shadow of a foundation for such shame-faced begging.

IV. The last duty on which I shall touch, and that, but briefly, is the duty of supporting and improving the press of the country, whether that press be Anglo-Indian, Indian, or Vernacular. As to the first I fancy we are too prone to class them all together, as if all were tarred with the same brush. The fact that some stand out as warning beacons of unfairness, unvaracity, and toadyism, is a reason the more for supporting and encouraging those journals which endeavour in India to act up to the best traditions of British journalism. Wherever we find an honest desire to investigate facts, anxiety to arrive at the feelings, wishes, and opinions of others, a fairness in the treatment of adverse arguments, and a resolve to form an independent opinion,—there we should bestow support and encouragement. With such treatment, truth and justice will never suffer. It is absurd to applaud a writer simply because he agrees with us, when his sup-

port may be due solely to the desire to agree and his attempts to establish his position the merest balderdash; it is equally absurd to suppose that every writer who disagrees with our conclusion is prompted thereto by mere spite and is wholly perverse. By recognising genuine seekers after truth, we encourage them to reinvestigate the matter in a sympathetic spirit; and by supplying them with fresh material, may lead them to form a different and more favorable estimate.

With reference to Indian papers,—by which I mean journals conducted by natives of India in the English language,—I fear it must be confessed that much is lacking. One great defect is that so few of them are newspapers in the real sense of the word; their contents are more like those of a weekly philosophic review than of a daily purveyor of news. When news is given there is too often a sad lack of business capacity evinced in the presentment of it. It is stale, incorrect, imperfect, irregular. Hence it comes that, for many, such a publication can be taken only as supplemental to, and never in place of, the Anglo-Indian paper. The inevitable result is that most fail to take it at all: their patriotism or curiosity will not extend so far as subscribing for both. But if only every educated man would, notwithstanding all this, subscribe for his local journal—and not rest content with a glance at its pages in his club or reading room—the increased funds placed at the disposal of the proprietors would help them in remedying the defects. Unfortunately native capitalists have not yet awakened to the fact that a fortune can be made out of a well-conducted journal.

Another and very serious evil is the laxity of supervision on the part of many editors over the matter admitted into their columns. Some of them seem to accept any communication from a local correspondent or any letter from an irresponsible outsider without the slightest investigation into the correctness of the statements made, or the faintest care for the reputation or character of persons who may be attacked. In this way they often—without any conscious desire on their own part—permit themselves to be made the instrument of party spirit or personal malice. I admit that such *faineant* editors show a corresponding readiness to apologise when their mistakes are pointed out; but the cases are rare where apology, however abject, is any real remedy for the evil done by the original libel. It is the duty of every honest man to reprobate this carelessness wherever and whenever it occurs, and to remind the editor that such a course prevents the reposal of confidence in his statements even when such are free from blame.

I am fully aware of the difficulties in which the Indian journalist is embroiled,—want of money, want of experience, want of a discriminating public. To the first I have referred, the last cannot be created all at once or even very rapidly. Want of experience is more easily remedied, as soon as we dispel the foolish notion that any school boy who can write a sentence of English is fit to jump into a newspaper office. I am surprised that among all the active and enterprising young men who go to England, none think of training themselves for the journalistic profession. Two or three years spent in the office of some substantial journal,—and for this purpose a provincial journal would be the most useful—would enable a sharp young man, with a turn for business and ordinary journalistic writing, to completely transform an Indian newspaper and, I venture to predict, make it a financial success. It is business capacity, good reporting, attractive presentment of news, and accuracy in detail that are wanted—not mere philosophical essays in the shape of leaders.

Writing of the latter class is doubtless of value in its own sphere, but only a very small corner of that sphere belongs to the daily journal. We have room besides these for weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies in which more substantial fare may be purveyed. I may be pardoned by the Editor for suggesting that this Review is a very praiseworthy experiment, which, if conducted as we have abundant reason to anticipate it will be conducted, deserves the support of every good citizen. If it is so supported, it will certainly prove to be the precursor of many other magazines and reviews. Periodical literature is but in its infancy in India; let us all cordially join in nourishing it into a lusty manhood.

I trust I shall not be deemed to underrate the importance of those more public and Imperial labours which must always have irresistible attractions for patriotic and public-spirited men. But though less brilliant, the duties to which I have called attention are not less important; and it is just because they are homely and unattractive that we require to be constantly reminded of them and spurred on in the pursuit of them. Working in the trenches is doubtless dull and unheroic work, but may have more permanent and practical results than leading a charge of cavalry. By a strict and honest observance of these every day routine duties, the character of a whole nation is formed, and strengthened, and a foundation laid on which a grander edifice may be erected to stand unshaken.

argument. In my own case I did not find any difficulty in forming the most agreeable relations with Brahmins, Muhammadans, Parsees, and Native Christians. I found no difference of any insurmountable kind between their ideas and my own, not more, indeed, than would be the case had they been Spaniards or Italians. The fact of their not breaking bread with me I am sure constitutes no kind of obstacle to our kindly relations. I have already admitted that caste prejudices do stand in the way of a greater social fusion between the two classes; but I do not regard the breaking of bread as an indispensable condition of social intercourse. Every one will admit that the social relations between educated Hindus and educated Muhammadans are of an intimate nature, and yet they do not dine with each other.

And then what about the exclusiveness of the Natives of India and their social and religious prejudices? it will be asked. An English lady, for instance, who wishes to know more about the inner life of the Hindus, does she not find a difficulty in being admitted into a Hindu home? It is my humble opinion that a foreigner will find very little difficulty in getting an insight into the inner life of the Hindu, if only he really seeks the acquaintance and friendship of the latter. Religious and social prejudices will never stand in the way of their becoming more intimately acquainted. A Native gentleman thinks it a great honour if only he receives a visit from his European friends. The native heart is naturally kind, but the kindness becomes warmer when the object of it is a member of the dominant class. The respect and attachment which Natives have to one of the ruling race, who does or means to do them good, is almost unbounded; any expression of real sympathy is always repaid by a hundredfold degree of respect and regard.

The degraded condition of Hindu women must, however, be admitted to be a fertile source of discontent. It is perfectly true that one of the main elements of social intercourse, according to English ideas, consists in the interchange of ladies' society. But here again, in trying to lift our women to a higher level, we naturally expect greater sympathy and support from our foreign neighbours, and more especially from English ladies resident in India. We dare not of course say that no attempts have been made by English ladies to help their Indian sisters. All honour to those few philanthropic European ladies who, both in India and in England, most disinterestedly help the cause of female progress in our country. We thank them most sincerely

for their invaluable help, but, at the same time, I believe I am right in saying that the number of English ladies in India who really wish to be of some direct use to their benighted Hindu sisters is very insignificant. How many English ladies, other than those who belong to the small and noble band of Zenana workers, to whom India owes so much, try to learn enough of the vernaculars to speak a few words in them! Perhaps this is expecting too much from them; but there are simpler and easier ways of helping the cause of female progress. English ladies can do much by their sympathy. The very fact, for instance, of an English lady visiting a school will draw scores of young girls to it; and, if the interest taken is lasting, much permanent good will come of it. We are not justified in asking much, knowing as we do the immense gulf that separates the majority of our females from those English ladies who sojourn in our midst. We only want a little more sympathy; we only wish them to take a little more interest in things that concern the welfare of India's women. Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, by studying the Hindustani language, has shown, in an unmistakeable manner, her great sympathy with her Indian subjects, and this act of hers has been a source of great encouragement to them. In our own Presidency, her Excellency Lady Wenlock has done a great deal to promote the cause of the women of India, and the noble example set by this exalted lady will not be without its effect on her countrywomen. The good work done by ladies, such as Mrs. Grigg, Miss Gell, Mrs. Arundel, Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Brander, and others, is also bearing fruit in various directions. At the same time, we Indians, too, have our own duties. There is not the slightest use in commending with the lips a certain reform as beneficial to society; every possible step should be taken to carry it out practically. There are hundreds of our countrymen, who fully recognize the importance of female education, and know full well the conspicuous part it plays in the civilization of the country. They are ready to give, when an opportunity occurs, elaborate lectures on female education, and propose still more elaborate plans for carrying out a scheme of education throughout India; but when it comes to teaching their own wives, daughters, or sisters, to read or

write, their zeal or eloquence seems to vanish. So much then for their applying in practice what they highly applaud in theory. Let this one thing, therefore, be borne in mind: the spread of education among native females cannot but be fraught with good results, and will tend more to assimilate the character and mode of thought of the Hindu with that which is the outcome of Western Civilization than perhaps any other that can be devised. I know that there is a belief current among a class of natives that the general education of women will lead to the loosening of social ties, the displacement of customary ways, and the disturbance of the domestic equilibrium. Some even go further, and assert that the little education that Hindu girls have received has stripped them of the graces for which they were remarkable. But those who are interested in the educational progress of the country do make allowance for such opinions; and their complaints do not refer to the section of the native community which is hampered by such fears. All that they protest against is the apathy and indifference of the intelligent and educated natives, who are fully alive to the advantages of female education, but who, in spite of their enlightenment, have done practically nothing to further a cause which, they know full well, is fraught with the deepest issues to their country. It is true India is in a period of transition, and there must be some dislocation before the lessons of emancipation are fully learnt, and stability is reached. But the educated Indian knows this, and is fully aware that, in spite of temporary embarrassment, a time will come when a more perfect womanhood will be produced, and when the daughters of India will compare favourably in intelligence, in character, and in all the graces of life with her more favourably circumstanced sister in the West. His lack of practical interest is, therefore, all the more to be regretted.

It is often said that the moral gulf between Englishmen and Indians is so wide as to make the promotion of good will and sympathy between the two races an utter impossibility. Well, to this there can be given an easy reply. Granting that the English are morally superior to the Indians, then one of the signs of this moral superiority would necessarily be their mixing freely with their superi-

ors with the object of raising them to a higher level. I can never believe in the moral superiority of a person who thinks that one of the conditions of his exalted position is that he should keep himself aloof from his inferiors. And then again is the moral gulf so wide after all. If the English possess such sterling qualities as sincerity, straightforwardness, a passionate regard for truth, courage, and manliness, must it not be admitted that there is also much that is good, true, and lovely in the Indian character, as for example, patient perseverance, calm endurance under suffering, a love of simplicity, filial obedience, reverence for superiors, tenderness towards animal life, faithfulness in service, and toleration of religious diversities? Will, then, the English, by mixing more freely with their Hindu brethren, be solely the losers? To cultivate friendly relations all that is needed is a little blindness to each other's faults and a generous recognition of each other's virtues.

Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, in his work on "New India," makes out that the sympathies of the two nations are less kindly than they were in the days of a past generation; and this, he says, is chiefly due to the changed circumstances in which the ruling race has found itself. Europeans in India are mere birds of passage. Increased facility of communication has made them look upon their sojourn in India as more an exile. There is nothing to bind them to this land, and, as also a very large number of Europeans are resident in India, they are able to find companions among their own kinsfolk, and shrink from all avoidable communication from others. A few among them may associate with the natives from a sense of duty, but for their social and moral needs their own countrymen are sufficient; and not one Englishman in a thousand, when the hour comes for leaving India for good, is sensible of a wrench, of a void, being created in his life, by the separation from any native whom he has known.

Natives should be more bold and straightforward in their intercourse with Europeans. If there is anything which a European looks upon as an indication of inferiority it is that cringing and fawning tendency, which is so conspicuous in the lower classes

of the natives of India. Human nature is always tickled by flattery and nourished by servile obsequiousness. Natives, at the same time, should take care that straightforwardness does not degenerate into arrogance or impudence. They should also try and learn the manners and etiquette of English society. It is with the English more than with any other nation that "manners maketh the man." There is, of course, much that is artificial in English Society with which an oriental finds himself unable to reconcile. Weightier matters of the law are often overlooked, while much stress is laid on the mint and curmin and anise of fashion and convention; but with the English, inexorable etiquette is imperative in its demands, and will be satisfied with no less than full and absolute obedience to the letter of its laws. The complete ignorance of the conventional rules and forms of English life places the native in a very awkward predicament. When, for the first time, he finds himself in company with English ladies and gentlemen, he feels as if he were anything but in his right place; he is deprived of all power whether of speech or action; he is literally paralyzed. He sits disconsolate in a corner, afraid to speak or move as if "wisdom gets its gems by gaping." The whole thing often takes the form of a tragic comedy where the hero is truly a tragic picture. His perplexed airs, his rustic manners, and embarrassed gait, when joined with more serious violations of etiquette, succeed only too well in making him an object of pity if not of contempt.

"Oft it chanceth in particular men
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
* * * * * these men
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,
Their virtues else, be they as pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergo,
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault."

There is one question connected with this subject which I am tempted to discuss, and that is the political effects of the estrange-

ment of the two communities; but the subject being a difficult one, I leave it to more competent men. A few words, however, with reference to it, I may be excused for saying here. It is absolutely essential for a foreign Government, in order to be successful in the administration of India, that it should understand the feelings, habits and institutions of the people over whom it holds sway. Legislation, taxation and the proper Government of a people require intimate knowledge of the people to be governed. A good Government ought to aim at the maximum of happiness and minimum of discontent in its subjects. This may be the philosophical ideal, but still every possible approximation must be made towards its realization. If much is not done in this direction the people will bear the yoke sullenly and with discontent. To bind natives by ties of gratitude is much better than overawing them by physical force. In writing thus, however, I am fully sensible of the existence in our midst of those sterling Englishmen and Englishwomen, who leave no stone unturned to keep up the happiest possible relationship between the natives and themselves. These are the salt of the English community. It is their presence that makes us love and respect our foreign rulers, and it is their influence that counteracts the evil effects of the presence of some trifling Europeans in our midst. There is one thing for which we Madrasese ought to be very thankful. I think I am right in saying that the relation between the Natives and Europeans in our Presidency is far more cordial than in any other part of India. At all events there is more sympathy between the two races here than in Bengal. We natives of the benighted Presidency had our equilibrium undisturbed even during the discussions of the Ilbert Bill. Even in the heat of that controversy Englishmen and Natives in this Presidency treated each other with the utmost consideration, courtesy and kindness.

In conclusion, let me say a few words about the practical methods that may be adopted with the object of promoting a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives. The establishment of Cosmopolitan Clubs is one step that is supposed to have been gained in the bringing about a better understanding,

but I fear very much the experiment that has been tried in Madras has not been a success from this point of view. Social gatherings are coming to be the order of the day. They, no doubt, do great good, as they facilitate the interchange of ideas and conduce to greater familiarity; but it all depends upon the way in which they are conducted. It often happens that at these gatherings the Europeans congregate together, leaving the natives to enjoy intercourse among themselves. An Englishman seems to be keenly sensitive to the opinions of his fellowmen; and so long as fraternising with natives has not become the fashion in society he would not go out of his way to mix freely with his native fellow citizens. The fact is, many sacrifices have to be made on both sides before a greater reunion is established between the two races. Natives ought to be admitted socially to the conversational circles of Europeans. They ought not to be regarded as an inferior race, altogether unfitted for polite society. They have, of course, their peculiarities as much as other people; but it is by the constant collision of friendly intercommunication that the angles of difference are broken off and polished down. Although it is said that familiarity breeds contempt, yet there are not wanting instances in which, when it has been once established, people have come to esteem one another, whatever may be their national antipathies. The educated Natives, on the other hand, must try to make themselves acceptable to Europeans by adopting a graceful and gentlemanly bearing, and a polished and courteous mode of address. They ought always to be loyal to Englishmen, for what they have done and intend doing for India. Europeans, too, should take a keener interest in all that appertains to their Indian fellow subjects. Their short stay in India ought to be devoted, as much as possible, to the cultivation of friendly interests and social amenities. The late Lord Hobart, addressing an Indian audience on this very subject, once said, "the mere accident of race or faith, can never affect either the motive or the obligation of mutual friendliness and respect, and that whether born in England or India, and whatever may be the creeds and dogmas which have kept them so lamentably asunder, their mutual interest for the present and their hope for the future is, in reality the

same. These are pregnant words of wisdom, and if both Natives and Europeans would give up minor prejudices which must sooner or later melt away, before the sympathy of thought and feeling, thought strong enough to defy time and civilization, incalculable good would result. And let Englishmen in India remember this, that England's work in India does not consist merely in giving good laws, preserving peace, administering justice, preventing foreign aggression, checking famines, educating the people, and developing the trade and the material resources of the country; all these without the existence of a cordial and sympathetic feeling between Indians and Englishmen are useless. Let, therefore, the people of England and India join heart and hand in united efforts for the cultivation of each other's good will; let those in authority assume an attitude of kindness and genuine sympathy towards the natives; let individual Englishmen, laying aside all prejudices, stretch out their right hand of fellowship to those Indian brethren; let English ladies break through their selfish exclusiveness and endeavour to do something more for their benighted Hindu sisters; and let natives, educated natives, more especially, be more loyal, be more grateful for all that England has done for India; let them not obstinately and foolishly misrepresent every act of the British Government,—let all this be done, and then there will be no more talk about the “ever widening gulf of personal dislikes” that separates the rulers from the ruled.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES.

THE question of the feasibility of the promotion of a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives is not new, nor will the task be found easy, unless one has a knowledge of the vast difference in the habits, thoughts and avocations of the two races. That there is a wide gulf between the two races, which even a century of British rule has not succeeded in bridging there is no need to prove. But unfortunately those who have either written or spoken on this delicate subject have done more harm than good by their *ex parte* statements. A few years back an article appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, from the pen of Mr. Wilfred Blunt, professing to trace the history of the “ever-widening gulf of personal dislike,” which separates the educated Indian from the “individual Englishmen who rule them”; and I know for certain that if that article had any effect at all, it was to make the gulf wider than it was before Mr. Wilfred Blunt took upon himself the self-imposed task of bridging it. I shall quote a single passage from the article referred to: “I shall no doubt incur anger by saying it, but it is a fact that the English woman in India, during the last thirty years, has been the cause of half the bitter feelings there between race and race. It was her presence at Cawnpore that pointed the sword of revenge after the Mutiny, and it is her constantly increasing influence now that widens the gulf of ill-feeling and makes amalgamation daily more and more impossible. I have over and over again noticed this. The English Collector, the English Doctor, or the English Judge may have the best will in the world to meet their Indian neighbours and official subordinates on equal terms. Their wives will hear nothing of the sort, and the result is a meaningless interchange of cold civilities.” Such statements as these do more harm than good and have been indulged in frequently. I do not pretend to throw any new light on the subject, but my position as an Indian, and as one who has had the privilege of a long stay in England, enables me to view the problem from a point of view

different from that usually taken by my countrymen; and hence this attempt to place before the readers of this journal my views on the subject.

In the first place let me say that a complete fusion of the two races, under present conditions, is an utter impossibility; and when I speak of free social intercourse, I do not mean a state of things that would lead to such a complete fusion. The intermarriage of the races is a subject, which, perhaps, does not come within the scope of this article, but I may be permitted to say that, despite the few instances that have taken place, the time even for the discussion of such a theme has not yet arrived. That such marriages have taken place, and some of them may have turned out happily, may possibly be true; but the very idea of such a thing has, we may say happily, not yet become familiar to the European mind, and it must be long before the many, and, as at present seems, insuperable objections to such marriages becoming common can be overcome. It is strange, but still it is a known fact that, so long as human nature remains what it is, eastern and western nations cannot amalgamate without a loss to both.

Before attempting to answer the question of the possibility of the promotion of a more intimate social relation between Europeans and Natives, it is necessary to take a glance at the present state of Indian Society, to understand clearly of what elements, homogeneous or heterogeneous, it is composed, and also discover whether there is any likelihood of these elements being welded into one homogeneous whole. The word "Indian," in its widest acceptance, embraces all people who live in India, including Brahmins, Sudras, Pariahs, even, Muhammadans, not to speak of the various sections and sub-sections into which these are divided. Professor Seeley has pointed out in his *Expansion of England* that all the elements of a common nationality are absent in India, viz., (1) community of race or rather the belief in a community of race; (2) the sense of a common interest and the habit of forming a single political whole; and (3) a common religion. Whatever may be the changes coming over the country now, and some powerful influences are being brought to bear upon the races inhabiting India—it must be admitted that the caste system is still in the ascendant and prevents the amalgamation of the Indian peoples so widely diverging in language, in social customs, and in religion. The educated classes, it is true, claim to be free from the trammels of caste, but the glaring incongruity between thoughts and deeds, between public pro-

fession and private practice, is felt by none more keenly than by the educated Hindu himself. Much is said against caste, but caste still reigns supreme in some form or other, even in the most enlightened classes. There is still an absence of perfect sympathy among the peoples of India. Their habits and idiosyncracies, their prejudices and customs, prevent their complete fusion, and to this day they are separated by impassable barriers. Seeing that the points of disparity, between the different classes that constitute the Indian population, are so great as to make their cordially mingling with one another impossible, how then can we expect the Indian population, made up as it is of these motley races, to mix cordially with Europeans, a people entirely differing from them in creed, colour, and costume? Charity, it is said, should begin at home; and so there should be free social intercourse first between classes of people which have greater affinities with one another. The European may well say—"You wonder at there being an icy barrier between Europeans and Natives: what free intercourse is there between peoples who constitute the Indian population?" I do not mean to insinuate for a moment that there is no sympathy, and social intercourse between the Indian races; what I mean is that before we begin to find fault with Europeans for their aloofness we should show that there is more of cordiality and union between the different Indian races, who, though locally intermingled, are still morally separated. There is still distrust between class and class; there is still that narrow exclusiveness and petty minded jealousy keeping the different castes and classes apart from one another. All efforts of our educated countrymen should, therefore, be directed towards creating a universal feeling of nationality. India consists merely of a vast assemblage of races divided into countless unsympathising castes and classes. A bond of union is needed. I do of course admit that English education and western civilization have amalgamated to some extent the varying forces, among the Indian population; but greater exertions must be put forth by the various castes and classes that exist in India to bring about a deeper sympathy and a more complete union. It is very easy to point out, the mote in our neighbour's eye and overlook the beam in our own. Let not one caste despise another. Let there be an end of all religious intolerance and bigotry. Let there be a freer intercourse between Muhammadan and Hindu, Hindu and Christian, Christian and Muhammadan. Let all learn to think alike and also to act alike, "yoked in one fellowship of joys and pains," realizing that we are all fellow-citizens of a common mother country; and then

we shall have greater reason to complain of the icy barrier that now separates Europeans from Natives.

In trying to trace the cause of that absence of free intercourse between the rulers and the ruled, we should not fail to take into account one essential characteristic of the English nation. The English are the most reserved of all races. It is the nature of an Englishman to keep himself aloof from a foreigner, whether European or Asiatic, one with a dark or a white skin. A channel only twenty miles broad separates France from England, and yet there is a gulf between the peoples of these two countries nearly as wide as the one that separates the English from the dusky inhabitants of India. Referring to the insular character of the English, Emerson says:—"In short every one of these islanders is an island himself, safe, tranquil, incommunicable. In a company of strangers you would think him deaf; his eyes never wander from his table and newspaper. He is never betrayed into any curiosity or unbecoming emotion. They have all been trained in one severe school of manners, and never put off the harness. He does not give his hand. He does not let you meet his eye. It is almost an affront to look a man in the face, without being introduced. In mixed or in select companies they do not introduce persons; so that a presentation is a circumstance as valid as a contract. Introductions are sacraments. He withholds his name. At the hotel he is hardly willing to whisper it to the clerk at the book office. If he gave you his private address and card, it is with an avowal of friendship; and his bearing on being introduced is cold, even though he is seeking your acquaintance, and is studying how he shall serve you."

This account of the English character contains much of truth. In the course of a conversation I once had with a German Missionary, who had lived in India for upwards of twenty years, he said:—"What strikes us Germans in India most is the utter exclusiveness of the English. They try their best to have as little to do with the Natives as possible. They even shun us, though we are so far of kin to them. We Germans behave differently in our colonies." Well, this state of things can be accounted for by the fact of the natural reservedness of the English character.

There is an innate sense of superiority in the Englishman which makes him look upon himself as belonging to a race the first in all the world. To his eyes even his immediate neighbours, the French and the Germans, are his inferiors, and he becomes more alive to this superiority when he leaves his island home to mix with

foreigners. But at home he is himself natural and genuine. Hence, to know what the English really are we must go to their very firesides. It is only there that we find out their real character. It is there, more than anywhere else, you feel their kindness and consideration, their unaffectedness and liberality of feeling. It is worth going to England at any cost and inconvenience to find out what the English really are. Even now, as I look back, I cannot help bringing before my mind those happy days which I had the inestimable privilege of spending with English friends, who were none the less cordial because of my being a foreigner. These friendships I enjoy even now, though many seas lie between India and England. In that strange land many a door was open to me; and the kind treatment and the warm welcome I received in those English homes made my stay in England appear almost a pleasant dream to me. This has been the experience of others of my countrymen who have visited England. Let us not therefore judge hastily of the English in India, by looking at only the official side of their character. To a great extent they move in an artificial atmosphere in this country. Was it not Rudyard Kipling who said that the Ten Commandments ceased to be binding on an Englishman on this side of Aden? Whether he meant that this statement of his should be taken seriously or not, we do not need a Kipling to tell us that the conditions of life in India of an Englishman are entirely different from those in England.

I have referred to the innate sense of superiority of the Englishman and his natural reservedness. These features of his character have their ugly side as well. Too much of self-consciousness often degenerates into swagger; and there is no human infirmity so melancholy as British swagger. We see it manifesting itself in so many ways. To give one single example. There appeared three years ago a remarkable work by Mr. Pearson, entitled *National life and Character*. This work, which has been highly eulogized by the British Press, tries to work out one single idea, namely, that the dark races are in reality lower than the white races in the sense of being unfit for progress and civilization. Now there does not need much logic to point out that such a sweeping generalization, with regard, not to the present condition but to the future of the dark races, is the outcome of imperial insolence and a narrow conception of human progress; yet the numerous British critics of Dr. Pearson's work, including the *London Times*, accepted his assumption as a matter of course and never thought of question-

ing the very A. B. C. of his mode of reasoning, which is the outcome of national prejudice. The British as a nation have yet to learn that there is nothing in race which, under a systematic education and training, continued over long generations, could prevent the dark races from ultimately inheriting a higher civilization.

Then let us pray that come it may—

As come it will for a' that—

That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth?

May bear the gree and a' that.

For a' that and a' that,

It is coming yet for a' that,

That man to man, the world o'er,

Shall brothers be for a' that.

I am also afraid that the conditions of life in India of an Englishman are such that they tend to foster and nourish this questionable side of his character, namely race conceit. An Englishman arrives in India and finds to his utter astonishment that he is made more of than ever he was before; and if he is one who holds any position of official influence and draws a high salary, there will never be wanting a circle of natives who treat him almost as a demi-god. Not only are the lower classes given to cringing and fawning; but even the educated classes have the same weakness. There is a great deal of false hero-worship in India,—worship of mere pelf and power, and this trait in the native character, combined with the innate sense of superiority in the Englishman, is a serious hindrance in the way of bringing the two races together on any footing of equality.

But even admitting these—the peculiar constitution of Hindu Society and the natural reservedness of the English—as barriers to a complete social fusion, I do not see why there should not be a more cordial relationship existing between European and Natives than there is at present. After all, it is not much that the natives require of their English neighbours. They only desire a more friendly intercourse, a more kindly-sympathy. What then can be the obstacles to these? Let us see.

Mr. C. T. Buttkland, in his *Sketches of Social Life in India*, has an interesting chapter on Native life. He says that the chief cause of the want of social intercourse between Europeans and Natives is the little knowledge which the former have of the inner social life of the natives. An Englishman sees a Native in his office, where they meet together for the purpose of going through some dry work. They exchange a “good morning” or a “good

evening,” and they never see anything of each other till they meet the next day to look over some official document or talk about business matters. I know the little knowledge which the English have of the inner social life of the natives is often brought forward as an obstacle to free social intercourse. But I fear that this excuse is a very lame one altogether. It is confounding cause and effect to say that the want of mutual knowledge is an obstacle to free social intercourse. If there is freer intercourse between the two races, the Europeans will certainly have a better knowledge of the inner social life of the Natives. Even Sir Monier Williams, notwithstanding his wide Indian experience, has fallen into the very same mistake. In an address he delivered at a meeting of the National Indian Association, he says—and he repeats it over and over again—that the want of sympathy on the part of the English towards their Indian fellow-subjects is simply and solely due to the insufficient knowledge which the former have of India and the people. If Sir Monier Williams, in making such a statement, referred only to the English at home, there would have been no objection taken to it, but if he wishes to make out that the English in India are uncharitable and unsympathetic because they are ignorant, I can only say that the statement is incorrect. The English in India cannot conscientiously plead the want of mutual knowledge as an excuse for their unsympathetic conduct. The ignorance and there is plenty of it among Englishmen in India is the effect and not the cause of the unsympathetic nature of the majority of Englishmen who sojourn in our midst. We often come across very amusing instances of ignorance relating to India and Indians among Englishmen at home; such ignorance is pardonable. I saw nothing incongruous in an Englishman at home asking me whether the Zenanas were not a tribe of Afghans. I was not in the least surprised to see once a number of placards in a large town in England, announcing a Missionary meeting, in which it was said that the Bishop of Travancore, New Zealand, would take part. It did not in the least shock me when the daughter of a Member of Parliament once asked me, with much *naiveté*, whether in India houses were built of bricks. But when I am told that there are civilians who will not be able to pass an examination in the Geography of India outside their own presidency; when I remember coming across Englishmen in India using opprobrious terms such as “devilish” to designate the religious tenets of India; when I read sweeping statements about the character of the natives

population, as for example, the following: "a nation of liars, perjurers, forgers, devoid of gratitude, trust, good nature, and every other virtue," "people addicted to adulation, dissimulation, dishonesty, falsehood, and perjury;" when one sees all this, one cannot but be astonished at such ignorance and come to the conclusion that such ignorance is only the outcome of national pride. Let there be good will and sympathy between the people of England and the people of India, then there will be no more talk about mutual ignorance. Want of sympathy is not rooted in the want of knowledge, it is the want of knowledge that is rooted in the want of sympathy.

Sir Monier Williams, in his deeply interesting work on "Modern India and the Indians," says: "The impenetrable barrier with which the Hindus surround their homes, and their refusal to sit at meals with Europeans, are fatal to mutual friendliness and sociability." The same causes are also assigned by Mr. C. T. Buckland, as coming in the way of a complete social fusion between the rulers and the ruled. "Two of the main elements," writes Mr Buckland, "of social intercourse, according to English ideas, consist (1) in dining together, (2) in the interchange of ladies society." As regards the first, it is true dinners play an important part in lubricating business, softening asperities, and bringing about a good understanding between people; but at the same time it must be admitted that caste prejudices cannot be regarded as in any way constituting an insurmountable difficulty to free social intercourse. Caste prejudices have not prevented a few noble Englishmen and Englishwomen from forming the most agreeable relations with Indians belonging to the highest castes. It is indeed most unreasonable to say that because a man will not eat with me I will have nothing to do with him. If the English expect their Hindu fellow-subjects to give up caste, promising, on that condition, to move more freely with them, it is but just that the Hindus should expect their European neighbours to make some concession, at least in return. Sir Monier Williams goes so far as to dissuade his countrymen in India from eating beef, on the authority of St. Paul, who says, "if meat make my brother to offend I will eat no flesh while the world standeth." An English gentleman who did not regard caste prejudices as forming any chief obstacle to a free intercourse between the two races said: "A man who will neither eat with you nor drink with you, it is said, nor admit you to his own wife's society, cannot be really intimate in your house. But I confess I cannot see the force of this

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

It was one of the declared objects of the change of policy associated with the name of Lord Ripon in India to furnish opportunities for the development of local Self-Government and to strengthen Municipal institutions.

But the Civil Service of India never had any sympathy with it and naturally therefore in very few districts does the experiment receive a fair trial.

It is interesting, however, to observe the English rulers while attempting to train the Hindus in Municipal local Self-Government by the creation of Municipalities, District and Taluk Boards, and Village Unions, destroying by legislation the last vestiges of village Government that have survived the shock of the previous Governments and resisted the influence of nearly one century of English rule.

It is believed by some that the village community paid to the Sovereign in those days a revenue not so heavy as that which is now levied, and levied it on a basis preferable to the present system. It is further alleged that the village Government was far more efficacious for purposes of sanitation, police, &c., than the Government of the present day. If these allegations are true, the sooner our Government recognize these facts, the better. If they are not true, we shall be the better able to appreciate the magnitude of the task and the nature of the efforts that are being made to train the Hindus in local Self-Government.

In an oft-quoted passage in the fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, the Committee say, "under this simple form of Municipal Government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been seldom altered, and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured and even desolated by war, famine and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The

inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred or to what Sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the Pottail is still the head inhabitant and still acts as the petty Judge and Magistrate and Collector and renter of the village".

That at one time, these communities owned all the arable lands in the village in common there is no doubt. In many villages, periodical partition of arable lands still takes place though the Law Courts are very reluctant to recognize the practice. In other villages, men are still living who have cultivated lands under the old system. But it is also certain that the practice is dying out. Those who get the better class of lands, and those who carry out any improvement in the lands, are naturally anxious to secure them to themselves and in course of time they generally succeed. The Ryotwar system which made each individual ryot responsible for the payment of land tax on his land was a great blow to this communal system. Naturally, every ryot tries to get his land assessed as low as possible. Instead of having to deal with his own village headman who knew everything about his land and who could with the help of the village elders settle at once his own share of what the village had to pay to the ruling power, he has now to deal with a stranger generally ignorant of the conditions of village life. Other disputes between the members of the same village were then settled without difficulty. Even in the case of a difference with a neighbouring village, the village headman resorted to the king's officer and the disputes between the two villagers were settled immediately. No application was rejected on the ground that it was not stamped. No professional assistance was necessary to draw up petitions; nor was any reference necessary to any officials. The villagers were not dragged to the various stations of the Revenue officials; no interpreters were required, and above all the decision did not then rest with one not controlled by public opinion. The result was a speedy settlement of all agrarian disputes. But now once a man obtains possession, the other villagers are not able to dispossess him easily. The various Revenue settlements indicate the process of disintegration. According to one system the assessment was imposed on the village and the villagers as a body had to pay the assessment. They distributed among themselves the total Government demand on the village, the officials having nothing to do with it. The individual was responsible for his share of the demand to

the village community but this individual responsibility was neither sanctioned nor recognized by the Revenue officials. The next step was the recognition of individual responsibility by the Government. Here while the village continued jointly liable, the distribution of the entire revenue among the villagers was made with the approval and consent of the Collector. In order to secure a fair distribution of this public burden, the system of challenging was introduced. Any individual who considered that his holding was over—and that of his neighbour under-assessed, had the right to demand that the latter be made over to him at an enhanced rate and it was so made over to him in exchange for his own unless the latter consented to pay the enhanced rate. The joint responsibility of the village did not cease—but the individual responsibility was also recognized by the Revenue officials. In many cases the distribution of public demand was periodical. Individual responsibility was re-adjusted but this was done by the villagers themselves. Gradually, however, this re-distribution ceased and the demand once fixed on each individual was not liable to change.

Once this process was reached and each individual became liable for an ascertained demand, not liable to change at the instance of the village community, it followed that there was an end to the responsibility of the village community for the default of any one of them in payment of Revenue. Individual responsibility to Government was substituted for joint responsibility, and naturally the community lost the ownership which became vested in the individual members thereof.

The village also owned the gramnattam or house site; any villager could get land to build his house on payment of a trifling fee, if any, to the village.

Besides arable lands the village had waste lands. Portions thereof when necessary would be attached to the gramnattam or when there was pressure of population broken up for cultivation.

The village waste naturally continued to remain common property even after the interest in the arable lands had ceased.

But when the Government adopted the Ryotwar system of land assessment the fate of the village waste lands was sealed. When the settlement was entered into with each individual ryot, ignoring the communal system, the permission of the State became necessary for the occupation of any part of the waste lands. In

the course of the earlier settlements a portion of land was always secured for communal purposes. Though thus the Government first asserted their claim over this land on behalf of the village community, to whom the lands originally belonged, yet portions were given on pattas or leases to applicants who undertook to bring them under cultivation. Though such lands were originally only granted to the residents of the particular village, their claims were soon lost sight of or ignored, and strangers were freely invited or encouraged to take up such lands for cultivation.

The action of the Forest Department deprived the villagers of the use of land not so granted away. That Department was authorized to reserve any large block of waste, and the villagers were practically deprived of what was left them by the Settlement Department. Rules of course are always framed in a liberal spirit, but native public opinion is not yet sufficiently powerful to ensure their fair working. European supervision is never satisfactory over these low paid subordinates.

It is remarkable that this tendency of the Ryotwar system was pointed out by Lord Elphinstone at the commencement of the century.

The village community did not yield without a struggle. The village as a whole or each member of it individually was unwilling to renounce the claims or to pay any assessment for lands not under cultivation, while the Government, to protect the revenue as they called it, insisted on the power they claimed of giving their lands to strangers, or using it in any other way that commended itself to them.

The village community had practically to give way. The Government maintain and in effect enforce the position that they have the right to appropriate immemorial waste lands for any purpose without any reference to the village community and deny the village claim to preferential occupation, rent, or compensation.

The same result followed in Zemindaries.

The Zemindars were generally the representatives of the old ruling chieftains or of their Viceroys or Governors. They clearly had no greater claim than the ruler had to the land or its produce. Though they were thus entitled only to a share of the produce, by virtue of the Sanads obtained under the permanent settlement, they claimed the proprietorship of all the lands included in their

Zemindary. In the case of waste lands, their claims were soon recognized. In the case of village sites, there has been greater difficulty but they generally succeeded in enforcing their claim.

Even in the case of arable lands they have practically succeeded in inducing the Courts to hold that the Zemindar is the owner of all the lands in the Zemindary, and however long a man and his ancestors may have been in possession of the land, he is liable to be turned out unless he succeeds in proving that the Zemindar has in some way recognized his claim to permanent possession. The result of course followed that the community lost their control over their individual member who came to regard himself as a tenant holding directly under the Zemindar.

In the Government Ryotwary villages, where there is no middleman between the Government and the village, the encroachment upon the rights of the villagers to the lands they occupied, proceeded more slowly though systematically. It took the form of revenue settlements and at every periodical settlement the officials found that the Government were entitled to get a larger share of the produce. It is a doctrine of political economy adopted by English officials in India that there is a certain style of living and standard of comfort for the Hindus, and if they adopt "a standard of living that their forefathers never enjoyed and themselves have no right to lay claim to," then by increasing the assessment they should be forced to adopt the inferior standard of comfort.

This broad fact must then be recognized that the village communities were free communities owning their properties and they have now lost their freedom completely under zemindari overlordship or under Government.

By losing their freedom, the community have lost their control over their individual members. Their power to preserve social order has also ceased. I do not maintain that the old communities with their doctrine of equality ought to be allowed to stand in the way of progress which is said to depend upon individual freedom; but this great change that the village communities are now in serfdom and have consequently no power to preserve social order or to control its individual members is a circumstance which is not generally recognized.

Curiously enough, when their own revenue is not affected, Government officials are quite alive to this fact. They urge, and

with a good deal of truth, that the Government never intended to vest the Zemindars with the great powers they now claim over the people under them and that the law courts by practically recognizing the ownership of the Zemindars have placed the occupants of the lands at their mercy.

The Zemindars retort by asserting that their own villages will compare favorably with Government villages.

Impartial inquirers will probably feel no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that both sets of village communities have lost greatly, that as communities they have been almost broken up, at least with reference to village lands, and that it does not appear as yet that the change has been to their benefit.

This economic revolution has been accompanied by a revolution in the village polity not less important. Volumes have been written upon this aspect of the village communal system.

The village land had their boundaries carefully marked. The lands themselves were divided into fields which were kept perfectly distinct for the purposes of general re-distribution of lands or distribution of water for purpose of cultivation. There were various village officers, their number varying with the needs of each locality, but twelve appears to have been a recognised number. The Head of the village represented the village in their dealings with the Government.

Some of the other officials were—

2. The Accountant.
3. The village Watchman.
4. The Messenger, or Peon.
5. The Irrigation water distributor.
6. The village Carpenter.
7. The village Blacksmith.
8. The village Barber.
9. The village Washerman.
10. The village Potter.
11. The village Astrologer.
12. The village Purohit or Priest.

The first six were Judicial, Revenue, and Police officials. It is unnecessary for us to refer to the various officers and their functions. We shall for purposes of illustration refer to only one of them, i.e., the village Watchman. "His duties are to keep watch at night, to find out all arrivals and departures, observe all strangers, and report all suspicious persons to the Patil. The watchman is likewise bound to know the character of each man in the village and in the event of a theft committed within the village bounds, it is his business to detect the thief. He is enabled to do this by his early habits of inquisitiveness and observation as well as by the nature of his allowance, which being partly a small share of the grain and similar property belonging to each house, he is always kept on the watch to ascertain his fees, and always in motion to collect them. When a theft or robbery happens, the watchman commences his inquiries and researches: it is very common for him to track a thief by his footsteps and if he does this to another village, so as to satisfy the watchman there, his responsibility ends and it is the duty of the watchman of the new village to take up the pursuit. The last village to which the thief has been clearly traced becomes answerable for the property stolen, which would otherwise fall on the village where the robbery was committed. The watchman is obliged to make all this amount so far as his means go and the remainder is levied on the whole village."

This description of the functions of one village servant will show their absolute dependence on the village community. The Government by the community was so complete that they had the power of contracting debts for which lands were given to the creditor rent or revenue free.

All these servants were like the village watchman paid by what are called Inam lands i.e., lands which do not pay revenue; and by payment of fees by the villagers on various occasions.

It will be noticed that not only those who were engaged in Police, Revenue, and Judicial functions were then paid by lands, assignments of revenue and fees, but others also like the Barber and the Washerman who were then recognized as forming as important a part of the body politic as any of the former. Further the village temple was entitled to its dues. No one can have a proper idea of village life who does not realise the influence of the village temple which kept alive the strong devotional feeling of the people. It was a place of resort for all people; particularly morning and even-

ing and it was to the village deity that the village as a body appeal in case of any public calamity.

It was not these services alone that were provided for at public village expense, but national amusements were also provided free of cost to the individual.

It was after the payment of these charges that the produce was divided between the ruling power and the villagers. It was not only the officials like the village Head and the village Police-man in the performance of whose duties it may be said the ruling power also was interested, not only those like the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, who had to repair the implements of husbandry, but also the Barber, the Washerman, &c., with whom of course the ruling power had no concern. All these were equally regarded as village servants and remunerated by the village. It is also remarkable that provision was made for public amusements and charities before government claimed their share. At the village choultry travellers, particularly Brahmins and Sahyasis, were always welcome, and festivals were conducted at common expense.

The snares no doubt varied in various parts of the presidency. But the important fact, that the government demanded and received only a share of the produce that remained for distribution after all these expenses were provided for, has to be borne in mind.

In the earlier settlements under English rule, these were recognized; we find for instance that the expenses of cultivation are even now allowed to the ryot by government before division of produce.

In some districts the allowances to the Barber and Washerman were recognized. Some districts which remained longer under Hindu rule claimed—and their claim was allowed—emoluments for their dancing girls and dancing master. In some villages the doctor and the shepherd were paid out of the common funds. In one district there was a common tailor paid by the village community. These earlier settlements were made at the commencement of the century when the English government scrupulously adhered as far as possible to the usages they found prevailing in the country.

The feeding of the poor was a well-known item and the settlement officers accordingly allowed in those districts where the ryots claimed a reduction of it from the gross produce before the government claimed their share.

But now all this is changed.

The members of the community have to pay the land assessment to Government without any reduction for fees to these village servants. For the payments of those servants who perform Revenue and Police duties and who have been converted into Government servants pure and simple, as we shall show later, an additional tax has been imposed. The reductions made for payments to other village servants are not allowed in arriving at the fund for division between the state and the landholder. The allowances made for national amusements were of course ignored. Not only are reductions not allowed before division between Government and the members of the village, not only is a fresh tax imposed for the maintenance of some servants though they have ceased to be village servants, but the Government have resumed the lands allotted to these village servants of old for maintenance and services. How far they are morally entitled to resume them so long as they perform their duties may be doubted.

The distinction will be at once noticed between the acts of village officers whose names have been given already. In the proper performance of their duties by a few of them the state or the public generally were interested, whereas they had nothing whatever to do with the others. The result was that the Legislature first recognized and defined the status of those officials in whom the state was interested. In 1802 soon after the assumption of the civil administration of the Carnatic by the East India Company, it was enacted that an office of record shall be established under an accountant in every permanently settled village yielding a certain income, who was made practically independent of the state as well as of the Zemindar. He could not be punished for any breach of duty or neglect except by a court of justice. The hereditary nature of these offices was recognized and such was the importance attached to that office, that the Civil Courts were empowered to enforce the appointment of Curnams, or Accountants where necessary, by fine of the responsible individuals. Their duties also were defined in conformity to the ancient usages of the country, including the obligation to keep registers showing the extent of lands in each village, specifying the boundaries, and land marks and showing their appropriation, viz., arable, cultivated and uncultivated, pasture, house-sites, gardens, rivers, tanks, springs or wells, waste in hills, jungles or rocks. Accounts are also to be kept showing the gross produce of all lands with particulars as to its division, between the

Government, the proprietor and the cultivator, and the amount of fees to be paid to village servants. They were also to keep a register of strangers passing through the village.

In 1816 the Legislature defined the rights and duties of the Heads of village as founded chiefly upon the ancient usages of the country. They were then formally recognized as heads of the Police responsible for the general security of their respective villages with power to apprehend offenders and to inflict punishments in certain minor cases.

In the same year, village watchers were enjoined by legislation to perform their customary duties and so far did the Government proceed in recognizing the ancient usages of the country that where, for some reason or other, there was no village watcher, the office was revived, and declared hereditary and the allowances made payable to them by Government were declared hereditary in their families. It is remarkable, however, that they were relieved by legislation from any liability to compensate the owners for loss by theft.

The tendency of early legislation was thus to preserve Municipal institutions—but even then the District officials generally regarded them with disfavor. It was stated in 1864 by Mr. (afterwards Sir W.) Robinson, speaking of Tanjore one of the most advanced Districts in the Presidency, in reply to those who contended that Municipal institutions have not been a success, that the fault lay not exclusively with the people. He said, “the country has, from the commencement of rule, been overlaid by enormous official establishments; everything has been done by employers and the measures employed from time to time have had a bureaucratic tendency, when the village laws first gave to these communities some status and to their headman some power, the measure was opposed by the then Collector and his officials, an opposition which was only overcome, if my memory serves me rightly, by actual or threatened suspension when the measure was introduced; therefore it was in a measure least likely to ensure success.” “In fact the administration of the country has been unfavorable to the growth

of special self-help amongst village communities. The remedy does not, however, lie in now cutting off this improvable branch of administration and casting it away as fruitless: but in comforting and encouraging the potails and people and strengthening their hands in the management of their own institutions.” This, however, was not the course followed. In 1831 the Government of Madras attempted to bring all persons holding hereditary village offices who had to perform revenue or police duties under the control of Revenue officials who were empowered to punish them for incapacity or neglect of duty. But no power of appointment was given, succession continued hereditary, and village autonomy was not interfered with as the income from each village continued to be applied only for the payment of its own officials.

It is interesting to mark the course of legislation destroying all vestiges of village municipal Government. It will be noticed that the following are some of the distinctive marks of village Government:—

- (1). Payment of village officials by the village out of property belonging to the village.
- (2). The preservation of village as a territorial unit.
- (3). Independence of the village officials of any external control.

Lands held free or on favorable terms, and fees collected from the villagers were the sources from which the servants were generally remunerated. These lands held by the servants were never in themselves sufficiently remunerative, but they served as a strong inducement for the servants to continue in the village and not to go in search of employment elsewhere. The payment of fees enabled the village public opinion to effectually control their servants, who would, if incompetent, lose their fees. They were thus really servants of the village, their paymaster. The villagers, who were really interested in the proper performance of these duties by the village servants, had it thus in their power to compel them to discharge their duties properly. About 1860, however, the policy of

the Madras Government underwent an important change. It was thought that the collection of these fees by the servants was a troublesome and difficult matter and that payments were irregular and uncertain. It was further stated to be objectionable in principle that officers having public duties often of an invidious character to perform, should be dependent upon the villagers against whom the Government may have to act. It was accordingly resolved to abolish these fees and to collect instead a tax for the payment of these fees. Lands granted revenue free were resumed. But the matter attracted the attention of the Viceroy and he declared himself averse to the policy of authoritatively exercising any general interference with Municipal institutions. In order partly to meet this objection, it was enacted that the funds were to be utilised only for the payment of the village servants employed in the village in which the cess was levied. The power of payment was, however, taken out of the hands of the village community and the Government became the paymaster. Even this slight concession has now been withdrawn. Recent legislation has directed the formation of a fund, composed of the proceeds of the lands resumed and the tax imposed in lieu of fees without any restriction as regards its utilization. The officials of one village may be paid out of the funds of another village. They have thus nothing to hope for, or to lose by the favor of the community of which they are in theory the servants. Their payments did not depend upon services rendered as of old. They ceased in fact to be village servants.

Similarly, as a community they soon ceased to exist, in the eye of the law. It was one of the sacred duties of the village officers to preserve the boundaries unaltered, as such preservation was essential to village autonomy. If the state, or the Zemindar, has the power to group or amalgamate two or more villages or their portions, so as to form any new village, or to divide any one village into two or more, many village offices will have to be abolished in the one case and many new offices will have to be created in the other. A village community as such may be destroyed thus at any moment. The legislation of 1893, 1894, and 1895 has enabled our Government to effect this revolution.

This centralization looks well enough on paper and as Sir W. Robinson stated years ago, "method, regularity and exact performance of duty seem to be secured. But it belongs to the true bureaucratic system of centralisation which cramps the energies and good will of the people. Local independence and self Government are the foundations of real order in a country." And he proceeded to show how these were destroyed by the new system.

Independence of external control they have lost. These village servants on whom in ancient days lay the duty of ascertaining the share of the state or the Zemindar have been made subject to the control of the Revenue official or the Zemindar, who is also vested with power of dismissal.

They have thus in every way ceased to be village servants. They are now servants of the state or the Zemindar. To the official world the result is no doubt satisfactory. But it may be doubted whether the village has in any way prospered. We will refer at present only to the village Watchman. Our readers are aware that there is a general police force in the country. But the Government declare, they "are not generally beloved throughout the province and unless they are given correct information and ready assistance by the various bodies of village officers when brought thoroughly under control their efforts to suppress or discover crime must often be unsuccessful or even hopeless."

If the unpopularity of the general police has rendered their efforts for the suppression of crime nugatory, a measure which makes the village officials unpopular by enabling them to act independently of the village is not likely to prove of much use and what was anticipated by those outside the official circle has followed. "Crimes of violence are, I believe, looking to the committals of this year, from this Division, on the increase. *The increase may be looked forward to.* The vendetta which caused one crime will lead to a reprisal. I pass over house-breaking which are undetectable under the existing state of things without the aid of the old unacknowledged system." So reports one European Head Assistant Collector.

We have already stated the effect of the Village System in agrarian disputes. The change in the administration of criminal justice is equally striking.

The owner of the property had only to complain to the villagers of the theft of his property. The village Head and the Watchman then became responsible for their recovery and in many cases the value of the articles had to be made good to him in case of failure to detect the offender. In these days complaints are not often made on account of the harassing procedure that always follows. From the moment a complaint of theft is lodged by the owner, he is at the mercy of the police; his time is not his own. He has to dance attendance at the Police station. If his own information turns out to be incorrect in Police estimation, besides losing his property he stands a fair chance of being prosecuted for false complaint or defamation. The check on the subordinate Police is of course quite nominal. The European officials have no idea of the character or peculiarities of the villager and the result often is that a quiet retiring villager prefers to lose his property rather than prefer a complaint with the certainty of having to sacrifice a good deal of time and labor and the probability of finding himself unsuccessful in prosecuting the guilty man to conviction and the chance of himself being accused of some offence or other.

While those officials who had to perform the police and Revenue duties were thus converted into Government servants pure and simple, the claims of the others were entirely ignored. It was impossible for the civil courts to compel a barber or a washerman to perform the duties his ancestors of old performed to the villagers. It would be incompatible with the spirit of English law, with its notion of individual freedom, to entertain such a claim; naturally their remuneration consisting of fees from the villagers ceased, and though the villagers had, of course, to pay for the same services which were indispensable to them though not rendered by those who claimed to be village servants, the Government refused to make any allowances for such expenses; they declined to make any reduction from the produce of the lands on

that account, before division between the Government and ryot. Nor do the Government now recognize any claim for reduction on account of any national amusements or charities. The result in all these cases is of course an increase of Government share.

But state interference has proceeded much further. In by far the greater number of villages, the village communities themselves had in ancient days, granted lands free of tax to the various village officials like the Blacksmith, the Carpenter, the Barber, the Washerman, the Astrologer, the Priest, the Dancing girl, &c., with the result that the villagers had to pay for their services when rendered, not at the market rates but only at the old customary rates. They could not leave the village on account of their lands which would be resumed in that event by the community. These lands in fact served as a sort of retainer. Till the present time the state had strictly abstained from any interference with this class of village servants. Whenever there was any difficulty the ordinary Civil Courts solved the difficulty. But now these also are placed under the Revenue officials. So jealous is the executive Government of the interference of the Civil Courts that their powers are expressly taken away and the very difficult questions with reference to succession which have taxed the learning and ability of the best Judges in India are now left to the untrained intelligence of the Revenue officials.

Our conclusions are:—

(1) that Indian villages were practically little republics before the days of English interference and now where they exist, they have been reduced to serfdom under the Zemindars or are retained merely as Revenue divisions under the state by the Government;

(2) that the village communities were allowed, to provide themselves for all the necessary expenses already referred to, before sharing the profits with Government; while now the charges of cultivation are alone allowed to be deducted before such division;

(3) that national amusements were provided for at public expense and the Government only claimed a share of the residue of the produce of the lands. The Government now decline to make any allowance for the same; and

(4) that agrarian disputes were naturally rare and easily settled. Crime was more easily detected and repressed.

MALABAR SETTLEMENT.

IT is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of agriculture, as on its prosperity depends the prosperity of all other arts and industries. In his Convocation address to the graduates, Lord Wenlock told us how the preponderating importance of the agricultural industry has always forced itself upon his mind. He regretted to find that throughout the length and breadth of the land the duty of carrying on this industry is almost entirely confined to members of the peasant class. He was surprised to see that no man of culture and education thinks it worth his while to devote his time, leisure, or wealth to the personal pursuit of agriculture. Aware that in other countries agriculture is considered a noble object, he could see no reason why men of high educational attainments should not turn their attention to this subject, and by scientific and careful application succeed in obtaining a fair remuneration for their capital and labour; and he suggested experiments in raising and marketing different kinds of crops, in trials of all sorts of agricultural implements, and in the improvement of different breeds of cattle. It is a sad confession to make, that though Lord Wenlock has been in this country for so many years, surrounded by members of the Civil Service who are supposed to know everything useful about the Presidency, he has now to leave India without being able to account for this important fact—"the almost absolute divorce from the cultivation of the soil—the principal industry of the country—of men of position and high educational attainments."

After the failure of Lord Wenlock and the Civil Service to give an explanation, it might be deemed impertinent on our part to suggest any, but we have no hesitation in affirming that in the Ryotwary districts this 'divorce' is due to the disturbance in the value of property caused by the operations of the Revenue or Settlement officials.

No person who has received any education is likely to devote his time or leisure to increasing the produce of the land when the law does not secure him the fruits of his industry.

None will invest any wealth in the improvement of his land when the Revenue officials will within a few years certainly take half of the increased yield due to his enterprise, energy and capital without any regard to the amount spent in effecting the same, possibly after various failures; and there is no law to prevent them from appropriating the entire yield.

Nothing is more remarkable in the Revenue history of the Presidency than the jealousy entertained by the Revenue Courts towards the Civil Courts of Justice. Every possible device is resorted to, and various laws have been passed to prevent the Civil Courts from enquiring into the justice of any land revenue claim by Government. So long as the Courts of law fail to secure to any person the fruits of his energy, enterprise or capital, so long will this 'divorce' continue. The 'justice, equity and good sense' of the Revenue official, which cannot stand a public enquiry, will not secure the union hoped for.

We propose to justify our contention by a reference to the Settlement operations in Malabar, on the west coast of this Presidency.

The principles on which the Settlement in that District is to be based, have apparently not been settled yet. There is a vague impression that the District is rich compared to the other Districts, and it ought to pay more to Government. The absence of any knowledge not only on the part of the Settlement officers, but also of the higher Revenue officials, of the ancient history of a District when its settlement is undertaken, is remarkable. Those few who possess a knowledge of such history are not generally well-informed of the principles that guide the Government in enhancing the existing assessment. The result is an uncertainty which causes confusion and trouble.

Many officials entertain the view that the Government is the proprietor of all the lands in the Ryotwary Districts, and that the Government is therefore entitled to the produce recoverable after payment of wages and profits. This claim, which is of course inconsistent with any hereditary claim on the part of the occupier, is not

indeed based upon Ancient Hindu texts, but upon the usage which is said to have prevailed mainly during the period of Mahomedan influence.

If this principle is accepted as the basis of the impending Malabar Settlement, there is nothing further to be said. But fortunately, this principle has been authoritatively repudiated, not only by the various Revenue officials of Madras, but also by the Secretary of State for India.

Such a theory finds no support in Ancient Hindu usage, where private ownership is distinctly recognised. It may be that occasional examples might be found of Governments, particularly Mahomedan, claiming almost the entire surplus produce; but they were exceptional and contrary to popular ideas of sovereign's claim. Southern India was never in fact for a long time under settled Mahomedan rule, and Malabar, as its history shows, never submitted to Mahomedan Government, and the Mahomedan supremacy, which lasted for not more than 30 years, was not effectual to give currency to such a claim.

The Court of Directors repudiated the State proprietorship in 1856, when they declared that the "right of the Government is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce, after paying the cost of cultivation, and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed, as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he, in fact, let the land to others, or retain it in his own hands."

In 1864 this principle was re-affirmed by Sir C. Wood.

In 1882, the Madras Government finally declared after full inquiry, "that subject to the payment of a stated proportion of the produce to meet the necessities of the Administration, the proprietary right of the ryot in the soil of his holding is absolute and complete."

This doctrine is now generally accepted. It is, however, asserted that Hindu law supports the view of partnership in the produce, and usage is said to be in its favour; and, after some discussion as to what the share ought to be, the Government have decided that they would be justified in claiming one-half of the net produce as their share.

As to Hindu law, Mann declares—"A king was created as the protector of all those classes and orders who from the first to the last discharged their several duties" and in return for their protection, the king was entitled to demand from the merchant, and the husbandman the legal tax which, in times of prosperity, was to be one-twelfth part, and in times of distress, one-eighth or a sixth, or even a fourth part of their crops, a twentieth of their gains on money and other moveables (C. 10, Sc. 118, 119, 120; C. 7, Sc. 130, and the difference in the king's share is in the last sloka attributed to the difference in the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. Of all hoards and precious minerals in the Earth, the king is entitled to half by reason of his general protection and because he is the lord paramount of the soil.

It is clear therefore that generally the claim of the king to a share of the produce was recognized by the Sastras and custom has ordinarily accepted the claim. It is no doubt true that nowhere has the ruler's claim to such a high share as half the net produce been asserted, but it is possible that careful inquiry might bring out instances where it has been enforced.

While it is true that the claim on behalf of the sovereign for a share finds support among the Sastras and the usage of the various Districts of the Presidency, it is asserted on behalf of Malabar, that the same texts which recognize the sovereign's share generally, affirm an exception which denies to him any share of the produce in Malabar, and that usage and tradition have upheld that view.

We will first of all consider the actual usage and tradition. Though we shall have to refer to the same later, for the present, the following dates may be borne in mind.

In 1766 the country till then under Hindu rule was overrun by the Mahomedans for the first time and continued under them till 1792, when the East India Company acquired the country.

The Mahomedan dominion which was never submitted to, continued only for about 26 years, and it was the scheme of land taxation imposed by the Mahomedan rulers that is continued to this day by the British Government. In revising or enchaucing the assessment the Government cannot therefore appeal to any

Mahomedan precedents. Let us see what the state of things was under native rule.

Soon after the acquisition of the country by the East India Company, certain Commissioners were appointed to settle the District, and they reported thus in 1793 :—

"The Rajas' rights in general did not extend to the exaction of any regular settled or fixed revenue from their subjects, the original constitution of the Government only entitling them to call on their vassals, the Brahmins and Nairs, for military service; but although this general exemption from any land tax is said to have thus universally prevailed in the early times of the Rajas' Governments, it is however allowed that they were occasionally subject to some contribution for the extraordinary exigencies of defence against the invasions of foreign enemies, such as the Canarese and the Portuguese," as is only natural.

Dr. Buchanan, who was asked by the then Viceroy in 1801 to report on the general state of the country, was informed by an English colonist "of great abilities and knowledge of the country and its inhabitants," that the Government of the country being perfectly *feudal*, a system of revenue was unknown amongst its inhabitants, and that under Hyder the Rajas were invested with despotic authority over the other inhabitants instead of the very limited prerogatives that they had enjoyed by the feudal system under which they could neither exact revenue from the lands of their vassals, nor exercise any direct authority in their districts. He also informed Dr. Buchanan that the ancient constitution of the Government, though defective in many respects, was favourable to agriculture "from the lands being unburdened with revenue;" and finally the Doctor says "This much is certain, that in no country in the world is the nature of the species of property better understood than in Malabar, nor its rights more tenaciously maintained. It is probable that the possession of *jenmam** land was originally unalienable, and confined to one or two castes. At present, however, any person possessed of money may become a purchaser of *jenmam*. It is still more probable that this possession was exempt from any direct burden except military service. There seems to have been no regular tax anterior to the Mahomedan

*Corresponding to freehold.

invasion. The Rajas were supported by the produce of their own lands, and by certain fugitive forfeits or immunities, which were more singular than advantageous. In cases of public necessity they might have recourse to the voluntary or constrained assistance of their subjects; but their power was very limited, and it was seldom they could command more from a jealous and discordant aristocracy than a short personal service."

His conclusion is that under the Government of the Rajas there was no land tax. Referring to a part of Canara, which really formed a part of Malabar under native rule, Dr. Buchanan says that it was only in 1729-30 that the Raja of that part established a land tax there in lieu of certain other claims.

The earliest English authority on Malabar land tenures said, in 1801, with reference to revenue on land, that "it is but recently that it was subject to any land tax." The Rajas, it is true, before there was a regular assessment, in proportion to their strength, levied contributions on the landed proprietors; but the Janmakaran (owner) never considered himself under an obligation to support the Rajas or defray the expenses of the State from the produce of his janm."

Writing a few years later Mr. Thatkera, who is often quoted as an authority in matters referring to Malabar, says:—

"There is no proof that any regular land tax existed in Malabar previous to that event; tradition and general opinion seem to deny it. The proprietors of land were certainly bound to render military service, and were likely to contribute twenty per cent. in case of invasions. The pagodas and the Rajas had lands of their own. The Rajas had other sources of revenue—from fines, royalties, imposts, personal taxes, and plunder, which were sufficient to support them. There was no army besides the Militia, nor any expensive establishments to support; so that there does not seem to have been any necessity for a general land tax; nor had the Rajas power perhaps to collect one. It is only great States that want, or in India can, collect the land revenue easily."

In the fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons it is said:—

"It was represented by the natives that, previously to that period, the lands were not subject to any assessment; and

although no positive evidence has been adduced to disprove this fact, it seemed to be negatived by tradition and general belief. It is concluded, that the proprietors of them must, at all events, have been liable to occasional contributions in time of war and invasion, bound, as they appear to have been, to military service; and if they paid a regular assessment, it must have been a very low one; for a Militia was the only army which the Rajas maintained; and they do not appear to have kept up any other establishment of an expensive kind. They had lands of their own, which must have yielded them a considerable revenue, in addition to what they derived from fines, royalties, imposts, and personal taxes."

Sir Thomas Munro, after making local enquiries, reported that the sources of revenue were:—

1. Extensive domains.
2. Customs and licenses.
3. Escheats of Hindu estates without heirs.
4. Fines where no heir, for leave to adopt; as usually one-third of the property.
5. Fines from the estates of all Mappallas deceased, usually from one-twentieth to one-fifth of the value.
6. Fines from younger brothers on succeeding the elder in the sister's house.
7. Fines for offences, and heavy fees on law-suits.
8. All cattle having particular marks."

And Mr. Ellis writing in 1816, says that the land is held "free of all participation or control, and formerly free of all rent."

After a careful inquiry, the Board of Revenue reported in 1818 that:—

"It is a most remarkable circumstance, that until the conquest of Malabar by the Musalman princes of Mysore, this right seems to have been held by the Jenunkars, free from any condition of a payment, in money or produce, to the Government; for, until that period, a land revenue appears to have been altogether unknown to the people. Previous to that event, the province was divided into a number of petty independent principalities, and the revenue of the province consisted of a jenn of his own hereditary lands; of a certain portion of all the property of which his

Moplah subjects died possessed, levied under the denomination of Poorashandram, before the next heir could take possession; of imposts on trade and Mint duties; fines for criminal offences; protection money from fugitive subjects of other Rajas; escheated and confiscated estates; offerings by his subjects at the great annual festivals and at the investiture of each senior Raja; professional taxes on weavers, distillers, &c., and the royalties of gold ore, elephants, ivory, teak trees, bamboos, vessels, wrecked on the coast, and a few others; but the Jenmkars, or persons vested with the jenm right, paid nothing to the Government. The Namboory and Nair Jenmkars may indeed be said to have rendered their dues to the public, by the performance of service to the State, the various rites of the Hindu church devolving on the former, and the defence of the country on the latter tribe; and the general tax levied on all the property of the Moplahs, at their death, may be considered as having fallen on their lands, as well as on their other property; but the Namboories and Nairs did not contribute, either in kind or money, to the support of the State, and the tax paid by the Moplahs was a general tax on the capital of a wealthy tribe of foreign settlers, not a tax upon the land.

“Nothing therefore could be more complete than the property of the soil thus vested in the Jenmkars. After defraying the expenses of cultivation, the produce of the land, or its value, was their own, free from tax. The Jenmkar held the land on the tenure of the sword, and as he was entitled to subsistence money when called into active service, the condition of the tenure still left it a very valuable property. Hence, in Malabar, there were none of those hereditary village registrars who under the denomination of Curnumpis, Conicopillies, or Shambogues, were elsewhere universally found necessary by the Government to keep detailed accounts of the occupation and cultivation of the soil. The non-existence of a land revenue in that province rendered the employment of such persons unnecessary; and the Jenmkars, free from all interference of this kind, were the independent owners of the land. They held, by right of birth, not of the prince, but in common with him, and therefore may be considered as having possessed a property in the soil more absolute than even that of the landlord in Europe.”

Mr. Logan, who was appointed Commissioner, reported in 1881 that it has been a matter of accepted belief with the British authorities that prior to the advent of Mysore Mahomedans, there was no public land revenue in Malabar. In the Malabar Manual, published under Government authority, it is stated “It is certain that with two trifling exceptions, which are fully explained in the next section, none of the Malayalee chieftains were levying a regular land revenue when the Mahomedan invasion took place in 1766 A.D.”

It appears therefore that native and Anglo-Indian opinion have been unanimous in favour of the view that there was no land tax in Malabar; that the lands were enjoyed rent or revenue free; that the doctrine that the king is entitled to a share of the produce has never been applied—why it will be explained presently—to the West coast. There are in fact two circumstances that go to prove conclusively that the king never claimed any share.

The division of produce was a well-ascertained fact. In the other Districts of the Presidency we find always a share set apart for the sovereign, when, after the expenses of cultivation, the produce is divided between the ryot or village and the ruler; but in Malabar we find, from the books and also from tradition, that in the division of the produce the king had no share. Almost all the authorities we have already referred to in the course of this article, refer to the division of produce among the various persons interested in the land. It would be profitless to refer to them all. We will only refer to the first and the last of them.

In voucher 89 of the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inspect this among other Districts in 1792, (the country itself having been ceded only in 1791), it is stated:—

“The extent of a field was judged by the quantity of nelly (paddy) seed required to sow it. Lands produced from 5 to 10 fold and, according to the known quality of the land, the quantity of the produce was estimated. Of this produce, one-third was allowed to the farmer for his maintenance, profit, &c.; one-third for the expense of the Teers, Chermars, and other cultivators attached to the soil; one-third went as rent to the Jenmkar or landlord.” It will be seen that nothing is set apart for the ruler.

The latest inquirer, Mr. Logan, the Commissioner appointed in 1881 to inquire into the Malabar Land Tenures, &c., states in his Malabar Manual that the original Malayalee system of land tenure was a system of customary sharing of the produce, each customary sharer being permitted the free transfer of his interest in the land."

Referring to the Report of the Commissioner in 1793, already referred to, Mr. Logan considers that he "seems to have been correctly informed as to the ancient system of the customary sharing of the produce which was described to him as already stated."

Another reason for concluding that the Government had no share, is the fact noticed by Sir T. Munro and the Board of Revenue, that there were no Curnums—Village Accountants—in the villages, which circumstance points to the absence of a land tax.

What then is the explanation of this apparently extraordinary exception? It is found that elsewhere in India the Hindu texts recognize the right of the ruler to a share, and we find the claim enforced. How happens it that in Malabar alone such right was never exercised? The explanation has to be sought in the exemption of the Brahmin from taxation, and in the nature of the land tenure in Malabar.

Manu says:—"A king, even though with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmin, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger."

"A learned Brahmin finding treasure trove may keep the whole, for he is lord of all."

The maxim of the law is stated to be "The king is lord of all except sacerdotal wealth."

The explanation offered by the Malayalam lawyer is "That Malabar was Brahmin property."

The traditional account, as appears from the two treatises, is to the effect that this land was miraculously reclaimed from the sea by Parasurama, one of the heroes of Hindu Mythology who settled Brahmin colonists therein. The Brahmins were divided into 64 gramams or villages, and obtained the gift of arms. Sudras were introduced, and they were constituted the bodyguard of the Brahmin village.

The Brahmins established a form of republican government

for their own community. Four of the most important of these were appointed to represent the sixty-four, and their members elected a 'protector' (Rakshapuran) as their executive officer, and each gramam or village elected an individual as a counsellor, to the protector. This was found unsatisfactory, and they resolved 'a king is wanted.' A Viceroy of a king who ruled in another part of the Presidency was invited to take up the appointment for a term of years under the title of Perumal, assisted by counsellors as before. This continued for some time. At a later period the office of Perumal is alleged to have been abolished, and that of the 'protector' revived with all the privileges of the old Perumals. This was again found inconvenient, and the appointment of 'Perumal' once more reverted to. The last of such 'Perumals' became independent of his lawful sovereign in the East, and continued to rule the country even after his term of office had expired. He is said to have abdicated, according to some writers, to proceed to Mecca, having become a convert to Mahomedanism. He parcelled out his dominions among his feudatories and other dependants, amongst whom are the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin, and the Zamorin of Calicut, and others with whom the Europeans came into contact.

Even when they appointed Perumals they were jealous of the powers conferred on him.

Thus runs the *Keralolpathi*:—"When the Brahmins first appointed a king they made an agreement on oath with him to this effect:—'Do that which is beyond our power to do and protect. When complaints happen to arise, we will settle them by ourselves. You are not to question us on that point. For formality's sake you may ask why we deal with affairs ourselves after making you a king.' At this day* even when complaints arise the king says:—'Why do you deal with them? Why don't you make your complaint to me?' This is owing to the former oath."

Lands were also given to him, and on one of his successors similarly appointed, certain privileges were conferred, including the right to receive land and sea customs, fines for evasion of ancient usages, &c.

The country thus originally belonged to the Brahmin. It continued to remain the property of the Brahmin even after the com-

* The work is generally supposed to have been written in the 17th Century, A.D.

menement of the rule of Perumals, who were provided with other sources of income. No doubt other castes acquired such rights occasionally from the Brahmins, and they also naturally claimed the same privileges as the Brahmins.

And the Brahmin's property was exempt from taxation or payment of any revenue to the king.

This tradition, as the basis of the claim of the landowners to complete property in the land, was examined by Sir C. Turner, the late Chief Justice of Madras, and he says:—

"I do not think we have as yet sufficient evidence to justify us in refusing credit altogether to the Brahminical accounts of the establishment of the peculiar form of government which the dawn of history reveals in Malabar. It is probable that the original Perumals were the viceroys of a sovereign, who had sent an army into Malabar and subjugated the population he found there, and that when the central authority grew weak, the Nambutiris established a theocratical oligarchy and elected chief executive officers, to whom they entrusted from time to time more or less of the powers of ancient Perumals. By the latter, if not the earlier Perumals, the office was held only for a term of 12 years. It also appears clear that on the disappearance of the last Perumal, whether, as is probable, this was caused by a revolution brought about by his conversion to Mahomedanism or by voluntary abdication; that the executive power was seized by a number of Rajas, and the form of government then established continued with only temporary disturbance occasioned by the invasions of neighbouring powers down to the time of British rule."

It was the descendants of these Rajas whom the Europeans found governing the country when they came.

The Chief Justice then says: "The fable that the land was created for the Brahmin was no doubt invented to give colour to the claim which the Brahmin asserted, and which to a considerable extent he certainly enjoyed." * * * "The absence of land revenue, which appeared to the early inquirers and to the Court of Directors so extraordinary, is explained on the hypothesis that the Brahmin whom the Hindu law declared free from tax, was the owner of the soil." * * * "It is probable that some of the land was held throughout by the Nairs, but these and the Moplas who were

in possession as Janmies when the District was ceded, by Tippu, claimed the same completeness of ownership as was claimed by the Brahmins. This nevertheless does not impugn the conclusion that Janmies' right was understood to be complete ownership."

The only doubt about this position, that I have seen expressed, is by the Court of Directors in 1821.

In 1822 a report was submitted by a Special Commissioner, which Sir T. Munro characterized "as on the whole the fullest and most comprehensive report ever received of any province under this Government." With reference to the doubt expressed by the Court of Directors, the late Chief Justice of Madras, who had to examine the matter fully, records: "It cannot be doubted that Sir Thomas Munro would not have accorded to Mr. Graeme's report the praise he did if he thought that that officer had left in doubt the great question on which the Court of Directors professed themselves to be not altogether convinced.

"In the letter of the 18th May 1825, adverting to the measures adopted in consequence of Mr. Graeme's inquiry, the Court notices that there appears to be in Malabar an intermediate class between the cultivators and the Government who came nearer to the situation of proprietors of land in the land than any intermediate class in any other part of India. Obviously they refer to the Janmkars, and they suggest that their knowledge was imperfect of the subordinate agricultural classes.

"It does not appear that any further action was taken by the Madras Government on the receipt of this letter. It was probably considered that the inquiries which had been conducted had been sufficiently minute to ascertain the relative rights of the several classes connected with the soil, but seeing that the position occupied by the Janmkars stood in the way of the realization of so large a share of the produce as was taken as Government revenue, where the Government could deal directly with the cultivator, we may be sure that the position of the Janmies would have been at once questioned, had the Madras Government seen any reason to doubt it."

Native and Anglo-Indian authority are therefore agreed that under the Hindu Rajas there was no land revenue, that land was held free of payment of rent or revenue, and that the king's claim

to a share of the produce recognised by the Hindu law books was not accepted in Malabar.

The question had to be considered in 1883 by the Board of Revenue and the Government of Madras, when the claim of the Government to revise the Settlement in Malabar was questioned. The Board of Revenue admitted that "under the ancient native Rajas no regular settled or fixed revenue was levied from their subjects, the original constitution of their government only entitling them to call on their vassals, the Brahmia and Nair landlords, for military service." They then refer to the admitted fact that contributions were levied for the extraordinary exigencies of defence against the invasions of foreign enemies. They cite with approval the statement of Major Walker's Report of 1801 that there was no regular tax anterior to the Mahomedan invasion. But they say "It was not, however, to the native Rajas, but to their Mahomedan conquerors, that the British Government succeeded in 1792."

To justify their action they can therefore only appeal to the period of Mahomedan dominion from 1766 to 1792; the hated dominion of the foreigner never acquiesced in by the people. Even this plea is not sustainable.

(To be continued.)

FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

THOUGH female education is a theme of constant exhortation with those interested in the progress of the country, yet one feels that the absence of definite information on the subject, and the meagre references to statistics, upon which alone any reliable conclusions can be based, are serious drawbacks. Vague generalizations, based on insufficient data, or on no data at all, followed by appeals to the people, however earnest, cannot affect public opinion appreciably. In answer to such indefinite appeals we are constantly told that the education of girls is being attended to everywhere, that girls' schools are being established in increasing numbers, that the attendance in girls' schools goes on advancing, that the graduates of our universities regard the education of their wives and daughters as a mark of civilization and enlightenment, and that for these and other reasons no fresh effort is needed on the part of the people for the promotion of female education. A cheery optimism has been the result of the native public having been treated constantly to a string of platitudes and generalizations on the importance of female education. We feel certain that if the public had had placed before them, from time to time, a few statistics shewing the extraordinarily slow progress which the women of India have made with regard to education, if genuine interest leading to some practical measures might have been evoked in the educated section of the native community. Unfortunately it seems to be considered that statistics are out of place except in Government Orders and Public Instruction Reports. The aversion to statistics, though to a certain extent universal, seems to be peculiarly characteristic of the Indian mind, which invariably takes things at second hand. With the aid of a few statistics, we shall, in the present article, attempt to shew that the advance of female education has not kept pace with the progress of the country so remarkable in other directions.

* *Progress of Education in India (1887-88 to 1891-22), Second Quinquennial Review.* By A. M. Nash, Esquire, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.

In 1886-87, the year for which statistics are given in Sir Alfred Croft's first Quinquennial Review, the total number of female pupils under instruction, in the whole of India, was 266,287, out of a total female population of 102,097,394; in 1891-92 the number of female pupils stood at 399,043 out of a total female population of 114,160,631. That there is a great difference between the educational condition of males and that of females will be seen from the fact that whereas in 1886-87 and in 1891-92 the percentages of male scholars to male population of school-going age were 19.3 and 19.84 respectively, the percentages of female scholars to female population of school-going age were only 1.7 and 1.97 respectively. Of course there are variations in different provinces. Coorg takes the lead with 6.8 per cent. of girls of school-going age under instruction; then comes Lower-Burmah with a percentage of 4.9, followed by Bombay, Madras and Bengal, with the percentages of 3.7, 3.6 and 1.8 respectively. Primary schools for girls advanced, during the five years ending 1891-92, from 4,514 to 5,228, and that of pupils from 132,717 to 157,183. Secondary schools for girls, during this period, increased from 357 to 432, and pupils from 24,904 to 34,306.

The exceedingly small proportion of girls pursuing their studies beyond the upper primary stage is one of the most discouraging features of female education in India. In 1891-92, out of a total of 294,318 girls in Secondary and Primary schools for natives, only 415 were in high or the upper secondary stage, and 3,452 in the middle or the lower secondary stage. Hence it appears that out of every thousand girls at school only 13 have advanced beyond the primary stage, and only one of these has reached the high stage. Rather more than a third of the pupils are still in the classes in which printed books are not used. The amount of knowledge which a pupil acquires when in the upper primary stage, is, as is well known, extremely meagre, and no pupil who stops at this stage can be in any way looked upon as having received a liberal elementary education. But the proportion of girls who reach even this stage is ridiculously low. Out of a total of 294,318 girls in Secondary and Primary schools, only 16,345 or 5 per cent. had reached the upper primary stage, the remaining 274,106 or 94 per cent. were in the lower primary stage, in which the girls do not receive any thing more than a mere smattering knowledge of the

three R's. An unduly large proportion of girls, therefore, leave school just at the time when they begin to be taught the rudiments of knowledge, and in the absence of an organized system of home education the training given in the schools is of very little significance.

During the past few years some little encouragement has been given to the collegiate education of women. The returns for 1891-92 show that there were 45 girls on the rolls of arts colleges, 24 in Bengal, 13 in Bombay, 5 in Madras, 2 in Lower Burmah, and 1 in the Central Provinces. Full details are not available regarding the success of female students at the University examinations, but apparently only one girl has taken the M.A. Degree of Calcutta, and 13 have passed the B.A. examination,—7 from Bengal, 3 from Bombay, 2 from Madras, and 1 from the North-Western Provinces.

The scheme set on first by Lady Dufferin to provide the women of India with female medical aid has given some impetus to female medical education throughout the country. The medical colleges in the three presidency towns are now open to females, and the number of qualified female medical practitioners is increasing. The medical education of women, in the higher branches of the profession, however, has not made as much progress as might have been expected, considering the large number of scholarships that have been created from the Countess of Dufferin's Fund and other sources, since the establishment of the National Association for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. The returns show an increase from 21 to 29, between 1887 and 1892, in the number of female students qualifying for degrees in medical colleges. During the five years, 3 girls obtained the degree of M.B.,—2 in Bengal and 1 in Madras; 8 girls passed the L.M.S. examination,—3 in Bombay, 2 in Madras, 2 in the Punjab and 1 in Bengal.

It may be interesting to state here to what extent female education as a whole has affected the main divisions of the population of India. In English secondary schools, out of 18,724 (16,072)* pupils in 1891-92, 10,922 (9,105) were Europeans, 5,015 (3,950) Native Christians, 1,532 (1,895) Hindus, and only 20 (18) Muhammadans, the remaining 1,235 (938) were grouped together under the head of "Others" and included about 600 Parsis, 300 Burmese,

* The corresponding figures for 1886-87 are given within brackets.

and 170 Brahmos. In vernacular secondary schools the total number of pupils was 15,582 (8,832); of these, 10,407 (5,835) were Hindus, 3,984 (2,576) Native Christians, 962 (153) Muhammadans. In Primary Schools there were 157,183 (132,717) pupils, of whom 112,383 (93,482) were Hindus, 25,388 (17,630) Muhammadans, 9,645 (8,563) Native Christians, 1,514 (1,779) Europeans, and 8,253 (9,805) "Others." The Parsi community heads the list with regard to the education of girls, next come Europeans and Eurasians followed by Native Christians. It is noteworthy that the Brahmin community, which stands foremost in India, so far as the education of the males is concerned, is extremely backward as regards female education. The one-sided advance of this community seems to have called forth little effort on the part of its male members to secure the benefits of education for the women.

Sir Alfred Croft has referred to the present State system of education, as regards control, inspection, and text books, as one of the hindrances to the progress of female education, inasmuch as this system was framed originally with a view to the requirement of boys. But it is encouraging to note that steps have already been taken to remedy this defect. In the Madras Presidency, under the present system of inspection, all the girls' schools are under the supervision of a well-organized female inspecting agency. There are two Inspectresses of girls' schools assisted by sub-assistants, (one is a native lady) who are selected on account of their special qualifications for the work. The lead taken by Madras will, it is hoped, be followed by the other Provinces. Not much has been done towards providing girls with suitable school books and general literature. In this respect our young graduates can afford great assistance. It is to be hoped that the educated native community will not fail to realize their responsibility in this and other matters concerning the education of India's daughters.

One of the recommendations of the Education Commission dealing with female education, was that masters in girls' schools should gradually be replaced by mistresses, and for that purpose additional training schools for women should be provided, and liberal aid afforded to institutions under private management. The mere extension of female education is of little use, unless the education imparted is intrinsically sound. This can only be the case when there is an

efficient and carefully trained teaching agency. There can also be no doubt of the fact that well-qualified female teachers are in every way more suited to schools for girls than male teachers, and yet the majority of teachers in girls' schools are men, and, what is more unsatisfactory, only a very small proportion of the male teachers have undergone normal training. The number of training schools for mistresses in the whole of India is only 37 with about 800 pupils. The majority of these schools are in the Madras Presidency, and are chiefly maintained by Missions.

So long as the present system of infant marriage continues, we can hardly look for rapid progress, and so long as this system necessitates the withdrawal of girls from school, at an age, when their education has scarcely begun, it cannot be expected that the schools even now in existence, will be very effective in raising the women of India to a higher level. It is encouraging to note that the home education of girls is taken up by secular agencies such as the National Indian Association; but the missionary agencies still hold the field and continue to do excellent work. It is very necessary that the education given in schools should be supplemented by a liberal training in the homes or zenanas; but the danger of giving too liberal aid to zenana agencies is ably pointed out by Dr. Duncan, the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. He says:—"Home education classes are good as far as they go, and if parents can afford and are willing to pay for the luxury of educating their girls at home, it is right that they should have an opportunity of doing so. But it is merely to play with a momentous question for the leaders of native society to assume that, in patronizing these classes, they are doing a great deal to remove one of the greatest blots on their social system. It must be apparent to all of them that no practical extension of the home education system can have more than an infinitesimal effect in removing the mass of illiteracy and ignorance which is stifling the very life of society. I am far from thinking that it would be expedient entirely to withdraw departmental aid from these educational agencies. But the conviction has for some time been growing in my mind that unless the utmost caution is taken, increased facilities for opening these classes and liberal grants in aid of them may have an effect the very opposite of that intended—may retard the general spread of female education while advancing it slightly within a very limited sphere. Only those

girls who have reached the age when rigid custom ordains that they shall not any longer attend school, should be admitted to the home classes. A little judicious pressure brought to bear upon parents, who are at all desirous to see their daughters educated, would here and there have the effect of inducing them to break through the barriers of custom and keep their girls at school some years longer. If parents found that the educational authorities are just as ready to arrange for their girls being educated at home by a semi-private governess as they are to provide for having them taught in a school, they will doubtless choose the former. The education of one's children involves a sacrifice—a sacrifice of money; it may be of customary opinions, of cherished prejudices, of time-honored sentiments. If parents are really desirous to educate their daughters, they will be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. If they are indifferent in the matter, I am not very sanguine as to the amount of good that will be done by home education classes.

The importance of developing and extending female education in India cannot be over-estimated, but it is discouraging to note the small encouragement given to this branch of education by the intelligent and educated section of the native community. The education which our young graduates have received should certainly have taught them that the task of elevating the women of India is more theirs than that of Government or of foreign missionary and other agencies, and yet even an honest co-operation with external agencies at work in this country is, in most instances, wanting, so far as female education is concerned. Many a school started through the efforts of philanthropic Europeans, or through the zealous endeavours of earnest native reformers, who, though few, form the salt of the native community, has collapsed through lack of encouragement and support on the part of the public. The mere establishment of schools therefore will not suffice. As Sir Alfred Lyall said, "Before any considerable progress is obtained the natives must themselves lend their co-operation and full assent to the administrative measures of Government, and a public opinion less indifferent to the education of women must be formed."

THE INDIAN LANDHOLDERS.

A WORD FOR THEM.

"MEND or end the lords" has, for some years, been the prevailing cry in British politics. It is the inevitable outcome of the attitude of antagonism, maintained by the so-called aristocratic chamber—as a factor of British Legislature—towards the question of Home Rule for Ireland—the first measure of the kind peaceably experimented within the limits of the British Empire in the Eastern hemisphere. No such burning question excites us here in India, nor are the landholding classes of this country an integral part, which enters into the composition of the machinery, constituted for the administration of her affairs. Attempts were indeed made, not with the purest of intentions, to stir them up and cajole the big ones among them into placing themselves in opposition to the spirit of active political life which has been abroad, more or less within the past decade. But, happily for the abiding interests of this country, the issue of such attempts was either an abortion, a still-birth, or a spasmodic life of brief duration. This I say neither in a spirit of hostility to those classes, nor in disparagement of them. On the contrary I regard it as a hopeful sign that, with the isolated exception of two or three of their ilk here and there, they escaped being led astray, though too tempting doctrines were sedulously and insidiously dinned in their ears. That, in the majority of cases, the escape was fortuitous and not the result of a deliberate choice must indeed be confessed. But it does not in the least matter what the cause was. We need rejoice none the less on that account. It is, on the contrary, creditable to those classes that they have proved impervious to mischievous and misleading intelligence, notwithstanding the proverbial proneness of "lords" to gravitate towards the symbols of the sovereign power. As the pieces are at present arranged on the Indian political chess-board, the "lords" are utterly without any honorable place. The privileges they may be said to enjoy as their own, at present, may be summed up thus:—right of private entrée at levees and other ceremonial occasions, the right to the use of Government equipage when making an ingress into and an egress from the chief city, the right to have a few troopers trotting about them as they drive through the city, the right to interchange visits with Governors, their Councillors and other magnates, the right to a wealth of honorific suffixes bringing

no tangible profit with them, a few guns and, at best, the honour of paying large and often disproportionate donations in respect of undertakings officially favoured.

These may not be despicable distinctions. They have a value of their own of a sort, and they have their uses in a sense. If there are cravings of human nature which are apt to be thereby innocently gratified, they need not be nipped at; on the contrary, one will do well not to lose sight of the fact that they see no other functions before them, or are taught to see any. The actual however should not be confounded with the possible, and it by no means follows that they have not quite as much aptitude and potentiality for good as any other body. They lack indeed the natural incentives to mental culture and personal activity, by the possession of a source of income, which, despite inevitable fluctuations of the monsoon and the weather, would keep them in abundance and luxury. By being thus above want on the one hand, and by being petted or lionised on the other, by official magnates and the dangle-ers-after-them as it serves their purpose or suits their whim, the tendency is no doubt generated in them to become convenient tools in the hands of complacent but designing men and turn practical, though unconscionable, traitors to the land of their birth. It is no wonder that, like all else, they are victims to existing circumstances. If others did their duty to arrest the development of such a degeneracy and indicated other matters of greater importance which are calculated to afford a more genuine pleasure and a livelier enjoyment, the conditions would most assuredly be different. This task I would see fulfilled. As a preliminary to that task, one should render it clear how, at present, the land-holding classes can have neither scope nor chance to help in the function of promoting the well-being of the community to which they belong, in a spirit of self-reliance and independence; for the very foundations of their continuous existence, *as such*, are threatened so as to make them the sport of professional speculators on the one hand, and, on the other, the victims of a judicial obliquity which is incapable of grasping and applying sound and consistent principles, such as would give them an assured sense of security.

Without purposing to launch into a discussion particularly abstruse or technical, and with the object of opening their eyes to the vulnerable point in their position, I shall briefly glance

at the views entertained as regards the character of permanency appertaining to their estates. Three principles can be gathered as governing the question, *viz.*, (1) family custom; (2) the nature of the estate, *i.e.*, its having possessed the character of a principality at inception; and (3) its tenure, *i.e.*, its having been a territorial area, to which an office or a military or revenue farmer's service was attached. The most common principle, or rather the principle applied to most cases, is the first of these. Now, if this is critically examined it will be found to be perfectly untenable. It is a notorious fact that the habits and predilections of our forefathers for several generations were in favour of *family unity* as conducive to *joint benefit*, without thereby implying *impartibility* which is capable of being legally insisted on. As regards cash and other forms of moveable property and as regards ryotwary holdings, — be they ever so extensive in area, — those habits and predilections are not supposed to give rise to any inference of impartibility being drawn, and it has been authoritatively declared that no such inferences would follow. What then is the differentiating feature which places estates paying a *fixed peishkush*, in a different category notwithstanding that the family custom evoked as to these was the outcome of the self-same habits and predilections? The liability to pay a fixed peishkush has evidently not been accepted as such differentiating feature; for, if it had been, not one of the Zemindaries which have been declared partible should have been broken up. If it be said that an intention to keep the estate intact is derivable where non-division has gone on for many generations, why does not that conclusion follow as regards other forms of property? There is, besides, an evident fallacy in casting together men of different generations into one body and crediting that body with ideas of *binding their successors*, in regard of one particular form of property alone. But whatever be the inference or intention, it does not so bind however; because, even after a series of successions by primogeniture, it is held to be perfectly open to any one generation by a voluntary act to break up the estate, saying an eternal good-bye to impartibility. Shadowy indeed must be the security where a right has to be founded in the first place on a number of successive accidents, but liable, nevertheless and at any time, to be set aside by a solitary will, — the will of the holder of the estate in any one generation. If he is weak enough to concur, impartibility is at an end.

Thus, so far as family custom as the origin of impartibility is concerned, it is but a feeble reed for the land-holding classes to lean upon.

As to the second ground, viz., the estate having been once a petty principality, it is not reason to say that, because sovereign power must devolve undivided, and because as a consequence the territorial area also which was subject to that sovereign power, therefore, even when such a sovereign power which is the personal privilege of the holder has ceased, the territorial area which only followed the course of that power as inseparable from it, would nevertheless descend as if such descendibility was inherent in it. It is no doubt true that when the sovereign power was taken away, the estate was not also taken away, and that it remained with the holder for the time being as his own property, which is very different in its inherent nature from a tract over which powers of a ruler are exercised. To my mind, the whole argument of transferring to the estate the character of permanency which it did not possess before, is utterly inconsequential. What is thus untenable about petty principalities is *a fortiori* untenable as to Zemindaries which are vaguely termed ancient ones.

The third and last ground on which impartibility is sought to be founded is the nature of the tenure. This is more glibly asserted than is made intelligible; for, not a little confusion has been the result of some attempts that have been too successfully made to make the *present* tenure depend upon the tenure of a remote past, when certain adjuncts, such as office or military service, were essentially necessary to render the *estates* tenable by one person at a time.

I grant that when my great-great-grandfather was burdened with certain official or military duties, he needed, for the fulfilment of those duties, the bulk or the monopoly of the income to be retained in his hands. The function and the income (and therefore the source of that income) must be and were necessarily bound up together; but if it is not forgotten that the holder for the time being had no title of his own to the territorial source of his income, apart from the service he had to perform, it follows that such holder too had not the indefeasible right of an owner, in the proper sense of the term. Whenever the time arrived—no matter how early or how late—for the broad acres to inure to the benefit of a Hindu father, unencumbered with such burden, it must become private property and must perforce be subject to the ordinary rules of the Hindu Law in the hands of his heirs.

Illogical and inconsequential as have been the conclusions which have been examined above, the climax of injustice to the landholding classes was reached, when—regardless of the family antecedents and family claim, and regardless of the fact that, it was the members of the family who resisted the wide-spreading spirit of partition, from motives of family dignity and joint benefit from accumulated opulence—the right of maintaining the estates as joint property has been ruthlessly assailed and airily denied by some who ought to know better. If no higher considerations prevail, this outrageous attack on the very vitals of the landholding family-rights should, of itself, be sufficient to rouse the present and prospective sufferers from this enormity, to a sense of their insecurity, and drive them to seek for legislation. But so imperfect is the consciousness of the expanding danger, and so infinitesimal has been the spark of patriotism that burns in our breasts, that the new fangled doctrine has unhappily received a tremendous filip under the guidance of its mercenary apostles, and no fewer than four or five estates have already been heartlessly brought upon the anvil, and only narrowly escaped from the havoc of the sledge-hammer lifted up by the present and petty ambition of attaining pleasure and profit, unmindful of the grievous injury and irreparable damage done to a body which has been described by a no very friendly critic as “a wealthy and privileged class, the advantage of which it is not easy to over-estimate.” While holding, on the one hand, that, in introducing the Zemindari tenure, Lord Cornwallis “committed himself to a policy which, in regard to the three interested parties—the Zemindar, the Ryot, and the Ruling Power—assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponed the claims of the second, and sacrificed the increment of the third,” the same critic observes, in a spirit of impartiality, that the body in question would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by revolution, and would be found, as have been found, to be a powerful auxiliary on occasions of famine and similar visitations—remarks which he amplifies and illustrates in passages which it will be well to extract here.

a) “This was clearly seen and acknowledged at the time of the sepoy mutiny. There were few large military cantonments in the Lower Provinces in that eventful year. The elements of a great sepoy revolt, with its inevitable accompaniments of arson, plunder, and anarchy, were not abundant as they were in the Upper Pro-

vinces. Even when isolated detachments of sepoys mutinied as they did at Dacca, Chittagong, and in Birbhūm, they met with no countenance from the Zemindars. The sepoys were disciplined and trained to fight. They had arms of precision in the midst of an unwarlike population, the bravest of whom could do little more than use a matchlock to kill a wild beast, and a spear to transfix an adversary in a village fight. But after the first outbreak at the station, where they were resolutely met by a mere handful of Englishmen, the sepoys took to the villages and the jungles, and then they literally melted away before the impassive demeanour, the want of sympathy, and the silent loyalty of the Zemindars. In other Provinces the system of village communities afforded no bulwark against the tide of anarchy. The system was in many respects admirable and suited to the community."

(b) "In times of famine and scarcity the co-operation of wealthy Zemindars has been invoked by the Government, and in many instances ungrudgingly afforded. Here and there, no doubt, there were cases where Zemindars were niggardly and selfish. But several experts hold still to the opinion that scarcity is met, relief works are set on foot, and supplies are transported with greater facility, where there are large Zemindars, than in Provinces where the Settlement has been made with the heads of village communities, or with each ryot direct as in Madras. The Tírhút famine of 1873-74 is certainly an instance in point."

(c) "When the Zemindar was minded to expend money on his Zemindari, his expenditure generally took the following shape. He might drain a huge swamp by cutting a channel for the overflow of its water into the nearest river. He excavated by paid labour an enormous reservoir which secured a supply of pure water for half-a-dozen villages. He constructed ghats or landing-places of stone or brick on the banks of rivers or tanks. He dedicated temples and built school-houses."

From these passages, which are fairly complimentary, it is with regret that I turn to other passages which I have culled from the same writer. They show indeed how the anticipations, if not the expectations, cherished from the body of Indian landholders, who have been, not inaccurately, designated "a new race of Landholders" created by foreign rulers and whom (to adapt and dovetail certain words of the same writer), if not in the exact position of an

English landlord, Lord Cornwallis raised from an uncertain to a well-defined place and to one of emolument, privilege and power. My purpose in calling attention to them is neither to raise a blush on the cheek of the negligent landholder, nor to afford gratification to his foe. My objects are far different. Firstly, I subjoin them, wishing to emphasise what the duties and responsibilities are which are associated with the particular tenure governing the Indian landholder's possessions. In the next place, I desire to indicate how those duties postulate, for their due and adequate performance, the accumulation of wealth and facilities and opportunities in the families, so that the members of which, by their joint influence and joint action, repress prodigal propensities of individuals among them. The passages I refer to are as follows:—

(a) "In the first and most important of his Regulations he expresses a hope that the Zemindars would exert themselves to cultivate their lands, and would improve their respective estates, and he assures them that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own industry without any fear that the demands of Government would be augmented in consequence of any such increase of cultivation and enhanced value of landed property. From the use of the above phrases we can only conceive the ideal or typical Zemindar whom Cornwallis had in his mind, to be identical with what in England we should call an improving landlord: one who expends capital in planting trees where corn will not grow with profit, in making hedges, clearing out ditches, draining wet lands, and erecting model cottages of the most approved type. Now it has been already shown that the Zemindar in almost every district did spend considerable sums in digging tanks, building temples and ghats, and cutting canals. But he never spent a farthing on drains, cottages, breaking up jungle and waste land, or in introducing the higher and more lucrative kinds of cultivation on any holding within his estate. The whole of this burden fell on the ryot."

(b) "But whatever might be the fate of the ryot, and whether his Zemindar was careless or precise in the assessment and exaction of rent, it is indisputable that all over Bengal the Zemindar looked on placidly while the tenant-proprietor and the ryot burnt the jungle grass, broke up the clay soil, sowed the rice, and introduced gradually the more valuable products."

(c) "It is not necessary in accepting these facts, to censure the

Zemindars as a class for not at once filling the exact position of improving landlords which Cornwallis had anticipated. The custom of the country from the earliest times was for the ryot to toil under the Zemindar's protection. But the Zemindar had often private lands, or lands in his own occupation, termed in the phraseology of the day *Nij-jot* and *Khás-Khúmar*; and he was not in the habit, in respect of such plots, of showing the tenantry how the yield of the land could be increased by manure, or how on the various levels the date tree, the *jute*, the tobacco plant or the sugar-cane, could be sown and grown with profit."

From the foregoing discussion and extracts, if one thing is clear more than another, it is this:—that it was during the administration of Lord Cornwallis as the Governor-General of India that the landholding classes were organized into a distinctive and well-defined body and they received, what I may call, a regular constitution. Ostensibly, he adopted the Zamindari system to secure and safeguard the Government revenue against fluctuations of the seasons. Politically, the measure was the means of detaching the territorially-influential families from their Moslem superiors and gaining them over to the British side by offering to them fixity of tenure and permanence of their possessions. But at the same time, one cannot be blind to the fact that—as the historian Mill says—the Governor-General's aristocratic instincts must have encouraged the idea of establishing a landed and old aristocracy in India on the European model—an idea that must have been greatly favoured by his theory that "a Permanent Settlement was to give confidence to the Zamindars, *increase to agriculture and stability to Government.*" Viewed with the help of these side-lights, every estate which has been permanently settled, was intended to be held *intact*, subject to such rights as the Hindu Law would impose in other respects—a condition of things, quite impossible, if at each succession the estate was either liable to be broken up and its income, without being concentrated in one hand for purposes of its improvement, would go piece-meal and be frittered away into the hands of many, or if the holder for the time being possessed the power of crippling or conveying it away either wholly or in part, from an insane ambition to be talked of as a munificent lord or under the evil-influence of a scheming partner in life, or a fascinating she-partner in wrong. But it is too late in the day to ask for the recognition of this to be the true

nature of every tract, held under the system which has been called "the Permanent Settlement." The High Court of Madras, through its brilliant mouth-piece Mr. Justice Holloway, indeed asserted the truth once in dealing with the Nuswid Partition Case. But it was asserted too much in the laconic language of an aphorism, and it made no impression on his *official* superiors. Since his time, as also once or twice before him, we have been so drifting away from that truth, that nothing short of legislation affords the least chance for the Indian landholders to safeguard their possession from wreck and ruin.

In invoking the aid of the Legislature, big ones must put aside their pride and false dignity and fraternise with the "small fry" on the common and single basis of Permanent Settlement. The big ones are indeed very few, and the ways of some of them are, no doubt, such as to enlist very little public sympathy. The fortunes of the landholding classes *as a whole*—much less the interest of the *public*—would, besides, not be seriously affected, either for good or for ill, by any fate that may befall any or many of them, and it is the well-being of the *bulk* of the landholders, including those known as Proprietors by way of contradistinction to pretentious Zamindars, which in reality needs protection against disruption and disintegration. Whether it be on behalf of pretentious Zamindars or their humble brethren, known under the generic name of proprietors or the specific appellation of Jaghirdars, Shrotriamdars, Ibamdars, &c., the demands should not be for the mere perpetuation of the existing mode of enjoying the estate, and much less its income. It does nobody good that one member of a family should roll in wealth and squander it in pandering to his own prurient proclivities. It is an inevitable misfortune that society must endure the spendthrift, when he is himself the acquirer of the treasures, be he lordly or plebeian; for individual rights are too sacred to be meddled with. But where it is capable of being legally controlled by falling in, as heritage the accident of being the firstborn or first-surviving just when succession opened up, should not, to the prejudice of the other members of the family, invest one member of it with the privilege of being prodigal, or profligate, or both. Plainly it is not the law our ancients left us; nor is it Statute Law. It is, as has been shown, purely judicial vagaries and, in my humble opinion, they have no basis in sound

reason or logical correctness. As against the pulverization of permanently settled estates either by perpetual divisions, or by gratuitous and wanton acts of an idiosyncratic holder, diminishing the *corpus* or deflecting the family exchequer, an alternative is indeed needed; but a brood of thriftless and self-indulging beings cannot supply that alternative. The solution seems to lie in the direction of division of the profits, with a statutory prohibition of the division of the *corpus* and with the assignment of a fixed percentage for management and for the sustentation of the aristocratic dignity. In brief, my opinion on the matter under consideration is this that under proper safeguards and limitations, legislation should step in to declare, as regards every one of the estates permanently settled, their non-partibility among heirs, and their non-alienability by the holder, together with the right of the family to share the net profits in accordance with the principles of Hindu Law, subject, firstly, to a percentage for the upkeep of the dignity of the ostensible manager, and, secondly, to the erection of a reserve fund, receiving contributions every year, for purposes of irrigational works and for tiding over bad seasons and other casualties. Under such a system, there would exist a landed aristocracy, no member of which will revel amid an immensity of unearned riches, with brothers and co-parceners who, with only some pittance to keep up their inherited grandeur have to be looking on with long faces, and deriving pleasure and gratification from the contemplation of the barren honour of belonging to a family of considerable ancestry.

Under such a system, a greater impulse than exists at present, will also be given to the culture of the members of such families, and the juniors among them may come to regard the honour of serving their Government sufficiently attractive and may, with advantage, replace many a carpet-bagger and parasitical place-hunter, thereby enhancing the tone and increasing the dignity of the service. They may also come to realize that, besides the aristocracy of broad acres, there are persons who are denoted by what is known as the aristocracy of intellect and aristocracy of wealth—expressions which, in recent years, have acquired a wide and widening circulation, as if by way of revolt and protest against the erroneous restriction of the term aristocracy to the owners of extensive revenues alone.

P. ANANDA CHARLU.

POISONS AND POISONERS OF INDIA.

NO people in the world had carried the empirical study of nature to such an advanced stage so early in the period of history as the ancient Indians or Aryans. Nothing in the surrounding world seems to have escaped their keen attention; no stone, no tree, no animal that was found in India was left out of their most comprehensive and, so far as it could be carried then, their complete study. The amount of empirical knowledge that was gathered by them and that is found stored up in monumental works of the nature of the Charaka Samhita, now being translated into English by Mr. Kavayratna, is, really astonishing. They seemed to have carried out their work in their own way with a thoroughness and an energy that excites one's admiration in the present day and makes one feel sad that the descendants of such a people have now lost entirely that profundity in all things so characteristic of their forefathers perhaps owing to the demand of a cheap superficial glitter and perhaps to the loss of all learned leisure consequent on the loss of prestige of the learned classes in this age of socialistic and democratic principles. The ancient Indians were by necessity empiricists, they had no means of performing any experiments except perhaps of the simplest sort. Facts had not been collected in sufficient numbers for thinkers to see the connection between and the general principles underlying various and apparently disconnected sets of them and to build up a science from them. Their work was to collect these facts by observation and by what simple experiments they could perform, and how thoroughly they carried it out, appears from the Charaka which may be adduced as a standing example of this thoroughness of work.

In their study of the objects around them, their attention must have been early directed to their medicinal properties. In the history of chemical science, one sees how all the great chemists of the early ages, both in Europe and elsewhere, studied

their science with the principal object of knowing how far they could utilise the minerals and salts they dealt with to combat the thousand and one diseases the human flesh is heir to, and to restore and retain the health and vigour of their fellow beings. Paracelsus, Roger Bacon and others were, one and all of them, doctors in medicine in the first place. Their greatest ambition and their most cherished desire was to find out an elixir of life which would put an end to all diseases and maintain the human system in its youthful appearance and vigour and even conquer death. This tendency of all early students of nature is but a natural one, and the Aryans must have very early been influenced in their studies by such a tendency; for we find that it is precisely those properties of the different objects of nature they studied, that affect, either for good or for bad, the human system that is worked out most fully. In the knowledge of the therapeutical value of the numerous kinds of shrubs and plants that grow in a country, it may be safely asserted that there is not one people that surpasses the Indians. A great deal of this knowledge is unfortunately locked up in rare granthas which the possessors think it sacrilege, even to show to others who have not specially qualified themselves, by penances and what not, to read them—ininitely greater sacrilege to publish them—, and usually the knowledge is communicated from master to pupil only after the latter has taken a most solemn oath not to divulge it except under special circumstances. Any person who gives this knowledge to the world would be a great benefactor of mankind; for there is no doubt that many valuable specifics for difficult and dangerous diseases—nay even for diseases supposed to be incurable—are known to the Indians. As physicians, it is the belief of the writer, that the Indians are far and away superior to the Western doctors. Among them there seem to exist specifics for hydrophobia, for snake poisoning, for phthisis, and such hopeless diseases. For a foreigner it will simply be impossible to get to know of these, but those sons of the soil who have had the benefit of a Western medical education, ought to exert themselves in this field.

In this their study of the plants and minerals they did not fail to notice many, possessing deleterious effects on the human system. They studied these well, and as a result we have a large class of poisons, animal, vegetable and mineral, known to the people of India.

Each poison has apparently been thoroughly studied in its action on the human body and the bodies of the inferior animals, in varying doses and in different combinations with other substances in the same thorough manner characteristic of their study of other things. Many of these poisons have strong therapeutic effects when given in safe doses and are used by the Indians as valuable medicines. If we are to believe the words of those who profess to be acquainted with the secrets of the Indian doctors, these poisons form the basis of powerful specifics for the cure of diseases which are at present incurable under European medical treatment. These poisons, before they are administered internally, are made to undergo a process of what is known as purification by being passed through or soaked in such liquids as the water of the tender coconut and the urine of the cows. How the process can effect any change in the poison, it is impossible to understand; but yet, this purification is considered to be an important process by the Indian doctors for removing deleterious substances mixed with the poison and increasing its efficacy. The minerals are generally converted into 'Bhasmas' (calx) with the aid of fire and administered in that form, the alkaloids in the form of 'Laghyams' (electuaries) or 'Kashayams' (decoctions). It would also seem that, for many of the poisons known to Indians if not for all, antidotes are also known; at any rate, this is the general belief. To a people who are in possession of antidotes for the poisons of the snake and the mad dog, the two most dangerous of animal poisons, it is not incredible that antidotes for vegetable and mineral poisons are also known.

In this sketch it will be sufficient to consider a few of the more common poisons found in India, not with reference to their medicinal qualities, but with reference to their power of acting as poisons and destroying life and to the various methods that are adopted to administer them with the greatest chance of escaping detection and punishment. In India some of the criminal classes, who seek the aid of poisons for the carrying out of their dangerous practices with greater ease, have particular poisons which they invariably use. The ways of these classes form an interesting study and one of great utility to Magistrates and others who have to deal with these men, but here we can only touch upon them in passing.

One of the commonest of the vegetable poisons, and perhaps the

one that is best known to, and the most employed by Indian poisoners, is the *datura* which contains as its active principle the alkaloid *atropine*. *Datura* is a small shrub with large green leaves and fruits which bear a large number of characteristic spines on the surface and bell-shaped flowers either white or dark-blue in colour, growing all over India ordinarily in village wastes and uncultivated lands. There are two varieties of this shrub distinguished from one another by the colour of the flowers and the stem, the one having white flowers and the other dark-blue ones. The latter is said to contain more of the alkaloid and to be more efficacious and more powerful in action. For the purpose of the poisoner the seeds of the plant are chosen as containing the alkaloid in the greatest abundance, and probably also because they bear a most deceptive resemblance to chilli seeds, an ordinary ingredient in Indian curries. These seeds are gathered from the mature fruit, and after the outer shells are removed, are powdered and kept for use. This powder is peculiarly suited to the poisoner as it has little or no tell-tale taste and is of the colour of turmeric and as it has an effect on the human system varying from mere passing giddiness to complete loss of consciousness and finally to death, depending upon the strength of the dose. This poison is perhaps not so often used to take life as to render men unconscious to facilitate theft and such like crimes; it is generally used by road thieves in Upper India. The *datura* powder is made into sweetmeats for their nefarious purposes. These gentlemen of the road, dressed as *bona fide* travellers used to frequent the great trunk roads of the North. They fall in with parties of travellers and by their general agreeableness and suavity of manners, which they have cultivated as a fine art, they soon work themselves into the good graces and confidence of their unsuspecting fellow-travellers. They generally choose their opportunity of poisoning when the company has dwindled to a small number besides themselves; and when they see that they have arrived at some convenient spot away from villages and human habitations and whence they could easily escape perhaps into a neighbouring Raja's territory, they make themselves specially friendly to their intended victims and as a token of deep regard they offer them the tempting sweetmeat which however contains the deadly poison lurking in it. The Hindu is so fond of sweetmeats that he will by no chance reject the offer made and particularly as the offer is made

with such show of seemingly genuine regard for him, it would be the height of rudeness on his part to refuse it. He takes the sweetmeat and eats it with great pleasure. But soon he feels a sort of giddiness which is readily ascribed by his friend to the effects of the midday sun. He then eats some more of the sweetmeats and after a few minutes becomes totally unconscious. Now the period for which the road-thief has been working so assiduously and so long has arrived and he takes prompt advantage of his opportunity and relieves his friend and fellow-traveller of all his valuables and puts a good many miles of rough country between his friend and himself. If the poison was not taken in too large a quantity, the unconscious traveller manages to sleep off the effects of it in a day or two; but when he wakes up, he finds himself without his friend and his money. Now the truth of the whole thing flashes across his mind; he had heard stories of thugs and road-thieves before. But what is to be done; it is his fate, and so he goes his way probably thanking his stars that he was not murdered. Such occurrences as these used to be extremely common a few years ago, but the British Government has put them down with a strong hand and the road thieves, in spite of all their cunning, find themselves landed in jail too often to make such practices pay.

It is not for the road-thieves alone that this poison formed a convenient drug; it was put to a peculiar use by the Nawabs and Rajahs of the Mogul period. *Datura* has, it would seem, when administered in small doses for a number of days, the power of destroying the coherence of the intellect and converting the person who takes it into a drivelling idiot. This property was taken advantage of by the Mogul Emperors in particular, for removing from their path of political power any inconvenient person who proved an obstacle or a source of possible future danger to them, but whom they did not desire to see murdered either from the exigencies of the political situation or from some small feelings of regard. Such a person would be consigned to the tender mercies of the official poisoner of the palace with instructions to administer the fatal cup. After the cup has done its work, the poor victim wanders about the palace, a raving mad man and an entire non-entity in the political world.

This drug *datura*, as stated before, is not so often used for the actual purpose of taking life, and but few cases come before the

chemical examiners where the poison used is detected to be the alkaloid of datura. The favourite poison with all classes in India, either for self-destruction or for removing some obnoxious person from the path to love or money or for destroying cattle to injure one's neighbour or for any other purpose of destroying life, is white arsenic. It is more or less certain in its action unless too much of the poison has been administered which might result in the whole quantity being thrown out by the stomach before the poison has had time to produce its deadly effect; it is easily procurable in the market for a few annas as it is sold by almost all the bazaar druggists, no restriction being placed upon its sale by the Government. It is easily administrable as it is easily reduced to a white powder which mixes well with the white rice, the staple food in India, and is also somewhat soluble in water. It is free from all taste which might otherwise rouse the suspicion of the victim; the symptoms it produces after being swallowed, specially the vomiting and purging, are very similar to the symptoms produced by an attack of cholera, a common epidemic in India. Giving as it does all these facilities to the poisoners, it is naturally more often chosen than other poisons. In the great majority of cases that come to the chemical examiner arsenic is found to be the poison employed. Fortunately for society at large, and specially for society in India where poisoners abound and where chemical examiners are generally inexperienced and deficient in their knowledge of the principles and practices of chemical analysis, a most elegant and easy method of detecting arsenic in mixtures that contain it, however complex that mixture might be, has been devised by Prof. Reinsche. A clean bright piece of copper foil when heated and immersed in the mixture containing arsenic to which a little pure hydrochloric acid has been added, soon becomes black by the formation of a compound of arsenic and copper. The blackened piece of copper when taken out dried and heated in a glass tube will give a deposit of beautifully regular octohedral crystals of white arsenic on the cooler part of the tube. By this means a tyro in chemistry could detect even traces of arsenic in the fluids of the stomach of a poisoned man or beast. The only drawback from the poisoner's view to the use of arsenic is this extreme readiness with which it is detected. As this is not known to the poisoning classes in general, arsenic is still extensively used, specially in cattle-

poisoning. There is no general method adopted in its administration in human beings. It is mixed with rice or other eatables intended for the victim. But in cases of cattle-poisoning, a peculiar mode of administering it is resorted to. The poison is powdered and ground up with cotton rags and oil, and made up into boluses which are concealed in tufts of green grass or heads of ragi or corn, and given to the cattle to eat. The mixing with rags is probably with the idea of preventing the poison being thrown out by the stomach. Great numbers of cattle are yearly killed in this way by the chuckler and other low classes. According to the custom of the village, all cattle that die in the village become the property of these low class men who eat its meat and sell its hide. These men in times of high price for hides, carry on their nefarious practice of poisoning cattle in numbers. Accidents are often caused to human beings by inadvertently eating substances containing the poison prepared for the destruction of rats and such vermin, and cases are also known of children having eaten arsenic under the impression that it was sugar. A most extraordinary case of accidental poisoning with arsenic came to the notice of the Chemical Examiner of Madras lately. It would seem that some one had prepared a hot cake, commonly known in Tamil as Vadé, with a large quantity of arsenic in it, probably with a view to kill some crows or rats. This cake was somehow picked up by a crow and taken to a tree in a neighbouring garden, where a lad of 15 or 16, seeing the crow eat the cake, drove away the bird and possessed himself of it, and all unconscious of the dreadful poison that was lurking in it, the presence of which there was nothing to indicate, the poor boy enjoyed his cake. But soon he had to pay the penalty of his mistake; the usual symptoms set in, and in a few hours he was dead. One fruitful source of accidents is the mistake that hakims and native doctors make who use white arsenic as a medicine. They have an idea that by some means, of purification they could destroy the poisonous qualities of arsenic, and so they often boldly administer fatal doses of this so-called purified arsenic for some disease or other, and the remedy proves, to their surprise, much more efficacious in putting an end to the man's disease and trials and troubles in this world than they expected; and the British Government, as a reward for their great merit and leaving behind their transgressors in a jail. With these hakims, the calx of orpiment or arsenious

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sulphide is also a potent medicine. Though orpiment, when pure, does not seem to have any decided poisonous properties, in the process for the preparation of the calx, one of the operations in which is heating the orpiment with some vegetable juices, a portion at least is certain to be converted into white arsenic, and these hakims, not knowing to administer the medicine with of course unpleasant results. Arsenic, even when taken in quantities not sufficient to kill outright, acts in a very deleterious manner to the system unless the quantity of the dose be exceedingly small. It generally inflames the stomach, often destroying the mucous coating of it and kills the patient after some months. A sad case came to the knowledge of the writer, illustrating this slow action of arsenic in destroying life. A person who was suffering somewhat badly from dyspepsia came across a hakim who gave him a preparation which he called an unfailing specific for all stomacic disorders. The poor man, putting faith in the hakim, took his medicine, and although there were premonitory symptoms to warn him of the dangerous effects this medicine was producing, he disregarded them and persisted in taking the bhāsmam; till, finally, the pain in the stomach became so unbearable that he could not continue. For a time his appetite seemed to have improved, but soon the dyspepsia returned in a much worse form. He could not retain any food in the stomach, the whole being thrown out as soon as taken. The arsenic,—for the medicine was a preparation of arsenic,—had done its work; the mucous coating of his stomach, which contains the digestive glands, was probably destroyed. He died some months after by an actual process of slow starvation as he could not assimilate any food.

Another dreadful poison rather common in India, and easily obtainable in all the Indian markets, is aconite; it seems to grow in North India on the Himalayas and in the neighbourhood. As sold in the market it is brown dried up tuberous root, with a pale white and glassy fracture when broken across. It contains an alkaloid aconitine, one of the most virulent poisons known, as its name in the Indian languages indicates; it is often called ativisam (strong poison). Its action on the system is very rapid and most characteristic, producing tingling and numbness of the lips and the mouth spreading on to the whole of the body, loss of power of speech and control over the organs, great thirst and pain, a look of deep agony on the face and

cold perspiration over the whole body. Soon the victim loses consciousness and dies. It is so powerful that a dose of a fifteenth of a grain is enough to kill an adult. Although so virulent in its nature it does not seem to be very generally used either by the homicide or suicide; it does not suit the former because of its extreme rapidity of action, and the unmistakeable symptoms of poisoning which accompany it, which would lead to early suspicion and probable detection; it does not suit the latter as apparently its action seems to be attended with great agony and pain. For similar reasons the nux vomica, which contains the extremely bitter alkaloid strychnine, is seldom employed, although the tree is very common in India.

The opium containing alkaloids of the morphine group is also answerable for a number of deaths in India, although as a poison it is not so powerful as the two last described, and requires fairly large doses to produce fatal effects. It is extensively used in India and elsewhere for the purpose of producing intoxication and for medicinal purposes, specially for temporarily deadening the nervous system and allaying pain. Opium forms an ingredient of a great number of specifics and is also largely used by the hakims of the country. But certainly the larger quantity is used up as a stimulant and intoxicant in various forms. Some smoke it, some chew it, and others take preparations of it mixed with sugar, ghee, and such other ingredients. It is reputed to have, when taken in proper quantities, the power of steadying the intellect and enabling concentration of thought and of making the body proof against hardship and exposure. People who lead austere lives, such as the sanyasis and the field labourers in Upper India who have to work exposed to the sun and the rain, generally indulge in the habit of opium-eating or smoking. Opium gains such a power over the nerves of their victim to the habit of taking it, that it becomes impossible for him to give it up afterwards. Death from opium-poisoning occurs more often as the result of accident than of design; some opium-eater perhaps taking too much of this favourite drug or some one unused to it eating the somewhat delicious preparations of this drug with ghee and sugar, or again some one suffering from some form of excruciating pain taking too much of the medicine to allay it.

Somewhat similar in properties and in action is the drug ganjah, prepared from the Indian hemp; it is used in a similar way.

as a stimulant and intoxicant. Though not strictly a poison, it has deleterious effects on the system when taken in quantities. It produces when taken internally great nervous excitement and is largely used as an aphrodisiac, specially by the women of the town. They prepare a peculiar kind of sweetmeat called the Majum halva, which they administer to their lovers. The active principle of ganjah has not been discovered yet; it does not seem to be an alkaloid as in the other cases above discussed. It is apparently a resin, but what its exact constitution is we do not know. Consequent on this ignorance of its nature no good chemical tests are yet known to identify ganjah in its mixtures; it produces a pale green fluorescent liquid when dissolved in alcohol, but the test is neither sufficiently characteristic nor easy to apply to complex mixtures, such as electuaries made of ganjah.

There is another class of poisons, the abortifacients, employed to cause abortion and destroy the fœtus. In a country where enforced widowhood is the rule in the higher castes, and where it is a social death to be discovered in any criminal liaison, but where the climate and surrounding circumstances are such as to heighten the passions, it is only to be expected that this mode of causing abortion would be common; and as a matter of fact it does seem to be not uncommon, especially among the unfortunate class of Brahmin widows. The means employed for bringing about abortion are very various. Two of the most common drugs used for the purpose are the oleander roots and the milk of the different varieties of the callotropis. Both these are very dangerous drugs and often cause the death of the mother. The oleander is a very common plant, with long thick lanceolate leaves and beautiful pink flowers, and it is commonly grown in gardens for the beauty of its flowers. It is very generally used for medicinal purposes in India; it has a powerful effect on the system and acts very strongly as an abortifacient, causing abortion even in advanced stages of pregnancy. Its application is attended with great risk, and cases often come up to the chemical examiners where the cause of death is traced to the use of the oleander, pieces of the roots of which are found in or near the deceased women. Callotropis gigantea, the most commonly used variety, is a member of the family of Euphorbia, and is characterised by very peculiar shaped flowers and thick leaves, and the presence of a white milky juice in abundance in the stem of

the leaves. It grows wild in all waste places; it is abundantly found in the neighbourhood of Madras. The white milk which exudes out as soon as any part of the plant is cut, is the substance that is employed as the abortifacient. It is a powerful drug for the purpose, and acts almost unfailingly when locally applied. The danger attending its use is not so much due to the inherent qualities of the milk itself as to the complications it produces when causing abortion; and death often occurs from its use. Both the oleander and the callotropis are difficult to trace and identify chemically. But fortunately in most cases of death where these agents have been employed, either unused remains of these, or the roots of oleander and the coagulated milk of the callotropis in an unmixed state, are found; otherwise it would be for all practical purposes almost impossible to detect the presence of these by chemical tests. Oleander gives a white crystalline powder in the acid ether extract in the process to be described below, which turns a fine pink colour on addition of potash; but there are other substances which give similar reactions rendering this test inconclusive. It is still more difficult in the case of callotropis to identify it. The only test that is at present known is the addition of nitric acid which, when acting on the coagulated white juice in a pure state, produces a green colour, but it is apparent that the test must fail in all cases where the juice is not obtained in a sufficiently pure state. The difficulty is specially felt in cases of cattle-poisoning by callotropis where the juice is mixed with cowdung; in such cases the chemical analyst can really only make a shrewd guess.

Even in the case of alkaloids, though a method has been elaborated by Stas and other European chemists for their separation, identification and detection, still the process is so difficult in application, and requires such extreme care and ability in the analyst, that it is often difficult to say whether one has obtained a genuine alkaloid; and often one has to go upon symptoms attending death, which in some cases are certainly more characteristic and safer to rely on than chemical tests. The chief difficulty in all these analyses is to separate the small quantity of alkaloid from the multifarious contents of the stomach and the fat on its walls, and obtain the alkaloid in a pure state to test. The usual method employed in India is the ether extraction process, originally devised

by Stas. The stomach and its contents, which generally contain the poisons, are extracted with alcohol, slightly acidulated with acetic acid. This extract is filtered and evaporated to dryness by the regulated application of heat by steam. When the evaporation is drawing to an end, some broken pieces of glass are added to cut up the residue and make it expose a greater surface for the next extraction. This is technically known as the glass extract; it is once again extracted with a small quantity of strong, slightly acidulated alcohol. A good deal of the impurities, such as albuminous matters, coagulated by heat, are left behind. The extract is once again evaporated, and the residue is treated with distilled water and washed into a shaking bottle. The alkaloids forming salts with the acetic acid employed, go into the solution. At this stage anhydrous ether is added and well shaken with the water extract and separated from it. This serves to remove fat and other impurities not yet removed. The white crystals of oleander, spoken of above, and similar substances are found in this portion of the extract. The process is repeated a number of times, and then the water extract that is left is rendered slightly alkaline by the addition of ammonia which serves to precipitate the alkaloids. It is once again extracted with ether, which now extracts the alkaloid and deposits it on evaporation in a fairly pure state. Morphine, strychnine, atropine, aconitine, and similar bodies, are found in this extract. The separated and the still somewhat impure alkaloid has to be identified next. The chemical tests which generally depend upon the different colours produced by the different alkaloids when different chemical re-agents are added to them, are first tried; but the alkaloid being in an impure state, the colour tests are seldom completely reliable. The taste and the action on the tongue, which serves to characterise aconitine, are then tried, and finally a watery extract is injected into a frog, which generally shows clear symptoms of poisoning if any alkaloid is present. If there is reason to suspect the presence of atropine, the datura alkaloid, the extract is further applied to the eye of a cat, extreme dilatation of the pupil indicating the presence of atropine; this is the only test—and a very unsatisfactory test it is—to identify the alkaloid of the most commonly employed poison in India.

Add to this, the inherent difficulty of identification, the known inexperience of the official analysts in India, and it may be truly

said that the poisoners are a fortunate set of people here, more fortunate than their brothers elsewhere.

To carry on these delicate and difficult operations of chemical analyses, the Government deputed men whom a great authority on chemistry, Dr. Voelcker, could describe, and describe truly, it seems to the writer, as men of mere test-tube experience. It is unfortunate that the chemical examinership should be a monopoly of the Indian Medical Department. The utmost training in chemistry that these medical officers receive, and the utmost that could be claimed for them even by an official apologist of theirs, is a six months' training at Netley, a training ridiculously insufficient, as would be apparent to any one who knows anything of chemistry, to fit a person for the difficult and responsible duties of a chemical examiner to the Government. The employment of such men is a real danger to society and an advantage to the criminals. It is high time for the Government to take an enlightened view of the matter and appoint only specialists, men who have made a special study of chemistry to such an office. Untrained men are apt to fail in detecting poisons that really exist, and also to suppose that poisons do exist where none really is present, being misled by the indications of chemical tests. It is no wonder that the responsible judges of the country often refuse to attach importance to the chemical examiner's certificates. If the analysts are apt to go wrong in their analysis, where well known poisons are employed, the chances of mistake are enormously increased in the case of obscure and unstudied poisons, a number of which seem to be known to and employed by the natives of the country; such obscure poisons are, it is believed, not attempted to be detected, nor even looked for by the chemical examiners. The existing state of affairs is a source of discredit to the Government in the eyes of all scientists, and it is to be hoped that it would be changed for the better soon.

C. KRISHNAN.

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WHERE OUGHT INDIA TO BORROW?

IF India is to maintain the competition with other countries which is becoming more eager and keen every day; if she is to develop her own resources and to increase the well-being of her people; she needs to borrow considerable amounts: as, in fact, every progressive country, from the very richest to the very poorest, requires to do from time to time. She needs, for example, more railways, more irrigation, better harbours, and a multitude of other things, and in the nature of the case it cannot be expected that private enterprise alone can provide her with all that she stands in need of so as to take her proper place in the world. It is necessary that she should not only borrow wisely but that she should borrow in the best market. But there is much difference of opinion as to which is the best market, and the question is well worthy of serious consideration. One school of thinkers holds that India does best by borrowing in London. The London Money Market is beyond all question the greatest in the world. Capital can be had there in large amounts and on cheaper terms than anywhere else, as is proved by the fact that every country in the world from time to time borrows in London. Naturally it is asked by the thinkers referred to, why should not India do what the United States, Russia, our own colonies, even sometimes France, and in short the rest of world do? and why should it not be as beneficial to India to borrow in London as it is to those other countries? There is great force in the argu-

ment, and it would be not only uncandid but untrue to attempt to diminish its force. And the argument is strengthened by another consideration, which is this: Owing to the want of a settled, enlightened, and progressive Government, India until quite lately has not developed her resources anything like as rapidly as European countries have done. Therefore India, compared with European countries, is less wealthy and less advanced. She has not so great an accumulation of capital to draw upon and she has not so much trained skill in the various industries. It is argued, therefore, that if the Government of India were to borrow at home it would deprive manufacturers, merchants, and cultivators of the soil of the capital which they require in order to increase and improve their own business. It is obvious that if Government were to borrow a very large amount, it would, at all events, raise rates in the market, and so would compel every private borrower to pay more dearly for money than he required. But it would certainly be disadvantageous to the country if too much capital were raised for extending railways and constructing irrigation and other great works,—while manufacturers and merchants and cultivators of the soil could not obtain enough capital to increase their own businesses and carry them on to the greatest advantage. If it can be shown that India has not enough of capital to supply her business classes and her Government, then there is no question at all that it would be wisest to borrow in London. But if that cannot be shown, then it does not follow but that it would be better to borrow at home, even if by so doing merchants and manufacturers had to pay somewhat more for their loans than they otherwise would have to pay. Still, the argument for borrowing in London is undoubtedly strong, and Indian public opinion ought to consider it without prejudice, before finally urging upon the Government to take any particular course.

Let us see now what has been the result of borrowing in London and borrowing at home in the past. It is only by such a review that we can hope to judge whether the argument just stated is conclusive or not. Most of the countries which borrow in London have a gold standard. Some few have not, it is quite true; but the majority of the great countries, such as those of Europe, the United States, and our own Colonies, all have a gold standard. Therefore when they borrow in London they borrow in gold, and they undertake to repay loans in gold and in the meantime to pay interest likewise in gold. But as they raise their own revenues in gold or its equivalent, they experience no inconvenience from the arrangement, provided,

of course, they do not borrow too much. Certain countries, like the Argentine Republic, have borrowed too much. They have been unable, therefore, to keep faith with their London creditors, their Governments have been made bankrupt and the people have been plunged in serious difficulties. But that only shows that countries, just like individuals, may be too extravagant. Provided a country borrows no more than it can pay and applies the money raised judiciously, than it will undoubtedly benefit from the transaction; and it will be of great benefit to it likewise if it borrows in precisely the same money as is current at home. Unfortunately for those who recommend Indian borrowing in London, the money of England is gold, while the money of India is silver. India, when it borrows in London, therefore, obtains capital in gold and binds herself to repay it likewise in gold and, in the meantime to pay interest in gold. But India raises her own revenue in silver, and silver has some how or other to be exchanged for gold; and the process of exchange has during the last quarter of a century been a costly one for India. Roughly, the rupee a quarter of a century ago was worth 2/- of English money; at the present time it is worth only about 13½d. Roughly, therefore, whereas a quarter of a century ago 10 rupees were equal to a pound sterling, now it takes nearly 18 rupees to pay a pound sterling. Consequently every pound sterling borrowed in London a quarter of a century ago, if it had to be repaid to-day, would require not 10 rupees as when the loan was made, but very nearly 18 rupees, which, it will be seen, adds enormously to the Indian debt. Similarly the interest on the debt is increased in the same way. Formerly 10 rupees were equal to every pound sterling due in London; now India has to find nearly 18 rupees to pay the pound sterling. Of course the sterling debt borrowed in London has been raised at different times, some of it quite recently. The real loss is not as great as from 10 rupees to 18; probably the real loss, considering how borrowings have been spread over the whole time while silver has been falling, is not greater than 20 or 25 per cent. Still there has been a loss and even a serious loss. The rupee capital of the sterling debt—in other words, the number of rupees that would have to be raised now, supposing the whole of the sterling debt were repaid at once—would be much greater than the number of rupees that were obtained by the raising of the loans. And similarly India has to pay for interest more rupees than she expected to have to pay when she raised the loans. The experience of the past quarter of a century,

therefore, does not encourage continued borrowing in London. And it is evident that although India raised the loans in London at the time at a lower rate of interest than she could have raised them at home, yet the fall in the rupee compared with the pound sterling has deprived her of the advantage she obtained thereby. In other words, the depreciation of the rupee has neutralised the benefit of the lower interest at which she borrowed. On the other hand, Indian borrowing at home has proved beneficial. The price of Rupee Paper in India has been steadily rising for many years, showing that the credit of the Indian Government in India has been steadily improving; and one result is that India has been able to borrow at home at lower and lower rates. Indeed only a few months ago India was able to convert the 4 per cent Rupee Paper into $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents; thereby saving $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum on the whole capital of the rupee, or silver, debt, or about half a crore. So far, then, as the experience of the past quarter of a century goes, borrowing in London has not been advantageous while borrowing at home has been advantageous.

It is objected, however, that silver has now fallen to the lowest point, that a rise in the price of silver is much more likely than a further fall, and that, therefore, it would be a benefit to India to borrow in London at present. Undoubtedly it would be beneficial, if silver rises. At the present time every pound sterling borrowed in London would be equivalent to nearly 18 rupees in India. But if the rupee were to rise in purchasing power, a fewer number of rupees would repay the pound sterling by and by. Suppose, for example, that the Indian Government were to be successful in the task it has set itself of raising the value of the rupee to 1s 4d of English money, then 15 rupees would be equal to the pound sterling. Consequently, borrowing in London now would give India not far short of 18 rupees for every pound sterling, while India in the case supposed would be able to pay the pound sterling with 15 rupees. Thus India would gain nearly 3 rupees in every pound sterling, or about 16 per cent, and she would similarly gain in interest. The number of rupees she would have to raise so as to make good the interest would steadily decline as the value of the rupee rose. But the question is, will silver rise very much in value? The production of gold all over the world has increased very greatly during the last seven or eight years. Therefore, as gold becomes more plentiful, the gold price of silver is likely to rise. On the other hand the coinage of silver has been stopped in the United States and in

India; consequently there is no immediate prospect of a great increase in the consumption. And if the consumption of silver does not increase while the price rises, it is only too probable that more silver mines will be worked and that the price, therefore, will fall again. The future value of silver depends, then, upon the decision of the great Governments. If the Indian Government, for example, were to reopen the mints, then India would no doubt buy, as she always has bought in the past, 6 or 7 millions sterling worth of silver every year, and that would tend to raise the price very considerably. So again if China is opened up as a consequence of the war with Japan. If Chinese trade improves greatly and if China in consequence buys immense quantities of silver, it follows necessarily that the price of silver will rise. But who can foresee whether China will be opened up, whether China will take immense quantities of silver, or in fact what is to become of China? Who can foresee also whether Japan will retain the silver standard or will adopt a gold standard? And as for the other countries there does not seem much probability that the United States, to take one instance, will get rid of gold and adopt silver. Upon the whole, then, the future course of the silver market is too uncertain to make it prudent for the Indian Government to borrow in gold in London at present.

There is one other point not to be lost sight of, and it is this: that the larger the debt raised in London, the greater is likely to be the loss by exchange. At the present time India has to pay in London about 17 millions sterling every year on account of interest on debt, pensions, salaries, stores, the army and navy, and so on. Clearly if India goes on borrowing in London, the interest due in London will increase and consequently India will have to pay more and more money every year. But, as has been pointed out already, India raises her revenue in silver while she has to pay what are called Home Charges in London in gold. In order to do this—to exchange Indian rupees into English sovereigns—the India Council sells in London every week Bills on the Presidency Treasuries; that is to say, the India Council sells, to bankers and others in London who have to make payments in rupees in India, orders upon the Presidency Treasuries in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras for specified amounts of rupees. In other words, the India Council holds a kind of public auction in London every week at which it offers to sell so many rupees to any one who wants them, which are obtainable in India either by telegraph or by mail. Now, it needs no elaborate proof that the

more rupees are offered for sale in London in this way, the more likely is the price of the rupee to fall. Every one will see at once that if the quantity of wheat or cotton offered for sale in a certain market were to be increased regularly every year, the price would tend downwards. And what is true of wheat or cotton or anything of the kind is equally true of rupees. Therefore, while it is certain that at any particular time a borrower in good credit can obtain a loan in London more cheaply than in any other money market in the world, yet it is equally certain that if the borrower, in order to pay the interest on the loan and to repay the principal by and by, has to sell more and more of a particular commodity in the London market, the advantage he gains by borrowing cheaply is likely to be neutralised by the fall that will take place in the article he has to sell in increasing quantities every year. Every one knows how heavy has been the loss by exchange, as it is called, in this way to India, during the past quarter of a century. A very large part of the loss could not have been helped. It was brought about by the action of Governments over which India had absolutely no control; for example, by the demonetization of silver by Germany and the closing of the mints by France and other nations of the Latin Union. It was also brought about by the discovery of enormously rich silver mines in the United States. Therefore silver was certain to fall compared with gold, whatever India had done. But it is also plain that India exaggerated the fall by constantly offering more and more rupees, that is, silver coin, in London, where silver was already being offered in larger quantities than anybody was willing to take. It seems to follow, therefore, that the true policy of the Indian Government is to borrow at home, as far as the accumulated capital of India allows without injury to manufacturers, merchants, and cultivators of the soil. Of course, if India has not enough of capital to supply all her own requirements, whether Governmental or individual, then she had better borrow in London. But to the extent that she can supply her Government and all her traders she will do better by borrowing at home than by borrowing in London—always provided, of course, that there is not going to be an extraordinary rise in the price of silver. If there is, then India could borrow at present in London at an enormous advantage and would be able to repay the loan with a great profit to herself.

So far I have considered the question from the point of view of the Treasury only. The Finance Minister has to find certain sums every year. A portion he raises by means of taxes, a portion

by means of loans. Will it be more to *his* advantage to borrow in London or in India? I have pointed out that while it is true that the rate of interest is lower in London than any where else where a great borrower in good credit is concerned, yet India has suffered more than she gained during the past quarter of a century by borrowing in London, whereas she has gained more than she suffered by borrowing at home. In other words, the burden of the external debt has increased owing to the depreciation of silver while the burden of the silver debt has decreased owing to the improved credit of the country. I have admitted that possibly silver is at the lowest now, and that if silver rises it would be an advantage to borrow in London. But I have also pointed out how difficult it is to form a confident opinion as to the future course of the silver market, because it depends so largely upon the decisions of Governments, which cannot be foreseen. Upon the whole, however, I have expressed the opinion that India would do better to borrow at home than in London. There is another point of view from which to look at the matter, and from that point of view I venture to think that the advantage to India is enormously greater when she borrows at home than when she borrows abroad. The point of view referred to is that of the whole population of India. It is perfectly clear that India benefits considerably wherever she borrows, provided she does not raise too much and that she lays out the money judiciously. Suppose that India borrows 10 millions sterling in London and builds a great railway opening up districts not yet supplied with railway communication. She will raise the money, say, at 3 per cent in London, which would involve an annual charge for interest of £300,000. The railway while being built would give employment to a large number of workmen in India, would tend, therefore, to raise wages and so would benefit the working classes. The workmen receiving better wages, would be able to lay out more money with trade-people and the tradespeople, therefore, would benefit likewise. When the railway was built, the new districts opened up would be brought into communication with the sea-port towns, and thereby would be able to send wheat or cotton or whatever might be grown to the great manufacturing districts and to Europe. Prices of agricultural produce, therefore, would rise in the newly opened districts and all cultivators of the soil would benefit. As they would be benefited, they would be able to employ more labour in cultivating their lands, and so not only would the cultivators of the soil but the labourers also be benefited. There is no doubt, then, that the expendi-

ture of the 10 millions sterling in so opening up new districts would benefit India far more than the cost of £300,000 a year which would be imposed upon her would burden her. In fact, new trades of every kind that would be created by the opening up of the district would pay the Government considerably more than the £300,000 a year which would have to be paid for capital expended upon the railway. Probably the increase in wealth would exceed the capital expended very many times. There is no question at all, then, that, wherever the money is borrowed, it immensely benefits a country like India, provided too much is not raised and provided it is laid out in a judicious way. But while it is perfectly true that foreign borrowing is immensely beneficial to a backward country, it is equally evident that home borrowing is still more beneficial, provided the loanable capital of the country is not drawn upon to such an extent as to deprive merchants and manufacturers and cultivators of the soil of the accommodation which they have a right to reckon upon.

Suppose now that the 10 millions sterling—or rather its equivalent in rupees—were raised in India itself, then the laying out of money would employ labour just as already pointed out and so would tend to improve wages. The building of the railway would open new districts, would bring those districts within easy communication with the great ports and the great markets, would tend to raise prices in those new districts, would give a higher value to land there, and would add immensely to the wealth of the country. But furthermore, the money would probably be raised at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in silver, and interest therefore—the equivalent of £350,000 a year would have to be paid to those people resident in India who lent money. They consequently would have a larger income than they had before, and they would be able to employ more labour or to increase their businesses or to make new investments: in some way or other they would have it in their power to spend £350,000 a year more than before, always provided, of course, that they did not withdraw money from some other business in order to lend it to the Government. If it were money that would have been spent in the households, or would have been laid out in purchasing ornaments, and had it not been lent to the Government, then it is clear that it would not have given them an income. But having been lent to Government, it would give an income of £350,000 a year, and that sum they could spend either in living better at home, or in enlarging whatever businesses they were engaged in,

or in new investments. In one way or another they would either spend more in wages or they would enable some other enterprise to be set on foot, and thus they would add still further to the wealth of the country. If the money were borrowed in London a certain proportion of the profit that would accrue from its expenditure, say £300,000 a year, would be sent out of India every year to pay the persons who had advanced the money to enable the public works to be constructed. But if the money were borrowed in India the whole profit would be spent in India. In round figures, the sterling debt of India exceeds 100 millions. If the whole of that sum had been borrowed in India instead of in London, it might, of course, have taken too much capital and so injured trade. But if it had not? If India could have spared the money without injuring trade, then something between 3 and 4 millions sterling every year would be paid by the Government to residents in India. Either the money would come out of public works like railways or irrigation works, or it would have to be raised by means of taxation. Even if it were raised by means of taxation, what would be taken out of the taxpayer's pockets would be paid into the pockets of the lenders, and therefore the money would still remain in India. It would be available for employing labour or increasing trade or lending again to the Government, and so it would be constantly adding to the wealth of the country. I submit, then, that the wise course for India to pursue is to borrow as much as possible at home. And this is the more desirable when we bear in mind that the habit of investment has not yet been acquired by the Indian people generally. Their history has discouraged it. They have been exposed for many centuries to constant invasions. The Governments that have succeeded one another until about a century ago have never been able to maintain order for any length of time. The country has been harassed and harried and kept in disorder. Life and property have never been secure, and consequently the habit of investment has been discouraged. Indeed those who did invest were liable to see their property carried away by armed brigands; while those who hoarded at all events had a chance of hiding their wealth and so of saving it. The habit of investment, therefore, has not grown up in India as it has grown up in Europe, and to this very largely is due the fact that Europe is so much more advanced in all industrial pursuits than India. If India is to take a foremost place in the competition with other countries she must acquire the habit of investment as well as become more enterprising. But the

habit of investment is not easily acquired. It is learned slowly and gradually, even where life and property have been secure for ages; and in a country like India it will only be acquired where the security offered is of the very highest. In order, then, to encourage investment and so to hasten the growth of wealth and prosperity, it is very desirable that the Government should borrow as much as it can in India rather than elsewhere. And once the habit is acquired, even by a small portion of the population, it extends to others and gradually becomes general. Then the wealth of the country increases in a marvellous way.

It is very desirable, too, that besides lending directly to the Government, the Indian public should invest much more largely than it has yet done in Limited Liability Companies. Such investment forms an excellent training for public life. The man who has entrusted his savings to a body of Directors has a very strong interest in watching the policy of the Directors, in following the fortunes of the Company; and in discussing with fellow-shareholders whether any particular decision is wise or not. Those who are favourably placed will more or less regularly attend the Company's meetings. They will expect to get an explanation of what is either doubtful or unsatisfactory; and if they do not take part in the public discussions, at all events they are sure to discuss with their neighbours and their friends whether this or that course has been judicious. And once the habit of inquiry and discussion is acquired, it enables the investor to take part with advantage to himself and to the community in the management of the local affairs of his district and likewise in shaping the policy of the Government. Here in England until the early part of the present century the chief political power was held by the aristocracy and the great landed gentry; yet the middle classes of the towns had made so much progress, had acquired so much wealth, that they had become very real depositories of power. Even during the last century, while the Government was nominally aristocratic, it had to conform to the wishes of the towns, for it was in the towns that the real wealth lay, and when the Government wanted financial assistance it was to the towns it had to apply. Even in the last century, therefore, the opinion of the towns always prevailed; and in the present century the towns have acquired all real power. There can be no question that the training received by the middle classes of this country in managing commercial affairs, and especially in managing great companies, enabled them very powerfully to make their political

influence felt. More recently the working classes here have risen to political power because they had qualified themselves for taking part in public affairs by the management of their Benefit Societies. Some kind of training is obviously necessary before men can with benefit either to themselves or to their fellow-countrymen take part in shaping the policy of the country; and no training can be better than that of managing important financial institutions, which require judgment and foresight to conduct them safely. From a political point of view, then, large investment by the Indian public of all classes in joint stock enterprise is desirable. And it is equally desirable from an economic point of view. The more money is put into private enterprise, the more rapidly will the resources of the country be developed; and it is clear that however clever and however rich an individual may be, he cannot hope to conduct by his own means and his own supervision many classes of enterprises, such, for example, as railways. It is hardly for the Government to meddle in such matters as these; at all events, English ways of looking at commercial matters are not in favour of Government interference. The Government should allow a fair field to every one, and especially to every subject. But direct interference in private enterprise is not to be wished for; it is for the Indian public themselves to initiate that. Here in England public Companies are got up by enterprising individuals, and Companies succeed if the promoters can convince the public that there is a reasonable chance of success. The same thing must be done in India; and there is no way perhaps in which enterprising individuals can better serve their country than by looking out for promising fields of private enterprise and encouraging investment in them by the many. This, however, is rather by the way. The question immediately under discussion here is whether it is better for India, looking at all the interests of the whole community, to borrow at home or to borrow in London; and I hope that the reasons stated already are sufficient to justify the conclusion that the best plan is to borrow at home provided there is sufficient accumulated capital to accommodate the Government as well as to provide traders of all kinds. The next question to consider, therefore, is whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that India has already sufficient capital to carry on her trade in all its diversities and likewise to furnish the Government with the greater part of the funds it requires for developing the resources of the Empire.

From a statement drawn up by the Bank of Bengal it appears

that, during the 33 years ended with March 1892, India imported and kept nearly 230½ millions sterling worth of silver and nearly 126 millions sterling of gold; together for the 33 years not far short of 356½ millions sterling, being at the rate of about 10½ millions sterling per annum. After paying everything due by her in Europe, including the so-called Home Charges and the imports of European goods, India had an annual balance during the 33 years of over 10½ millions sterling which she was free to do what she liked with. As already pointed out, more than a third was taken in gold and somewhat less than two-thirds in silver. During the 33 years it is quite true that there was a very great development of the resources of India. Railways were built upon a large scale, new industries were founded and extended—such as the cotton, tea, and jute trades. The exports of wheat increased very greatly. Thus the wealth of the country was undoubtedly much augmented during the period, and the population also grew very rapidly. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the growth of wealth and population required an increase of currency, and hence it is only natural to conclude that a portion of the silver bought in Europe and imported into India was required for circulation. But it is notorious that during the time a very large part of the rupees circulating throughout the country were withdrawn from circulation and either hoarded or melted down and made into ornaments. Therefore it is clear that the larger part of the silver imported was purchased not for the sake of increasing the circulation but for the sake of hoarding and acquiring ornaments. Regarding the gold, it is evident that it must have been entirely bought for ornaments and for hoarding. It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that at least 6 or 7 millions sterling of the total treasure imported annually during the 33 years must have been for hoarding and ornaments. A Government, of course, cannot and ought not to interfere with the habits, customs, and tastes of its subjects. Every man has a right to decide for himself how he will spend his income; at all events, he has the right subject to the duty he owes to his family and to the community in which he lives. But it would be quite improper for a Government directly to interfere with him. Directly, therefore, the Government of India cannot prevent hoarding and ought not to try. But indirectly the Government might induce people to hoard less and to spend less in ornaments by offering such facilities for investment as would persuade the thrifty and the prudent that it would be better to increase their incomes by so investing

than to spend the surplus part of their ways. The anarchy in which the country has been so long a time fully accounts for the gold hoarding, and it is further to be recollected that hoarding was as common in Europe as it is in India. In the most unlikely places what most people hid it was only gradually that they were induced to spare money with banks or to invest it in the stock market. Gradually, however, in the more progressive countries of Europe and America the habit of hoarding came to an end and every one who can invest his money in some way or other. It is this habit of investing which has brought progress in the Western countries so rapidly. Until the Indian people recognise how much they can be benefited by investing in the same way, it is impossible to expect very rapid progress, and still more that to place amongst the nations which her immense population and her vast resources entitle her to. Supposing that during the 33 years referred to above, India, instead of spending 10½ millions sterling annually upon ornaments and in hoarding, had invested only a portion of it, let us say 6 millions sterling every year. During the 33 years she would have invested, in round figures, about 200 millions sterling; and, even if the return upon that investment had been no more than 4 per cent, the actual investment would have increased the income of the saving classes by 8 millions sterling every year. Of course the increase of income would have been very much greater than this; for if once people had acquired the habit of investing, they would have reinvested a portion of the increased income. The first year, for instance, having invested 6 millions sterling there would have been a return upon it—supposing the investment to have been judicious—of £240,000, and a portion of that £240,000 would likewise have been invested. Year by year as the investments grew, the incomes would grow likewise; and the amount that could be reinvested would, therefore, rapidly increase. Instead of 8 millions sterling as the income upon investment at the end of the 33 years there would probably have been an income of twice as much, and there might have been an even still larger income. Now is it to be forgotten that the return would in all likelihood have been more than 4 per cent. At the beginning of the period the Government was paying more than 4 per cent, so that even by lend-

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ing to the Government the return would have been larger. But if once the habit of investment had been acquired, the saving classes would have invested in many other ways besides lending to the Government, and it is possible therefore, that the total return would have been far larger than 4 per cent. On the other hand, of course, some of the investments would have turned out unfortunately. No people any where are always right in their judgments, and therefore a portion of the investment might have been lost. Still, there would have been a very considerable addition made to the income of India if investment had gone on in the way pointed out. The saving classes would thus be much richer now than they were at the beginning of the period. They would be able either to spend more upon their families or to extend their several businesses or to found entirely new businesses. Thus they would be better off themselves, they would be in a position to employ more labour, they would be likewise able to buy more from shopkeepers, and so they would raise wages and improve trade. Furthermore, if the investments were judiciously made upon the whole, those investments themselves would have opened up new districts of the country, would have given increased facilities of irrigation and thereby would have increased the wealth of the Empire. In every way, then, it will be seen that the habit of investment would have immensely increased the prosperity of the country; and on the other hand it will be seen that there were abundant funds in India to supply the Government with all the capital it needed. The gold and silver bought in Europe and imported into India were for the most part either turned into ornaments or hoarded; therefore the gold and the silver were not needed to a very considerable extent for carrying on the trade of India during the 33 years. The hoards and the ornaments could, therefore, have been employed in either lending to the Government or in founding new industries, without in the least affecting the existing enterprises of the country. This can be proved in still another way. The mere fact that hoarding has been going on upon so large a scale establishes it sufficiently; but if any reader is not convinced, further proof may be given in the following way.

* During the 33 years in which so much gold and silver was imported into India the Indian Government borrowed in Europe less than 100 millions sterling. But as already stated, the gold and silver imported into India exceeded 356 millions sterling. Therefore the imports of gold and silver into India exceeded India's borrowings in Europe more than 3½ times. If, therefore, the Indian Government had not

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borrowed a single penny in Europe, it could have got in India it raised in Europe; and yet India could have bought and in over 256 millions sterling, in both gold and silver. No reasonable man can doubt that the latter sum is much larger than India's needed for increasing her circulation during the 33 years. A few additional money she wanted could thus have been supplied: millions sterling could have been lent to the Government, an immense amount would have remained for hoarding and for ornaments. Again, the total foreign trade of India is consistently less than 200 millions sterling, while the population is nearly 200 millions. The total foreign trade, therefore, is only about a third of a pound sterling per head of the population, or not much more than one-fifth of a rupee per week per head of the population. And yet out of this relatively very small trade India was able to save for hoarding and for ornaments about 10½ millions sterling per annum for 33 years. Now, it is perfectly clear that the value of the home trade of India must be immensely greater than the value of the foreign trade. In all reasonable likelihood it is ten times greater, if not more. The home trade has to support not merely the poor but the rich and the great, from the Government and the native princes down to the humblest person in the land. If, then, the foreign trade amounts to little more than one-fifth of a rupee per head of the population per week, the home trade must amount to at least two rupees per head of the population per week. And if the savings out of the home trade are upon the same scale as the savings out of the foreign trade, the available wealth of India must be very much greater than is generally supposed. Of course the savings in the home trade cannot be on anything like the same great scale as the savings in the foreign trade; for, after all, the home trade is mainly carried on for the support of the poorer classes. The population, speaking generally, is poor. There are, of course, powerful princes, great nobles, and wealthy merchants; but they are very few in comparison with the whole population. And as the home trade, speaking broadly, is carried on by the whole population for the benefit of each, it is directed to supply the needs mainly of the poor and of those with only moderate means. The savings out of the home trade, therefore, cannot be very great; at all events, cannot be on anything like the scale of the savings out of the foreign trade. But if, as has just been assumed, the home trade is ten times as large as the foreign trade then the home trade amounts in

about 2,000 millions sterling; and even if the savings were only one per cent that would give a total accumulation every year of one million millions sterling. Whatever way, then, we look at the matter, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that India is rich enough to carry on all her existing industries, to furnish funds for new trades, and at the same time to supply Government with the means of developing the national resources. And if she would appear to be more advantageous to her that her Government should borrow at home than that it should apply to foreign countries for the loans it requires. Of course the change cannot be made all at once. The majority of the Indian people are so accustomed to hoard that it will take a considerable time before they can be brought to trust their money out of their sight. But if it is recognised by the more intelligent classes that borrowing at home is preferable to borrowing abroad, the Government will soon be led to take the same view and will adopt measures to afford opportunity to the intelligent to do what they recognise to be best for the country. Every change of the kind must be gradual. If the Government on the one hand and the intelligent classes on the other see that it would be best to borrow as much as possible at home, then the means of doing so will soon be found; and year by year the Government will learn to look more to the Indian than to the London market and to shape its policy more and more in accordance with the views of the people. On the other hand, when once the intelligent classes generally begin to invest freely, their example will be followed, not at once and universally—that perhaps is not desirable, as it would be too sudden a change in the habits of the people—but slowly and gradually, giving time for adopting the methods of borrowing to the circumstances of the country.

T. LLOYD.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

EIGHTEEN hundred years ago, the most powerful and civilised empire on the face of the earth was that of Rome. It extended over the greater part of Europe, and the remote island of Britain, to which the Tamils and other native races of India are subject at present, was itself a Roman province. The ancient Empires of Egypt, Syria and Babylonia had been conquered by the Romans, and the ruins of Memphis, Nineveh and Babylon lay buried in sand. In the East, the vast Empire of China stood apart enjoying its own primitive civilisation. From the table land of Central Asia, a horde of Saka tribes had issued and conquered the whole of the North-Western portion of India. Their great king Kanishka founded the Saka Era, which commenced in A. D. 78, and is now erroneously known as the Era of Salivahapa. He ruled over an extensive Empire which included the Southern half of Turkestan, the whole of Afghanistan and the North-Western portion of India down to the Vindhya range. During his reign Buddhism was paramount in Northern India. To the Aryan races it was a period of humiliation and to Brahmanism one of painful struggle for existence. When in later years, with the success of Aryan arms, Brahmanism again rose to power, it appears to have directed all its energy to erase every trace of the rival faith and foreign dominion. Accordingly, we find that the Sanscrit literature of the first century of the Christian Era, is now a perfect blank. Curiously enough, at this very period there was an abundance of Tamil literature, much of which has been fortunately preserved to this day.

The vast field of ancient Tamil literature is like an unknown land into which no traveller hath yet set foot. Many of the ancient classical works in Tamil have but recently seen the light. Hitherto they were preserved in manuscript on palmyra leaves, and jealously guarded by those Pandits into whose hands they had fallen. The archaic language in which they were composed, and the alien religions they favoured, were alike impediments in the way of their becoming popular with Tamil students. In fact some of them were prohibited

in Tamil schools, and Saiva or Vaishnava pandits deemed it an unpardonable sin to teach them to their pupils. Most of these manuscripts lay neglected in the libraries of Saiva or Jain monasteries: and there they would have crumbled to dust but for the enterprise of a few scholars who have with considerable labour and research, rescued them from oblivion and published them in print⁽¹⁾. Several valuable works still remain in manuscript, accessible only to a few individuals.

The opinion generally received is that there was no Tamil literature before the ninth century A. D.⁽²⁾ But the fact appears to be that all that was original and excellent in the literature of the Tamils was written before the ninth century, and what followed was, for the most part, but a base imitation or translation of Sanscrit works. From a careful study of the ancient Tamil poems which have survived to this day, I am led to think that some of the earliest poems were undoubtedly composed more than two thousand years ago, and that the Tamil people acquired wealth and civilisation at this early period by their commercial intercourse with foreign nations such as the Arabs, Greeks, Romans and Javanese. With the advance of their material prosperity, there was a sudden development in their literary activity. The Augustan period of Tamil literature was, I should say, in the first century of the Christian era. The last College of poets was then held in Madura in the Court of the Pandya king Irunthorra Nedunchekkan *alias* Ugra (the Terrible) Pandya. The works of not less than fifty authors of this period have come down to us. The authors were of various castes, various religious persuasions and belonged to different parts of the Tamil country. Some were Nigranthas, some Buddhists, and some of the Brahminic faiths. There were kings, priests, merchants, doctors, farmers, and artisans among their number. Amidst the gloom and uncertainty in which the ancient history of the country is shrouded, the works of so many authors of one age break upon us like a flood of light. They reveal to us not only the condition of the Tamil people, but also that of the races which occupied

(1) Foremost among these scholars I should mention Rai Bahadur C. W. Thamotharam Pillai, B. A., B. L., who has published the whole of *Tholkapiyam* with the commentaries of *Chenavaniyar* and *Nachchinarkiniyar* and the *Kalithokai* by *Nallathanar*: and Mr. Saminathier, Tamil Pandit, Kumbakonam College, who has published the *Paruthupadu*, *Chilappathikaram*, and *Purananuru*. I should not omit to mention also Mr. Shanmugam Pillai, Madras, who has very pluckily brought forward an Edition of the *Manimekalai*, although there is no commentary accompanying the text.

(2) Dr. Burnell in his *South Indian Paleography* and Dr. Caldwell in his *Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, have expressed this opinion.

the neighbouring countries in this remote age.

I shall in this article proceed to describe first the ancient geography of that portion of India which was inhabited by the Tamil people, then their political history and conclude with a brief account of their social condition, literature and religion. I shall take for my guidance the poems composed during the reigns of the Chola king Karikal, his son-in-law the Chera king Athan and the latter's son Chenkuttuva Chera⁽³⁾ *alias* Imaya Varman. The last mentioned Chera King had a younger brother Ilanko-Adikal, who became a monk of the Nigrantha Sect. He was the author of a long poem the *Chilappadikaram*⁽⁴⁾ in which he relates that at a certain festival held by his brother Imaya Varman at the Chera capital, Gajabahu, the king of Lanka attended with some other princes.⁽⁵⁾ This allusion to a king of Ceylon enables us to fix the date of Imaya Varman. In the long lists of the kings of Ceylon preserved in Singhalese chronicles, the name Gajabahu occurs only twice. Gajabahu I lived in the early part of the second century A. D. and Gajabahu II in the twelfth century.⁽⁶⁾ If the latter was the king referred to in the *Chilappathikaram*, Karikal Chola, the grandfather of Gajabahu's contemporary, Imaya Varman, should have lived in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. But in many Tamil poems⁽⁷⁾ and inscriptions on copper plates⁽⁸⁾ recording the grants of Chola kings who lived in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Karikal Chola I⁽⁹⁾ is described as one of the earliest and most remote ancestors of the Chola kings then reigning. It is evident therefore that the Gajabahu referred to in *Chilappathikaram* could not be Gajabahu II, but must have been Gajabahu I who was king of Ceylon from about A. D. 113 to A. D. 125.

(3). *Chilappathikaram* XXI-11 to 15 and XXIX-1 to 3.

(4). This poem with the commentary of *Nazarkkiniyar* was published by Mr. Saminathier in the year 1892. The author's name is not given, but he is generally known by the title *Ilanko-Adikal* which signifies "a Royal monk." In line 1 of the *Pathikam* or Preface to the poem, it is stated that he lived as a monk in the *Kuna-Vayil Koddam* (the East-Gate Temple), and in the commentary it is explained that it was near *Kodunkolur*.

(5). *Chilappathikaram* Page 31 and XXX-160.

(6). Mahawanso. Dipawanso, Rajavali and Rajaratnakari.

(7). *Kalingattu-parani*, *Vikrama-Cholan-Ula* and *Kulottunga-Cholan-Ula*.

(8). The copperplates relating to the Chudamani Vihara at Negapatam, now preserved in the town of Leyden in Holland. See *Archaeological Reports of Southern India*, by Dr. Burgess Vol. IV. p. 204. The plates recording the grant of *Udaiyendra Mangalam*, during the reign of *Vira Narayana Chola*. See *Salem District Manual*.

(9). There were other Karikal Cholas after him.

That Karikal Chôla, Ugra Pandya and the last College or Sangha of poets, belonged to this early period may be inferred from numerous allusions in later Tamil works, of which I shall mention only one here. In the commentary to Iraiyanar Akapporul,^(10.) the author Nilakandan of Muchiri gives a brief account of the history of Tamil literature and alludes therein to the last Sangha of poets at Madura, presided over by Ugra Pandya. Every one of the stanzas with which the author illustrates his commentary contains the praises of the Pandyan king Neduncheliyan *alias* Arikésari, victor of the battle of Nelyeli, and the king is described therein as alive at the time and ruling the Pandya, Chera and Chola kingdoms, having defeated and driven off the invaders who had come from the north. From the Udayendram grant already referred to, (11) I find that the famous battle of Nelyeli was fought between the Pandyan king and Udayachandra of Kollapuram (Kolhapur) who was the general of the Pallava king, Pallava malla Nandivarman. This Pallava king was contemporary with the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya II who reigned from A. D. 733 to 747 according to inscriptions in the Chalukya country.⁽¹²⁾ Nilakandan the commentator, who praises Neduncheliyan the victor of Nelyeli, should have flourished therefore in the earlier half of the eighth century. It appears from his commentary that the works of the Sangha poets were current during his time in the form of collections or anthologies, such as Akam, Narrunai, Kurunthokai and Pathiruppattu. He quotes also from the Chilappathikaram. The Akam is a collection of 401 different pieces composed on various occasions by more than 200 poets. The Kurunthokai is a similar collection from the works of 205 authors. The Narrunai contains 401 verses composed by not less than 200 poets. The Pathiruppattu consists of ten poems by ten different persons. I counted the names of more than 514 different poets in these collections taken together. The number of these authors is so large that we may safely assume that the oldest of them might have lived six or seven centuries before the age of Nilakandan. This would allow an average of about 100

(10.) See Phamotharam Pillai's edition of Iraiyanar Akapporul. The commentator (Nilakandan) states that his interpretation of the rules of the Akapporul is that handed down through several generations from Nakkirar, one of the poets of the last Sangha of Madura. He gives a list of the names of teachers through whom the commentary was transmitted, but it does not appear to be a complete list.

(11.) Salem District Manual Vol. II p. 356.

(12.) See Indian Antiquary. Vol. VIII pp. 23 and Dr. Hultzsch's South Indian Inscriptions Vol. I p. 145.

authors per century, which is by no means a small number. The Akam contains many verses which allude to Karikal Chôla and the Chera kings Athan and Chenkuttuvan.⁽¹³⁾ Ten stanzas of the Pathiruppattu composed by Paranan, one of the poets of the last Sangha, are in praise of Chenguttuva Cherra.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is beyond doubt therefore that Chenkuttuva Chera lived long before the close of the eighth century.

The Mahawanso was composed in the fifth century A. D. and the Dipavanso still earlier; and both these historical works mention Gajabâhu I. It appears that during the reign of his father "crooked nosed" Tissa, a Chôla king had invaded Ceylon, and carried away several thousands of captives; and that in retaliation Gajabâhu invaded the Chola dominions soon after his accession to the throne in A. D. 113. The tradition is that the captives were carried away to work on the banks of the River Kaviri, which were then under construction.⁽¹⁵⁾ This is quite in accordance with later Tamil poems and inscriptions⁽¹⁶⁾ which speak of Karikal Chôla as the king who commenced the construction of the high banks along both sides of the bed of the Kaviri. The construction of the Kaviri banks which extended along its course to a distance of about 100 miles from its mouth, was an undertaking of such magnitude that it could not have been completed during the reign of Karikal. The Chôla King who invaded Ceylon in order to procure captives to work at the banks might have been therefore Karikal or his immediate successor. This tradition is further evidence of the fact that Chenkuttuva Chera was contemporary with Gajabâhu I who lived in the early part of the second century A. D. Chenkuttuvan's grandfather Karikal Chôla should have therefore reigned in the latter half of the first century A. D., or in other words, about *eighteen hundred years ago*. It will appear further on, from my account of Tamil literature, that the poets of the last Sangha at Madura—many of whom allude to the Chera kings Athan and Chenkuttuvan—should be assigned to the same period.

Even if there was no allusion to Gajabâhu in the Chilappathikaram, the information afforded by this poem and contemporary works, regarding the religion and social customs of the Tamil

(13.) Akam-Stanzas 55, 124, 396. This work is not published in print as yet.

(14.) Pathiruppattu-Stanzas 51 to 60. This poem also has not appeared in print.

(15.) Mr. Hugh Nevill of the Ceylon Civil Service and Editor of the "Taprobanish" informed me that many ballads and stories still current in Ceylon refer to this tradition.

(16.) The Kalingatta Parani and the Leyden Grant.

people, would alone guide us to fix the probable date of this literature in the earliest centuries of the Christian Era. For, we find from them that there were Buddhists in the Tamil country, but they had set up no images of Buddha and had no priests; there were Nigranthas who called the Buddhists heretics, but who had not commenced the worship of their Saints or Tirthankaras; there were temples dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and Subramanya, but there were also other shrines in which the worship of Indra and Baladēva was continued; there were Brahmins who wore the sacred thread and called themselves the "twice-born" but neither kings nor merchants sought this distinction; there were Tamils living in walled towns and cities, but in some parts of the country they still led the life of nomads and had no settled habitation.

An additional proof of the antiquity of the poems above mentioned may be adduced from the fact that the chief towns and sea-ports and the foreign merchandise of the Tamil country, as described in these poems correspond exactly with those given in the works of Pliny, Ptolemy and in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Pliny died in 79 A. D.; and had completed his *Natural History* two years previously. The unknown author of the *Periplus* was a native of Egypt, and wrote his book after the time of Augustus Caesar, and before the kingdom of the Nabathæans was overthrown by the Romans. A more definite indication of his date is furnished by his mentioning Zoskales as the king reigning in his time over the Auxumitæ. This Zoskales is identified with Za-Hakale who must have been king of Abyssinia from 77 to 89 A. D. We may conclude therefore that the *Periplus* was written a little after the death of Pliny, between the years 80-89 A. D. (17) Klaudios Ptolemaios, or as he is commonly called Ptolemy, flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the second century A. D., in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and died in A. D. 163. (18) These authors furnish much interesting information regarding the Tamil people and their foreign commerce. Ptolemy especially gives a long list of the names of the maritime and inland towns. Most of the sea-ports mentioned by him can be readily identified from allusions to them in Tamil poems; but it is not equally easy to trace the position of many of the towns removed from the coast, because Ptolemy had utterly misconceived the form of the Indian peninsula.

(17). McCrindle's translation of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* page 5.

(18). McCrindle's translation of Ptolemy's *Geography of India and Southern Asia* page 1. Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* page 20.

In his map of India he represents the sea-coast, from near the modern city of Bombay to a point beyond Masulipatam, as a zig-zag line running from west to east, and thus effaced the whole of the peninsula. Into this distorted map he tried to fit in the mountains, rivers and cities described to him both by those who travelled frequently from Egypt to India and by those who visited Egypt from India. The names of the tribes and their chief cities as given by him are, however, wonderfully accurate, and give us some idea of the earnestness and diligence with which he must have collected his information.

The whole of the country lying south of the central plateau of Asia was in this ancient period known as Jambudvīpa. The region south of the Vyndhyas was called Dakshinapatha (19) and the extreme south of the peninsula, which was occupied by the Tamil people, was Tamilakam, or the abode of the Tamils (20). The limits of Tamilakam were from Venkata Hill (21) in the North, to Cape Comorin in the South, and from the Bay of Bengal in the East, to the Arabian sea in the West. Malayalam had not formed into a separate dialect at this period, and only one language, Tamil, was spoken from the Eastern to the Western Sea. The people who lived North of Venkatam were called Vadukar (22). Immediately North of Tamilakam, above the Ghats, was Eru-mainad (23) or the "Buffalo land" the equivalent of which name in Sanscrit was Mahisha Mandalam. West of Eru-mainad were Tulu Nad, Kudakam (Coorg) and Konkanam. The other races in India were the Kalingar, Pangalar, Kankar, Kattiyar and Northern Aryas (24). The following Kingdoms and towns are alluded to by the Tamil poets of this period:—The

(19). McCrindle's *Periplus* page 124.

Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* page 1.

(20). Chilappathikaram iii-37. Manimekalai xvii-62. Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* call it Limirike, but as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell, (*Dravidian Grammar* Introduction page 14), it is evidently Damirike. In the Indian segment of the Roman maps called from their discoverer, the *Pentinger Tables*, the portion of India to which this name is applied is called Damirike—McCrindle's *Periplus* page 126.

(21). Chilappathikaram viii-1 and 2. Venkata Hill is the modern Tirupathi about 100 miles North West of Madras.

(22). Akam-294.

(23). Ibid-252.

(24). Chilappathikaram XXV 156 to 158. The Pangalar appear to have been the people who inhabited Lower Bengal. The Kankar were those who occupied the banks of the Ganges higher up, evidently the Gangaridæ mentioned by Ptolemy. The Kattiyar were doubtless the people who gave the name Kattiyar to Guzerat.

Kingdom of Magadha and the town of Kapilā which was the birth place of Buddha;⁽²⁵⁾ the Kingdom of Malwa and its capital Avanti; the Kingdom of Vajra;⁽²⁶⁾ the sea-port Gangai on the banks of the Ganges which was in the territory of the Kānnar;⁽²⁷⁾ Varanavāsi, the modern Benares; Thuvurai or Dwaraka in Guzerat, the capital of the deified hero Krishna;⁽²⁸⁾ Ceylon was known as Lanka-dvipa or Ratna-dvipa: The highest mountain in the island was Samanoli⁽²⁹⁾ (now called Adam's Peak); and on its summit was the impression of Buddha's feet, which was an object of pilgrimage to Buddhists far and near. Between Ceylon and India was the island Manipallavam on which there was one of the sacred seats of Buddha, then held in great veneration by all Buddhists. It is said to have been at a distance of thirty yojanās south of Puhār, the ancient sea-port at the mouth of the Kāvīri.⁽³⁰⁾ A ship sailing from the coast of Madura to Chāvākam (Java) touched at Manipallavam.⁽³¹⁾ To the east of Ceylon were the islands inhabited by a race of Nāgas called Nakkasāranar or "naked homāds," who were cannibals.⁽³²⁾ Beyond these islands was Chāvākam a large kingdom the capital of which was Nāgapuram. The king of this country claimed to be a descendant of the God Indra, and what is most remarkable, the language spoken in Chāvākam appears to have been Tamil! This Chāvākam was most probably Sumatra or Javā.⁽³³⁾

Tamilakam was divided into thirteen Nadus or provinces, the names of which were as follows:—Pandi, Thenpandi, Kudam,

(25.) Manimekalai XXVI. 12 to 44.

(26.) Chilappathikaram II. 99 to 103.

(27.) Ibid XXIII 138—141.

(28.) Ibid XVII.

(29.) Manimekalai XXVIII—103.

(30.) Manimekalai VI-211 to 214.

(31.) Ibid XIV 74 to 81. The Dipavanso and Mahavanso give a glowing but fabulous account of Buddha's first visit to this seat: but the Tamil Buddhist poem Manimekalai, which was composed three centuries earlier, gives a very simple version of the story which is as follows:—"Two Naga kings contended for this seat but neither was able to lift it off the ground; determined however not to give it up, with eyes all aflame and breathing fury, they led their great armies and fought a bloody battle. The great Teacher (Buddha) then appeared before them and said—Cease your strife: this seat is mine: then he sat upon it and preached the Law." Manimekalai viii 54 to 63.

(32.) Manimekalai xvi—15. Ptolemy mentions three groups of Islands inhabited by cannibals. Yule has identified them with the Nicobars, Nekkavaram of Marco Polo, Luka-Varam of Rashidud-din McCrindle's Ptolemy 236 to 239.

(33.) Manimekalai XXIV. 164 to 170. Ptolemy calls the island Iabadois or Sabadois

Kudam, Kārkā, Vēn, Pooli, Panri, Aruva, Aruva-vadatalai, Cheetham, Malādu and Puna-nādu.⁽³⁴⁾ The Pandinādu, which corresponded nearly to the north-western portion of the modern district of Madura, was considered the most important, being that tract where pure Tamil was then spoken. The chief town in this Nadu was Mathura, the capital of the Pandyan kingdom. It appears to have been so called after the sacred city of Mathurai on the banks of the Jumna, which was most probably the capital of the northern kingdom of the descendants of the Pāndus, the heroes of the Mahabharata. This is evident from the appellation Thakkana-Mathurai or Southern Madura⁽³⁵⁾ given to it by Tamil poets of this age. The Pandyan king called himself Panchavan⁽³⁶⁾ (the descendant of the five,) and Kaurian⁽³⁷⁾ (of the line of the Kurus), names which clearly indicate his origin from the Pandus, who were five brothers. The city of Madura retains to this day its ancient name, and thus bears living testimony to the fact that the Aryans of Northern India had in early times under Pandya leaders established their power in the most Southern parts of the peninsula⁽³⁸⁾ It was a fortified city. There were four gates to the fort, surmounted by high towers, and outside the massive walls which were built of rough-hewn stone was a deep moat, and surrounding the moat was a thick jungle of thorny trees. The roads leading to the gates were wide enough to permit several elephants to pass abreast, and on the walls on both sides of the entrance, there were all kinds of weapons and missiles concealed, ready to be discharged on an enemy. Yavana soldiers with drawn swords guarded the gates⁽³⁹⁾ Over the gates and walls waved many a standard which had been taken in battle. The principal streets in the city were the royal street, the market street, the courtesan's street and the streets where dwelt the goldsmiths, corn dealers, cloth merchants, jewellers &c.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The temple of Siva known as Velliambalam or

(34.) NachchinarKuniyar gives a slightly different list of the Nadus. Instead of Ven and Puna-nadu he mentions Olinadu and Ponkar-nadu. Tholkapiyam. Chollathikaram-Sutram 400.

(35.) Manimekalai xiii 13.

(36.) Puranānuru Stanza 58 line 8.

(37.) Chilapathi karam xv 2.

(38.) McCrindle's Ptolemy page 60.

(39.) Chilappathikaram xiv 62-67.

(40.) Ibid xiv 143 to 218.

"the silver temple" appears to have been the grandest building in the city. (41) There were other temples dedicated to Vishnu, Baladēva, Subramanya and Chintadēvi. (42) There were separate monasteries for the Buddhist, Brahminic and Nigrantha ascetics. (43)

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(41) Ibid — pathikam 40-41.

(42) Ibid xiv 7 to 11.

(43) Mathuraikauchi lines 467-487.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SETTLEMENT.

THE Agricultural problem has for many years been propounded in India with spasmodic energy, and seems to-day just as far from solution as ever. In fact the full significance of the phrase, and the supreme importance of the financial, social, and economic factors covered thereby, have been recognised but by few; and hardly at all by those whose whole time and energy should, one would suppose, be devoted to the solution. It is the fashion just at the present moment to decry those who venture to call attention to this subject in all its importance as mere alarmists and agitators; but, as Butler remarks, natural laws will run their course and effects will follow causes, — despite the blindness of authority and the feminine strategy of calling names. Fortunately what so many here know and suppress, is attracting attention among public men, of all parties, at home and we seem to be nearing a crisis such as culminated in 1813, in the celebrated "Fifth Report." It is a mistake, due to defective education in history, to think that the curing of the ills of a sick India through an appeal direct to its Western Rulers is an invention of modern democratic days. Nothing is further from truth. Until the transfer of India to the Crown, every measure of reform and relief was forced upon the reluctant Company by the British Parliament. Though the disease and its symptoms are not identical, the political situation is wondrously like that of the early years of the century.

"It is a curious fact that, whilst this state of things existed, and the records sent home from time to time by the supreme authorities in India were filled with ample proofs of its existence, the formal reports from the heads of departments contained little else than assurances of the 'growing prosperity of the country.' It is not less extraordinary that for a long series of years the justice of these assurances was never questioned and that the voluminous reports forwarded from the Zillah Judges and Collectors, though teeming with important information, were cast aside as so much waste paper. Happily for the interests of British India, however, a more just notion of what was due both to themselves and to their subjects, was at length excited among the home authorities. Doubts began to be entertained that matters might not be exactly in the flourishing condition represented. Inquiries were instituted into the contents of

documents too long neglected: and the truth burst upon the minds of those engaged in them, with a force which was not to be resisted. Finally, the celebrated Fifth Report came out in 1813, which drew towards the affairs of India other eyes than those of its immediate rulers, and measures began to be devised for the correction of a system, the inefficiency of which could no longer be denied. Hence arose the appointment of a Commission to inquire upon the spot into the real merits of the case.*

It was as President of this Commission that Sir Thomas Munro returned to Madras.

Although at present sunk in the prevailing lethargy, Madras made the latest conspicuous effort to arouse attention to this subject. Lord Connemara, who took a keen personal interest in Agricultural affairs, appointed in 1888 a Committee to institute "a comprehensive enquiry into the constitution and operations of the Agricultural Department, with the view of ascertaining what practical good it has done and is doing and what good such a Department might do under other conditions." Not only was the Report of this Committee, presented in May 1889, very detailed, but it took a most comprehensive view of the scope of the Committee's investigations. According to Government, "the result of its labours" — a result, I may remark, largely due to the knowledge and enthusiasm of the Secretary, Mr. F. A. Nicholson, C. S. — "is a most interesting report, in which all the various branches of the question of agricultural progress in India have, for the first time, been brought together and thoroughly discussed."†

But Lord Connemara departed, and with his personal interest public interest also took its leave. As far as I am aware, not a single one of the reforms recommended by the Committee and approved by Government, has been carried out; and it would be interesting to know how many of the present members of the Government and the Board of Revenue have even read this Report.

If we were to judge by internal evidence alone, we might conclude that the present Governor of Madras had certainly not read it, when he as Chancellor of the University delivered his interesting address to Convocation in March last. In that address His Excellency started some questions of considerable difficulty, but his criticism was almost purely destructive and afforded but little assistance towards solution. Still, Lord Wenlock must be thanked for having

* Gleig's Life of Munro (1861), pp. 222.

† G. O.; 4 July 1890, No 315, Revenue.

pointedly drawn the attention of the public, and more particularly of University graduates, to these matters; and he will have done good service if his reflections lead to renewed interest and investigation. I propose to follow up these remarks of His Excellency on a subject which he declares, and declares justly, to "deserve serious attention," and to indicate some of the more important factors going to compose this complex subject. One of these, as indicated by my title, is of such supreme and pressing importance as to deserve special, though not disproportionate, attention.*

It will be proper here to quote Lord Wenlock *verbatim*.

"Now in alluding to the development of manufactures and commerce—including all arts and industries—I would place above all Agriculture. This is by far the most important industry in the present condition of the country, and on its prosperity depends the prosperity of the others. I have been in every district of the Presidency—in many more than once.—I have seen them under different aspects and in different seasons, and although I may be repeating a well-known truism, I must bear witness to the manner in which the preponderating importance of the agricultural industry has forced itself upon my mind. But yet throughout the length and breadth of the land the duty of carrying on this industry is almost entirely confined to members of the peasant class. It is so rare that it is almost unknown to see any man of culture and education devoting his time, his leisure, or his wealth to the personal pursuit of this particular industry. I can assign no reason for this, for the cultivation of the soil is not in other countries considered derogatory to educated and cultivated gentlemen; on the contrary, it is generally considered a noble object, and befitting the attention of the most cultivated intellects. But here, where its importance is, I may say, quite overwhelming, it is left to the more ignorant portion of the population, who, however skilful they may be in some respects, are notoriously conservative in their habits, and are loth to abandon their primitive methods of cultivation—which, though consecrated by the traditions of by-gone centuries, are in many ways far behind the requirements of the present day. I have often asked myself, and I would ask you now, whether there is any reason why men of high educational attainments should not turn their attention to this subject, and by scientific and careful application not only succeed in obtaining a fair remuneration for their capital and labour, but also by the experience they will gain and the example they will give, do much to improve the cultivation and the prospects of their more humble neigh-

* The substance, and in a few cases the form, of some of the following pages constituted portion of an address, dealing with the more important topics discussed by Lord Wenlock, delivered by the present writer to the members of the Madras University Union on 10th May last.

hours. If what I suggest were brought about, and a considerable number of educated men were established as farmers throughout the various districts, associations could be formed, much on the lines of Agricultural Societies in other countries, who would undertake the improvements on a large scale which such associations only are in a position to take up. These should take the form of experiments in raising and marketing different kinds of crops, in trials of all sorts of agricultural implements, and above all in the improvement of the different breeds of cattle suitable for the varying conditions of their respective districts. Without some systematised form of treatment of cattle, I despair of seeing any marked improvement in Indian agriculture. Unless some more careful segregation of old and useless animals from those which are useful for cultivation purposes and fit for breeding is adopted, I do not well see how any progress can be made. The present system is wasteful in the extreme, but I believe that it is hopeless for Government to interfere, and any real measures for improvement must be undertaken by men of position conversant with the habits of the people and trusted by them, and who are at the same time competent to carry such measures through to a successful issue. Such associations as I have sketched out might possibly be very useful agents for the establishment and maintenance of a scheme for Agricultural Banks. But I must not dilate any further on this subject. It will, I trust be sufficient for me to draw your attention to a matter which I think deserves serious attention, viz., the almost absolute divorce from the cultivation of the soil—the principal industry of the country—of men of position and high educational attainments. Feeling strongly as I do on this question I cannot resist expressing a hope that the day is not far distant when this University will include Agriculture among the subjects qualifying for a degree."

It will be important to notice here at once that Lord Wenlock's opinion is in direct contradiction to the long-declared views of the Government of Madras, of the Government of India, and of the Secretary of State. In asserting that only associations of farmers could undertake improvements on a large scale in the directions pointed out and that it is hopeless for the State to interfere, he ignores altogether the position of the State as the largest and, for present purposes, the only landlord in the country. So long ago as 1865 the Government of Madras stated, "that in this Presidency the Government are very much in the position of landlords, and reaping the benefits of the position cannot ignore its obligations." In 1870, Lord Mayo declared that the duties which in England fall upon a good landlord, fall in India in a great measure upon the Government; that the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge and capital for the improvement of the land is

the State; that there is, perhaps, no country in the world in which the State has so immediate and direct an interest in such questions and that the work that is performed by the great agricultural societies of Europe must be performed by the Government or not at all. And the Secretary of State in replying to this said, "it is certain that the Government has a direct and immediate interest in the improvement of agriculture which is possessed by no Government in Europe." It was in pursuance of this policy that a Department of Agriculture was founded in Madras, a department which seems to have fallen back into the slough of inertia from which, as we have seen, Lord Connemara made so gallant an effort to extricate it. It is not asserted that such Associations may not form useful auxiliaries to Government; what is asserted is that, so far from its being hopeless for the State to interfere, any advance is hopeless unless the State leads the way.

It is easy enough to see why Government should be called upon to occupy this position. It is unnecessary now-a-days to disinter the musty arguments of a hundred years ago as to whether or not the *dominium* over the soil is tested in the Circar, and whether the cultivator's kist be a rent or a tax. These were days in which members of the Board, Collectors, and settlement officers, made play with the Divine Right of kings and the Social Contract in a fashion that would astonish the more prosaic and less prescient officials of to-day.* It is sufficient for the purpose in hand to remember that whether the Government claims to be the legal owner of the soil or whether it does not, it is the *de facto* rent-collecting landlord; and that not only does it collect the rents, but it fixes them. This may seem a truism but is indeed a paradox; for in other countries with which it is profitable to make comparison, the rents are fixed not by the landlord but for the landlord, in some instances by custom, in others by competition. But here in India the landlord can fix the rent at any sum he chooses; and in practice, in the Madras Presidency, he fixes it at the maximum which he thinks can be extracted in good years, after leaving the tenant the barest subsistence allowance, and granting grudgingly—if at all—remissions in bad years, when threats, distress, and evictions are alike found useless for the extraction of the full amount. It has been well remarked that a more effectual

*A short summary of one of these controversies will be found in a paper by the present writer on "Chingleput and the Village Community", in the Proceedings of the Madras Historical Society (Madras), Part I.

plan for keeping an agricultural population in hopeless misery and indebtedness could scarcely be devised. No argument is needed to demonstrate that such a state of things leaves no margin for a capitalist farmer to intervene or spring into being; but if any one were Quixotic enough to venture on such an enterprise, he would be assuredly choked off by the uncertainty attending even this rack rent, and the certainty that his improvements will at an early date afford ample excuse to the Government for its enhancement.

The question of settlement is difficult in itself, and its difficulty has been augmented by the vacillating policy and varying practice of rulers, but it may be asserted with confidence that want of permanence must and will ever be a serious, if not insurmountable, obstacle to any such progress in agriculture as can be attained by the application of capital; whether the capital of the thrifty peasant proprietor or of the speculative merchant farmer. It was proposed, in 1889;

"That Government be moved to enunciate and make widely known a final policy in the matter of its settlement rules, more especially those relating to the grain valuation of the soil; it is clear from the evidence of highly intelligent and well-informed witnesses" (including, I may mention in passing, the Hon. Justice Subramania Iyer, C. J. E.) "that there exists a widespread feeling of distrust regarding the finality of the grain valuation of soils, and that this feeling largely restrains the investment of capital in the improvement of land. It is stated that so long as any uncertainty regarding the policy of the Government in this matter is permitted to continue the tenure of land on the ryotwari system is not stable, and that it cannot be stable unless and until the Government declare that in future revisions of assessments the soil-valuation and classification first adopted by the Settlement Department shall be final and will never be disturbed in any future revisions."

These are not the words of an agitator or an alarmist; they were written by a first member of the Board of Revenue of Madras, Mr. W. Wilson, Chairman of the Agricultural Committee of 1888-89. It will be convenient here to note the result of this recommendation, to which we shall have to refer again.

In the Report of the Agricultural Committee the recommendation of Mr. W. Wilson appears in the following form, (para 31):—

"The second matter is that there appears to be a feeling of mistrust regarding the finality of the grain values assigned to soils by the Settlement Department when revising assessments for the first time. It is

feared that future revisions of assessments will be determined on a consideration not of prices only, but of soils also. A re-valuation of soils at each recurring revision would, it is said—and we think rightly said—be fatal to improvement. We believe that the present opinion of the Government is opposed to such a re-valuation, and is inclined to make the settlements permanent so far as the grain values of soils are concerned, but there has been no distinct avowal that this will be the policy that will guide future revisions of assessments, while the statement on page 110 vol. I., of the Madras Manual of Administration, that at future revisions soils are liable to re-valuation, and the fact that sanction has been accorded to the re-classification of soils in the Chidambaram and Manargudi taluks of South Arcot, which were first settled in 1861-62 and are due to be re-settled on the expiration of the thirty years term of their first settlement in 1890-91, give a solid foundation for the want of confidence to which we have alluded. We consider, therefore, that Government should distinctly declare by legislation that, in any revision of assessment that may be made after the first, soils will not be revalued. In this way the value of his improvements will be absolutely secured to the ryot, for they will afford no basis for the enhancement of the Government demand upon him, and the stability of his tenure will be assured."

One of the gentlemen who held these views was the present junior Member of Council, Mr. Grose.

In its Order upon this Report the Government of Lord Curzon said, *inter alia*, G. O., 4th July, 1889, No. 515, Revenue, para. 20:—

"The recommendation that legislation should be undertaken for the purpose of defining authoritatively the status of the ryot need not be noticed at length for it is made under a misapprehension of the real fact. . . . Nor has the Government any intention of revising the classification of soils. This principle has been repeatedly laid down and is very clearly stated in the Settlement Manual. The statement to the contrary in the Manual of Administration is incorrect and the re-classification of the Chidambaram Taluk is not a violation of the assurances of Government, as this taluk has never been settled on the system now followed throughout the rest of the Presidency."

There is a great deal of popular ignorance, constantly cropping up to vitiate public discussion of this question, as to what is meant by "permanence" of settlement. We find confusion abundant between soil valuation and grain values, between zemindari and ryotwari, and between the various principles on which either of them may be carried out. With a certain type of arguer, "permanent settlement" connotes only one particular permanent settlement,

namely the Bengal Settlement of Lord Cornwallis; and by other minds permanency cannot be imagined as co-existent with any other mode of settlement than zemindari. Yet ryotwari settlements may be permanent and zemindari settlements may be variable; and settlements of either kind may be fixed on the very worst of bases. It is a very remarkable fact that throughout the great controversies as to settlement during the twenty years when Cornwallis, Teignmouth, and Wellesley ruled our destinies, the one great principle kept rigorously in view by all contestants, was the necessity of securing permanence. The prayer for permanence, put forward not alone by the National Congress, but by Provincial and District Conferences throughout the whole empire,—conferences at which the practical needs and difficulties are threshed out by men who know because they feel them,—is thus the product of no new fad of the agitator or socialist, but a mere appeal to the principles enunciated by the most experienced administrators and most profound statesmen that India has known. I venture to think it will not be deemed waste of time if I dwell somewhat on this point.

A zemindari settlement may be wrong in principle, as Munro and his school urged; and the Bengal zemindari settlement in particular may have been a hasty and improvident one, as was asserted at the time and often since; but there was no dispute that in theory a permanent settlement was indispensable to the economic prosperity of the agricultural interest. "The attention of Government", said Lord Cornwallis, "ought therefore to be directed to render the assessment upon the lands as little burdensome as possible. This is to be accomplished only by fixing it. The proprietor will then have some inducement to improve his lands, and as his profits will increase in proportion to his exertions, he will gradually become better able to discharge the public revenue." Among many pertinent observations, he points out that in raising revenue the sources from which the wealth of the subject is derived should be interfered with as little as possible; and demonstrates the political advantage accruing to a government to which the proprietors of land are attached from motives of interest. Referring more particularly to the proposed Bengal settlement he says:—

"The power of making a perpetual and irrevocable settlement of a great empire, without being subject to the revision of the controlling authority at home, would, in my opinion, have been too great to delegate to any distant government. I cannot, however, believe that they would

have held out the following hopes of a *permanent settlement*, which alone in my judgment, can make the country flourish, and secure happiness to the body of the inhabitants, unless they had been pre-determined to confirm the perpetuity, if they found that their servants here had not failed in their duty, or betrayed the important trust that had been reposed in them. Nothing I am persuaded but our expressing doubts and fears can make them hesitate, and as I had a clear conviction in my own mind of the utility of the system, I shall think it a duty I owe to them, to my country, and humanity, to recommend it most earnestly to the Court of Directors *to lose no time in declaring the permanency of the settlement*, provided they discover no material objection or error, and not to postpone, for ten years, the commencement of the prosperity and solid improvement of the country.

"Mr. Shore has most ably, and in my opinion most successfully, in his minute delivered in June, last, argued in favor of the rights of the Zemindars to the property of the soil. But if the idea of permanency is to be withdrawn from the settlement now, in agitation, of what avail will the power of his arguments be to the Zemindars, for whose rights he has contended, so long as that demand is liable to occasional variation, and consequently strongly points out the expediency of a permanent settlement and declaring to the land holders, as soon as possible, that the conclusion of a permanent settlement with them is the object of the legislature in England, as soon as it can be effected upon fair and equitable terms."

In the celebrated controversy between Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) the latter never swerved from his sense of the importance of a permanent settlement. "The fatal consequences," he says, "resulting from variations in system and practice are so manifest, that it is not without reluctance I record my doubts regarding the practicability and policy of putting an end to them, by a declaration which, by establishing permanency, strikes at the root of the evil; and I should be happy to see these doubts resolved and refuted. *The necessity of giving confidence to our subjects is absolute.*" Again he writes; "*It is allowed that a considerable degree of inequality is a less evil than a very great degree of uncertainty.*" And once more; "*To render the value of what we possess permanent, our demands should be fixed.*" These three sentences might well be engraven in letters of gold over the portals of Chepank.

The policy to which Shore took exception was that of declaring a settlement permanent without the experience necessary to decide whether its terms were fair and feasible. He was therefore in

favour of making a tentative settlement for ten years, and at the end of that period making it permanent, either as first levied or after alterations suggested by experience. "Whatever confidence we ourselves have in the propriety of the measures which we mean to adopt, we cannot pronounce absolutely upon their success without experience; and before we recommend the perpetual confirmation of a general measure of so much importance, we ought to have that experience. I am not sure that the plan will be executed with that ability as to justify a recommendation of its confirmation in perpetuity. Of this we can only judge when we have seen the progress and conclusion of the settlement". And in his final minute he says:—

"Under all these circumstances, is it not better to introduce a new principle by degrees, than to establish it at once beyond the power of revocation? If we are certain that the assessment now to be established can be formed with a sufficient degree of equality to be levied at all times, notwithstanding the supposed possible variations;—if we are convinced that our meditated arrangements are sufficient to correct present and prevent future abuses, or that we can in the sequel establish regulations for this purpose without affording pleas that shall affect the permanency of the assessment;—if the relative rights of the individuals concerned are now sufficiently determined, or can be determined, without the same consequences from any future decisions,—if we are sufficiently informed with respect to the present exactions to declare *that they may be continued without establishing a rack-rent*, or if they are abolished, that the suppression of them will not diminish the assessment, no objections will remain to declare it permanent and unalterable."

Tempora mutantur indeed! Here is a future Governor-General, one, too, of the few Governor-Generals promoted to that post after a long apprenticeship in active administration, no mere British peer owing his appointment to the exigencies of party, uttering sentiments that must send a cold shiver down the back of any well-regulated settlement officer of to-day: He is actually afraid to make his settlement "permanent," lest it should turn out that he has established a "rack-rent." Why, now-a-days the whole object of settlement revision is to get a rack-rent, and as much more as possible. This fear of Shore's is no passing or casual remark. It was the expression of a principle fully recognised by all in those

* The quotations in this article from minutes by Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore are taken from "Papers relating to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal," published by the Government of India. As there is no continuous pagination to the volume, the exact references cannot be given.

days. Among many declarations to that effect by Lord Cornwallis, the following may be quoted:—

"Although Government has an undoubted right to collect a portion of the produce of the lands to supply the public exigencies, it cannot, consistent with the principles of justice and policy, assume to itself a right of making annual or periodical valuation of the lands and taking the whole produce, except such portion as it may think proper to relinquish to the proprietors for their maintenance and for defraying the charges of managing their estates.

"The supreme power in every State must possess the right of taxing the subject agreeable to certain general rules. But the practice which has prevailed in this country for some time past of making frequent valuations of the lands and where one person's estate has improved and another declined of appropriating the increased produce of the former to supply the deficiencies in the latter, is not taxation, but in fact a declaration that the property of the landholder is at the absolute disposal of Government."

This however is what, as we shall see, our present Board of Revenue calls "re-adjusting" the burden of taxation.

Not only as to soil-valuation, but as to grain-valuation was Lord Cornwallis an absolute heretic. He had no morbid dread of a wealthy and prosperous agricultural community, as the following curiously prophetic paragraph will show. "Equally favourable to the contributors is the probable alteration in the value of silver, for there is little doubt but that it will continue to fall, as it has done for centuries past, in proportion as the quantity drawn from the mines and thrown in the general circulation increases. If this be admitted the assessment will become gradually lighter, because, as the value of silver diminishes, the landholder will be able upon an average to procure the quantity which he may be able to pay annually to Government with a proportionately smaller part of the produce of his lands than he can at present." This very rise in the silver price of grains is the stated cause of the increase in the recent Trichinopoly re-settlement of 20 per cent. in the wet rates and 12½ per cent. in the dry.

The Revenue history of the Madras Presidency has for many reasons been more complicated and unsatisfactory than that of any other Province in India; but it may be well to point out that the fathers of the Madras ryotwari settlement were convinced as strongly as Lord Cornwallis himself of the inestimable value of permanence. It was in Salem and the Baramahal, lying prostrate

after the exactions of Haider and Tippu, that Read and Munro laid the foundations of the system now established throughout the greater part of the Presidency and thrashed out its principles not only by minute personal inspection but in long letters to each other. Though differing on many points of detail, Read and Munro were both possessed of the great saving grace. "So far, therefore," says Mr Dykes, summing up their conclusions,* "both parties have agreed on the absolute necessity of one grand and fundamental principle—all lands were to be made over to the ryots outright. The assessment on the land is so much; so long as it is duly paid, do what you like with your property, lay out your capital fearlessly, increase the value of the ground a hundredfold, the Government will never call for more, the land is yours."

These views were embodied by Read in his "charter of the Salem ryots", a *Kaulnama* published on 10th December 1796. The whole of this lengthy document is worthy of study, possessing an interest far from merely antiquarian; but the first three paragraphs will suffice for my present purpose.

"I. Whereas your district has been surveyed and the rents of it fairly ascertained, in order to secure to the Sarkar its dues, and to the industrious the advantages that accrue from the improvement of land, it is proposed to effect these salutary purposes by the following regulations.

"II. The tirwa or rent of all lands that were assessed and farmed out at the time of the survey being fixed they are in future to be denominated *Patkat Nilam*, and those which, not being then assessed and farmed out, remained unoccupied, *Nagari Nilam*.

"III. The *Patkat Nilam* being measured and valued, the rent of every individual field in it, when at a full rent, is fixed for ever, that is to say, the Sarkar is never to require more, or receive less, nor you to pay it less or more than their present rates, unless when those actually dry shall hereafter be converted into wet by the constructing of tanks, cutting of canals or the means that may hereafter be undertaken at your desire or with your consent at the expense of the Sarkar, when their rates will be proportionately raised according to the consequent increase of the produce, and in like manner fixed for ever. But if you carry on such works at your own expense, plant tops of palmiras, cocoanut, &c., gardens of betelnut, &c., or any other such production on which a high rent has been formerly exacted, you may depend on receiving the advantages accruing from them and from every improvement of your lands, while you continue to

* Quoted in Salem District Manual, Volume I, Page 239

pay the established rents; those constituting, except in the case above mentioned, the annual demand upon them, on the part of the Sarkar for ever. Upon these principles you may rent out lands, which you may raise in value by tillage and manure, at rates greatly exceeding the Sarkar rates, if there be a demand for them, while you will continue to pay the fixed rates to the Sarkar for ever."

Coming a long way down the stream of history, we find attention forcibly directed to this same question soon after the transfer from the Company to the Crown. The President of the Commission appointed in 1861 to inquire into the causes of the famine in the North-West Provinces, wrote as follows:—

"Foremost among the means whereby society in Northern India has been so strengthened as thus to resist, with less suffering, far heavier pressure from drought and famine in 1860 than in 1837, I place the creation, as it may almost literally be called, of a vast mass of readily convertible and easily-transferable agricultural property. I have before described the condition of agricultural property antecedent to the existing settlements, and it will probably be admitted, without serious qualification, that a state of things more likely to weaken the society living under it could scarcely be conceived. To great and unequal pressure of public burdens and arbitrary interferences have succeeded assessments rarely heavy, titles recorded and easily understood, long leases, and the enjoyments of all the profits during the currency of such leases. The natural results of such a change in so vital a part of the social economy have grown more and more apparent. Land has obtained an increasing marketable value. Its value as a security has, doubtless, been largely made use of in mitigating the pressure of famine. Such, then, having been the general results of the protracted fixity of the public demand, the security of titles, the general moderation of assessments, the recognition and general record of rights,—the inference seems irresistible that, to intensify and perpetuate these results, we must proceed still further in the same healthy and fruitful direction. The good which has been done by partial action on sound principles is both a justification and an encouragement to further advances; and entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first and, as I believe, most important measure I have respectfully to submit for consideration is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity."

This recommendation was supported, as has been pointed out by Mr. DaCosta in one of his able papers, by three successive Lieutenant-Governors of these Provinces, Sir George Edmonstone,

the Hon. Edmund Drummond, and Sir William Muir, as well as by many experienced officials. The Governor-General, Lord Canning, not only approved of it, but recommended, as further salutary measures, the sale of waste lands free of land tax and permission to redeem the land revenue. On this it is said:—

“His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt that, as far as either measure might take effect, it would be in every way beneficial. As to waste lands there could be no question..... His Excellency in Council has still less doubts as to the beneficial results of permitting a redemption of the land-revenue. He believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while, under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire.”

It will hence be seen that Lord Canning recognised the economic and political value of permanence of settlement as fully as his predecessor Lord Cornwallis. But the Secretary of State had still to make his pronouncement, and the result was a Despatch, long foolishly venerated as his charter by the Indian land-holder; foolishly indeed, for like most Indian charters it has served little purpose other than that of quotation in speeches and petitions, for one cannot well be accused of either treason or heresy when quoting a Secretary of State. In this Despatch, written in July 1862, and frequently endorsed since, the then Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, writes thus:—

“After the most careful review of all these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not only to those immediately concerned with the land but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of land revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are or may be hereafter fulfilled is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of her Majesty's subjects in the country.”

As we have already seen, people in Madras had come to suspect very strongly, as trustworthy working formulæ, these fine words of Governors-General and Secretaries of State; and events have fully justified their scepticism. Their own familiar friends did

their best with smiling face to reassure them, so far at least as permanence of soil-classification and valuation was concerned. The very Governor whose axiom of rule was that the sun goeth not back on the dial, published in 1883 a list of Districts held to be adequately assessed and consequently exempt from any future re-classification. Lord Connemara's Government in 1889, in the passage quoted above, declared absolutely that no re-classification would ever take place. The standing orders of the Board of Revenue (as revised by the Hon. P. Chentsal Rao, C. I. E.) contained in 1891, and contain down to the moment of writing, the following passage. “It is to be explained, however, to the ryots that there will be no re-classification of the soils or calculations of fresh grain values, that the rates of assessment will be revised entirely with reference to prices,—and that no attempt will be made to assess any additional value which may have been given to land by improvements effected by ryots, even if carried out by means of capital borrowed from Government.” I wonder how many revenue officials in Tanjore and Trichinopoly have been conscientious enough to make public laughing-stocks of themselves by propounding this very remarkable explanation to the ryots.

While these pages are passing through the press it has been notified that the Board of Revenue, has, under orders from Government dated 11th May 1895, cancelled this statement in its Standing Orders and substituted the following:—

“At each settlement or re-settlement of a District, Government will fix at its discretion the period for which such settlement or re-settlement shall be in force. The Collector shall then notify the period in the District Gazette, and explain to the ryots that the new rates will not be liable to alteration during the currency of the settlement period; but that on the expiry of the said period Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such manner as may then seem just and proper, either with reference solely to a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations such as would require a re-classification of soils or a recalculation of the gain outturns. It should be further explained that Government will refrain from enhancing the assessment in respect of any additional value which may have been given to land by improvements effected by the ryots even if carried out by means of money borrowed from Government. A partial exception to this rule will probably be necessary in the case of the garden lands in Malabar and South Canara, when a re-count of the fruit trees at the end of the settlement period will be required as much in the interests of the ryots, whose trees may have gone out of bearing, as in the interests of Government.”

Thus the "principle repeatedly laid down and very clearly stated" is swept away, while no principle is substituted for it. No hint is given as to what may possibly be the "other considerations" referred to; I presume the phrase is another symbol for the "exigencies of Government." "If one unknown quantity be equal to another unknown quantity, what is it?" is a problem worthy of the philosophers of Laputa. The latter part of the paragraph is chiefly remarkable for its unintelligibility. What a "partial exception" means, it is impossible to say; perhaps "partial" is a lapsus for "particular." But, if words mean any thing and grammar has any potency in a Revenue Manual, it is clear that the Board consider "trees that have gone out of bearing" to be "an improvement affected by the ryots", giving "additional value" to the land. This is a highly scientific application of the theory of negative values.

What has been the practical outcome of all these assurances? The latest example is the order on the re-settlement of Trichinopoly, dated, with a fine sense of humour, 1st April, 1895 (No. 200, Revenue). This order sanctions soil re-classification over 111,336 acres of the best land in the District; as to 55,859 acres, re-classification is suspended because these lands "are particularly poor and do not at present admit of any large enhancement of assessment"; and accordingly they "will not be now reclassified". It is amusing to remark, in passing, how completely Government here gives itself away, by admitting that in its eyes the sole object of re-classification is to obtain enhancement; where that object is not likely to be attained, this valuable scientific instrument need not be employed.

What excuse is given for this bare-faced reversal of what, if words of state and assurances of rulers be worth the breath that utters them, might be considered a thoroughly-established policy? The Deputy-Commissioner of Revenue Settlement, who formally proposed the scheme, felt that some justification was required. He need not have been so squeamish. Neither the Board nor the Government share his qualms, they simply take no notice of the point at all. They proceed at once without apology or preface to discuss how far re-classification of soils is to extend. But the Deputy Commissioner's justification should be given as it makes the action of the Madras Government still more unfathomable. It is to be found in a "Secretary of State's Despatch No. 4 (Revenue), dated 8th January 1885, para. 20; Printed in G.O., No 3 Revenue, dated January 1894", and thus summarised by the Deputy-Commissioner.

"The final orders of the Secretary of State enjoin that no hard and fast rules should be laid down as to the grounds on which revenue rates may be modified at the revision of settlements and that no pledges should be given to the people as to the limits beyond which enhancements will not be made. The circumstances of each tract or district are to be considered on their merits and special cases may be treated exceptionally. A fresh classification of soils may therefore be made where necessary, though ordinarily such detailed enquiries are to be avoided in all cases in which there is a reasonable assurance that the existing revenue was arrived at by a fairly adequate assessment of the assets due to Government."

I have not as yet obtained a copy of this despatch which was either unknown to, or suppressed by, the Government of Madras for a period of nine years, and so cannot say the final word on it; but it must be pointed out that the Deputy-Commissioner himself goes on to admit that Trichinopoly not only comes under, but has been publicly notified as coming under, the exception in the last clause. "But," and here comes the true reason, "after an extended tour through the district the Commissioner has come to the conclusion that the anomalies as regards the assessment of the wet and dry lands in the valley of the Cauvery cannot be rectified, except by a fresh classification of the lands." Here is the cat out of the bag. The Commissioner toured through the District; the Commissioner observed that the ryots looked prosperous and contented; the Commissioner concluded that they could be squeezed. The Board of Revenue cordially acquiesced in the squeezing process, remarking with ingenuous bluntness, that "exigencies of Government and justice to the general tax-payer alike require that the burden of taxation be re-adjusted." The re-adjustment has hitherto been peculiarly one-sided. The Government idea of "re-adjustment" is to put additional weight into one pannier and leave the other as it was before; the very process scouted, and justly, by Lord Cornwallis. The agriculturist has been heavily taxed, but the "general tax-payer" is still awaiting the relief necessary to make the process complete. I fear the "other considerations" alias the "exigencies of Government" will compel him to wait some time longer.

A very remarkable feature of this settlement business is the absurd air of scientific accuracy with which it is deemed necessary to surround the process. There was some pretence for this in connection with the old settlements, the idea then being to form a just basis

for a permanent assessment; though even with regard to them the science and the accuracy are alike sadly to seek. But after, "the exigencies of Government" became the only test of enhancement, the pretentious and costly sham became absolutely useless. The supposed scientific results are themselves arrived at by infinite *adjustments*, which is settlementese for *juggling*; and when secured, they are never adopted as the standard of assessment. This has been exposed in detail repeatedly during the last thirty years. It will suffice on this point to quote the words of a writer not by any means likely to be predisposed against Government. He says;—

"It is however, worth noting that owing to the habitual manner in which figures are juggled during all settlements to arrive at the final rates of assessment, the Settlement Department has apparently found it impossible to carry out the system of revision laid down in its Manual, and has, in this case, been obliged to adopt the rough and ready method of adding approximately 12½ per cent to the existing rates with the result, that the increment is far from being evenly distributed over all the different descriptions of land into which the arable area was originally classified: thus in one case the percentage increment per acre is 5as. 5p. and the actual 4as. 10p., whilst in another the figures are 3as. 5p. and 4as. 7p. respectively."*

Then look at the manner in which the grain values have been revised. As to paddy, the Deputy Commissioner shows that the price has risen 85 per cent. compared with the commutation rate of the old settlement, and 38 per cent. compared with the price of 20 years immediately preceding that settlement. He recommends an increase of 20 per cent., which Government adopts as "moderate". In the case of dry grains he shows the increases to be respectively 52 and 12 per cent. and recommends an increase of—6 per cent.? no! 12½ per cent.,—which Government considers justifiable because the commutation rate of the last settlement was "obviously extremely low." So much for science in the eyes of the Government. It is not however necessary to descend to details: the final result of these re-settlements is in itself sufficient condemnation of the whole system. The assessment (including cesses) is increased from Rs. 14,99,970 to Rs. 20,03,420, or from 15 to 20 lakhs, that is an increase of 33½ per cent. "This," says Government, "is practically the same as the proportion under the Tanjore settlement, and Gov-

* Madras Mail, 13th May, 1893, Leading Article.

ernment is of opinion that it will not be found unduly heavy in the Trichinopoly District." Now Government had previously laid down that the conditions in Trichinopoly were substantially the same as in Tanjore, and enjoined the adoption of the new Tanjore rates in the Trichinopoly District. Hence, the fact that the scientific operation had produced results identical with those for Tanjore is claimed as a triumph at once for the precision of the scientist and the prescience of the administration. But how was the Tanjore result produced? That would be difficult to say, but certainly not by any scientific process. Here is what we know as to it. The Tanjore Revenue before the settlement, amounted to 41 lakhs. The Settlement officers reported that "if the District were to be treated on scientific principles," the increase would be 28 lakhs or 70 per cent. They had not however the heart to be too scientific, and suggested an increase of 18½ lakhs or 45 per cent. After a little pressure, science retreated still further, and the ultimate recommendation was 14½ lakhs or 35 per cent. The Board of Revenue showed still less respect for their tutelary goddess by reducing the amount to 12½ lakhs, an increase of 30½ per cent; while finally the Government, setting at naught the *lares and penates* of Chepauk, decided on an enhancement of 11½ lakhs or 28 per cent. It is not easy to say which of these percentages is considered by Government "practically the same" as 33½ per cent., but it certainly cannot be either of those claimed as scientific or semi-scientific. Thus the Tanjore settlement amount is arrived at, not by any process of scientific accuracy, but by a mere guess as to how much the "exigencies of Government" can extort without creating too much public outcry or causing the ryots to throw their lands out of cultivation. Then, scientific principles are applied to a neighbouring district, whose lands are supposed to be "equal or superior"; and a supreme effort at faking and fudging brings out a result "practically the same" as—not the scientific result—but the guess hazarded by a Government financially *in extremis*. Can the force of absurdity go further?

The same farce has been played in Bombay and other districts of India, and it is certainly difficult to fathom why the authorities should go on playing it. It cannot be to blind the Indian public; they know better than to attempt such a useless task. It cannot be to satisfy the Pagets, M. P., and others of that ilk whom our rulers vainly deem the only British public to be reckoned with in matters Indian. Their expressed contempt for the whole gang forbids the imputa-

tion. The only feasible suggestion seems to be that it is an attempt to salve their own consciences. For after all, our rulers are men: They have to spend their lives compounding for sins they are inclined to, by damning those they have no mind to. Nay, they are more than men. They are generally dour Englishmen and Scotchmen, who treat their religion out on Sunday and go with it to church, (in England and Scotland), there to reduce their consciences to submission for the rest of the week. And so they cannot easily reconcile themselves to playing openly the game of grab. But they play it all the same, after it has received the soothing benediction of the goddess of scientific accuracy.

The fact is that Britain began in India with the most righteous contempt for the extortionate ways of her Mussalman predecessors. Inspired by the loftiest of principles, she has spasmodically, and so long as the shoe trod easy, endeavoured to carry those principles into practice. They were beginning to have fair play and to prove their economic truth, when the Government embarked on a course of reckless military expenditure which has landed it in financial difficulties worse than any Grand Moghul had ever to encounter. Reduced to this predicament, it is also reduced to the necessity of adopting the worst expedients of its predecessors by extorting the last farthing from the unfortunate tiller of the soil. But it does not like to admit this, and with a fine air of ingenuous virtue, it has erected the huge fabric of scientific settlement, which every man in India from the Viceroy downwards knows in his heart to be a fraud and a sham.

I must not omit to mention that the process of extortion is becoming more barefaced every day. The conscience is becoming seared. The old settlements were for thirty years, and this has always been held as far too short a period. But now it is proposed that the new settlements shall be for only twenty years. Government is at present considering this point, and the unfortunate agriculturists of Tanjore and Trichinopoly have not only to submit to these enhancements, but have to remain in uncertainty as to how long breathing time they will be allowed before the next spoliation.

I should here desire to guard against its being supposed that I admit no circumstances under which a land assessment once fixed may be altered. Even Lord Cornwallis himself admitted that such circumstances might occur, and that after all the power of the State is and must be the *ultima ratio*. The ryot no less than the

Zemindar or the semi-independent Prince can be unmade by the same breath that made him. But such occasions must in their nature be few and far between, and in every single case the enhancement should be a deliberate act of State, just as the imposition of, say, a war tax would be. One such occasion is well recognised; when by some irrigation scheme, executed at the public expense, the productive power of a district is augmented. The Periyar project, now in course of construction in Madras, is an instance in point. Another might probably be found where a district is opened up to trade by a line of railway constructed at the expense of the State. The unearned increment due to such public works may reasonably be annexed for the benefit of the public. The opening up of the country by railways is advanced as one of the reasons for the increase of the assessment in Trichinopoly; and if an attempt had been made, to estimate the enhancement due to this factor alone, no objection would probably have been raised by any one. But then our scientific settlement officers cannot, it would appear, attempt to estimate the change due to variation in one factor without meddling with all the other factors. It may be necessary to make this clear to the scientific mind; ordinary people, whether landholders or not, may, understanding the matter thoroughly, skip the rest of this paragraph. Let me assume that the assessment depends on four factors and varies directly as each. Let x be the value of the soil as productive agent, y the price of grain, z Government water supply, w Railway facilities. Then the assessment will vary as $x y z w$ conjointly. At a settlement, the values of these factors are supposed to be ascertained absolutely; so that if $x = a, y = b, z = c$, and $w = d$, the assessment is equal to $a b c d$. Now suppose new railways are constructed, so that the value of w alters and is no longer d . It would then be fair enough to ascertain the new value of w , say D , and introducing it into our equation obtain an assessment equal to $a b c D$. But what really happens is that settlement officers cannot confine themselves to finding this new value for w , but seize the opportunity to meddle with x, y , and z , and to alter their values according to some absolutely unnecessary and empirical scheme.

My remarks on settlement have extended to such length that I fear I must postpone to a future issue of the *Review* what I have to say as to other important matters connected with the agricultural problem in India. I am certain, however, that I have not

over-estimated the importance of this factor. Without permanence no capital; neither the capital of coin nor the capital of labour, will be sunk in the soil; and until such capital is attracted, all attempts to improve the processes of agriculture and the status of the agriculturist must prove so much wasted energy. There is no use tinkering at the engines when you have no boilers. Capital is the steam of the agricultural engine, and capital will never voluntarily subject itself to uncertainty and caprice, even if these be genteelly christened "the exigencies of Government."

JOHN ADAM.

(To be continued.)

INDIAN AND GREEK SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY : . . A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST.

THE Greeks and Indians are the only two nations that can boast of a philosophical literature that has developed itself clearly, independently, and, as it were, spontaneously. Other nations no doubt have attempted to throw light on the ultimate basis of Knowledge and Being, to investigate the hidden mysteries of Soul, God, and Immortality; but their speculations have not the character of independence and individualness. The contributions to speculative thought of China, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, in themselves insignificant and fragmentary, can be traced more or less to an Indian source; whilst the richer and more accurate systems of thought of modern European nations have a vital, organic connection with the thought systems of Greece and Rome. The Hindu mind, dreamy, mystical and speculative, with the imaginative side more highly developed than the active, has taken a delight in abstract thought from the very dawn of intellectual consciousness. The conditions of life in India and the climatic environment have also tended to develop this side of his nature. There is no doubt a danger of exaggerating the influence of climate on national character, and writers such as Buckle and Taine carry this principle a little too far; but in accounting for the instinctive speculative nature of the Indian we should not overlook the influence of climate, which, naturally, indisposing the organization for active exertion, throws the mind back on itself in inward contemplation and complete quiescence. The Greek mind is differently constituted. The imaginative side no doubt is highly developed, but not at the expense of the active powers of the will. In the Greek mind we notice the same delicacy of feeling as we do in the Indian, but this delicacy of feeling is concerned more with the mundane than with the ultra-mundane. This accounts for the perfect development of the sense of the beautiful—the æsthetic

sense—in the Greek. We also notice in the Greek mind the healthiest realism in combination with the most refined ideality. A remarkable genius for system and order and a passion for freedom and independence are traits in the Greek character which we miss in the Indian; and all these traits of national temperament were dominated by a deep and keen thirst for knowledge. We do not wonder therefore at the attention given to the problems of life and mind by the Greeks from the earliest times. It is necessary to keep in mind these differences in national character, for they give a clue to the essential features of the systems of philosophy that have taken root in Greek and Indian soils.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to arrive at a clear conception of the term "philosophy." It is noteworthy that in India and Greece, the names for 'philosophy' have the same meaning—the desire for knowledge—Greek, *philosophia*, Sanscrit *Jijnasa*; but the Indians arrived at the true conception of philosophy far earlier than the Greeks did. From the time that they began to philosophise systematically "philosophy" with them meant the science of ultimate realities. To investigate the essence of things, to penetrate beyond the phenomenal, and to lay hold of the noumenal, to lay hold of the principle of reality—this was the scope of Indian philosophy. But such a conception of philosophy was late in developing itself in the Greek mind. Even after emerging from the mythological conceptions concerning the origin and nature of the world into a region of abstract thought the problems of philosophy for a long time presented themselves in crude and concrete form to the Greek mind. It took more than two centuries before the crude view of philosophy, as held by Thales, the founder of the Ionian School,—with whom philosophy meant nothing but the investigation of the original material substance out of which the universe was evolved—became elevated and developed by Plato into a consideration of the essence of Being. It was not so in India. The Indian mind, from the very dawn of intellectual consciousness, hurled thought as a venture, as it were, into the nature of metaphysical conceptions. In other words, the early speculators of Greece never went beyond the confines of the material universe; whereas in

India philosophy was given a metaphysical turn from the very commencement. Scattered throughout Indian philosophical literature we have contributions to the sciences of Ethics, Logic and Psychology; but the Indian philosopher never dreamt of giving these sciences an independent basis. They were all made subservient to Ontology—the science of real existence. Take, for example, the Nyaya philosophy, which is the only system of Indian thought that at first sight appears to have nothing to do with metaphysics. It contains an elaborate system of logical doctrine, but on close inspection it will be found that it is not Logic that it deals with so much as the Metaphysics of Logic. The Nyaya, just as the Sankya or the Vedanta, promises beatitude, or (*nishreyas*) final excellence and (*moksha*) deliverance from evil, for a thorough knowledge of truth, viz., the conviction of the soul's eternal existence separable from body. The metaphysical turn given to the trend of Greek thought by Plato was accidental, for his immediate successor, Aristotle, that great encyclopædic worker, who first mapped out with any definiteness the limits of the different philosophical sciences, though he does not ignore metaphysics, assigns to it only a secondary place. It is to Aristotle we owe the first clear conception of a science of the phenomena of mind, and he is the founder of Psychology just as surely as he is the founder of Logic. The philosophy of Greece, therefore, has always tended in the direction of the positive and the real, whereas that of India always aimed at the ideal and the immaterial. The metaphysical turn given to Indian philosophy from the very outset is the result to a great extent of what may be termed the spirit of other-worldliness that is so characteristic of the Indian. In no country, under no climate in the world, has religious feeling, in whatever shape, been so firm and constant in the hearts of all classes as in India.

Indian philosophical literature, moreover, is replete to saturation with the theory of the misery of life. This also is to a great extent the outcome of national character. The dark side of human life, the vicissitudes of fortune, the inexplicable dissonance in existence—all these intrude themselves on the notice of the Indian; and hence his pessimism. The Indian looks upon life as only an

apprenticeship to a progressive renunciation. Fortune, glory, love, honour, wealth, happiness, long life are all delusions. Everything that appeals to the senses bears the traces of decay and evanescence. The world itself is but an allegory. The only real substance is the Soul. Everything else is mere shadow, pretext, figure, symbol or dream. The idea is more real than the actuality. Every form of sentient life is an evil. Of all the systems of Indian philosophy the Vedantic is the most distinctly Indian. It is this system that has moulded and fashioned the inner life of the nation, besides leaving its mark on the outer life; and the object of this philosophy is Brahma-inquisitiveness or Brahma-investigation. "Withdraw thyself," says the Vedantic sage, "into the sanctuary of thy inner consciousness; become once more point and atom, that thou mayst free thyself from space, time, matter, temptation, dispersion—that thou mayst escape thy very organs themselves and thine own life." No nation, no people under the sun, has had the future after death so constantly before their minds, has been so little wedded to this life, and so intent on their emancipation from it as the Indian; and it is this expectation of a renewal of a life of misery, in body after body, in age after age, and æon after æon, and the feverish yearning after some means of extrication from this black prospect, that is the first motive to Indian speculation. "The sum and substance, it may almost be said, of Indian philosophy," writes Mr. Gough, "is, from first to last, the misery of metempsychosis and the mode of extrication from it. Of this the student of Indian philosophy should never for a moment lose sight, or he will lose his way in what will then seem to him a pathless jungle of abstractions."

The Greek, unlike the Indian, had his eyes fixed on the creating and sustaining powers of existence, and turned his eyes away from the destroying powers of nature. Men may die, empires may decay, but there still circulates fresh young blood to make up for all that has passed away; man is everywhere surrounded by the fresh buoyant sources of life, and genius bursts forth with fresher vigour even in a barren unproductive soil. Hence it is that if an element of other-worldliness is the predominant feature of Indian philosophy, an element of "humanism" so to speak, is the conspicuous trait in Greek thought. It is true, in Plato's system, and even

in some of the earlier Greek systems, we notice an element which Emerson has so appropriately described as "mystical, absorbing, centripetal," which resulted in the search of a central unity underlying all phenomena; but even in Plato's system we have another element, which Emerson calls "the dispassionate, practical, prosaic," equally developed. Plato, true to his Greek instinct, was too much interested in practical questions to be diverted from them long by any theoretical philosophy. His mystical imaginations and super-subtle abstractions did not make him merely a dreamy theoriser. He was one of the greatest practical reformers that Greece has seen; for he showed how ideas could be applied to life on the most comprehensive scale.

An interesting question that has often been discussed by students of ancient philosophy is the connection between the Indian and Greek systems of thought. Some critics have held that the whole of Greek philosophy, or, at any rate, many of its influential doctrines and systems came from the East. The theory of the Indian origin of Greek philosophy does not find favour with many at the present time, though there have not been wanting strenuous defenders of this doctrine (such as Rôth and Gladisch), even in this century. Considerable light will no doubt be thrown on this subject if we possessed an accurate chronology; but unfortunately, so far as Indian philosophical systems are concerned, we have to be content with mere approximations. The great drawback in Hindu literature in general is the complete absence of any chronological data. No doubt the ancient ancestors of the Greeks must have brought from their old Asiatic homes certain religious and philosophical ideas akin to those of the forefathers of the Indo-Aryans; but even granting that the Greeks borrowed from the Indians, the early Greek philosophers could not have obtained much in the way of systematic philosophic thought from an Indian source before the 6th century B. C.; for the founder of the oldest Indian system, the Sankya, is supposed to have flourished about the 6th century B. C., and Greece can claim schools of philosophical thought as old as those of India. The recognition of the doctrine of transmigration by Greek philosophers, such as Pythagoras, Empedocles, and

Plato, has been brought forward as a proof of the Indian origin of Greek philosophy. It is true the Hindu mind, from a very early period, laid hold tenaciously of the doctrine of metempsychosis, but it has been shown that the belief in transmigration did not form part of the faith of the earlier Vedic worshippers, and recent investigations have proved that the belief in metempsychosis has prevailed among some of the lower races of mankind, such as the Thascalans of Mexico, the Zulus of Africa, and the Dayaks of Borneo. Moreover this doctrine was also one of the favourite tenets of the Egyptians, and there is evidence to show that Pythagoras must have adopted it from an Egyptian source. But the strongest evidence of the independent character of Greek philosophy is the national stamp that it bears. "Even in its most ancient representatives," says Zeller, "Greek philosophy displays none of the phenomena which elsewhere universally appear when a nation derives its science from without; no conflict of indigenous with alien elements, no use of uncomprehended formulæ, no trace of slavish appropriation and imitation of the traditional. And while among the Orientals science is entirely a monopoly of the priesthood, and therefore dependent on priestly institutions and traditions, not only was Greek philosophy wholly free and self-dependent, but the Greek people were more and more absolutely devoid of any special priestly class or hierarchy the further we remount towards their earliest antiquity."

For the dawns of Indian philosophy we have to go to Vedic mythology, just as for the beginnings of Greek philosophy we have to go to the traditional Homeric and Hesiodic mythology. The Vedas are more distinctly religious in their nature than the writings ascribed to Homer and Hesiod; for in India the theological interest has always dominated the philosophic interest.

"Let us, then, station ourselves in the communities in which the Rishis lived, the seers that saw and fashioned the Vedic hymns. The Indian tribes have already reached a settled state of order and prosperity. They are gathered together in farms, in huts of sun-dried mud, and houses of stone, in hamlets and in fenced towns, under village chiefs and Rajas. The outward aspects of their life are not unlike those of the rural

India of to-day. The same villages, the same thatched huts of the peasantry, with mud-walled yards for cattle, and the same square courts and stuccoed garden houses of the village chiefs and princelets. There is the same silence, broken only by the creaking pulleys of the village well and the occasional bark of the village curs, the same green mantle on the stagnant way side-pools, the same square tank; the sun-light glinting as to-day through the delicate foliage of the tamarind, the glossy leaves of the peepul, and the feathery tufts of the bamboo. There is the same over-powering glare upon the surface of the earth, and there are the same liquid depths of over-arching blue overhead, but the horizon is fringed with jungle, and the levels are grassy and less arid than to-day, for the forests are dense and widely spread, and the rainfall is more abundant. In such surroundings for most part, tranquil and dreamlike, but at times terrific with shocks of tropical storm and rain, the Indians of the Vedic age till their rice and barley, irrigate their fields and water courses, watch the increase of their flocks and herds, and make a hard or easy livelihood as black-smiths, wheel-wrights, boat-builders, weavers, leeches, soldiers, poets, priests. The powers of nature present themselves to them as so many personal agents. Every striking and unexpected change in the things around them is an extra human volitional activity. They see God in clouds and hear him in the winds, they impute their whole self to all they see around them, anthropomorphising nature." *

First was worshipped Varuna, or "The Investing sky."

"The mighty Varuna, who rules above, looks down
Upon these worlds, his kingdom as if close at hand.
When men imagine they do aught by stealth, he knows it,
..... This boundless earth is his.

Agni, the "God of fire," is also worshipped. Is not Agni a mighty god, a lord, giver of immortality? Is he not one in essence and triple in form? He reveals himself as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, and as sun in heaven. The sun is also worshipped as a Deity. He is frequently known in his character as Vivifier. The rays of Dawn are his heralds, the very stars sink off like

* Vide GOUGH'S *Philosophy of the Upanishads* pp. 7 and 8.

thieves before the all-seeing eye of Surya. There may not be much philosophy in all this ; but if "wonder is the cause of all philosophy," then we have already reached the first stage of philosophic thought in India.

The ideas and early reflections which in the Indian and Greek cosmogonies go to form a representation of the origin of the world are of a very simple description and the question of natural causes of things is not as yet ascertained. But one thing is noteworthy: it took a longer period in Greece than in India to effect the transition from the mythological to the philosophical stage. The earlier systems of Indian thought deal with problems of mind that are essentially philosophical or metaphysical? But this was not the case in Greece. Greek philosophy in its first period was, in respect to its object, a philosophy of nature. The Ionic and Italic philosophers and even Heraclitus, the Eleatics and the Atomists, to a great extent, were concerned with an enquiry into the origin and causes of the material universe. True philosophy begins only when there is a distinct consciousness of the difference between the spiritual and the corporeal. It was Anaxagoras, who a century after Thales, arrived at the principle of *nous* or mind, as something distinct from matter. In Indian philosophy, from the very commencement, the immaterial essence of things, which is the object of philosophical thought, is recognized as opposed to the mere phenomenal,—the spirit is distinguished as thinking essence from its body. In this respect Indian philosophy is greatly in advance of Greek philosophy.

Let us examine briefly the different schools of Indian philosophy, and see if we cannot trace any points of resemblance between them and the Greek systems. There are six schools of ancient Hindu philosophy, which are considered to be more or less orthodox, that is consistent with the theology and the metaphysics of the Vedas. These are

- (1) The Sankya, attributed to Kapila.
- (2) The Yoga school of Patanjali, to which is closely connected the Bhagavat-Gita.
- (3) The Purva-Mimansa attributed to Jaimini.

- (4) The Vedanta or Uttara Mimansa, supposed to be founded by Vyasa.
- (5) The Nyaya, attributed to Gautama.
- (6) The Vaisheshika, attributed to Kanada.

Of these six schools that of the Purva Mimansa has very little to do with philosophy. Its object was to support the supreme authority of the Vedas, to maintain their ritual and to determine the true meaning of such passages as had been misunderstood, or wrested in support of error. As one of the Mimansa commentators has put it, its purpose is to determine the sense of revelation. We are, therefore, justified in rejecting the Purva Mimansa entirely from the list. The Yoga school of Patanjali is only an offshoot of the Sankya system. The philosophy that is embodied in that sublime work, the Bhagavat-Gita, is also intimately connected with the Sankya system and may be termed the Theistic Sankya, as opposed to the Atheistic Sankya of Kapila. The Nyaya school, founded by Gautama, and with which the system of Kanada, the Vaisheshika, is connected, is more a system of Logic than of philosophy, though, as has already been pointed out, the logical scheme is made subservient to metaphysics. We should, therefore, include this under the philosophic systems of India. Leaving out, therefore, the Purva Mimansa from the list, we find that the other five systems fall under three great divisions: (1) The Sankya; (2) The Vedanta; and (3) the Nyaya. Of these three the Sankya philosophy seems to be the earliest attempt on record to give an answer to the mysterious questions regarding the nature of man and his future destiny.

The word *Sankya* means number. It has a second meaning derived from the first,—calculation or computation; and from this again we have the third meaning, judgment, discrimination or reasoning. In a passage of the Bharata, speaking of the Sankya philosophers, it is said:—"They exercise judgment (*Sankya*) and discuss nature and other twenty-four principles and therefore are called Sankya." The Sankya system professes to be purely a rational system. Like other systems of Indian philosophy it is the outcome of a pessimistic view of life, and professes to shew us a way out of the evils not only of this life, but out of every material

existence through which we have to pass. The only means of overcoming evil or pain, which is of three kinds,—internal or personal, external or that which is produced from without, and lastly that which is beyond our power to approve or check, the super-human—is by freeing the soul from the shackles of matter which is attained by the perfection of knowledge. Knowledge, therefore, is every thing. It is even superior to revelation. In what then does true and perfect knowledge consist? It is the knowledge which defines the reason of our existence here on earth, by drawing the line between matter and soul, nature and spirit. It enables us to distinguish the immaterial from the material, the imperceptible from the perceptible. The essential feature of the Sankya system is the recognition of the dualism of spirit and matter, but notwithstanding this dualism there are tendencies of a materialistic nature, which has led to serious misunderstandings. Kapila recognized, besides matter and soul, another principle *Prakriti* (nature) which is the root of all material forms. This *Prakriti* is itself of the nature of matter and is eternal and self-existing, and from it all things emanate except soul. Even intellect (*Buddhi*) and consciousness (*ahankara*) proceed from *Prakriti*. The Sankya system does not hesitate to grant even volition to *Prakriti* (Nature), and by this concession makes it at once the material and efficient cause of creation. Though the existence of the soul is accentuated, still it is made to play a very insignificant part in the Sankya system. The functions, which, in dualistic systems, are generally ascribed to soul are appropriated to matter. “The soul is different in kind from all material things and will finally be severed by them by an eternal separation. When finally separated from matter, including intellect and all the forms or emanations of *Prakriti*, it will have no object, and no function of thought. It will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose.” The system of Kapila recognized only individual souls, and for this reason the pure Sankya has been designated *nirishwara*, atheistic. The pure Sankya is so far atheistic as it refers the creation of matter to a system of emanations obedient to the will, not of a creator, but of *Prakriti*, “nature,”—the primordial essence of matter. We shall, however, not be doing justice to the pure Sankya by branding it altogether as an out and out atheistic system. So long as it

differentiates the spiritual essence from the material, and regards the former as superior to the latter, the general tendency of the Sankya system cannot be considered to be purely atheistic. We are not, therefore, surprised at the Theistic form of the Sankya system, developed by Patanjali, the founder of the Yoga school. “God, *Iswara*, the supreme ruler,” says Patanjali, “is a soul or spirit distinct from other souls; unaffected by the ills with which they are beset; unconcerned with good or bad deeds and their consequences, and with fancies and passing thoughts. He is the instructor of the earliest beings that have a beginning (the deities of mythology), himself infinite, unlimited by time.” The very word “Yoga” means junction, union (from *Yuj*, to join, unite), and used in a special philosophic sense it signifies a state of spiritual or mental junction with the supreme being, and refers to that ultimate condition of spiritualism which is attained by ascetic contemplation. The Yoga system, though it differs from the Sankya system, in bringing out prominently a supreme soul, in contradistinction to individual souls, still, like the Sankya, does not fail to accentuate the difference between soul and matter. It even goes a step further and attempts to demonstrate in a practical manner the superiority of soul or mind over matter. Detailed directions are given as to how this power of the mind over the body can be achieved; and there is a marked resemblance between the Yoga theories, bearing on this subject, and the modern ideas of mesmerism or hypnotism. Patanjali may be called the Mesmer of India. This aspect of the Yoga system was no doubt carried to an absurd extent, and the most extravagant exercises were practised, with faith, in order to acquire transcendental powers of the soul, and, later on, the means took the place of the end. What Patanjali wanted to demonstrate was the superiority of the soul over the body, with a view to final absorption with the deity; but with those who followed him there was an unnatural hankering after supernatural powers. No wonder that a Yogi to the Indian mind has become almost synonymous with sorcerer. Notwithstanding the extravagant uses to which the practice of Yoga has been put we cannot give sufficient praise to the founder of the Yoga system for having practically demonstrated, amid darkness and ignorance, the

vast powers of the mind and the will, and to have claimed for the soul the noble capability of making the body and even external matter its slave.

It is impossible to speak of the Sankya system without referring to that wonderful didactic work that India is so proud of, viz., the Bhagavat-Gita. The speculative or metaphysical portion of this work follows very closely in the footsteps of the Sankya system. Like the Theistic Sankya, the Gita recognizes the supreme being or soul, but there is an attempt made at a compromise between the Theistic and the pure Sankya, by regarding this Being as comprising the essence of matter and the essence of spirit. Thus the supreme being like Prakriti is both the material and efficient cause of creation. Even for the practical, the ethical and didactic portions of the Bhagavat-Gita, the author seems to be indebted to Patanjali, but in one respect the teachings of the Gita take a new turn altogether. The system of Patanjali necessarily led to asceticism, a life of pure contemplation. The chief instrument according to the Theistic Sankya, in the acquirement of final emancipation, was contemplation, or internal investigation; and since the practice of this required a renunciation of the world and the common actions of this life, renunciation of actions (*Sannyasa*) was its principal dogma. The author of the Bhagavat-Gita admits the excellence of the *Sannyasa* or renunciation, and even goes the length of working out in detail the mode of acquiring such a renunciation.* While supporting the excellence of renunciation the Gita, at the same time, teaches what has been termed the *Karma Yoga*, which requires no actual retirement from the world,

* "Abandoning his home, his friends, his possessions, and everything that is dear to him, the Yogin must retire into the jungle. Here he should choose a spot which is unpolluted in the eyes of the Brahmans. It must be situated neither too high nor too low, and he must make a couch of kusha grass on which to sit or lie. A woollen or cotton sheet, and the skin of some animal, should serve him for a covering. In this couch he should sit in contemplation. His posture should be easy, but erect, and as steady and motionless as possible; in order that his thoughts may not be disturbed by the movements of his body, nor sleep be induced by recumbence. His eyes should be fixed on the end of his nose, and he should never move his gaze lest the worldly objects should distract his attention; while, if he shut his eyes, he would be more liable to slumber. Lastly, his mind should be intently fixed on the one object of contemplation, the Supreme Being, this exercise should be repeated during increasing lengths of time, until the Yogin or devotee, becomes capable of sustaining it with perfection for any period."

but on the contrary the full performance of the earthly calling to which we may chance to be born. What Patanjali meant by renunciation was the actual physical retirement from the world, and abandonment of worldly actions and duties; what the author of the Gita means by retirement is the moral retirement from the influences of the world and the abandonment of all worldly interests and anxieties. "Actions must still be performed but they are just as much renounced if performed as a duty and a sacrifice, without any self-interest or worldly motive, as they would be if altogether rejected." This aspect of the teaching of the Bhagavat-Gita is no doubt un-Indian, but even in the Gita we miss that passionate clinging to life, that intuition of humanity, so to speak, which is so characteristic of Greek thought.

It is difficult to point to any particular system of Greek philosophy as bearing any resemblance to the Sankya system. The early physical philosophies of Greece have nothing whatever in common with the system of Kapila; but in the fragmentary system of Anaxagoras, who flourished in the 5th century B. C., there is something that reminds us of the Sankya system. Anaxagoras was the first among Greek philosophers to recognize the subjective principle of *nous* (reason or soul), as something distinct from the material universe. It was the recognition of this principle that rendered possible in Greece the separation of the philosophical science from general theories about nature. Just as the pure Sankya system separated soul from matter, Anaxagoras distinguished between *Nous* or Reason and the chaotic confusion of matter. But just as in the pure Sankya, so in the system of Anaxagoras, the spiritual principle plays an insignificant part, and both Plato and Aristotle, who have commended Anaxagoras for having introduced into Greek speculation the conceptions of reason as a cosmic world ordering force, have taken him to task for making so little use of his own great principle of *nous*;—for attributing everything to secondary, material, mechanical causes, and for not everywhere applying the teleological argument. We should not fail, at the same time, to notice the essential distinction between the Indian and Greek systems, between which we have tried to trace some resemblance. The Anaxagorean system began

with external nature as did the previous Greek systems and only by the merest accident stumbled on a spiritual principle higher than matter. The Sankya system starts with the recognition of the difference between spirit and matter and proceeds to found on this an elaborate system of metaphysics. Anaxagoras was once asked what made life worth living, and he replied:—"The contemplation of the heavens and of the universal cosmic order." The reply is characteristic of the Greek, for the Greek mind seldom soared beyond the limits of the finite and the material. The Greek had no desire to tear open the mystical veil between the phenomenal and the real. This world and its interests were enough to engage his attention, but the Indian is never satisfied unless he is at *tête-a-tête* with the infinite.

The Nyaya system, with which the Vaisheshika is closely connected, though professing to be a logical system, still makes the investigation of the processes of reasoning subservient to an enquiry into the nature of real existence. The treatment of the subject of inference is unique, and, in many respects, entirely different from that of Aristotle. We miss, no doubt, the systematic treatment of the subject that is so characteristic of Aristotle, but the wealth of scientific terminology employed, the elaborate treatment of the subject of categories, and the subtle distinctions drawn between different kinds of arguments clearly shew that in India the science of Logic had reached a very high degree of development. The materials furnished by the Nyaya system for an organon of Logic are infinitely more valuable than those we find in the writings generally ascribed to the Eleatic Zeno, the originator of dialectic. The Vaisheshika, which is an outcome of the Nyaya system, places before us a theory of the origin of the material world, which is deeply interesting as affording parallels to some of the old Greek systems. According to this system the world is effected by the aggregation of *Atoms* or atoms. These are innumerable and eternally aggregated, disintegrated and reintegrated by the power of *Adrishta*.

"Two earthly atoms concurring by an unseen peculiar virtue (*adrishta*) or by the will of God, or by time or by other competent cause, constitute a double atom of earth; and by concourse

of three binary atoms a tertiary atom is produced, and by concourse of four triple atoms a quaternary atom, and so on to gross, grosser or grosser mass of earth; thus great earth is produced; and in like manner great water from aqueous atoms, great light from luminous, and great air from aerial."

This atomic theory reminds us of that of Democritus, which Lencippus has immortalized in verse. But we should not fail to notice the striking difference between the Indian and Greek atomic theories. The difference comes in when we ask:—What is the reason that the atoms take on these multiform combinations and produce the wealth of the inorganic and organic worlds? The motive power in the atoms, according to Democritus, is derived through gravitation, from chance, not from the efficacy of accumulated merit and demerit called destiny (*Adrishta*). The atoms of Democritus, variously heavy and aloft in empty space, impinge on each other. There arises thus a wider and wider expanding movement throughout the general mass, and, in consequence of this movement, there take place the various complexions, like-shaped atoms grouping themselves with like-shaped. According to Democritus even the soul is made up of atoms, but only the soul atoms are infinitely minute. Here we see the difference between the Indian and the Greek atomic theories. Whilst the latter makes atoms the source of existence in all its forms, physical and spiritual, the Indian theory looks upon the process which evolves pure spirit out of the ultimate particles of impure matter as perfectly absurd. Hindu Philosophy has always set its face against materialism, and, in all its orthodox branches at least, affirms the eternal existence and incorruptible purity of the soul, in contradistinction to the impurity of matter. The Hindu atomic system is by no means perfect, but so long as it keeps distinct the two irreconcilable entities,—mind and matter, and gives scope, in its scheme of the universe, for the working of a final cause it must be pronounced to be superior to the theory of Democritus which countenances gross materialism.

Of all the systems of philosophic thought, the most distinctly Indian is the Vedantic. It is this system that holds sway in the mind and heart of every thoughtful Hindu; it is this that has

given a marked individuality to the Hindus as a nation.* What seems to have struck most the Vedantic philosopher is the illusory nature of everything that appeals to the senses. Everything in this universe comes into being and passes out of being, but nothing lasts. In every stream of lives there is the varied anguish of birth, care, hunger, weariness, bereavement, sickness, decay, and death. The sum of all the series of lives is a perpetual flow. But in all this stream of ceaseless changes, is there nothing that lasts? Is there nothing that remains untouched by the miseries of metempsychosis? Yes! there is. There is that pure and characterless being, free from the flow of experiences, inert and impassive, undisturbed by any changes. "Thus, then, that which only is, while all things else come and go, pass, and pass away; that which is untouched with the hunger, thirst, and pain, and sorrow that wait upon all forms of life; that which is one while all things else are many; that which stands above and beyond the duality of all modes of consciousness is the self, the one self within all sentiences, the spiritual principle that permeates and vitalises all things, gives life and light to all things living, from a tuft of grass up to the highest deity." This impersonal self, the only ultimate spiritual reality, is the Brahman. The following simple confession of the Vedantist's faith is to be found in one of the Upanishads:—"All the universe indeed is Brahma, from him does it proceed, into him it is dissolved, in him it breathes. So let every one adore him calmly." Everything else but this self or Atman is illusive. The world is *maya*. The pure Sankya system recognized only the existence of individual souls, the Jiva Atman, but the Vedantist recognizes only the Parama-Atman or Brahman; and if asked to state the relation that the Jiva-Atman bears to the Parama-Atman he would reply that the "Jiva, being neither a part nor a different thing, nor a variation of Brahman, must itself be the Parama-Atman." When we come to ask what exactly is the nature of the Brahman we are met with fanciful and contradictory descriptions. There is evidence to shew that there are two forms of Vedantism,—an exoteric form suited to the compre-

* Prof. Deussen has given out, as the result of his investigation in India, that out of hundred Vedantics, fifteen perhaps adhere to Ramanuja, five to Madhva, five to Vallabha, and seventy five to Sankaracharya.

hension of the masses, and an exoteric form, suited to the comprehension of the initiated few; and the exoteric form, like some modern systems of philosophy, insists on the absolute inaccessibility of God to human thoughts and words. Vedantism is not merely a system of speculative thought, it has its practical side as well. What the Vedantist must try to do is to wake from his dreams, to penetrate beyond the unreal to the real, and thus make the individual soul recognise and recover its identity with the universal soul; and this can only be done by a rigorous effort of abstract meditation, by a renouncement of family, home and worldly ties; nay even by the repression of every feeling, every desire and every thought. It is admitted however that only the sage can achieve such a consummation of theosophy. "On the liberation of the sage," to use the language of one of the Vedantists, "all things visible melt away into the original self, as the darkness faints and melts away before the rising sun. Its fictitiously limiting mind with all its modes has been dissolved, and the soul is the self again; the jar is broken, and the ether that was in it is one with the one and undivided ether, from which the jar once seemed to sever it. The sage has seen the self, and passed into oneness with it, lost like a waterdrop in water."

"The one remains, the many change and pass;
Heaven's light for ever shines, earth's shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity."

Such is an imperfect summary of the essential doctrines of Vedantism, which affords parallels to the system of the Greek Eleatics, and, more especially, to the idealism of Plato. Like Vedantism, the Eleatic system is a system of monism; for it endeavours to reduce the manifold of existence to a single ultimate principle, the principle of Being. This Being is unbecome and imperishable, immutable and illimitable, perfectly self-identical. The Being of the Eleatics is not quite identical with the Vedantic Brahma, for there is appropriated to this entity by the Eleatics the single positive quality of thought. Being and thought are identical. Eleatic monism did not reach such a high stage of development as the Vedantic monism; and it would therefore be unfair to press the parallelism between the two any further.

The Vedantist offers, however, many striking parallels to the idealism of Plato. Plato too was struck with the evanescent phenomena of sense, and like the Vedantists he admitted a fundamental essence of things in virtue of which things are what they are. This fundamental essence with the Vedantist is Brahma, with Plato it is "ideas." Note, however, the contrast: the Brahma is one, but ideas are innumerable. There are ideas corresponding to everything which is capable of being gathered up under any notion. But these ideas are not all of the same rank. There is a regular series or graduated organism of ideas; and the highest of the ideas is the idea of the good. This is the absolute one of Plato, and it occupies the same place as Brahma does in the Vedantic system; but whereas all sorts of predicates have gathered upon Plato's idea of good, such as subjective unity, eternal reality, discriminative thought, affinity with beauty, symmetry and right, so as to identify it almost with a Personal God, the Brahma of the Vedantist remains characterless and inaccessible to human thought and words. Plato's theory of the soul bears a striking resemblance to the Vedantic theory, though in Plato's system the exact relation that his eternal ideas bear to soul is not quite clear. Just as the Vedantist affirmed that the Jiva-Atman was identical with the Parma-Atman, so Plato too affirms that the individual soul possesses the same nature and character as the universal soul. The soul itself is indestructible and by its very essence destined for a blissful life in the contemplation of the ideal world. But it is its union with the material world that prevents its cognition of the divine and the eternal. "The soul during its connexion with the body and the world of sense is placed in a condition utterly inadequate to its proper being. In itself divine, possessed of true knowledge, independent, free, it is in life the reverse, weak, sensuous, passive to the influences of the bodily nature, betrayed into evil and into sin by all the disquietudes of lusts, passions, contests, which arise to it from the preponderance of the sensuous principle. A dim sense of its higher origin, a longing for its home, the world of ideas—this, indeed remains to it and announces itself in love to knowledge, in enthusiasm for beauty, in the battle of the spirit to become lord of the body. But this very longing proclaims that the soul's true life is not this present sensuous

existence, but lies rather, in the future, that follows its separation from the body." That the life of sensuous existence is a lower life, that the pure soul is tainted by its association with the corporeal world, and that the consummation of theosophy consists in the soul freeing itself from the shackles of sensuous existence—these are doctrines common to Platonism and Vedantism. But here the agreement ends. The consummation arrived at by the Vedantist is a state of perfect abstraction, of perfect inertia, a state of apathy and vacuity; but the consummation arrived at by the Platonist is not a unity of characterless being, it is a state of face to face contemplation with the Good, the True and the Beautiful,—ideas which play hardly any part in the Vedantic system. There is no doubt much that is fascinating in the Vedantic and Platonic monism, but we should not overlook the inherent defect in all monistic theories. Plato's ideas are found utterly incompetent to explain the being and becoming of nature, just as the Pantheism of the Vedanta, which resolves everything to one self-existing entity, the Brahman, fails to account for the phenomenal, and offers no explanatory reason of existence.

The above cursory examination of individual systems of Indian philosophy and their comparison with certain Greek systems, throws light on the opposite tendencies of the Greek and Indian intellect. It will be seen that in many respects the Greek intellect is the very antipodes of the Indian intellect. The Greek, alive to the varied charms of the world of the eye and the ear, absorbed in its occupations and pursuits, with his voracious though not profound intellect, gave to the study of philosophy a practical turn. He distinguished himself as a statesman, as an orator, as an artist; he plunged himself into the busy scenes of life and won fame and renown in the theatre of worldly success. The deepest problems of life and mind no doubt engaged his attention, but the investigation of these problem, was, as a rule, made subservient to the concerns of every day life; his studies and activities were directed and determined not by any objective metaphysical interest, but by external considerations affecting society. If a Socrates devotes himself

to the philosophic instruction of the youth of Athens, it is because he is convinced of the need of a thorough amendment of the State; if the eagle flight of the genius of a Plato makes him plunge for a time into an idealism, which is thoroughly anti-Greek, he soon recollects himself and his surroundings, and condescends to enlighten us on political institutions, on the mode of teaching music and gymnastics, the selection of musical instruments, the arrangement of marriages, &c.; if an Aristotle, with his encyclopædic mind, gives us an elaborate study of life, psychical and physical, it is because he considers that the study of human perfection comes under the science of civil life, which is the Master Science embracing the ends of all other sciences. The bent of the Hindu mind is in a different direction. Insensible to external charms, and averse to what is considered to be the grovelling realities of sense and the common incidents of life, with his feelings, chastened by a domineering intellectualism, the Hindu led a life of political inaction. His intellect did not allow him to rest content with the concerns of every day life. Bent upon unfolding and expounding the deep meaning of the Universe, he had to fall back on himself and make himself the subject of his study and meditation. Hence the sombre character of Hindu philosophy compared with the Greek. Indian philosophy is emphatically subjective while that of the Greek is more objective than subjective.

When we compare the philosophies of Greece and Rome we are struck with the progressive nature of the former and the stationary character of the latter. Taking the Sankya to be the oldest and the Vedanta to be the latest system, we do not find any marked difference between the two. It is true one is a dualistic system and the other is pure monism; but it is not difficult to trace the essential features of Vedantism even in the pure Sankya. But what a vast difference there is between the Socratic system and that of the early Greek physical philosophers! And again how immensely more valuable are the philosophic speculations of Aristotle compared with those of Socrates! Whence this progress? This is partly to be accounted for by the fact that the

Indian philosophers clung tenaciously to metaphysics, whereas the Greek philosophers only ventured into the region of metaphysics, by accident as it were. They found scope for their speculative powers in the region of the phenomena of mind, which have to do with the positive and the real. Hence the valuable mass of psychological, ethical and logical facts and principles scattered throughout Greek philosophical literature. Another cause is the assiduity with which the Greeks tried to develop a method of philosophical inquiry. The great merit of the Socratic system consists in the development of the dialectic method which helped not only to transform art and literature but also to revolutionize social life; and, even before Socrates, the Sophists laid the foundation of a strictly scientific method. The most valuable part of the writings of Plato and Aristotle refer to the subject of a scientific method of investigating philosophical problems. Hindu philosophers seem to have paid little attention to the development of a scientific method and to have relied more on dogmatism. Hence the unprogressive nature of their philosophy. But notwithstanding this defect, and notwithstanding the ontological nature of their philosophy, there is much in it that India may be proud of. The whole of Indian philosophy is a vehement protest against materialism. In it we find the boldest attempt made by the human mind to solve the mysterious problems of life and immortality. We may ignore Indian science as containing much that is crude and unscientific; we may even set aside Indian Drama, Indian Poetry, and even Indian didactic literature, as devoid of the indispensable requisites, but we dare not ignore Indian philosophy which offers something of interest to every thinking mind.

To us, Indians, Hindu philosophical literature offers a field for original investigation of a most promising nature. We hear a great deal in these days about the stark inefficiency and the sterility of higher education. Sir Grant Duff, in his Convocation Address, said:—"You show us your machinery, your University, your schools, and much else. You are obviously spend-

ing a great deal of money upon what you describe as the 'Higher education,' but where are your results." Then he went on to add that there must be something radically wrong in the turn higher education has taken in India, seeing that it had not even succeeded in creating a desire on the part of the people to learn and to tell more about themselves and the country in which they live. Surely it cannot be that the Indian intellect has grown old and decayed and lost its creative power! It is true our acquisitive powers have been tasked to the utmost in learning a most difficult foreign language, and our creative faculties have suffered somewhat in consequence; but we have had compensating advantages. We have had our prejudices overthrown, our intellectual tastes purified; we have become inheritors of the intellectual achievements of all the Western nations; and with these advantages let us show the world that we are not merely apt and facile imitators, but that we have genius for original intellectual work, more especially in the field of philosophical investigation, in which the Indian has already won his laurels.

S. SATTIANADHAN.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATION.

ON the notice book of the British House of Commons and in a prominent place in most patriotic newspapers in this country is set forth a notice of motion couched in the following terms:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, in order to preserve and maintain the stability of the British Power, the loyalty, confidence, contentment, and gratitude of the people of British India, to improve their material and moral condition, and to increase largely commercial and industrial benefits to the people of the United Kingdom, it is expedient that the solemn pledges of the Act of 1833, of the Proclamation of 1833 after the Mutiny, of the Proclamation of 1877 on the assumption of the Imperial Title at the great Delhi Durbar and of the further confirmation of these Proclamations on the Jubilee by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and Empress of India should be fulfilled by, among other reforms, giving effect to the Resolution adopted by this House on 3rd June 1893, viz: That all open Competitive Examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit."

It is not merely the statement of a recent or passing grievance. It is, on the contrary, a standing protest against an obstinate case of persistent injustice. Originating in selfishness, this denial of claim has been sustained by all manner of plausibilities, either shallow, ingenuous or disingenuous; and several side-issues were raised and debated, all resulting in a mass of polemical literature which has obscured and subordinated the main question and the first principles applicable to it. With this voluminous and varied record I have no concern, as I take it for granted that, in the interests of the overflowing population of a country which happens to be ascendant, all efforts would be made by its

leading spirits to continue, if not to perpetuate, the position of advantage, secured for their compatriots in troublous and opportune times, over subject races." Such efforts can neither create nor establish rights. The system, devised under the then existing exigencies, has no doubt endured all along, more or less unaltered; but it was never pretended that it was to be anything more than a tentative experiment. It is indeed an aphorism of law that possession is nine of its points; but, while in the eye of justice and fairness it ought not to count even for one point, the aphorism itself has no application to the case in question. Its applicability postulates an issue between adverse parties and I am not prepared to concede or even entertain the idea that the nation we are governed by is in the nature of a hostile party towards the people of this country. It may be ill-informed. It may be slow to seek for the necessary knowledge. It may be swayed by the loudly-proclaimed sentiments and ideas of its cleverly-beguiling leaders for the time being. It may be scared by confident vaticinations of danger and peril by its accredited agents out here or holding office in its midst. It may yield to the influence of protestations on the part of the relatives and friends of those that thrive here or of those that contemplate snug, comfortable and lucrative berths for their sons, nephews, and dependents. It may even take pride in possessing, and feel reluctant to part with, the rare and unique privilege of exercising an unprecedentedly magnificent patronage in favour of a considerable number of persons, who are below the standard of requirements of their native land, and in thereby helping them to amass fortunes and (if possible) achieve distinction. In the matter of taxation, it may permit itself to consider its own interests as No. 1 and India's as No. 2, owing to its ill instructed conscience omitting to sound a warning against the resulting iniquity. It may allow its eye to be diverted from the abnormal and indefensible multiplication of European battalions, professedly for the safety of India, but really to have, at hand, hordes of fighting men who might be moved, autocratically and without Parliamentary sanction as the Cossack despot. It may insensibly lend itself to stunt, if not to stifle, the growth of nascent Indian industries, by being clamoured into extending to India the factory laws, considered a desideratum in England. These and many other drawbacks may exist and may operate to the prejudice of Indian well-being. For all these short-comings, I cannot accept any theory which involves the assumption that it

would, consciously and with a full sense of the gravity of the injury it entails, take up an attitude of hostility to the abiding interests of this country. On the contrary, I maintain that the national conscience of England would most assuredly revolt against the existing order, if it woke up, with a clear and adequate vision, to the outrage in question.

But a lot of dogmatic and disputatious rubbish blocks the way. First and foremost is the claim of so-called "vested interests" of the flight of self-confessed birds of passage, emigrating from the ascendant country. Migratory birds are of two kinds. They are either like swallows, seeking their needed sustenance and the coveted sunshine of the summer, or like locusts, overshadowing a promising harvest, devouring everything green and deadening everything growing. I admit indeed that, allowing for an infinitesimal fraction of the latter type, the European influx is, in the bulk, in our midst, primarily in quest of creature-comforts, and secondarily in hopes of a possible career of distinction. But it is a glaring misnomer to speak of "vested interests" in connection with such as these, or to regard them as having on India any claim of reversion on the ground that, either by reason of being heirs, agnates or cognates, they are related to others who were their predecessors in shaking the pagoda tree or in wielding authority here. To build up for them—I had almost said to bolster up on their behalf—a claim of vested interests is nothing short of a palpable fraud on power, and its supporting prop is sheer pride and insolence of might—the sort of might which fears or suspects no decadence or diminution. It goes without saying that it is a supremely bad policy to permit such an impression to gain ground.

Other weightier reasons exist why it is an untenable position to claim vested rights for any section of the dominant race. Despite many dogmatists to the contrary, India was never conquered by England. As Dr. Miller pointed out in unmistakable language not many years ago, India accepted the Britons as her leaders when she sorely needed leaders. It is absurd to expect such leaders to have behaved like Fielding's Jonathan

Wild and embarked on an immediate policy of effacement of those who had courted or acquiesced in their leadership, *if there was available at the time sufficient local material*, in respect of talent and necessary discipline to administer the affairs of the country: Let common sense say whether, on the supposition of such material having been at hand, the adopted leaders would have ventured to ignore its evident claims and laid their own country largely under contribution for the supply of the needed administrators. For my part, I cannot bring myself to think that they would have done so, and being of that opinion I hold that, if, at the time when the country was helped to shake off Moslem domination, the requisite indigenous capacity was forthcoming, it would most assuredly have been utilised and that the Covenanted Civil Service or any other Covenanted Service would not have been organised. With what justice then can one speak of *vested rights* on the part of a body which had its being in a temporary accident and which, on that very account, was bound to cease, as soon and according as suitable talent was available on the spot which is to be the scene of its operations.

This *raison d'être* of the Covenanted Services leads us on to, and in part accounts for, another matter which next demands attention, *viz.*, the place where the selection of Indian administrators was made and where, therefore, the necessary preliminary facilities were created at the outset. Naturally enough, the supply would then be drawn from the British Isles, and it stands to reason that, under such circumstances, the necessary special teaching should be imparted in, and the necessary passport should be issued from, England; for who would not be scandalised if, regardless of the spot whence the whole of the candidates came, the aspirants were told to make an exodus to Timbuctoo or Kamtschatka and live there all their teens with the *chance* of securing the requisite teaching and the requisite ticket of fitness? The very reason, which dictated the wisdom of locating the qualifying tests in England, would seem logically to necessitate that they must be located in India also, as a consequence of the growth of the suitable material in India and that, in proportion to that growth, recruitment from elsewhere must be contracted, subject to that pro-

cess of contraction being *only* limited by the absolute political expediency of not going further. To stop short before this limit is approached, is tyranny and to manufacture flimsy excuses for a faltering or halting policy to delay such a consummation, is political blindness, if not also a breach of faith and dishonesty on the part of those that profess to have accepted, under Providence, a sacred position of trust in undertaking the administration of this Peninsula. The examination, which we ask should be simultaneously held in England and India, is none other than the natural outgrowth of the germinal provision, devised at the advent of British dominancy in India to meet an emergency, fast disappearing; and, unless laws that govern the affairs of men are to be cheated of their fair play and free scope in this instance, not a single argument could be found, sound enough to justify resistance to this legitimate demand in the interest of the abundant and increasing local merit.

That there is no legal barrier to appose the demand seems very clear. The only pre-requisite is fitness, according to legislative enactments, charters and royal pledges; and fitness has solely to be determined by the test prescribed for the purpose. It is doing violence to a plain English word to make fitness of the *candidate* to comprehend the fitness of his *father* or *guardian* to spend a fortune on him before he becomes fit. It is no less violence to that simple word to interpret it to include that the air he breathed and the ground he trod when he was receiving education, must be British air and British soil. Limitations in these respects are scarcely distinguishable from saying that the candidate must have got his instruction from teachers standing not less than five feet four and not of swarthy complexion. Upon the *real* and *strict* question of fitness as determined and determinable by the tests prescribed, there cannot be a single honest doubt; and, so far, the case for Simultaneous Examination is amply made out. The outcry, based on the prophecy that if Simultaneous Examination is allowed there would be a sure preponderance of natives over European candidates among successful competitors, has no bearing on *this* question, except in so far as it most conclusively proves India's case as to the existence of super-abundant local material.

The quantitative adequacy being thus established out of the very mouth of the opponents, efforts have naturally been made to demur to qualitative sufficiency. Dismissing from consideration the many crudities called into requisition for the purpose, there remains one which needs attention, if not on account of possessing any inherent cogency, at least on the score of having been influentially fathered and advanced. It consists in the contention that the candidate must have commenced to live and grow up from infancy upwards, inhaling British atmosphere and surrounded by British environments. In plain English, this means that no Hindu who is not, in nature, in feelings, in predilections and innate disposition, denationalised, is fit to take his place in the dominant hierarchy. Such a proposition is self-evidently irrelevant. When a Hindu, *as such*, puts forth his claim, it is absurd to tell him, "Cease to be a Hindu; denude yourself of all national sentiment and national sensibilities; and you shall get what you, in a different set of sentiments and ideas, wanted." When some years ago, the very question had to be debated and when I pointed out this radical absurdity in the reply, I was gravely answered by a local journalist, in all the plenitude of confidence in himself, that my argument amounted to an abdication of our Bonnerjees, Banerjees, Ghoses and Mehtas—the jaunty critic betraying thereby a confusion between separable accidents and essential features. The length of time that has since elapsed and the amount of reflection that the weighty criticism has forced upon me, have not, I am sorry to say, told upon my incorrigible nature, and I hold to-day the opinion I held so long ago, and have only to point with pride and justifiable triumph to the non-Anglo-Indian attitude on all Indian questions held by them. Under this head, I have only one other remark to make viz., that according to the well-considered opinion of a great many of my countrymen and the bitter experience of some, such as have been sent away from India while yet mere boys, with plastic and impressionable natures, have turned out anti-native and insular—a feeling which is not what we desire in any one who belongs to the ruling class,—certainly not in the national contingent to that class. Some may trace such an

unfortunate result to a want of sturdy mental and moral fibre. It may also be the effect of the paucity—I had almost said the rarity—of the commodity that is proud of its English polish. As the numbers multiplied and as the national feeling developed and made itself felt, the penchant for isolation and "consequentiality" might wear away. Noticeable indications in this direction might also be pointed at. But there is the undoubted risk inasmuch as all natures are not strong enough to be proof against the self-adulatory promptings of egoistic juvenility. I therefore think that mere possibilities should not be set off against perilous potentialities that stare us in the face.

There is one more point to dwell upon before I close. Just like the offer of ginger-bread where bread is asked, the demand for "Simultaneous Examination" is met by the creation of what is designated the Provincial Service, and, when the demand is nevertheless urged, we are told that in doing so, we only wish to satisfy our vanity to write C.S. after our names and that we have substantially all we want. This may be called "Vanity argument" by each of the contending parties, each for its own reasons. The preceding sentence shows how the Members of "the close Service" are prone to cast in our teeth that ours is a clamour prompted by vanity. If vanity were the parent of our grievance, what, but vanity, we may ask by way of retort, is the disposition which resists it? If our predilection in this instance is in the nature of "windmills," why are our clear-sighted and hard-headed censors so quixotic as to tilt at it, fight against it, vex their good souls and keep up our good-for-nothing complaint? The fact of the matter is that if there is room for the charge of vanity, it has to be laid at the door of that close-service, the members of which jealously fret at the reduction of its circle and chafe at not being recognized as heaven-born and of unapproachable dignity. The very tenacity with which they hold fast to the altitude they have been accustomed to under different conditions, would seem to render this palpably clear. I contend that the bifurcation of the Service into Imperial and Provincial branches is a substantial grievance, as a little reflection must show.

That the dignity of a service consists in something more than mere rupees, annas and pice is too clear to need any words of explanation. The Punka-walla's place, and the town sweeper's calling could not rise in importance even if their salaries were raised a thousand-fold; nor would the fact of their being constituted into a graded service with certain rights and privileges—not open to outsiders—cast any lustre on them. This may be an extreme case, but it illustrates the principle best. The question in each case is what is the principle of classification and what the differentia. If the bifurcated branches are co-ordinate, then I ask, why maintain an *unreal* (and therefore irritating) distinction? If there is a difference of status—one inferior to the other—then the difficulty is in no degree solved. To the demand “give me the status that I shall secure if there were Simultaneous Examination,” it is no reply to say “here is a lower position for you.” This may be superficially characterised as a sentimental grievance, which it most assuredly is not, though, even if it were such, it should not be ignored or belittled, as every one must grant who has any conception or experience of what it is to wound one's *amour propre* or self-respect. But as I have already remarked it is not a mere sentimental grievance. Consider for a moment what the privileges are which are claimed for it, and you will see that an exclusion from it is not merely a personal, but a solid national grievance.

In theory it is the *ruling* class—the Bureaucracy as it has been styled—the constituent parts, making up the brain, the heart and the limbs of the entity called “Government of India.” On behalf of the Government of India it is contended that it has not only the initial but also the final voice in regard to matters concerning the administration of this country. By it, even the pronouncement of the British Parliament is liable to be set at naught, as illustrated by the scant courtesy shown to the Resolution of that august body on the very subject of this article. In that defiance it had the full support and theoretical advocacy of almost the whole of the Anglo-Indian public opi-

nion. The intolerant spirit of revolt against interference by higher authority and wisdom—authority out of India, and wisdom not radiating from the gems of the Covenanted Indian Civil Service—which broke forth when the recent legislation in connection with the Contagious Diseases Acts was brought on the tapis and when the measure introduced was characterised “legislation by mandate,” likewise affords some clue to the all-but independent powers claimed for the Government of India. The most conclusive proof of plenary faith in such a theory has yet to be noticed. It came out by way of a side-light and it came out without any adequate occasion at the moment, as has been admitted by friends and foes alike. Our readers will remember how, as if provoked by the remarks that fell from the Honorable Mehta in connection with the recent legislation in amendment of the Police Acts, quite an avalanche of indignation descended on his head—let me repeat for no apparent reason. The cause for this seemingly unaccountable hurricane of temper was unquestionably his fearless and unmistakable refusal, on a *prior* occasion, to accept the pretensions of the present-day Bureaucracy as being in any degree the *realisation* of the theory that the Indian Government should be, in the main, left to manage the affairs of this country—subject, of course, to supervision and the infusion of enlightened principles from the British Parliament and the large-hearted and sagacious statesmen of the ascendant country—a theory which he cannot be taken to have denied—a theory which every sensible man must admit to be thoroughly sound.

No country can be said to be best governed which is liable to be repeatedly meddled with from afar—often by persons without the requisite equipment of knowledge; and no effort can be said to be superfluous which aims at transferring the substance of power from the hands of the India Government into those of the Indian Government, which, in order to come up to the spirit and true meaning of the theory in that respect, must,

of necessity, receive a fair and increasing contribution of India's flower of intellect, especially because the needs of British Isles to absorb its best talent have increased, are increasing, and are likely continually to increase, sparing for India little more than their mediocrities to come over here and wield the bow of Ulysses. With Simultaneous Examination, the governing service will day by day make an approach to this ideal and help to gratify the national sentiment. Without it, that service will only stand as a living memento of a policy of unmerited ostracism and gratuitous affront.

P. ANANDA CHARLU.

UNIVERSITY REFORM.

IT is probably known to many readers of the *Madras Review* that attempts are being made by small but resolute section of the Senate to introduce a number of, what their advocates consider, very necessary reforms in the administration of University affairs. There are three points on which these gentlemen particularly insist; and the first of these is the necessity of Fellows, if they are to discharge the duties of their office, being kept informed on all matters concerning the University. This object they propose to attain by printing and distributing to the Fellows of the University the minutes of all meetings of the Senate, the Faculties, and the Syndicate, as is done in the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad. The second is to make the Syndicate a more representative body than it is at present, and better fitted to discharge the important duties entrusted to it. The attainment of this object, no doubt, presents great difficulties, and to secure it fully, many deep-seated and radical changes will be necessary. The only change now proposed consists in merely increasing the strength of the Syndicate from eight elected members to eleven, and so bringing it up to the level of the corresponding bodies in Calcutta and Bombay. It is, perhaps, scarcely to be expected that any great improvement will result from this change, but it will, it is hoped, have the effect of making further reforms easier in the future. The last of the three reforms is one of great importance in the practical administration of University affairs. It is the proposal to define the relations between the Senate and the Syndicate, and to require the latter body to recognize its responsibility to the former. To say that the relations between the two bodies are at present ill-defined is to understate the case; they are simply not defined at all; the result being that disputes are constantly arising, and the right of the Syndicate to exercise specific powers constantly being challenged. By the Act of Incorporation absolute authority in University affairs is vested in the Senate, but, in practice, absolute authority is exercised by the Syndicate. This anomalous state of affairs ought not to be allowed to continue, for it is obviously desirable that the rules made by the University for its government should leave no doubt by whom any particular act of authority should be exercised.

It may be of assistance to those who take an interest in University affairs in understanding the bearing and importance of these proposed reforms if a sketch is given of the history and relations to one another of the three older Indian Universities, situated in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and of all three to their English prototype, the University of London. It is well known that these three institutions were all founded in the same year, under precisely similar Acts of Incorporation, and were modelled on the lines of London University. The comparison ought, therefore, to be both interesting and instructive. Not less so a study of the constitution of the two younger Indian Universities, those of the Punjab and of Allahabad, founded in the years 1882 and 1887, respectively. These Universities, it may fairly be presumed, reflect in their laws and constitution the experience acquired by observing for a quarter of a century the growth of the English University system (or, to be more precise, the London University system) on Indian soil; and by comparing them with the institutions established before this experience had been gained much useful and suggestive information ought to be gathered.

Although the institution now known as University College, London, and which was opened so far back as 1828, bore for several years the name of London University, it was not till the last year of the reign of King William IV. that the Charter was granted by which the institution properly called the University of London was constituted. The object in view in granting this Charter, as stated by the Government of the day, was "to provide a mode for granting Academical Degrees in London to persons, of all religious persuasions, without distinction and without the imposition of any test or disqualification whatever"; and, in pursuance of this object, a Charter was granted "to persons eminent in literature and science, to act as a Board of Examiners, and to perform all the functions of the Examiners in the Senate House of Cambridge, this body to be termed the University of London." The movement in favour of a Metropolitan University "equal in all respects with the ancient Universities, but freed from those exclusions and religious distinctions which abridge the usefulness of Oxford and Cambridge" had been increasing in strength for a number of years previously, and reached a climax when, in 1834, the House of Lords rejected a Bill which had passed the Commons for the admission of Dissenters to degrees in Oxford and Cambridge. The advocates of

religious liberty ceased for a time attempting to reform these "abodes of dead languages and undying prejudices," as they were termed by John Bright, and the present University of London was the result.

The original Charter of 1836 remained unchanged in all important points until the year 1858, and as it was this ancient Charter which was made use of in drafting the Acts by which the three older Indian Universities were incorporated in 1857, (many of the clauses being transferred with merely verbal alterations,) it will assist the object in view to notice the changes and improvements contained in the later Charters granted to the University of London, and to enquire whether any of the reforms to which they give legal sanction might not, also, suitably be introduced into the institutions of which it was the prototype.

For the first twenty years of its existence, no candidates were admissible to the examinations of London University who did not produce a certificate of attendance at an affiliated College. Experience, however, proved that the requisite certificate was granted by different colleges on very different conditions, and that in some cases it was of little worth as attesting regular academic discipline or instruction. The Senate had no visitatorial power over the affiliated Colleges or any influence in determining the condition to be fulfilled by the candidates. Its duty was practically limited to examination. Accordingly, the Charter of 1858 contained provisions practically abolishing the exclusive connection of the University with the affiliated Colleges, and empowering the Senate to dispense with the certificate of studentship in the Faculties of Arts and Law, (the Faculty of Science had not then been created). For Medical degrees, however, evidence of attendance and clinical practice at some recognized medical institution was still required; but otherwise all the distinctions of the University were henceforth to be obtained solely on the ground of proficiency, as shown by examination. Now the Acts of 1857, incorporating the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, have remained unchanged in every particular, and have been merely supplemented by Acts empowering these Universities to grant degrees other than those mentioned in the original Acts and to grant honorary degrees. The original provision requiring candidates for degrees in the Madras University to present "a certificate from one of the institutions authorised in that behalf by the Governor of Fort St. George in Council, to the effect that he has completed the course of instruction prescribed by

the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows" is still in force, and the University has endeavoured to meet the objections which induced London University to abandon the corresponding regulation by making rules of a stringent character relating to the affiliation of colleges and the attendance of students in these colleges, calculated to secure efficiency in the instruction received by candidates for the examinations. But in spite of all this, the results of the examinations prove that the certificates of attendance are, in a very large proportion of cases, of little worth as attesting "regular academic discipline or instruction." However, the University is probably wise in retaining the rule, for bad as the education received in some of the colleges is, it is at all events better than the "private study" which would replace it were the rule abrogated.

The original Charter of London University contained no provision for incorporating the graduates or giving them any share in the administration of its affairs. In 1843 an influential Committee of the graduates was formed with a view, in the first place, to the protection of their academical and general interests, and to the cultivation of more intimate relations with each other and the Senate, and also with the ultimate object of securing the recognition of the graduates as members of the corporate body and their representation in Parliament. Before these objects were attained, the Graduates' Committee evinced an active interest in the affairs of the University, and, in particular, succeeded in procuring the enactment of an important Statute in 1854, "to extend the rights enjoyed by the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in respect to the practice of Physic to the graduates of the University of London." Four years later, the new Charter of 1858 admitted the graduates as part of the corporate body of the University, and gave them the right to assemble in Convocation. It conferred on Convocation the power of accepting, with the consent of the Senate, any new or supplemental Charter, and of discussing any matter whatsoever relating to the University and declaring the opinion of Convocation on any such matter. It further conferred the privilege of nominating one-fourth of the members of the Senate, and, in 1867, the Reform Act gave the graduates the right to send one representative to Parliament. It is useless to speculate whether, if the Indian Universities had been formed subsequently to 1858, instead of anterior to that date, the graduates would have been incorporated as they are at London. Probably not, for the reason that for the first few years of an University's existence the gradu-

ates must necessarily be few in number. At London University, twenty-two years elapsed before the concession was obtained. Thirty-eight years, however, have passed since the University of Madras was established, and its graduates are numbered by thousands. So far as the age of the University and the number of its graduates are concerned it would seem to possess a claim to the privilege. But on the other hand, it may with justice be asked, have the graduates shown themselves in any way fit or worthy to exercise rights and enjoy privileges similar to those the London graduates have succeeded in obtaining? Let their attitude be compared with that of the graduates of London University. What has the Association of Graduates, founded after the failure of the attempt to incorporate them with the University a dozen years ago, done to justify its existence? This Association ought, at the present moment, to be the most important and influential body in the Presidency and to have its representative in the Legislative Council, instead of which it has become a by-word and a reproach, a monument of the incompetency and apathy of its members. Let the Madras graduates display that "active interest in the affairs of the University" evinced by London graduates before being incorporated and they may yet obtain equal privileges with them, but let them avoid clamouring for privileges they have instituted no claim to and exhibited no fitness for.

Another respect in which the University of London has shown its capacity for adapting itself to the requirements of the age is the encouragement it has afforded to those studies which in recent times have engaged the attention of the highest human intellects to an extent unparalleled in the world's previous history—I mean the study of science. The new Charter of 1858 gave the University the power of granting degrees in science, and, acting upon this power, it founded in 1860, for the first time in England, a Faculty of Science, and instituted the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of that Faculty. Probably no step taken by the University has been productive of more wide-spread good. It gave an impetus to the teaching and study of science the full benefit of which the country is only now beginning to feel, and was largely instrumental in calling into existence the numerous science colleges which have sprung up during the last thirty years, and in many of which students are prepared for the London University degrees. The example was followed, sooner or later, by several British Universities, and, in this country,

by Bombay, while even now the youngest of Indian Universities is meditating the step. In Calcutta, also, there is an agitation in the same direction. There can be little doubt that the Supplementary Act of 1860, giving the Indian Universities the power to confer degrees other than those expressly provided for in the Acts of 1857, was passed with the chief object of empowering these Universities to confer degrees in science, but when the attempt to institute a faculty of science and a degree in science in the Madras University was made some years ago it dismally failed. The Senate has steadily persisted in doing its best to defeat the obvious purpose of the Act by refusing to recognize proficiency in science or to afford facilities for acquiring such proficiency. This, perhaps, may be thought too severe a condemnation of the University, for it is true that the Senate did actually resolve, so far back as 1882, to create a faculty of science and to institute the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, but with almost incredible folly appointed a committee to carry out the resolution containing a large majority of its members either hostile or indifferent to the scheme. The inevitable result followed. The opposing members of the committee by their obstructive policy so disgusted and disheartened the advocates of the measure, that it had to be dropped, and no one is now bold enough to attempt its resuscitation. But resuscitated it undoubtedly will be, sooner or later, for the world at large has recognized both the educational value and the practical utility of the study of science and has decided that it is as much entitled to be pursued independently of literary or linguistic studies as Medicine or Engineering or any other profession; and these ideas must ultimately prevail, even in Madras. In the words of the greatest exponent of science England has ever produced, whose voice, but a few weeks ago, was hashed for ever:—"We have a right to claim that science shall be put upon the same footing as any other great subject of instruction, that it shall have an equal share in the schools, an equal share in the recognized qualifications for degrees, and in University honours and rewards. It must be recognized that science, as intellectual discipline, is at least as important as literature, and that the scientific student must no longer be handicapped by a linguistic (I will not call it literary) burden, the equivalent of which is not imposed upon his classical compeer."

Neither the original Charter nor the Charter of 1858 gave the University of London the power to admit women to its examinations, but in 1867 a Supplemental Charter conferred the power to

institute special examinations for women. The experiment of offering encouragement for women to pursue a course of academic education was at first tried under limitations which somewhat impeded its success. Under the powers given in the Charter of 1867, women were not rendered admissible to the ordinary examinations, but special examinations were instituted in their behalf in which prominence was given to those subjects which it was presumed the women and their teachers would prefer. But the number availing themselves of this privilege was small and the privilege itself was not highly valued. Moreover it was found that the chief distinctions attained by women in these examinations were not gained in the special subjects; but in the classical languages and in science. It was urged by the teachers that women did not desire a scheme of instruction exclusively devised for their use, but would prefer to have access to the ordinary degrees and honours, and to be subject to the same tests of qualification which were imposed on other students. After much discussion, the Senate and Convocation agreed to accept from the Crown in 1878 a Supplementary Charter, making every degree, honour, and prize awarded by the University accessible to students of both sexes on perfectly equal terms. The University of London was thus the first academical body in the United Kingdom to admit women as candidates for degrees, and the success of the measure may be judged from the fact that up to the end of 1892, no less than 2,558 women had matriculated, 415 had taken the B. A. degree, 28 the M. A., 70 the B. Sc., 2 the D. Sc., 31 the M. B., and 4 the M. D., although, strange to say, not one woman had taken either the lower or the higher degree in Music. Owing to the very different position which female education has attained in the two countries, the admission of women to University examinations in India could never become, within any measurable period, the burning question it was and, to a certain extent, still is, in England; in fact the Indian Universities have never allowed it to become a question of any sort. The Acts of Incorporation while not specifically admitting women to the examinations, do not specifically prohibit their admission, and the question of their right to appear for examination has been evaded rather than solved, by raising no objection when they presented themselves. The experience of London University, however, conveys a warning to those who would have this University institute separate examinations for women, different from those which male candidates have to undergo, and who would practically remove classical languages, mathe-

matics, and science from the curriculum of female studies; substituting for them subjects which afford a very inferior mental discipline. The question is a delicate one to deal with, and though, owing to the very different conditions prevailing in eastern and western countries, some change in this direction may be desirable, it should only be made with great caution and after much deliberation.

The foregoing sketch, though necessarily brief and imperfect, is nevertheless sufficient to give an idea of the development which London University has undergone since 1858, the year in which it surrendered the original Charter under which it was incorporated in exchange for one of a more liberal character. This date forms an epoch in the history of the University, as it marked the commencement of an era of reform and progress which has not yet run its course, and of which, indeed, as recent events prove, the activity shows no sign of diminution. The three older Indian Universities date from the end of the pre-reform period and reproduce most of the important features of the London University of 1857, and the undeniable fact that they bear but a remote resemblance to the London University of later times is to be attributed, in no small degree, to the system under which the Universities of India are governed and administered. The more closely the subject is examined, the more convincing does this explanation of the arrested development of the Indian Universities become. It may be quite true that the Acts of Incorporation themselves constitute one serious impediment to the development and progress of the Universities, and that the amendment of these Acts in a direction coinciding more or less closely with that pursued by London University with such signal success is a necessary preliminary to any real and permanent advance. But with the present system of University administration and the lack of interest in University affairs which it engenders—not only in the general public but among the great majority of the Fellows themselves—which is one of its worst consequences, any attempt to amend the Acts, or even to secure such minor reforms as the Acts admit of, is, in the Madras University at least, a task beset with so many difficulties that no one is venturesome enough to undertake it. It is, therefore, radical reforms in the method of government which must precede all other reforms. These effected, it is reasonable to expect that the Indian Universities will not be slow to free themselves from the restraints which abridge

their usefulness, and that, in due course, they will undergo a development, equal in extent to, though differing probably in nature from, that of their English counterpart, and become truly national institutions.

When we proceed to compare the Indian Universities with the University of London in respect to the manner of their government and administration, we find, as might be expected from the relations in which they stand to each other, a very close similarity, accompanied, however, with a most important difference. In each case, the Senate, consisting of Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, is the governing body, though at London University, since the year 1858, Convocation has exercised certain powers, the nature of which has already been stated. The consent of Convocation is necessary for the acceptance of a new Charter and the surrender of an old one; it also has the power of appointing one-fourth part of the Senate. But beyond this, its functions are purely advisory. It has merely the right to discuss all matters pertaining to the University and of declaring its opinion on these matters, and no executive or administrative powers of any description belong to it. Powers of this description are vested solely in the Senate, as in the case of the Indian Universities, but there is this enormous difference between the two countries. *In London University every member of the Senate takes a real and active part in the administration of its affairs, whereas in the Indian Universities all but a minute fraction of the members are, to all intents and purposes, excluded from any but a purely nominal share in the government of the University, and are even kept in ignorance as to how its affairs are administered.* This assertion may appear startling to many, but those who have any acquaintance with University matters know that it is not an exaggerated statement of the case.

The Acts of 1857 incorporating the three older Indian Universities all enact that "the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows for the time being shall have the entire management of, and superintendence over, the affairs, concerns, and property of the said University." Now these words are copied from the Charter of London University, and it seems a fair presumption that they were intended to be applied in the same sense in India as they always have been in England. How then, it may be asked, has it come about, that a condition of affairs has grown up in the Indian Universities so essentially different from that which exists in London? The answer is not far to seek. At London University the number

of Fellows is, by the Charter, fixed at thirty-six, and this number has to be maintained and can never be exceeded; whereas, at the Indian Universities, the minimum number only is laid down in the Acts of Incorporation, and no maximum is fixed. This minimum, in the case of the Universities of Calcutta and Madras, is thirty, and in that of Bombay, twenty-six. Whether it was intended that the Senates of these Universities should attain the unwieldy dimensions they have now reached, or foreseen that they would do so, I am unable to say; but it seems unlikely: for it is clearly impossible that a corporation numbering some three hundred and fifty members, which is the size of the Senate of Bombay University at the present time, can discharge executive and administrative functions. The Senates of the Calcutta and Madras Universities are considerably smaller, with a little over two hundred members in the one case and about one hundred and fifty in the other; still they are far too large to conveniently exercise that direct control over University affairs which the Acts of Incorporation require them to. If governing bodies of this size had been contemplated, surely, one would think, the Acts would have provided for executive functions being delegated to a select portion of those bodies. The Acts however contain no provision of this nature, and from its omission the conclusion may be drawn that the Senates have attained a size which was not anticipated when the Universities were founded. But whether the omission were intentional or accidental, there can be no doubt whatever that it has produced the most far-reaching consequences, and has been largely instrumental in producing that divergence of aim and policy of the Indian Universities from those of their English prototype which has just been commented on.

Examining somewhat more closely the manner in which the administration of London University is carried on, we observe that there is a Senate consisting, as already mentioned, of thirty-six Fellows, all of whom, or all but a very few, belong to one or other of the Standing Committees, of which there are five altogether. On the Committee for Examinations in Arts, Science, and Law there are no less than twenty-four Fellows, eleven are on the Committee for Medical Examinations, ten on the Library Committee, and so on. In this way the work is divided, and every member of the Senate takes part in it. In the Madras University on the other hand, with its one hundred and fifty Fellows, or thereabouts, nine of them hold sole sway, and the remaining one hundred

and forty have scarcely the vestige of authority, and are not even allowed to know how the select nine fulfil their trust. In Bombay and Calcutta things are on much the same footing, their Syndicates being only slightly stronger numerically than ours, and their usurpation of power little less complete.

Now it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that a system which concentrates in the hands of an insignificant fraction of the Senate the power and influence which by statute is vested in all its members stands self-condemned, or, at all events, requires very powerful arguments to defend it. No one, of course, advocates the whole of our unwieldy Senate, or the still more unwieldy Senates of the Bombay and Calcutta Universities being admitted to any important share in the administration of University affairs. We do not pretend to an intimate acquaintance with the two latter bodies, but in all probability they comprise elements not differing materially from those of which the Madras Senate consists, and this we know to have a very complex constitution. It includes a small number of purely ornamental members—noblemen and gentlemen who would consider it beneath their dignity to attend any meeting of the Senate except the annual Convocation presided over by the Chancellor—and a much larger number, roughly speaking one-third of the whole body, who, from one cause or another, it may be for want of time, it may be for want of inclination, have no acquaintance with, and take no interest in, University affairs. To these two classes may be added a third class, which, owing to no fault of its own, is equally useless for all University purposes. It includes those Fellows who, through residence at too great a distance from Madras, are incapacitated from taking any active part in University affairs. But when all names falling under one or other of these categories are excluded, there remains a residue, which may be estimated at approximately one-third of the whole Senate, of Fellows who are both able and willing to place the whole of their talents and a certain portion of their time at the service of the University. It passes ordinary wit to understand why the University, instead of telling these men it wants none of their help, does not gladly avail itself of their services.

In hazarding the opinion that the proportion of the Senate of the Madras University which is animated by the desire to take a more or less active part in the administration of University affairs and is not disqualified either by want of leisure or by residence

at too great a distance from Madras or by any other cause from gratifying its very laudable ambition, amounts to about one-third of the total number of Fellows, probably somewhat too liberal an estimate is made; and if the number of Fellows available for the purpose in question were fixed at somewhat under forty, it would, no doubt, be nearer the mark. This number, it will be noticed, is just about the same as that which administers the University of London, and if it is not too large in the one case, and there is no reason whatever for supposing that it is too large, it is difficult to see why it should be considered so in the other. It is quite true that the three dozen Fellows who, along with the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, constitute the governing body of London University are, with scarcely a single exception, or, it might be more truly said, without even a single exception, men of eminence and of high attainments, including in their ranks some of the most distinguished statesmen and lawyers of the day, with men equally conspicuous in the domains of science and of letters, and surgeons and physicians of renown; and that against an array of talent such as this illustrious body presents, as Indian University or all the Indian Universities together, sink into insignificance. But if three dozen men of this calibre are not considered too large a number to direct the affairs of London University, it can scarcely be alleged, with any show of reason, that the same number of men of admittedly lower average abilities is four or five times in excess of what is necessary for the performance of precisely similar duties in connection with the Indian Universities. Yet this, in practice, is precisely what the older Indian Universities do affirm. They place administrative and executive functions in the hands of small committees, consisting in the case of the Madras University of only nine Fellows, including the Vice-Chancellor, and of but two more in the case of the Calcutta and Bombay Universities; and to this small fraction of the Senate, the destiny and fortunes of the University are confided, while the share which the remainder of the Fellows are permitted to take in its affairs is too small to be worth considering. The younger Indian Universities, in this respect at least, approach far more closely to an ideal system of University government. At the Punjab University, nineteen Fellows constitute the Syndicate, while at Allahabad it contains only three less; and, which is of far more importance, in neither of these Universities does that body possess a monopoly of power and authority. Its relations to the Senate and the nature and extent of the powers

to be exercised by both bodies are very precisely defined in the Acts of Incorporation. This is a point of great importance, to which further allusion will have to be made.

That there is a real necessity to enlist the services of a larger number of Fellows than are at present allowed to take an active part in University administration will, I think, be conceded by most of those who have any knowledge of the subject, and who are not interested in maintaining the present monopoly. The opinion of those who have no knowledge of the subject is valueless, though, unfortunately, when it comes to counting noses, it is likely to far outweigh the other. The Syndicate is much too small for the work it has to perform. Even though every one of its members were a working member—which notoriously is not the case—and though it met twice as frequently as at present, it could not discharge the various duties it is called upon to perform with the efficiency which the University has the right to expect. That efficiency can only be attained by members of the Syndicate acquiring an intimate knowledge of University questions, and the acquisition of this knowledge requires far more time than many of them can devote to it. Take, for example, the question of University revenue and expenditure. The by-laws enact that the Syndicate shall “keep the accounts of the University,” which means it is to regulate the University’s financial affairs; yet it is a well-known fact that the Syndicate exercises merely a nominal control over this very important department of University administration, and does not even pretend to be conversant with any of its details. And it is hardly to be expected that it should be otherwise. The subject is too big for it, as the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay have recognized by instituting Boards of Accounts, elected by the Senate and independent of the Syndicate, whose only duty it is to attend to financial questions.

But in another sense the Syndicate is too small a body to hold in its hands the “executive government of the University.” It is not, and, unless greatly enlarged, can never become, representative of all the parties and interests, many of them more or less conflicting and antagonistic, which the University embodies, and which it strives, or should strive, to unite and combine for the attainment of the object which all alike profess to have in view—the diffusion of knowledge among the people of this country. While certain of these parties and interests are represented on the Syndicate—over-represented, many would say—others, with an equal right to a share

in the direction of University affairs, are unrepresented, and in consequence, share the fate of all unrepresented interests.

Coming now to the crucial point of the argument—the possibility of utilizing the services of four or five times as many Fellows as are at present employed in governing the University, without inflicting on it a shock which might be dangerous to its anything but robust constitution—we are at once struck by the ease with which a reform of so important a character may be effected. The Madras University has merely to return to the source from which it sprung, and to learn in manhood the lesson it would have done well to acquire in its youth. Let it follow the system of London University, and institute a number of Standing Committees of the Senate—one for examinations in Arts another for examinations in Law, a third for Medicine, a fourth for Engineering. Let there be similar committees for finance, for granting exemptions from production of attendance certificates, and for all other purposes which may be found necessary. These Committees—of which there would probably be some seven or eight—would vary in size, and on one or other of them, in many cases on more than one, would be found places for all those Fellows of the University who are anxious that their office should no longer remain the sinecure it has hitherto been.

The plan I have suggested for utilizing the services of many Fellows instead of few in the administration of University affairs does not necessarily involve, as some may suppose, the entire abolition of the Syndicate, and the substitution of a number of Standing Committees for that body; neither would any legislative enactment be required to give effect to it. The Act of Incorporation does not provide for the Senate delegating the whole or any part of the authority with which it is invested to a select portion of its members. It contains no reference to the Syndicate, and does not contemplate the creation of a body of this description. The Senate, however, in the exercise of the general powers conferred upon it by the Act, instituted the Syndicate, and, by virtue of the same powers, it can transfer to other committees of its members so much of the authority at present wielded by the Syndicate as it may see fit. It can even, if so minded, abolish the Syndicate altogether. But for more than one reason it would be an impolitic act to abolish the Syndicate, for a body of this nature is capable of playing a most useful part in a sound system of University government. In order that it may play this part it must, however, be

remodelled and enlarged sufficiently to make it a truly representative body, being, at the same time, relieved of the greater portion of the duties it is at present called upon to perform. The Syndicate, after undergoing this process, should be at least twice the size of the existing body, in fact, I should be inclined to fix the number of its members at twenty, exclusive of the Vice-Chancellor, who, of course, would be its President. Instead of the Faculties electing all the members, as they do now, a portion only would be appointed in this way. Others would be elected by the various Standing Committees which it is proposed to create, while the remainder would be chosen by Colleges affiliated to the University. This last provision is, by no means the innovation it appears. It is embodied in the constitution of the Allahabad University, where no less than five of the fifteen members of the Syndicate must be Principals of Colleges; and the necessity for a similar rule in Madras where, except at rare intervals, two only of the fifteen first grade Arts Colleges are represented on the *de facto* governing body of the University, must have impressed itself on most Fellows who have given the subject a thought.

It would, needless to say, be necessary to define with precision the relations between the Syndicate thus constituted on the one hand and the Senate and Standing Committees on the other, and to settle where the powers of each body commence and end; otherwise a recurrence, in an exaggerated form, would be witnessed of the conflicts arising from differences of opinion on these points which have formed so unedifying a feature of University debate of late years. But these are mere details, and the construction of a workable scheme in which each of the component parts of the machinery of government would be assigned its proper position and functions, presents no difficulty.

But in drawing up this scheme the Senate will do well to avoid the rock on which the University has more than once struck. It should discourage and, as far as possible, prevent those Fellows from holding office who, while not averse from the honor of the position, are disinclined to make the least sacrifice to discharge the duties pertaining to it; and this end, partly at least, can be attained by making attendance at a certain proportion of meetings a condition of retention of a seat on the Syndicate or any of the proposed Committees. At the same time, the present restriction as regards place of residence should be removed; the necessity for a provision of this nature, if it ever existed at all, having, with the improve-

ment and extension of the means of communication, long since disappeared. The Madras University exists, not for the benefit of the city of Madras alone, but for the good of the whole Presidency, and its Fellows and its affiliated Colleges are scattered over the length and breadth of the peninsula. If a Fellow is able and willing to attend meetings and to perform the other duties of his office, it is rank injustice that residence at fifty miles, or even five times fifty miles, from Madras should be held to incapacitate him from taking any part in University administration. Bangalore, Kumbakonam, Trichinopoly, and many other large towns are now within easy reach of the capital, and members of the Senate residing in these centres are no less entitled to hold office and to exert influence in the University than those living in the Presidency town. The unfairness of disqualifying them from so doing is obvious, and the plea of convenience which, in past times, might have been urged in justification of the restriction, has now lost all weight.

In discussing the question of University Reform, the improvement of the Madras University has been the chief object in view. But the suggestions which have been made probably apply with almost equal force to the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay. All three were established under practically identical Acts of Incorporation, and all three commenced their career by establishing a Syndicate, to which was delegated by degrees all but a small portion of the authority vested in the whole body of Fellows. If there is any difference between them, and it may be admitted there is not much, this abdication of power has been most complete in the case of the Madras University. At Calcutta and Bombay, as already mentioned, Boards of Accounts independent of the Syndicate, regulate the finances of the University, but at neither University do the by-laws indicate subordination or responsibility of the Syndicate to the Senate much greater than that which exists at Madras. Nevertheless, the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta gives one very real and tangible proof that it recognizes its responsibility to the body which has vested it with authority, by printing and furnishing the Fellows with copies of the minutes of its meetings, and the University of Allahabad has adopted the same course. Bound up with the Minutes of the Syndicate Meetings are those of the Senate and the Faculties, the whole forming for the year 1893-94 a volume of 467 pages. It is impossible to overestimate the value of a publication of this description to all Fellows of the University, more especially to those who, though

feeling an interest in University affairs, are precluded through residence at a distance from taking an active share in them. It is foolish, some would call it dishonest, to accuse Fellows of apathy and indifference towards the University, when the University is itself largely responsible for this absence of interest by taking no steps to keep them informed upon University affairs. Indeed, all things considered, it is little less than a marvel that there are so many Fellows of the Madras University who display any interest whatever in its proceedings. Let the position occupied by the ordinary Fellow be considered for a single moment. The proceedings of the Syndicate to whom he has delegated the power conferred upon him by his Fellowship, are to him a closed book. They are not published, as at Calcutta and Allahabad, nor has he even the right to inspect them in the Registrar's Office, as at the Punjab University. How the men he has assisted to place in office discharge their duties; whether they attend many meetings or few; what business they transact and what view they individually take upon the important questions they are collectively called upon to decide on all these points he is kept in a state of Cimmerian darkness. To lighten this darkness and to enable every Fellow to know how the University, for the good government of which he is responsible, is administered, and, perhaps, still more, in recognition of the important principle that where authority is delegated there exists responsibility to those who delegated it, the University of Madras is bound to follow the example set by the Universities of Calcutta and Allahabad, and to publish the minutes of the meetings of its Syndicate. The publication of the minutes of the Senate is a matter of almost equal importance. Every Fellow should be possessed of a record of what the Senate has discussed and what it has resolved. If this were the case, there would be less irrelevant discussion, less "ploughing of the sands," and fewer fatuous resolutions passed than there are now.*

It was remarked at the outset that a comparison of the system of government and administration prevailing at the Universities

* Witness the resolution of the Senate, passed a few weeks ago, admitting certain unqualified candidates to one of the Medical examinations, on the ground that the by-laws disqualifying them had not been published in the University Calendar of a particular year, and irrespective of the fact that the Act of Incorporation makes these very by-laws "binding upon all persons, member of the said University, and all candidates for degrees." Proposals of a similar nature have repeatedly been rejected in past years, but not a single Fellow who took part in the discussion appears to have been aware of the fact.

of the Punjab and of Allahabad with that in force at the older institutions would afford a profitable subject for reflection, and that comparison may now conveniently be instituted:

Briefly stated, it may be said that the essential differences between the Acts incorporating these two Universities and the Acts of 1857 establishing Universities in the three Presidency towns are of a two-fold character—they give legislative sanction to the Syndicate and they introduce radical changes in the method of appointing Fellows. But it would be incorrect to imagine, on this account, that the position occupied by the Syndicate in the older Indian Universities has received the impress of the highest official approval; for as a matter of fact in both the Acts, which, though passed at an interval of five years, bear the very closest resemblance to each other, the subordination and responsibility of the Syndicate to the Senate is made clear. The latter body, as at the older Universities, has “entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns, and property of the University,” and it may, if it sees fit, “appoint, or provide for the appointment of a Syndicate” and make rules touching “the appointment, constitution, and duties of the Syndicate” which body, according to the Acts, “may discharge such functions of the Senate as it may be empowered to discharge by the statutes, rules, and regulations for the time being in force under this Act.” It may, perhaps, be argued that these provisions do not prevent the Syndicate acquiring an authority as complete as that which it exercises in the Madras University, and it may readily be admitted that, were the Senate inclined to delegate the whole of its powers to the Syndicate, the wording of the Acts presents no insuperable obstacle to its doing so. But the by-laws which the Punjab University has framed show that it has no intention of this sort. It has appointed a Syndicate consisting of eighteen members, exclusive of the Vice-Chancellor, and drawn up rules which define its duties and powers in so exact a manner that there is small risk of their being overstepped.

The first of these rules enacts that “the duties of the Syndicate shall be generally to carry out the regulations and orders of

the Senate, to consider and report upon matters to be submitted for the orders of the Senate, and to carry on the current business of the University.” Other rules lay down that “it shall be among the special duties of the Syndicate to submit from time to time, for the orders of the Senate, recommendation regarding the following matters, to wit appointment of Examiners, Scholars, &c.,” that “as regards expenditure, the Syndicate shall have power to expend sums of money voted by the Senate on the objects for which they have been voted” and also that “the Syndicate shall have power, subject to the general control of the Senate, to fix the exact time and place of examinations, and appoint all clerks and menial servants of the University; and, subject to the orders of the Senate, to fill up provisionally any vacancies in the University staff which may occur.” To further illustrate the relative importance assigned to the two bodies in the Punjab University it may be mentioned that there are three statutory meetings of the Senate in the course of the year, exclusive of the annual convocation for conferring degrees, whereas in Madras there is only one; that the annual budget of the University must be sanctioned by the Senate, and the Syndicate is required to conform to such financial rules as may be framed by the Senate; that printed copies of proposed Statutes, Rules, and Regulations are sent to all Fellows, and their opinion thereon considered by the Syndicate; that the proceedings of the Senate are published in the *Gazette*; and that the proceedings of the meetings of the Syndicate are open to the inspection of all Fellows. Let these rules be compared with the by-laws of the Madras University, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if the Senate and the Syndicate occupy proper relations towards each other in the University of the Punjab, in our own they stand much in need of re-adjustment.

In Madras the executive Government of the University is vested in the Syndicate, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor and eight of the Fellows. Three of its members constitute a quorum, so that matters of high moment are liable to be decided by more than two Fellows; and every power of value or importance vested in the Senate, with the one exception of refusing to confirm

by-laws submitted for ratification, is exercised by the Syndicate—a Syndicate which, it has been already shown, is far from representative of the whole Senate and all too small for the proper performance of its multifarious duties. In these circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Syndicate should have acquired the impression that it is all-important and the Senate of small account.

The second point of difference between the new and the old Indian Universities is in the method of appointing Fellows. In the older institutions all Fellows are appointed by the highest executive authority of the province, subject to no restrictions as to choice, and the recent innovation permitting graduates of a certain standing to nominate two or three Fellows annually forms no part of their constitution, the privilege it confers being liable to withdrawal at any time. But at the Punjab and Allahabad Universities, while the Acts provide for the appointment of a certain proportion of Fellows by the Local Government—who must be officials, and of others by the Chancellor—who must be possessed of one or other of certain stated qualifications, the Senate of the University exercises the right of electing a certain number of Fellows. The size of this number, or even the proportion it forms of the entire number of Fellows, is not fixed, but is dependent upon the number appointed by the Chancellor and must never exceed it. The value of the provision undoubtedly consists, less in any effect it may have on the composition of the Senate and the character of the Fellows who form it, than in the recognition it gives to the right of the University to appoint a portion of its own governing body, and the hope which may be based upon it that, in course of time, a similar right will be extended to the older Indian Universities. At Bombay the Senate attempted to obtain it a few years ago, but unsuccessfully. The cause of failure may have been due to the University asking for too much. It requested to be allowed to appoint one-half of the Senate, and if it had asked less it might have obtained more. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt made in Madras, early in the last decade, to secure to the graduates of this University by legislative enactment the right of

nominating one Fellow annually. The privilege of nominating double that number has since been bestowed on them as a tentative measure, and it no doubt rests with the graduates themselves, by exercising a wise choice in selecting nominees, to be confirmed in the power. It strikes one, however, as somewhat of an inconsistency that, while the two younger Indian Universities should have rights of this description, they should be denied to the three older institutions, especially after having been extended to their graduates. Surely, if Government were to retain the power to appoint one half of the Senate, and leave the other half to be appointed by the Fellows and graduates in equal proportions, its interests, if it has any opposed to those of the other two electoral bodies, would be sufficiently safe-guarded.

Any change in the system of appointing Fellows would, of course, render amendment of the Acts of Incorporation necessary, and so, also, one would think, were it not for the fact that the Universities of Bombay and Calcutta already exercise it, would another reform which is still more urgently needed—the power to vote by proxy in certain cases. The Acts of 1857, following London University Charter, provide that “all questions which shall come before the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows shall be decided at a meeting of the Senate by the majority of the members present.” A rule of this nature applied to the Madras University practically disenfranchises a large proportion—probably not less than one-half—of its Fellows, and its abrogation for purposes such as the election of a representative in the Legislative Council, the Registrar, and also, perhaps, other officers of the University, is desirable.* The Punjab University Act provides for proxy voting

* This statement largely underestimates the proportion of Fellows practically disenfranchised by the rule compelling those wishing to vote to attend the meeting, as is proved by the circumstance that on both occasions on which the University elected a representative to the Council but slightly more than one-fourth of the Senate was present, and on both occasions the representative elected obtained the votes of only about one-sixth of the total number of Fellows. It is not at all impossible, if the whole Senate had been polled that the result in both cases would have been different. But what is the Madras University about that it does not demand equality of treatment with its sister Universities of Calcutta and Bombay; that it is content to see concessions extended to them which are withheld from itself? The privilege of electing Fellows was given last to the Madras graduates; the privileges of proxy voting, though granted to the other Universities has not yet been given to Madras. Surely the University should be the last body to supply proof of the justice of the epithet which the rest of India bestows on this Presidency.

in all cases in which the Senate may choose to sanction it; and the Senate has availed itself of the power to the fullest extent and permitted it in every question which comes before it.† Under the Allahabad University Act, on the other hand, the practice is restricted to the election of Fellows, and for such purposes, at least, it seems quite unobjectionable. We have said it is an inconsistency that the graduates should have greater powers than the Fellows in the matter of electing members of the Senate, but it is nothing short of an absurdity that they should have the right of electing them by a method of voting which the Fellows themselves are debarred from using.

The suggestions for improving University administration may now be briefly summarized. They include the following:—

1. The incorporation of the graduates into a body having a definite legal status in the University.
2. The institution of a number of Standing Committees of the Senate for specified purposes.
3. The enlargement of the Syndicate and alterations in the manner of electing it.
4. The publication of minutes of the proceedings of Senate, Syndicate, and Faculties.
5. The introduction of proxy-voting at elections.
6. The abolition of the rule requiring members of the Syndicate to reside in Madras, and its corollary, the introduction

† The section of the Act bearing on this point states that "every question which comes before the Senate at a meeting shall be decided by a majority of the votes of the members present and of such members for the time being in India as may have sent proxies in accordance with the Rules for the time being in force under this Act"; while the Rules themselves say that "any member who may be unable to attend any meeting of the Senate, but who desires to have his vote upon any proposition coming before such meeting recorded thereat, shall record in writing before such meeting opposite the proposition upon which he desires to vote.....his vote thereupon, and shall send the same to the Registrar, so as to reach that officer not later than the day previous to that fixed for the meeting. All proxies conforming to the above Rule shall be laid before the meeting of Senate to which they relate."

of a rule making retention of office conditional upon attendance at a certain proportion of meeting.

7. The increase of the number of statutory meetings of the Senate (exclusive of the Convocation for conferring degrees) from one to three or four; the said meetings to be held preferably on Saturdays, in order that the largest possible number of Fellows may be enabled to attend.

These proposals, it will be noticed, all have reference to the government and administration of the University, for the previously stated reason, that these reforms must precede all others. The hands of the Syndicate are already more than full in carrying on the current business of the University, and it has not the time, even had it the inclination, to engage in projects for reform in the various directions in which it is necessary. And for a private member of the Senate, or even a considerable number of such members, to attempt what the Syndicate disapproves of, (and, generally speaking, it disapproves of every proposal which does not emanate from itself,) is to court failure.

Space forbids my entering on the present occasion upon the consideration of the many other reforms of the necessity for which an intimate acquaintance with the University for over twenty years has convinced me, and I shall therefore confine myself to the mere mention of two which are specially pressing. One of these is measures for securing a much greater degree of accuracy and efficiency in valuing examination papers, particularly at the lower examinations, than exists at present. It is no exaggeration to say that, under the present system, or want of it, it is a toss up whether a large percentage of the candidates for matriculation fail or whether they pass. Another is the proper recognition of Science* as a branch

* An interesting illustration of the position occupied by Science in the Madras University curriculum is afforded by Geology and Mineralogy. To the comprehension of this subject Physics and Chemistry are as essential as an alphabet to a language, and the relations of one to the other are about the same. Mineralogy is the chemistry and physics of certain natural compounds, while dynamic geology is problems of a purely chemical and physical nature applied to "extra-laboratory bodies." But the Madras University confers degrees after examination in Geology and Mineralogy upon men who are ignorant of the mere rudiments of chemistry and physics. The science of Physiology—the chemistry and physics of living bodies—is if possible in a worse plight.

of study and its complete separation at a certain stage from linguistic studies. Every attempt to combine such different subjects in any course of moderate length has failed and must always fail, and the chief result of the Madras University's efforts in this direction is the wholesale manufacture of graduates who know little English and less Science.

W. H. WILSON.

NORDAU'S 'DEGENERATION.'

"A MAD WORLD MY MASTERS."

THE uncomfortable belief that the time is out of joint appears to be the settled conviction of almost all serious persons. Whatever be the cause of the malady, whether the prevalence of materialism, as the spiritually-minded assert, or of mysticism, as the naturalist contends, or of capitalism as the socialist unwearingly vociferates, all seem agreed that something is wrong, that somewhere 'there needeth a change'; a change sudden and revolutionary, or gradual and 'evolutionary'; at any rate some sort of change. The social body is sick, and a skillful physician, who shall rightly diagnose the disease and prescribe the remedy, is the present desideratum. So laments the general voice, and in reply we have seen aspirants not a few eager to fill the post which has so long remained vacant;—men with a mission in the matter of social regeneration; some modest and tentative, others assertive, confident, advertising themselves in the public streets, and proclaiming the virtues of their boluses from the house-tops. Various are the nostrums that have been thrust upon our notice, and many the companies organised to push them; and yet society is still sick.

The latest man with a mission is Dr. Max Nordau. Him the 'cursed spite' of modern conditions has in the fulness of time raised up to demonstrate finally that all the other remedies are quack remedies, all the other prophets false prophets, and to propound the scientific truth which he, Nordau, has discovered, and which alone can set bed-ridden humanity on its legs again.

Dr. Nordau's astonishing book *Degeneration* has in its English version created a 'profound sensation,' and has run into half a dozen editions in as many months. There is nothing remarkable in this, and, considering the similar success which has greeted Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*, a work setting out from entirely

different principles and arriving at entirely different conclusions, there is nothing particularly significant. Nordau's book is cut out for popularity. It is clever, ingenious, clearly written, in a style understood of the people; it seeks to demolish, always very vigorously, sometimes very justly, and not seldom very amusingly, many things which the plain man intensely dislikes, or is at least extremely suspicious of; it bears the appearance of being what it persistently claims to be, the offspring of sound healthy common sense, grounded upon the undoubted discoveries of science and pointing the way to an ordered and balanced social morality. The 'Philistine,' moreover, may draw sweet waters of consolation from Dr. Nordau's pages. Sound matter-of-fact, he will there learn, is the cement of society. The reproaches of mystics, idealists, aesthetes and other apostles of sweetness and light, under which he was once wont to feel uncomfortable, will be drowned amid peals of unextinguishable laughter, when the exquisite things he was bidden to appreciate, but which, for the life of him, he *could* not appreciate, turn out on examination to be so many forms of grave mental aberration.

Nevertheless it will be well for the Philistine not to exult prematurely. The proverb that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, is of somewhat dangerous application. It is not wise to assail a savage animal with a rotten twig, or to beat a cur with a stick with a thorn in the handle of it. It was natural, indeed, for religious people, a little while ago, anxious to silence the noisy barking of scientific unbelief, to seize the stick Mr. Benjamin Kidd so obligingly tendered them in his *Social Evolution*. It was natural, but ill advised, for whether Mr. Kidd's theory was damaging to scientific methods or no, it was scarcely seemly in persons theologically minded to ground the reasonableness of their belief upon its inherent irrationality, and by a process of reasoning to prove all reasoning—their own presumably included—be untrustworthy.

And so the plain moral man, distrusting Tolstoi, dubious of Ibsen, uncomfortable about Symbolism, Aestheticism and the like, and profoundly detesting Zola, would do well to pause a little ere he accepts the alliance of Dr. Nordau and adopts his peculiar methods, in a warfare against ephemeral follies or extrava-

gances, doomed already to an early death, or from the beginning wanting in true vitality. To dethrone Priapus and hew down the growth of Lubricity were, no doubt, a desirable consummation, but the best leader in this moral crusade is not the armed man who has sworn to extirpate the whole company of heaven and to sweep away every vestige of the god-like from the earth. Healthiness of mind, normal common sense are high things, but even the plain man in his heart of hearts knows that they are not the highest, and knowing that, will not perhaps regard with unqualified approval doctrines, which, though at first aimed mainly at folly, extravagance, lawlessness, and obscenity, are equally levelled at things far different, (or until the advent of Nordau generally rated as different,)—at all manifestations of imaginative genius in poetry and art, at the profound speculations of the metaphysical philosopher, and at the aspirations of the religiously devout.

Of course Nordau may be right. All these things may be, as he says, or implies, 'subjective errors.' It is, of course, no argument against Nordau to show that his theory is based upon uncompromising materialism, and that it can be accepted only by those who are prepared to sacrifice art and poetry as hindrances to human progress, and to abjure every species of religion as a delusion of the world's childhood. Truth is truth, however disagreeable. But is Nordau's eminently disagreeable truth *the* truth, and has he made out a good case for it?

The evils of the present day, according to Nordau's theory, are so many symptoms of 'degeneration,' that is in plain words, of madness. Degeneracy is a departure from the normal, and manifests itself in various unmistakable symptoms, perfectly familiar to those who have studied the insane. The whole surface of modern cultured society displays (seemingly for the first time in the world's history) an astonishing picture of degeneration. The schools of literature and art, which have made most noise of late, have had for their founders 'higher degenerates,' or 'downright imbeciles. Some have been 'erotomaniacs,' others egomaniacs, but the most numerous are 'mystics.' Generally, however, the various symptoms appear together. Mysticism is a word of wide comprehension, for, so far

as I can follow Nordau, it includes all theologians, all metaphysicians, and all poets and artists who are much influenced by religious or metaphysical conceptions; in fact all persons who believe in the possibility and importance of a knowledge beyond the region of scientific demonstration. All these, together with the egomaniacs and erotomaniacs, are insane: all 'manifest the same mental characteristics, the same somatic features,' as the degenerates who become 'criminals, prostitutes, anarchists, and pronounced lunatics.'

This, it will be admitted is fairly straight speaking, and it may have a certain truth in it. Dryden long ago said that

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied"

and a modern English poet, himself one of Nordau's degenerates, playfully distinguished between the genius and the madman on the ground that the genius was lucky enough to find a few people to believe in him, whereas the madman, poor fellow, had no one but himself. Common sense, too, groping after truth in its own pathetically confused way, has always seen in that extravagance which so often accompanies genius, a sort of mental 'twist', which if developed to an extraordinary degree amounts to monomania. But common sense has always drawn a hard and fast line between such eccentricity and raving madness, or hopeless imbecility. Dr. Nordau's 'dear and honoured master,' Lombroso, was also at one with common sense on this point, and allowed that 'higher degenerates', that is to say, men of genius with a mental twist, might and did perform real services to humanity. But to this charitable opinion Lombroso's disciple will have nothing to say. Degeneracy is always a weakness and a plague. Nothing good can come out of it. And this he tells us distinctly, while elsewhere he seems ready to admit that all artistic activity may be possibly diseased, and while saying all that he can for a possibly sane art, seems to show that, from his own premises, all art, 'although it may not be properly a disease of the human mind, is yet an incipient deviation from perfect health.' In other words the worthy respectable common-place man, who pays his taxes, is innocent of mysticism, and is blameless in his domestic relations is a perfectly sound, healthy-minded human creature, whereas Shakespeare, who also paid his taxes, and

seems to have been a respectable citizen of Stratford-on-Avon, was, in so far as he differed from the common-place man, an incipient imbecile. The healthy common-place man is invited to say whether he thinks it likely; and if his modesty permits his answering in the affirmative, to say whether his unimpeachable sanity is altogether a subject for congratulation. But, if, as is nearly sure, the good average man replies that the supposition is the reverse of likely, he is invited to look into Nordau's work, if he have not already done so, and say whether he can find any theory so outrageously insane as this of Nordau's own, amongst the various doctrines and beliefs propounded by those luckless degenerates whom Nordau, with a tenderness and a delicacy of feeling, which we hope is not exactly normal, bemocks and execrates as 'drivelling idiots,' 'poor devils of imbeciles,' and the other pretty terms with which he freely bespatters his pages.

It is no wish of mine to attempt any defence of Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoi, the French decadents and symbolists, or the realists of Germany. Some of these seem open to criticism, both on æsthetic and moral grounds, and have often received it long before Dr. Nordau arose to give them their quietus. Neither am I prepared to deny that much of Nordau's literary criticism, if at times rather tedious, is frequently just and to the point; but it is so quite independently of the writer's much vaunted 'scientific criticism.' When it is really valuable it is based upon the ordinary literary methods, and leaves the degeneration theory for the moment out of sight. Thus it would have been enough to have shown that the ethical doctrines of Ibsen are often inconsistent, that his social doctrines make for chaos, that the 'master' not seldom seems to talk sheer nonsense, and that he is far too much under the spell of one or two fixed ideas ever to take rank as a great philosophic thinker. The case is not strengthened but weakened by ascribing all these things to Ibsen's inveterate mysticism and 'ego-mania,' by admitting on one page that the Norwegian dramatist possesses some very high intellectual gifts, and on the next speaking of him in terms befitting the inmate of a lunatic asylum. Let it be granted that Ibsen unduly insists on one ethical principle to the exclusion of an

opposing and equally important principle. What is gained by calling this 'egomania'? Clearly enough Ibsen's 'egomania' is nothing more than a somewhat burlesqued and perverted form of a principle which is to be found in all system of ethics, in all religions, the duty of self-perfection, a duty known to all classes of persons under various names, and even to the practical man under the title of self-respect. To make this duty harmonise with the apparently conflicting duty of self-sacrifice (altruism) is the business of the Ethical Philosopher. The Ethical Philosopher is not materially assisted by Nordau's 'egomania' theory, which by seemingly ignoring the individual conscience, sins as grievously on the other side, and, if want of mental balance be degeneracy, is every whit as insane.

It is clear that, although Dr. Nordau thinks the contrary, his book has obtained a wide hearing, because the public does not realise to what length his principles logically tend; because the degenerates whom he assails are the reverse of popular, and have at best only a limited following. Had he boldly attacked the schools and thinkers whom mankind has generally agreed to respect, had he called Kant a drivelling idiot, Newman a poor devil of an imbecile, or Tennyson a higher degenerate, he would undoubtedly have been put out of court without a hearing. And yet all of these were mystics, and, therefore 'enemies to society of the direst kind.' Mysticism is obviously Nordau's *bête noir*; it is a thing he cannot away with. Naturally enough; for mysticism is the direct antagonist of that attitude of mind which Mr. Balfour has called 'naturalism' and which, according to Dr. Nordau's theory, is the only healthy attitude of mind, the only faith whereby humanity can possibly be saved. Mysticism, on the contrary, consists in believing that behind the world of phenomena there is a great spiritual reality, of which the world of sense is but a type. "For the mystic," says Nordau, "all things have deep backgrounds; far reaching shadows are thrown by them over adjacent tracts; they send out wide spreading roots into remote substrata. Every image that rises up in his mind points with mysterious silence, though with significant look and finger to other images distinct or shadowy, and induces him to set up relations between ideas where other people recognise no connection."

This is of course simply transcendentalism, the mental attitude of all great poets, of all great anti-materialist philosophers, from Plato downwards, the faith of all great theologians. To Nordau it is mere insanity, and arises from an ingrained mental idleness, an incapacity for associating impressions and an indolent distaste for scientific methods and scientific investigation. Why then does not Nordau arraign the really dangerous culprits, who have perverted so many? Why does he wax so indignant against the poor symbolists, decadents and other feeble folk, who have led astray so very few? If mysticism be really the parent of all this detestable brood, why not seize the monster by the throat, instead of waging war upon mere parasites? But Nordau is careful to make no direct onslaught upon religion, and he mentions the great names of Kant and Hegel with respect. For Goethe, a mystic of the first water, and the master of the greatest of English mystics, Thomas Carlyle, he simulates a sort of enthusiasm. Shakespeare he speaks of with becoming reverence, and among recent writers who are, deservedly, 'popular' he singles out Tennyson, as a specially 'sound' poet, to whose healthy influence he attributes it that English poetry has not become thoroughly demoralised by the mediæval mysticism of the Pre-raphaelites.

Now this is sheer trifling with principles, and, unless we are charitably to suppose that Nordau is a very superficial critic and a very confused thinker, very dishonest trifling. To endeavour to beguile the unwary into supposing that Tennyson is a 'sound' poet, that is, not a mystic, is simply outrageous. Tennyson was indeed a most flagrant mystic. Take as one instance the poem, entitled *The Higher Pantheism*,—no accidental slip into imbecility on the part of the late Laureate, but in every way characteristic of his prevalent thought and feeling.

"The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the vision of Him who reigns?
Is not the vision He? tho' He be not that which He seems.
Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?"

Says Nordau, "Things are not what they seem" is the characteristic expression frequently heard from the mystic.

"Speak to Him, thou, for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet—
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet."

Could any mysticism be more flagrant, more 'mysteriously occult'?

Curiously enough the very poem which Nordau quotes as an instance of Tennyson's mental healthiness exhibits almost all those damning features which, in the case of the Pre-raphaelites, proclaim their hopeless degeneracy; the old-world dress of mediæval chivalry, the use of mysterious and very unfamiliar symbolism which to the ordinary reader means nothing,—as in the whole description of Camelot, a city built

'To music therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever'—

the sword, the cross, the censer and the sacred fish; the straining after a harmony between sound and sense, the 'echolalia' (or love of the repetition of similar sounds,—a common symptom in the insane) as exemplified in some of the lyrics; and lastly the utterly extravagant insanity of the vow imposed by Arthur upon his knights.

'To reverence.....their conscience as their king'—(Flat 'egomania' this)

"To ride abroad redressing human wrongs—(a sort of hysterical altruism found not seldom in Nordau's 'Degenerates')

"To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her by years of noble deeds,
.....For indeed I knew
Of no more subtle master under heaven
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thoughts and amiable words
And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man."

All this, if Nordau is to be trusted, is dangerous erotomania. "In the mental life of a sane man," he says, "woman is far from filling the part she plays in that of the degenerate. The physiological relation of man to woman is that of desire for the time being towards her, and of indifference when the state of desire is not present. If he desires the woman, he loves her; if his erotic excitement is appeased, he becomes cool and more distant in his attitude. The man from his purely subjective...necessities and inclinations would never have invented marriage. This is not a sexual but a social arrangement." Such is

Nordau's normal man, by whose standard the sanity of all men is to be estimated. If he had been discoursing of normal cattle, the description would have been equally appropriate. But this is not Tennyson's ideal; it is an ideal which he would have spurned with indignation and loathing; and if Tennyson's ideal be erotomania, and Nordau's sanity, then, there are some of us who will be constrained to reverse Lear's pathetic supplication, and to cry,

"Oh! let me too be mad, sweet heavens,
Most mad."

The *Idylls of the King* is pure mysticism from beginning to end. It is a metaphysical allegory bedizened in the outworn robes of an obsolete Catholic symbolism. Its aim, on the poet's own confession, is to show the war of soul (a purely metaphysical conception) with sense, (the only reality of the sane materialist.) But it is needless to go further. It would be easy, following Nordau's methods, (and Nordau endeavours to anticipate the obvious objection) that all poetry is essentially degenerate. Wordsworth, who possessed, as a great critic too fondly imagined, a certain 'healing power,' will at once occur to us as a dangerously diseased patient. Wordsworth was an incorrigible mystic, so incorrigible that he denounced all sane persons as 'Peter Bells,' to whom a primrose on the river's brim is a yellow primrose, it is nothing more. Coleridge, in the *Ancient Mariner* and in *Christabel*, raved as raved the Pre-raphaelites. Keats was an erotomaniac. Byron an egomaniac. Shelley exhibited alarming symptoms of almost every form of insanity. Shakespeare is not blameless; Spenser was a mystic, and, like the degenerate William Morris, affected an archaic diction and revered Chaucer. There are passages in *Paradise Lost* which might show Milton to have been an erotomaniac, (that he was a mystic, goes without saying); and of all erotomaniacs, perhaps the mystic Dante (a mystic through ignorance, Nordau charitably assures us) manifests the most hopeless symptoms. Dante's relation to Beatrice was the perfection of imbecility; '*spiro, di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna*. It is my hope that I shall yet write concerning her what hath not before been written of any woman,'—the consecration of a life's work to a dead woman—a strange sort of 'social arrangement.'

To such ridiculous conclusions Dr. Nordau's scientific method inevitably leads when applied to literary criticism. Once more the average man is invited to say whether the truth of such conclusions seems likely, or whether it is not more likely that the scientific criticism of literature is pure delirium. Poetry, as a great teacher long ago asserted, is for ever beyond the province of the scientific understanding, and the man whose whole life has been given up to scientific investigation, is perhaps the very last person capable of pronouncing upon the merits and demerits of great verse. The great critic has always had in his own nature something of the poet, has been peculiarly sensitive to especial emotions, which the contemplation of any great art-work tends to awaken, and which purely scientific studies, if Darwin be any authority, as surely tend to deaden. Nordau is plainly out of touch with poetry altogether, otherwise he could not contemplate its total disappearance from the earth at no very distant date. All supreme artists have been in some sense sense-seers, intuitionists, mystics, and to Nordau all intuition, all mysticism, and all prophecy, save the oracular utterances of materialists, are mere moonshine, 'subjective error.'

There is one chapter in Dr. Nordau's book in which not only is the inadequacy of the scientific method strikingly exemplified, but Dr. Nordau's own pretension to rank as a critic, I will not say of extraordinary insight, but of common ability is abundantly disproved. This chapter, too, is of especial interest to English readers, for it deals exclusively with English painters and poets. It professes to give a true account of the movement, loosely styled the Præ-raphaelite, and to subject the work in poetry and painting of this so-called school to a searching criticism. This chapter I propose to examine in some little detail.

To begin with, Dr. Nordau's historical sketch of Præ-raphaelitism is in places grossly inaccurate. To speak of Ruskin as a divinity student is of course pardonable in a foreign writer, unless the real intention be to discredit Ruskin from the first through the inherent mysticism of his supposed early pursuits. To say that the two painters, Madox Brown and Edward Burne-Jones, joined the Præ-raphaelites is again highly misleading. Madox

Brown was at one time in a sense Rossetti's master in painting, Burne-Jones was at a later time in much the same sense his pupil. Neither were Præ-raphaelites. But these are trifles. Far more serious is the extraordinary statement—for out of it Nordau proceeds to make capital—that Rossetti 'soon exchanged the brush for the pen,' discovering that he had 'mistaken his vocation.' As every body knows Rossetti was painter and poet simultaneously. "As it happens," writes his brother, Mr. W. M. Rossetti, "the year 1843, which is the first that we found bearing some record of the work of Dante Rossetti in design, is also the first to which we can advert as respects his writings." In 1847, Rossetti wrote: *The Blessed Damsel*, his first considerable poem; in 1848 he painted *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, his first picture in oils. A glance at the tables drawn up by Mr. W. M. Rossetti of his brother's paintings and writings, will show that from about these dates to his death, in 1882, Rossetti continuously worked at either branch of Art, though indeed, for a short period, he abandoned, not Painting, but Poetry. Had Nordau been really as familiar with the poetry of Rossetti as he professes to be, he could not have fallen into this blunder, for many of Rossetti's shorter pieces are written for his own pictures, and many passages in other poems are inexplicable unless we understand the poet to be also a painter. It is evident that Dr. Nordau has no personal acquaintance with the painted work of Rossetti or his friends, and very little indeed with their poetry. Hence he repeats, as if he were delivering himself of critical utterances as new as they are profound, all sorts of ancient absurdities, such as these:—The paintings of the Præ-raphaelites are always defective in form; they deliberately aimed at defectiveness in form; they show wilfully bad drawing; their pictures are mere thought-reading, childish babbling in imitation of the language of Giotto. To a reader who has ever seen, even in reproduction, the greatest works of Burne-Jones or Holman Hunt, not to mention that great painting of Rossetti's, *Dante's Dream*, which an eminent Scotch artist, neither Præ-raphaelite nor even personal friend of Rossetti, declared to be amongst the half-dozen great pictures of the world, such language as Nordau considers critical must appear either incomprehensibly foolish or wantonly mendacious. That Rossetti and his friends were at first deficient in technique is undeniable; it is

the way of struggling inexperience. That they were inclined to extravagance may also be admitted; it is the way of impetuous youth. Rossetti, we are told, was wont in later life to laugh at the absurd mediævalism of some of his earlier works. But to maintain that certain notes of inexperience and extravagance manifested in the work of a few enthusiastic young men, protesting with the vehemence of youth and genius against commonplace sentiment and insincere conventionality, are in any way proofs of mental degeneracy and inherent intellectual feebleness, is to cling to a more fad in the teeth of ordinary honest common sense.

The Pre-raphaelites have revolutionized English art, not because the movement was 'the renaissance of a mythical mediævalism,' though that were no sure evidence of insanity. Art has always looked back to the past in search of a beauty which the present seems to have lost, and the past it restores is always a mythical past, a blending of past and present, together with something that is the artist's own. The mediævalism of the Pre-raphaelites has more in it of the middle ages than the earlier Italian renaissance had in it of Greece and Rome. The Pre-raphaelites were Romanticists as Walter Scott, than whom no healthier-minded man ever lived, had been before them. They had mannerisms, inequalities, prejudices, but they revolutionized English art because from the first they were high souled enthusiasts, because in the spirit of artists they worked with no unworthy aim, because with a passionate devotion they followed beauty, spurning the insipid, meaningless prettiness which with the vulgar passes for beauty, because they taught that beauty of form and colour must in true art shadow forth a higher beauty of the mind and of the spirit; because, after the storms of angry contempt were overblown, thoughtful and impartial people could not but acknowledge that these were neither madmen nor charlatans, but undoubted men of genius, and that in spite of fault and weakness, the spirit in which they worked was the same spirit of sincerity and of truth as has alone given life to all great art that has ever been.

But let the Pre-raphaelites speak for themselves, not in prose, but in verse. In Rossetti's *House of Life* there is a group of three

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sonnets, entitled *Old and New Art*, written apparently in the earlier days of Pre-raphaelitism. The first of these, though well-known, I venture to quote in full.

ST. LUKE THE PAINTER.

Give honour unto Luke Evangelist;
For he it was (the aged Legends say)
Who first taught Art to fold her hands and pray,
Scarcely at once she dared to rend the mist
Of devious symbols: but soon having wist
How sky-breadth and field-silence and this day
Are symbols also in some deeper way,
She looked through these to God and was God's priest,
And if, past noon, her toil began to irk,
And she sought talismans, and turned in vain
To soulless self-reflections of man's skill;
Yet now in this the twilight, she might still
Kneel in the latter grass to pray again,
Ere the night cometh and she may not work.

In the second sonnet the Artist, who has learned this lesson and is uplifted with this aspiration, is warned not on that account to exalt himself above those other artists more spiritually blind than he, nor to console himself with the thought 'I am not as these are,' but rather

Unto the lights of the great Past, new-lit
Fair for the future's track, look thou instead,—
Say thou instead, "I am not as these are."

And after the lesson of humility, there follows in the third sonnet the message of hope. Through the gospel parable of the husbandman, who contracted with his labourers for a penny, the artist is bidden not to despair because the work seems to have been done once and for all by the great ones who bore the burden and heat of the day long ago:—

Because of this
Stand not ye idle in the market place.
Which of ye knowth he is not that last
Who may be first by faith and will? yea, his
The hand which after the appointed days
And hours shall give a Future to the Past.

Such then is the Pre-raphaelite confession of faith, and the reader is asked to consider whether in these lines, instinct with sober thought, with profound reverence and humility, with ardent but not self-confident hope, he can find any traces of imbecility.

Degenerate indeed they are, if it be degenerate to regard the artist's work as in itself a kind of religion, rather than as a harmless means of arousing pleasurable sensations in others, or as a road to personal affluence or reputation. The lines are in a sense mystical, and teach, as Carlyle taught, that "all true work is worship." This is imbecility, if all religion be indeed a "subjective error." But perhaps the real madness lies the other way, and the materialistic critic's dream, that humanity which in varying forms has cherished the religious life from the dim beginning until now, can at this latter day break from the old path and journey on successfully along on as yet unbeaten track, is as delirious a conception as that fancy of the poor French decadent, so justly ridiculed by Nordau, who thought that mankind, in this enlightened age, needed neither external law nor organized institution; "seeing that men would be perfectly good without them."

Having to his own satisfaction demolished Pre-raphaeite painting, Dr. Nordau turns his attention to the poets, Rossetti, Swinburne, and William Morris. Rossetti's verse, we are bidden to believe, proves him an "imbecile," while Swinburne is a 'higher degenerate.' Morris is more healthy than the other two, but prone to lacking in individuality, and affecting mediævalism. He imitates Chaucer and artlessly copies whole stanzas from Dante. The allegation is quite in Nordau's 'echolalia' style. That is, it is absolutely false. As an instance of this copying whole stanzas we are asked to compare the lines of Morris's *Guinevere* with the Francesca episode in the *Inferno*. True, both passages are in *terza rima*; but beyond the fact that Morris's *Guinevere* speaks of a kiss which Lancelot gave her, and that Dante's Francesca tells how Paolo first kissed her, when they were reading together of Lancelot and Guinevere, there is simply nothing, not even a phrase or a figure, in Morris, which recalls Dante. After this it is not surprising to find Nordau quoting from *The Earthly Paradise*, as an instance of 'echolalia,' a stanza which is not to be found in that poem, but in one of Morris's most juvenile pieces. On the whole Nordau deals tenderly with Morris and Swinburne. The vials of his wrath are reserved for Rossetti, presumably because Rossetti had in him far more mysticism, far more of that religious spirit which is most opposed to naturalism, than either of the two poets whom he undoubtedly influenced. Swinburne, he assures us, is not so emotional as Rossetti; he stands on a higher intellectual plain; he has

thoughts at times, even connected thoughts. The student of modern English poetry will open his eyes at this astounding verdict. If there is in Swinburne one failing more marked than another it is his violent emotionalism, his lack of mental balance, his ungovernable prejudice, unrestrained by sober judgment. He praises without measure, he vituperates without measure, and no one knows whether the thing he belauds to-day he will not execrate to-morrow. He is a poet of great gifts, but sweet reasonableness is not his strong point.

To none of these charges is Rossetti liable. He is, of course, deeply emotional, but his emotions, though intense, are at all times solemn and restrained. Rossetti takes rank, or has hitherto taken rank, amongst the foremost of English sonnet-writers. 'To excel in the sonnet form requires exactly those mental qualities, which, according to Nordau, the degenerate conspicuously lacks, concentration and logical sequence of thought. Lyrical poetry may legitimately be so intangible as to evade analysis. But the sonnet is bound by a stricter law. Nordau, as we have seen, has not really read Rossetti. Otherwise to speak of *The House of Life*, *The Burden of Nineveh*, *Jenny*, *Soothsay*, *Dante at Verona*, and many other poems, as deficient in clear and connected thought, would in a critic argue either crass stupidity or unparalleled recklessness of statement. But ignorance will not protect Nordau from a charge equally grave. He has presumed, not only to criticize but to denounce a poet of whose life he knows little, and whose work he has not studied, and that in terms the most repulsive; painful enough to those who merely reverence Rossetti as an honour to English literature, how much more so to those still living, who knew him and loved him in the flesh.

One specimen of Rossetti the reader has before him in the sonnet already quoted. In these fourteen lines, besides the pure and peaceful emotion, the exquisitely suggestive imagery, there is contained in outline a summarised history of Christian art, slightly sketched indeed, but the salient points firmly seized and concisely presented. It may not be the true history; it is the history

of Art according to Rossetti and Ruskin; but it is at any rate perfectly sane and perfectly coherent. Whether this be a really intellectual triumph or rather vague emotionalism, not based upon the scientific knowledge of his time, but upon a mist of undeveloped germs of ideas in constant mutual strife, the candid reader may judge for himself.

One other piece I shall quote; a little poem of eight lines; because it witnesses not only to Rossetti's intellectual but also to his ethical healthiness. Nordau informs us that in Rossetti's poems we *everywhere* find a mixture of transcendentalism and *sensuality*, thereby leaving the impression that Rossetti is an essentially immoral poet. The verses are entitled *Aspects Medusa*,—and were composed for one of the poet's own pictures.

Andromeda, by Perseus saved and wed,
Hankered each day to see the Gorgon's head:
Till o'er a fount he baid it, bade her lean,
And mirrored in the wave was safely seen
That death she lived by.
Let not thine eyes know
Any forbidden thing itself, although
It once should save as well as kill: but be
Its shadow upon life for thee.

Could any moral lesson be more profoundly wholesome, or could any illustration be more striking than is this new interpretation of the old Greek myth?

How then does Nordau make out a case against Rossetti? Briefly thus:—He attempts a sort of analysis of a single poem, and he quotes scraps from one or two others. The poem he instances, as characteristic of Rossetti's work in general, is *The Blessed Damozel*, a poem which, as English readers know, (though Nordau does not) was written in the poet's nineteenth year. Consequently even if all the faults our critic finds in it were actually there, vagueness and indefiniteness of description, confusion of ideas and the like, these might readily be excused on account of the signs of promise which the verses abundantly display. To estimate a man's work by his first boyish experiment is neither critical nor even sane; otherwise we shall have 'scientific' criticism gravely appraising Shelley by *Margaret Nicholson*, Tennyson by *Airy Fairy Lilian*, and Shakespeare by *Love's Labour Lost*.

As a matter of fact, *The Blessed Damozel* needs little apology. It can stand on its own merits. It is essentially a youthful poem, but perhaps none the worse for that. Art cannot afford to lose the special flavour of youth. There is a charm in Dante's *Vita Nuova* which the *Divina Commedia* lacks, a freshness in a *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, which one seeks in vain in *The Tempest* or *King Lear*.

To Nordau, *The Blessed Damozel* has no charm. It is in the first place 'a parasitic batteniſg on the body of Dante.' The description of Heaven is a reflection of Dante's *Paradiso*. To which the only appropriate reply is, Nonsense! Rossetti no more 'battered upon' Dante than did Milton upon Virgil—not nearly so much. Besides the Damozel's Heaven has not the faintest resemblance to Dante's *Paradiso*.

"The blessed Damozel leaned out
From the gold bar of Heaven:
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
Of waters stilled at even;
She had three lilies in her hand,
And the stars in her hair were seven."

First, Nordau objects to the word 'damozel' because it calls up a number of mystical mediæval associations incompatible with the idea of a nineteenth century lover, lamenting a lost nineteenth century mistress. Rossetti should have said 'girl'; because 'by the word 'girl' we should think of 'a girl and nothing else.'

The remark is delightfully futile. Rossetti's poem is intended to be neither personal nor modern. Rossetti is not above using the word 'girl,' (which, it appears, is a good healthy word, innocent of transcendental significance) when it suits his purpose:—

"Ah! you can love, true girl,
And is your love for me?"

He uses modern terms where the environment is modern. In the perhaps too modern poem, *Jenny*, there is not a touch of mediævalism. But the environment of *The Blessed Damozel* is mediæval, as the picture which Rossetti in after years painted to illustrate his poem sufficiently proves. The word 'Damozel' is chosen advisedly, and, on Nordau's own showing, justifies the selection. 'The blessed girl' or 'the blessed young person' would not have been so appropriate.

In the second and third lines Nordan finds no fault. It would be hard for him to do so; but he falls foul of the *three* flies and the *seven* stars. These are merely 'mystical numbers which call up no emotions at all in an intellectually healthy reader.' The numbers three and seven, have a meaning perfectly familiar to all who are in the least acquainted with the symbolism of Catholic ritual, and, in a poem, essentially Catholic and mediæval in feeling such symbolism is singularly suggestive and appropriate. At any rate, Rossetti's symbolism is far easier to comprehend than that of Nordan's 'sound' poet of the *Idylls of the King*.

The blessed Damozel has been dead ten years. To her lover it seemed that she had been gone 'ten years of years.' "This computation," says Nordan, "is thoroughly mystical: it means absolutely nothing." If it mean anything, we must understand that Rossetti dimly imagined a higher order of year, to which a year stands as one day does to the common year; thus 'ten years of years' would equal 3650 years. It may be so; and even thus Rossetti is not necessarily an imbecile. The figure called Hyperbole is common in poetry, and the thought and language of deep emotion does not generally express itself with the scientific exactness of a proposition in Euclid. But did Rossetti mean this at all? Surely 'a year of years,' like 'a day of days,' is a perfectly intelligible expression. Rossetti's lover simply means that those ten years, from the sad memories and fruitless longings with which they were burdened, were to him far unlike all other years he had ever known.

Leaving the rest of Nordan's analysis for what it is worth—which is but little, I pass to his masterpiece of healthy scientific criticism. "The Damozel yearns for her lover: she knows that he will come, for she in Heaven and he on Earth have prayed.

"When round his head the aureole clings,
And he is clothed in white.
I'll take his hand and go with him,
To the deep wells of light;
As into a stream we will step down,
And bathe there in God's sight."

"It is to be observed," comments Nordan, "how in the midst of the turgid stream of these transcendental senseless modes of speech, the idea of bathing together takes definite shape. Mystical reverie never fails to be accompanied by sensuality."

Could any 'mode of speech' be more senseless than this which applies the epithet 'turgid' to these clear and limpid verses? As for the last remark, all that is possible by way of comment is blank astonishment. A critic who can call up any sensual conception from the picture of two redeemed souls, though man and maid, clothed in the white robes of purity, passing hand in hand to the fount of heavenly light, there to be bathed in the radiance of divine knowledge and inspiration—such a critic ranks himself with these veritable imbeciles, referred to by Nordan, whose grossest passions are aroused by the sight of objects which in the sane awaken no animal sensations at all. So filthy an observation puts Dr. Nordan beyond the pale of critical rejoinder. He has befogged and contaminated transparent waters of a boy poet's dream with the satyr-hoofs of a prurient imagination.

It would be wearisome to collect all the foolish things contained in this one chapter on Pre-raphaëlitism. Here, however, are a few:—Because Rossetti employs a 'burden' or 'refrain' in one or two of his lyrics—(Nordan speaks as if he constantly used refrains)—he concludes that Rossetti was an idiot. "Among idiots," he quotes, "constant repetition grows into a veritable tic." By the same process, Shakespeare may be proved an idiot, for he too uses refrains pretty frequently, not to speak of his incessant playing upon words and similar sounds, another symptom of insanity.

Again, of the moon in the poem, *My Sister's Sleep*:—

"The hollow halo it was in
Was like an icy crystal cup."

This is 'stark nonsense,' says Nordan. Rossetti writes 'hollow' because it resembles 'halo' in sound. This is 'Echolalia,' ergo Rossetti was an imbecile. Such criticism is 'stark nonsense.' The phenomenon described is common enough, and the simile, which is not common, only shows that Rossetti wrote, to use Matthew Arnold's phrase, 'with his eye on the object.'

Lastly—"Milton's description of hell and its inhabitants is as detailed and conscientious as that of a land-surveyor or a natural philosopher"—Here is Milton's description:—

{ A dungeon horrible, on all sides around,
As one great furnace flamed; yet from these flames
No light; but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all, but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.

I have no acquaintance with the literary style of land-surveyors, but I should be somewhat astonished if it proved anything like this. Detailed description of hell is the very last thing that can be predicated of the Miltonic treatment, entirely true as it is of the Dantesque. Other touches of infernal landscape, in *Paradise Lost*, such as, 'There stood a hill far off, whose grisly top' etc., are largely echoes of Virgil, and might serve as proofs to Dr. Nordau, if he should care to analyse Milton and apply to him also that exquisite standard of criticism which he has borrowed from the madhouse, that the English epic poet battered on the body of the Mantuan.

The reader has by this time probably had enough and more than enough of Dr. Nordau's literary criticism. We return at the close to the principles and underlying doctrines upon which his criticism is based.

It might be demanded of a writer who is so severe upon others for confusion of thought and inconsistency of statement, to whom a vague presentation of mental perceptions is a damning proof of intellectual derangement, that he at least should sin in none of these things. So much certainly is to be expected of Nordau; his statements, we fancy, will never be inconsistent, his doctrines will not be doubtful, he will trace effects to sufficient causes, and his teaching will form a logical and coherent whole. What then have we actually learned from Nordau's work after all these 'degenerates' have been demolished, and all this storm of contemptuous abuse overblown. We know that Rossetti was a degenerate, and Ibsen and Richard Wagner, and many other persons; but how shall we detect degeneracy in general? What is a degenerate? One who intellectually is in an abnormal

state of health, appears to be all the answer we are likely to get. When we ask Nordau to define the normal state of health, we are told that 'the difference between health and disease is not one of kind but of degree,' (then follow the usual illustrations from the inward parts of the body)... 'that it is impossible to define the limits sharply.' A man may be healthy and yet not healthy. After much talk of sound poets, and healthy artists, we get an admission, half reluctant indeed, that all artists and poets are probably incipient imbeciles; but then the imbecility may be so slight as really not to matter. Nevertheless art and poetry will probably have to go: the world will get too healthy for them; or they will be handed over to women and children, and the epic of the future will be a nursery rhyme. All this is painful, no doubt, but necessary. Faith has had to go! This also was distressing to some weak persons. But science proved Faith a 'subjective error,' and so there was no more to be said. Painful, no doubt, Nordau compassionately admits, for this poor Faith had once rendered important ethical service to humanity.

Here is a strange admission. Faith a 'subjective error,' yet capable of serving humanity, when we have been assured that mental weakness, 'degeneracy,' however 'high,' is invariably a source of danger, and has no good in it. How then can Faith have helped mankind? How then can any art or poetry have ever been aught but a stumbling-block? Nay further, how, in the name of consistency, if, as you tell us, and perhaps rightly tell us, Art and Science appeal to two opposite sides of man's nature, the one to his emotions, the other to his intellect, how in the world is Science to take the place of Art and to satisfy those needs to which art once responded? Or will the needs cease, and mankind be evolved out of its emotions altogether? And again why does Nordau talk so glibly on one page of 'the Art of the Future,' that it is to be this and not that, one thing and not another, when he has just said that there will be no Art of the Future at all?

And yet why speak of the future when the condition of the present is so critical? Degenerate flourish, and are hailed as prophets of a new era; degenerate schools gain wide and wider acceptance; no class is safe from contamination; the very old maids, once the sturdiest champions of all that was of good repute, have now laid down their arms, and the spinsters of Eng-

land, we learn with horror, have taken the *Kreutzer Sonata* as their new Bible and whole duty of woman. We begin to despair of humanity. But just at this point Nordan falls back upon evolution. The degenerate are the weaker ones; they cannot survive; evolutionary forces will inevitably wipe them out. 'The degenerate schools have no future'; some are already dead; all are in a moribund condition. We pluck up courage again and chant out with Pippa, "All's a right with the world"; although, indeed, the theology on which her optimism was based was a 'subjective error' on the part of poor Pippa? The degenerates are no real danger; we need not be concerned about them. There is nothing for the healthy to do but put their hands in their pockets and 'watch what the end will be.'

However, it seems that we have been a little premature. In the course of a few pages a change comes over the spirit of Dr. Nordan's dream. The evolutionary forces, it would seem, are not a whit stronger than the old Puritan God. 'We must help them to mend'* matters. "Only by each individual doing his duty will it be possible to dam up the invading malady.....mystics.....are enemies to society of the direst kind. Society must unconditionally defend itself against them." We must organise 'Associations of men for the suppression of immorality.' "We must drive the mystics out (whither the poor imbeciles are to go is not stated). If they dare to return we must pitilessly beat them to death with clubs." "But" (a paragraph lower down) "the Police cannot aid us." We may trust not. For the Police to aid and abet associations for the suppression of immorality in the act of pitilessly beating wretched irresponsible madmen to death with clubs, would hardly be constitutional.

What, then, is the end to be? Evolutionary forces grinding slowly but grinding exceedingly small, or frenzied moral associations brandishing murderous bludgeons? There seems to be a

1. "The *Kreutzer Sonata* has become the book of devotion of all the spinsters of England." Degeneration p. 170.

2. "God's in His heaven,
All's right with the world."

Robert Browning,
Pippa Passes.

*Then said his Lordship 'Well, God mend, all!' "Nay, by my God, Donald, we must help him to mend it!" Said the other *Rushworth*.

slight tinge of 'mysticism' here, certain 'undeveloped germs of ideas in constant mutual strife,' the determinism of the naturalist and the free-will of the metaphysician. Our hamper of the degenerates is himself tainted. One may note another symptom in him. It is commonly observed that lunatics violently assert their own sanity and as violently maintain that all sane persons with whom they come in contact are dangerous madmen. Lombroso, no doubt, has noticed this.

The conclusions we arrive at are not so very satisfactory. The prospect of healthy atheists driving out degenerate mystics with bludgeons, and ushering in the new Era of Scientific Reason in that singular fashion, is one which we can hardly look forward to with equanimity or confidence. But is the civilized world so very mad after all? That most of us are fools and some of us knaves, is a proposition which, with some slight modification, we might perhaps acquiesce in. But these symptoms of this alarming twilight of the Gods, this 'Dusk of the Nations,' surely we have met them before; surely some of them we have always with us, and will have, at least until the millennium? One of Nordau's grave symptoms he finds in the extravagant and fantastic garments in which European ladies of to-day beddeck themselves and their children. He has evidently never studied the history of costumes, or he would have learnt that some ages, generally supposed not only healthy but even great, were in this respect far more fantastic than we are. The Elizabethan era, for instance, what a case of degeneracy could not be made out against it! The preposterous costumes of men and women alike, the sham tournaments, the masques, and other childishnesses, the absurd fopperies and frivolities,—nay the egomania, diabolism, erotomania and mysticism of the Elizabethan dramatists, far more popular, it would seem, than the poor degenerates of to-day; all this betokened a terrible twilight for England; and yet Elizabethan men did some remarkable and not quite insane things in the world. If we are degenerate, so also were our fathers and the great men that were before us.

And the causes of this widespread degeneracy of ours? How came and all these mad schools of imbeciles to be? The symbolist accuses science. Science, he laments, has taken away the old

traditional belief and has given the world nothing to compensate the loss. We cannot live without some sort of religion, some sort of ideal, he says, "and we have gone out, we degenerate, on these several and diverging roads in quest of one: some of us shrink back into the past, others endeavour to plunge into the future. Hence these tears. Science has taken away from us a precious thing and we seek it sorrowing." Nordau rounds savagely on the unhappy symbolists, "What, ye ungrateful, will ye revile science? Has not science filled your lives with abundant comforts, presented you with Chamberland filters to save you from typhus; made it possible for you, by carelessly turning a button, to fill your rooms with electric light; given you telephones whereby you can converse with some beloved one in a far distant country? When did theology the like for you?" As for the true causes of degeneracy are they not written in the chapter, *Etiology*? Are they not these,—excessive consumption of tobacco and alcoholic liquors, physical weakness, incidental to residence in large manufacturing cities, and fatigue caused by running up and down in railway trains? All is derangement of the stomach, one perceives.

If this be so, it would appear that science after all is in part responsible. Theology and metaphysics have small connection with tobacco and gin, and as for big towns and railroads, these are the direct products of those triumphs of scientific invention over which materialism has been singing jubilant Paens this long while now. Strange too that it is the cultured classes that are most deranged; strange that the Philistine and the artizan should still be healthy minded enough to prefer a crude chromo-lithograph to a Præ-raphæelite picture. For amongst the cultured classes hard-drinking has long gone out of fashion, and it is they that suffer least from pestilential surroundings, that travel about most leisurely and in the greatest comfort. Yet they are the maddest. Once again we come across 'germs of undeveloped ideas in mutual strife.'

Mankind, we may conclude, is hardly likely to set up statues to Dr. Nordau as a Saviour of Society, or to value his great discovery at its author's own estimate. Seldom perhaps has a more confident, more assertive book than this of Nordau's been written, seldom has one been more confused and less conclusive. Assuredly the faith of the materialist passes the faith of the theologian, his hopes are wilder and vaguer than the wildest visions of the

mystic, But of his charity it may not be written that it suffereth long and is kind, neither that it is not puffed up. The hopes and aspirations of the devout, the ideal of the artist and the poet he covers with angry derision or smiles at with condescending pity. They are the weak emotionalism of women and children; these are sick dreams, and the world when it awakens will know them for such. And has the healthy minded materialist no dreams? He too has his ideal, his dream of what the world will be; and it seems to be something of this kind. A society without faith, and without the desire or knowledge of beauty; an external world of field and sky, which has no message to man's heart, but at best a scientific lecture for his intellect; a world of hard reality which the mind has learned is no reality, but a mere relation of sense-impressions; a world without cause, and with no sure goal; men and women like the beasts save for understanding, without deep feelings, and without love, as the old poets dreamed of love; in place of love, heats of animal passion after intervals of healthy indifference, or at best prudential friendship; usefulness the end of life, and none knowing what usefulness may signify; and all mankind grinding at the tread-mill of evolution, free and not free, or free only to drop off from fatigue and be crushed out for ever; grinding laboriously at the mill which neither man built nor any God, shackled slaves without a master, and naming that painful motion progress. Such is the hideous nightmare of materialism; and if some, in their efforts to awake from it, have, in these days, gone well nigh delirious, was it so much to be wondered at?

MARK HUNTER.

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Vol. I. NOVEMBER 1895. No. 3.

OUR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE introduction of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 has been looked upon as one of the most interesting and important legislative experiments that have been made in India, and as a sufficiently long period—more than two years,—has elapsed since this important Act was passed, we are now in a position to form an opinion on the success of the experiment. The necessity for the improvement of the Indian Legislative Councils, has been pressed upon the attention of the Government year after year by the Indian National Congress, and the educated Indian public has looked upon the reconstitution of these Councils on a wider and a more representative basis as a most potent means of redressing the existing grievances. Many and varied were the changes that were expected to be effected by a thorough reform of these Councils. As a prominent Congress leader observed: “It is impossible to think of domestic grievance or a matter of domestic complaint which will not be remedied if the constitution of the Councils were changed or remodelled according to our programme.” It was hoped, for instance, that an effective check would be placed on the passing of ill-considered and objectionable laws. It was hoped that the reformed Councils would persuade the Government to carry out the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions, that they would insist on the wider employment of our men in the public service, and that they would even

produce a salutary effect on the incidence of the income-tax. It was hoped that attention would be drawn, in Council to the various irregularities occurring in the Mofussil, in time to avert their mischief, and that, by these and other means, the whole administration would be popularized. It was also expected that to be called upon to take part in the affairs of the country, and discuss, with the sense of responsibility that power gives, public questions that have a direct bearing on the prosperity of the country, would prove an education in itself, and would tend to foster that sense of self-respect, without which we can never hope to become a nation, worthy of true political advancement. Let us see how far these expectations have been realized, or are likely to be realized, in the near future, under the working of the Indian Councils Act as it is at present carried out.

Though the need of reform of the Indian Legislative Councils has been pressed upon the attention of the authorities concerned ever since the educated community began to take a real, practical interest in Indian politics, yet it was only when the demand became too strong to be resisted that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed. It was in itself a very small measure of reform. The Act itself, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, did not embody the elective principle; It only paves the way for the adoption of that principle. The circumstances in the various provinces of India were so different that it was impossible for the House of Commons to formulate a satisfactory scheme, and it was, therefore, left to the Viceroy, in consultation with the various Provincial Governments, to adopt a working scheme by which the Legislative Councils may be made partly representative. Considering the number of members that were allowed to enter the Councils by election, it was obvious that anything like an adequate representation of the various important interests was impossible. The House of Commons felt the difficulty, but though it did so, it expressed its views most clearly and emphatically on one point. Referring to the opinion of Lords Northbrook, Ripon and Dufferin, Mr. Gladstone said: "These men have entirely exempted themselves from whatever prejudices administration may have entailed on them, and they have distinctly and deliberately sanctioned the introduction of the elective principle. It is there that we stand upon solid ground, and Her Majesty's Government ought to understand that it will be regarded

as a most grave disappointment if after all, the assurances we have received that an attempt will be made to bring into operation this powerful engine of Government there should not be some result such as we anticipate. I do not speak of its amount: I speak more of its quality." And again: "I believe we are justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but to a *real living representation of the people of India*." Mr. Gladstone also said "my construction of the Under-Secretary's speech (I do not think it will admit of any other construction) is that it implies that, in the opinion of the Government and of the House of Lords, a serious effort should be made to consider carefully those elements which, in the present condition of India, might furnish material for the introduction into the Councils of the elective principle." On behalf of the Conservative Government the Under-Secretary replied: "I need only say in conclusion that I entirely accept the statement of the right honorable gentleman as to the objects with which this Bill is introduced." These assurances and pledges made in the House of Commons during the discussions on the Indian Councils Bill, place beyond all doubt the fact that the members who sit in the Council as representatives must be really elected, in the sense that they do not owe their seats directly or indirectly to the Government, but to the people or any section thereof, to whom they are liable to account for their conduct in the Council.

This view was accepted by the Government of India. The Viceroy quoted with approval, in his speech on the Constitution of the Legislative Councils, the following words of Mr. Gladstone: "I am not disposed to ask of the Governor-General or of the Secretary of State that they shall at once produce large and imposing results. What I wish is that their first step shall be of a genuine nature, and that whatever scope they give to the elective principle shall be real."

It is in the light of this view so emphatically insisted upon by Mr. Gladstone and accepted by the Government of India that we now propose to examine the rules framed by the Indian Government and the Government of Madras to regulate the Constitution of the Madras Legislative Council. Under the Act there are twelve non-official seats at the disposal of the Government, seven

alone of these have been thrown open to election. To the other five seats, the Governor himself retains the power of nominating members for the purpose of securing a fair representation of the classes who are in his view not represented by the elected members.

In passing, we would note that the Mahomedan community is supposed to be worthily represented by a gentleman, who is for all practical purposes, ignorant of the English language, and the great landlord class by a Maharaja, who is disowned as its representative by the Landlord's Association, and who, as far as in him lay, has in Council always supported the official interest in opposition to that of his class.

The seven seats thus thrown open to election are distributed among the following bodies:—

(a) The Corporation of Madras; (b) such Municipalities or groups of them as the Governor may prescribe; (c) such District Boards as may be prescribed; (d) such association or associations of merchants, manufacturers or tradesmen as may be prescribed; (e) The Senate of the Madras University.

Now, it will be found that two out of the seven seats have been specifically assigned by the Viceroy to the Corporation of Madras and to the Senate of the University. In the case of the Corporation of Madras we have representation in a certain measure. For though the Chairman of the Municipality is a Government nominee and a few of the members are nominated by the Government, they are not strong enough to return their own candidate. But the Senate of the University of Madras, fails entirely in this respect. It is practically a European body, for although it consists of about 140 members only about forty are natives; and in the governing body of the Senate there is only one native. The two elections that have already taken place have shown that the results are such as do not meet the wishes of the graduates or the native members of the University. So far at least as Madras is concerned the University may be disenfranchised. The class of educated Indians must look elsewhere for representation. With reference to (d), the Governor in Council has authorized the Madras Chamber of Commerce to recommend one member for nomination. The Chamber is a purely European body as the members constituting it are all Europeans. The interests of the European merchants are, in

various important respects, in direct conflict with those of the native trading community. The prayer of the Landholder's Association to be allowed to recommend a member was disallowed on the plea of injustice to those who had not joined the Association, though the Chamber of Commerce, consisting only of Europeans, is allowed to nominate a representative for the trade of Southern India. This is an anomaly which stands in need of justification.

The four other seats available are distributed thus: The Presidency of Madras, excluding the capital, is divided into two groups of districts the Northern and the Southern. The Northern group, consisting of the 11 Northern Districts with an area of about 70,000 square miles, contains 25 Municipalities, and eleven District Boards; the Southern group, consisting of the 10 other Districts in the Presidency, with an area of about 52,000 square miles, contains 31 Municipalities and 10 District Boards. To the Northern group of Municipalities is awarded one seat and to the Southern group another. Similarly to the Northern group of the District Boards is awarded one seat and to the Southern group another. Each Municipality and each District Board must submit to the Government a statement containing two names, of which one is to be that of the person whom the Municipality or District Board proposes as candidate for nomination to the Legislative Council, while the other is to be that of the person whom the Municipality or District Board intends to appoint as its voting delegate. The voting delegates of all the Municipalities in each group are to meet together to elect a member for the Legislative Council from among the candidates proposed by the various Municipalities in that group. The voting delegates of the District Boards of each group are similarly to meet and elect a Member.

Do these rules satisfy the one condition on which alone we are prepared to accept the measure as an instalment of reform? Can these members so elected be regarded as the representatives of the people and outside Government influence? Though we regard the number of seats accorded to us as being very inadequate, we are here concerned at present more with the purity of the electorate, and with their independence of the official influence. We insist, and we have the support of the House of Commons on this point, that those who take their seats in the Council must be elected *entirely by the people*, as distinguished from the Government. Otherwise it would

detract from the independence and dignity of our representatives, enable the Government officials constantly to interfere against the popular candidate, and demoralize the constituencies as well as the candidates. It would enable hostile critics to point their finger of scorn at us for the poor results, due more to the nature of the rules and their unsympathetic working, than to any want of appreciation on the part of the people themselves of the privilege granted. Unless the voting delegates are, in the true sense of the term, representatives of the people, it can hardly be maintained that their nominee is a representative of the people. How can the voting delegates of the Municipalities and the District Boards be considered our representatives, if the Municipalities and the District Boards themselves are not representative? The District Board members are in some instances appointed by election by the Taluq Board, and some of the Taluq Board members are appointed by election by the members of the Panchayat. We have, therefore, to examine the constitution and the powers of the Municipalities, the District Boards, the Taluq Boards and the Panchayats.

We shall now deal first with the Municipalities which are supposed to represent the urban population. The Governor in Council may, at any time, declare any town, village, hamlet, or bazaar to be a Municipality. Thus his powers of creation are unlimited. He may at any time, without cause shown, cancel such declaration and dissolve the Municipal Council. Hence a refractory Municipal Council may find itself non-existent in law at any time, and its fate would be a warning to other civic bodies if restive under official control. We are however glad to find that under the Bill, now before the Legislative Council, the Governor in Council has to record a statement of reasons for such cancellation. The power, however, is still vested finally in him. The Revenue officer in charge of the division of the district shall be *ex-officio* a Municipal Councillor, and it may be safely assumed that in the rural districts few members will care to contradict his views. The others may be either wholly appointed by the Governor in Council, or partly so appointed and partly appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Municipality, subject to such rules and conditions as may, from time to time, be prescribed—thus giving the officials such a control over the elections as would enable them to secure the election of their own

men. The Governor may also declare the proportion of the Municipal Councillors to be appointed by election. The officials therefore may at any time avoid the adequate representation of true public opinion when hostile to them. The Governor in Council has also the power to declare, the maximum number of Municipal Councillors, the proportion of elected members, and whether the Chairman shall be elected by the Council or appointed by himself; and such declaration may at any time be cancelled or modified. Accordingly, a Chairman elected by the Council, against official opposition, ceases to be the Chairman, when the Governor cancels the rule conferring the power of electing their Chairman under which he was elected. An elected Chairman is thus warned against contumacy. The new Bill before the Council goes further. Whether elected or otherwise, it was till now left to the Municipality to determine whether or not the Chairman was to receive any salary. A premium is now placed on his subserviency to officials by the proposal in the new Bill to empower the Governor in Council to remunerate him by monthly salary or otherwise, the salary of course being paid out of the Municipal funds. The Chairman's election itself takes place under rules and conditions framed by the Government, and it is not unusual for the Government to direct that an official of a certain grade should be elected. These powers are vast enough. But the Executive Government has conferred on the Governor in Council a power which interferes seriously with the autonomy of Municipal Government. The Governor in Council may at any time remove any Chairman or Municipal Councillor, if the latter's continuance in office is in his opinion dangerous to public peace or order. The history of the provision will be found in the protest of the Madras Congress Committee against creating Municipalities and Local Boards into an electorate. A riot broke out in the town of Salem, and an elected Municipal Councillor incurred the suspicion and displeasure of the Collector, "who terrorized by the unusual excitement of his surroundings," mistook the Councillor's honest endeavours to quell the tumult for incitement to further violence. On the Collector's *ex-parte* representation to the Government, the Councillor, without being called upon for an explanation, was removed from his office, under the provision of the then existing law which ran thus: ".....The Governor in Council may from time to time, remove any of such Commissioners for misconduct

or neglect of duty." The Government refused to assign any reason for its conduct in this particular case for dismissing the Councillor, though petitioned by him to do so. He sued the Government in the High Court for wrongful dismissal. The Government, declining to meet him on the question of fact, neither pleaded nor offered any evidence of misconduct or neglect of duty, but raised the issue of law that "an absolute discretion was vested in the Governor in Council to remove a Commissioner if he thought that the Commissioner had committed any act of misconduct or neglect, although in fact he had not." Judgment was pronounced against the Government on the 2nd May 1884, and on the 7th May the law was altered, and the Government was given the power for the possession of which they had unsuccessfully contended before the High Court; a Municipal Councillor may now be removed, if, as already stated, his presence is, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, dangerous to public peace or order; and further the Governor may prescribe a period during which a Councillor so removed shall not be eligible for re-appointment or re-election. A member may be thus dismissed and he may find himself excluded from re-election for a very long time without any reason being assigned to him, without the power of appeal to law, though, his constituency may have full confidence in his ability and integrity. Public opinion, European and native, declared itself against this power of removal. The native non-official representative declared in the Council: "That clause is a veritable thunderbolt, or, at all events, is so understood by those who will have to enter the arena of Municipal self-Government, and for the success of this great and beneficent scheme it will be necessary to remove it from the Bill." The European non-official member protested that the provision "would prevent respectable men from serving on the Councils. For no man would take the risk of being removed unheard." But, in the face of this strong opposition, it was carried. The officials are not apparently satisfied with the powers of dismissal in cases of danger to public peace or order, and they, accordingly, propose under the new Bill, to take power to remove a member if his presence is, in the opinion of the Governor, likely to be injurious to the public efficiency of the Municipal Council, or to bring the Municipal Administration into contempt. Comment on this is unnecessary. If this new provision is rendered necessary on account of the increased inefficiency, as alleged by the Government

apologists, of the Municipal Council, it only justifies the gloomy forebodings of those non-official members, European and Native, who, with a far truer insight than that of the officials, foretold its effect as likely to result in preventing competent men from taking part in Municipal Administration. But, whatever the reasons may be, it is only one more step taken towards bringing Municipal Administration under complete official control.

We are aware of the usual arguments by which these provisions are supported. It has been said, for instance, that it would not be possible to weave into the texture of the Bill a set of rules that might suit the various Municipalities; that different constitutions are necessary for Municipalities differing widely in wealth and intelligence, and the provisions, therefore, should be sufficiently elastic, to allow of close supervision and control in the case of infant Municipalities. But it is a well known fact that no difference is recognized in Municipalities so far as official control is concerned,—the same control is exercised over Municipalities well advanced in wealth, intelligence and material prosperity, and long accustomed to the management of their own affairs, as is exercised over Municipalities newly formed and not fully developed. We are aware that the power of nominating a proportion of the Municipal Councillors is attempted to be justified on the ground that otherwise the interests of the minorities would suffer, though, as a matter of fact, this power is availed of by the Government for the entire disenfranchisement of the old Municipalities,—an exercise of power never asked for by the Government or intended by the legislature when the law was enacted.

These obnoxious provisions were passed in the teeth of the strong opposition offered by Native Associations and Societies. Curiously enough this "impatience of superior control" was declared by the Honorable Member in charge of the Bill to be due to a want of acquaintance with the principles of local administration, in other countries. Let it be noted however that there are other provisions under which Municipal Government is rendered perfectly innocuous, for example; the provision under which the officials may suspend the execution of any order of the Municipal Council or cancel such order, and may provide for the execution of any work at the expense of the Municipality—work which ought to have been carried out by the Municipality; and the Municipality may be directed to perform any duty which the officials wish to be carried

out. There is also a provision to the effect that the annual estimate of expenditure for the ensuing year should be submitted by the Municipality; and the orders of the Governor in Council, with reference to it, are binding on the Municipality.

The Council, as a body, being thus rendered impotent for mischief, we confess we fail to see any valid reason for the provisions we have above referred to, which places the Council, collectively, and the various members, individually, entirely under official control and influence.

The above provisions certainly seem to have been enacted to enable the Government to acquire an ascendancy of authority over Municipalities, as complete as is consistent with a decent outward compliance with the Viceregal mandate of Lord Ripon requiring the people to be invested with the privileges of Local Self-Government.

It is unnecessary for us here to discuss further the *rationale* of these provisions. Our object is merely to point out the exact nature of the bodies to whom the privilege of electing the representatives of the people have been conceded.

But the official apologist may say that though the rules empower the Government to interfere in, and to control, Municipal administration, yet that they are elastic enough to enable the Government to make Municipalities really representative bodies. Let us now examine the nature of their representative character.

Out of the twenty-five Municipalities in the northern group, ten consist wholly of members nominated by Government; and out of the thirty-one Municipalities in the southern group eleven consist wholly of such members. It was said in 1884, on behalf of the Government, that the Chairman and the Councillors were to be appointed by the Government only in the case of Municipalities newly formed; while in more advanced localities the elective system was to be applied. But we find now that even long exercise of the power of election has not placed a Municipality in any advantageous position, nor has it proved of any avail against the interference of the District officials.

It is impossible to imagine how these twenty-one Municipalities could in any way be regarded as representing public opinion. Their members have nothing either to gain or to lose from the public as they owe their seats to Government officials. The remaining

Municipalities consist of members partly nominated and partly elected. There is no instance of a Municipality whose members are wholly elected. Though the Councils, whose members are in part elected, may have a slightly stronger claim to represent public opinion, yet the presence of the officials in the Council, the influence of the nominated members who entirely depend for their seats on the revenue officials, the apprehension that Government may at any time deprive the Municipality entirely of the privilege of election, even though such election is confined to a portion of its entire body, the fear that a Municipal Councillor may at any time be removed and the fact that he holds his seat at the pleasure of the Governor in Council, the circumstance that Municipal Councils, bold in the assertion of popular rights, may at any time be dissolved, all these tend to reduce the Municipal Councils to a state of subservience and impotence. They can, therefore, hardly be regarded as the representatives of public opinion.

If this is the case with the Municipalities, representing the urban population, it is even worse with regard to the Local Boards which are supposed to represent the rural population. There are three kinds of Local Boards whose constitutions (as already stated) have to be considered. We shall first take the Panchayat the one having the simplest of the three constitutions. The Governor in Council has the power to declare any village or group of villages to be a union and the body of persons established for such union is called a *Panchayat*. The Panchayat must consist of not less than five persons, the headman of each village being *ex-officio* a Member. The headman in a great number of districts is a Government nominee, and in every District he is entirely under the control of the Revenue officials. According to the Statute the other members of the Panchayat may be either wholly appointed by the Government, or partly so appointed, and partly appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Union, subject to such rules and conditions as may from time to time be prescribed by the Government. The Governor may not only remove the Chairman or any Member of this village Council, if his continuance in office is *in the opinion of the Governor in Council* dangerous to public peace or order, but he may also dissolve the Union itself at his pleasure. The Governor has also the power to fix the proportion of the elected members, and he may also declare that any person

whom he has removed shall not be eligible for re-appointment or re-election for a certain period. The subjection of the village Panchayat, therefore, to official influence is complete. So long as a member is liable to be removed and to be declared ineligible for re-election or re-appointment, how can he be expected to act in opposition to the official directions? But, as a matter of fact, the Government have not only reserved for themselves these vast powers of interference, but they have also declined to avail themselves of the power to allow any of the members of the Panchayat to be elected. Eleven years have elapsed since the Madras Act 5 of 1884 was passed, and yet there is no village Panchayat, which contains any Member appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Union; and the provisions enabling them to do so have, therefore, remained a dead letter, as no rules have been made by the Governor to carry on such elections. It will thus appear that the village Panchayat consists purely of nominated persons. They cannot, as a matter of consequence, claim to represent public opinion independent of the Government.

Higher than the Village Union is the Taluq Board, which has authority over the former. It must consist of not less than twelve members and a President. The Revenue Officer, in charge of the division of the district wherein the Taluq is situate, is *ex-officio* the President of the Taluq Board. The members of this Board may be appointed either wholly by the Government or partly by the Government and partly appointed by election by the members of the Panchayat, in the Taluq or by the tax-payers and the inhabitants of the Taluq, subject of course, as in the case of the Panchayats, to such rules and conditions as may be prescribed by the Government. The Taluq Board itself may, at any time, be dissolved by the Government, and any member removed and further declared ineligible for re-election. As in the case of the Panchayats, no member of any Taluq Board has at any time been appointed by election by the tax-payers and the inhabitants. Direct representation, therefore, of the people on the Taluq Board there is none. The Panchayat itself, we have already seen, is a purely nominated official body and those members of the Panchayat who become members of the Taluq Board by election cannot of course claim to be in any way the representatives of the people. Where the Taluq Board consists wholly of members appointed by the Government no claim to repre-

sentation can of course be, in any way, put forward. The Taluq Boards, we thus see, are purely official bodies composed either wholly of persons nominated by the Government or partly nominated by them, and partly nominated by persons who are themselves nominated by the Government. These Taluq Boards are, therefore, useless as representative bodies.

We now come to the District Board, whose delegates elect the member for appointment to the Legislative Council. It consists of not less than twenty-four members of whom the Collector of the District is *ex-officio* the President. Every Revenue officer in charge of a division of the District is also a member. The other members may be appointed either wholly by the Government or partly by the Government and partly appointed by election by the Taluq Boards, or, in their absence by the Panchayats and by the inhabitants of that part of the District, subject of course to such rules as may be prescribed by the Government. The Governor in Council has reserved to himself, as in the case of a Taluq Board member, the power to dismiss a member of the District Board, if his continuance in office is in his opinion dangerous to public peace or order. He may also declare that person so removed to be ineligible for re-appointment or re-election. A member, therefore, if obnoxious to the Government, may be excluded from all participation in Local Board administration notwithstanding his ability, honesty and popularity. We may add here that as in the case of the Taluq Boards, no member has ever been elected by the inhabitants themselves. The Governor in Council has never passed any rules enabling them to do so under the provision we have already noticed. The District Boards, it will be seen, are thus composed of members either nominated by the Government or nominated by the Taluq Board members, who are themselves the nominees of the Government officials. In no sense, therefore do the District Boards represent the popular feeling. Not only is it the fact, as we have already stated, that they are all nominated by Government officials, but the various powers of interference that we have already referred to, make the subjection of the District Boards to authority complete. These District Boards are supposed to represent the rural population, amounting to 17,054,307; and such is the nature of the local bodies whose delegates are called upon to nominate a member for appointment to the Legislative Council.

This statement of the constitution of these local bodies shows clearly their complete dependence on officials. The law vests in the officials the same power over the District and Taluq Boards and the village unions as over the Municipalities; and the observations we have made with reference to the District Municipalities apply with greater force to the Boards. It must be borne in mind that the Revenue officials have naturally greater influence over the Board members, as none of them owes his seat to election, while some at least of the Municipal Members are elected. It is hardly necessary for us to say that for real representation at least two conditions are necessary (1) that the members of the electoral bodies or the majority of them at least must be elected, and (2) the power of the officials to control their action and to punish them must be curtailed.

To give effect to the first condition no change in the existing law is necessary. The Executive Government has only to carry out, honestly and in a large-hearted spirit, those provisions of law which now to all practical purposes remain a dead letter.

These were some of the reasons which induced Madras to maintain in 1889 that Municipalities and Local Boards should not be constituted into an electorate. After reviewing the constitution and powers of these Municipalities and the other local bodies, the Madras Congress Committee recorded their protest in the following words:—

“Such is briefly—for there is no pretence that the subject has been exhaustively treated—an outline of the constitution as authoritatively sketched of those assemblies to whose political fitness and stability the other Presidencies would have Madras entrust her destinies. Short of outspoken substitution of the Government for local self-rule it would not be easy to devise a more complete or effective control over Municipal freedom than the Government have by legislation devised for themselves over each link in the chain of Civic administration from the Municipality to the Panchayat. We believe we have established, from the incontestable evidence of public acts, our position that Municipalities are Government in disguise. On the short and simple ground that to confine the electoral privileges to such bodies would be to substitute the Government for the people and to continue nomination

for election, we most emphatically decline if we can help it to be subjected to a despotism from which we have been long and are still struggling to be free.” The Madras Congress Committee however was not supported by Bengal and Bombay and we see now the Municipalities and local bodies form the electorate.

The experience of two elections i.e., of 1893 and 1895 has unfortunately justified the forebodings entertained in Madras.

The Government of Madras like the Government of Bengal had to point out the undesirability of the officials taking an active part in the elections of the Delegates and when a European Club which had among its members the Collector of the District, and the Police Superintendent could go so far as to expel one of its members for voting for an Indian gentleman who stood for election to the Legislative Council, it is plain enough that we cannot confidently rely on the impartiality of the European officials. Their attitude towards new India is undoubtedly one of veiled hostility. It is therefore indispensable that the electors should be above any fear of official interference.

Yet with all these drawbacks, and under all these adverse conditions the experiment has been a remarkable success.

In this article it is impossible for us to deal adequately with the work done by the elected Members in Council.

Before 1893 there was really no effective independent public criticism of any measure brought before the Council. The members nominated by the Government naturally did not feel themselves under any responsibility to the people, and they generally had not the previous training requisite for useful criticism. The result was, laws after laws were passed which unduly interfered with the liberty of the subject, and which imposed taxation without any vigorous protest in the Council on the part of the nominated members; and it is not therefore a matter of surprise that keen dissatisfaction was felt and expressed. But every measure that has been passed during the last two years has been passed after a discussion and criticism that has certainly brought to light every possible defect in the measure. An important Bill as it is finally passed would scarcely be recognised as the Bill introduced by the Government and it is only fair to say that in many respects the attitude

of the Executive Government is sympathetic. It is not in the discussion of the legislative measures alone that improvement is perceptible. The attention of the Government and the public has been drawn, by questions asked in the Council, to grievances the existence of which has been scarcely known before, at least beyond the locality immediately affected.

These questions have also enabled the Government to remove misapprehensions, to dispel wild speculations as to the intentions of the Government and to discuss the measures submitted to them by the District officials with special reference to specific grievances indicated by the questions. The increasing confidence in the ultimate redress of any grievance, due to the power to bring before the Government and the public in an authoritative manner any alleged act of injustice, is also remarkable. Briefly, we refer both our opponents and sympathisers to the published proceedings of the Legislative Council for the last two years to note the very great improvement in the quality of the work done in the Council.

While therefore full of hope, a hope justified by the progress of the last two years even under extremely unsatisfactory conditions, we have yet to urge with regret that until the electorate is reformed, until the majority of the members of the Municipalities and the Boards entitled to elect themselves owe their seats to election, the intention of the Parliament and the British people will not have been complied with. We are entitled to bring this complaint not only before the constituted authorities in India but also before the House of Commons as in the words of Mr. Gladstone "It is also the duty and function of this House to comment upon any case in which we think the authorities in India have failed to give due effect" to the introduction of the elective element into the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT AND ITS TENANTS.

IN accordance with my undertaking in the last issue of this Review, I propose in the present article to examine some of the other factors that so seriously complicate the Agricultural problem in this country. But before addressing myself to that task, I must crave leave to return for a moment to the subject of settlement. The vast importance of this element, overshadowing all the others, will be sufficient excuse for a parenthetical retrospect.

First, I should like to quote what appears to me a very striking presentment of the evils of want of permanence and a very neat exposure of the fallacy of the argument so often adduced from analogy. In 1858 Mr. J. W. B. Dykes, the well-known Collector and historian of the Salem District, was so impressed with the mischief springing from change of system that he published a pamphlet, in the form of a letter to the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, containing what he calls "a Manual of Ryotwar Tenure," with special rules for his own District, and a "general report." The whole is practical and suggestive, but I must limit myself to the following quotation:—

10. "The rules . . . sufficiently indicate the great encouragement given to the free outlay of private capital. This indeed is the great advantage of the system. . . . The more that capital is sunk in the land, the more the ryots are encouraged to improve their holdings—the less is the extent of land that is likely to be thrown up rashly, and the greater is the stability of the land revenue. . . . And, before going farther, I would now consider respectfully, how far this all-important principle is affected by the recent orders from the Honourable the Court of Directors, limiting the period for which the assessment is fixed at 30 years.

11. "When the Permanent Settlement was made in 1802 the assessment to be paid by the Zemindars to Government was fixed for ever. And the assessment to be paid by the ryots to the Zemindars has long been held by the Courts of this Presidency to be similarly protected. The estates of the Zemindars have lapsed from time to time for arrears of revenue, and the ryots have come generally into direct communication with Government, or, in other words, under the Ryotwar Tenure. But, to the best of my knowledge, nothing has yet been told the ryots officially that could make

them think any change was contemplated in the nature of the assessment. The assessment has been reduced. But the assessment has never been raised as yet. It is generally considered to be fixed *for ever*; and thus the ryots, in this respect, have had, hitherto, every inducement to improve the land.

12. "Capital is freely sunk at home on a limited lease with an unconditional surrender at the end. A Scotch farmer, for example, will not hesitate to embark his whole fortune on 30 years. For, at the end of his lease, if he and his landlord can't agree as to terms for the future, he realizes his stock, &c., and moves with ease to where he can get land on terms that suit him better. But in India, it is not one, nor a thousand, but perhaps a hundred thousand ryots, that must take up this 30 years lease at the same time; and it is 100,000 ryots that must be prepared, when the lease is up, to realize also, at one and the same time, and move if necessary. But how is the agricultural stock of a district of ten or fifteen thousand square miles to be realized? And where are 100,000 ryots to go to? The position of Scotch and Indian leaseholders at the end of the lease is very different; and this affects the whole question.

13. "An unconditional lease leaves the agricultural capital of a whole District at the mercy of the officer chosen to revise the rates; and I fear that such a change in the Ryotwar Tenure will be felt more and more injuriously as the lease draws towards a close."

Secondly, I wish to draw attention to the very newest instance of what can only be dubbed "settlement humbug." The *Madras Mail* of 28th August last contained a communication from a correspondent—a most pronounced official advocate and therefore an admissible witness—upon the Godavery settlement. This letter includes a report of a meeting, presided over by the Collector and composed of Divisional officers, Tahsildars, and representative landholders from each Taluq, whereat Mr. G. P. Clerk expounded the *data* on which he had based the proposed re-assessment of the wet-lands of the Delta. The first *datum* was that there was such "a remarkable geographical similarity between the Tanjore and Godavery Districts that the Deputy Commissioner's experience in the former was largely utilized in drawing up his settlement scheme for the latter." Godavery, however, according to Mr. Clerk has many advantages over Tanjore, and "the possibilities therefore of improvement and extension in the Godavery are practically illimitable." One would therefore imagine that a "scientific settlement" would result in a higher assessment than the 28 per cent. of Tanjore. What, instead, do we find? That the enhancement all round will probably not exceed 15 per cent. We beg to call the attention of the Government to this, ere it is too

late. Either the Tanjore assessment is monstrously high, or the calculating machines on the Godavery have gone sadly out of gear. For let there be no mistake; the Deputy Commissioner assured his hearers that this classification of soils had been "scientifically and carefully arranged"; and announced that every landholder "will be given an opportunity of proving, if he is able, that he has not been accurately assessed." Nor can any doubt be insinuated as to the accuracy; for Mr. Clerk, rejecting as unreliable the evidence of landowners, ryots, Revenue Inspectors, and similar subordinates, "based his figures on estimates taken either by himself, by his assistant, or by his own staff only."

But Mr. Clerk made a further statement which, if correctly reported, shows that he is in complete ignorance of the Government Order of 11th May last, quoted in my former article (page 149). He said that this classification of soils "would be final." A gentleman present immediately reminded him that Government had, in an Order, given the same assurance at the last settlement. This inconvenient interrupter was promptly ruled out of order. The Proceedings of Government containing that assurance are not printed in the collected papers referring to this settlement (*Selections from the Records of the Madras Government*, No. XXII, 1870); but we do find it recorded that the calculations (by Messrs. Nevill and Master) were "made with the utmost care and in accordance with principles approved by Government after much consideration," and further that Government, adopting the cautious advice of Shore, allowed three years, during which the "practical working should be carefully watched" and unforced errors or anomalies corrected.

Mr. Clerk's statements afford ground for much thought and comment. I further refer to one only, and do so because it is germane to another branch of our subject. He states that, for the purpose of assessment, "the soils are divided into 34 kinds, which are grouped together into ten classes, according as experience has shown their yielding capacity." Now, what is this experience? It turns out not to be experience at all, but experiments made by Mr. Clerk or his staff on 12½ cents of land at a time. As to some of the best kinds of land, a number of experiments were made; but as to others they were few or non-existent. This mode of arriving at the out-turn was severely criticised and its accuracy rigorously impugned; but the important point to

notice is the disastrous affects that mistakes produce among the lowest kinds, just where accuracy is most essential, where the margin of profit is smallest and may vanish altogether. Compare these two classes :—

—	Value after deducting 10 % per acre.	Cultivation expenses.	Rate.	Balance profit to ryot.
	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Best kind ...	38 2 8	14 0 0	12 0 0	12 2 8
Worst kind ...	13 4 5	6 0 0	3 8 0	3 12 5

It is at once apparent how disturbing influences must affect the small margin of profit much more quickly and acutely than the large. Take, for example, a short-fall of 20 per cent. in the out-turn all round, or a fall of prices equivalent thereto. This would leave the owner of the best kind of soil with a balance in his favour of Rs. 4-8-6, while that of the proprietor of the worst kind is reduced to a miserable Re. 1-2. It is this uncertain but always insufficient margin of subsistence that plunges India's submerged tenth in debt, and prevents it getting its head above water; until Government has intervened with some heroic measure like a Deccan Relief Act or a Usury Bill. I have assumed that the result of the experiments coincides with the result of experience; but if it is not so, the chances of disaster are infinitely enhanced. Mr. Clerk's valuation of the worst kind is based upon a calculated out-turn of three-quarters of a putty per acre. As against this a gentleman of the authority of the Hon. Mr. Subba Rao asserted with confidence that the average out-turn of the worst lands would not exceed one-quarter of a putty. If this be so, the tenant will, after paying his kist, be left with the princely sum of 14 as. 10 p. for subsistence and cultivation expenses. Mr. Clerk explains the anomaly by the assertion that, if the tenant spends on cultivation expenses the amount set down in the table, he is bound to get the return also there set down. This is a very short way of turning the ryot into a scientific and capitalist farmer, and anticipates his hardly-earned increment with a vengeance.

Such arguments only clearly demonstrate the proposition, that the re-valuation of soils on each settlement is purely a dodge for doing what the authorities by mouth and pen are always protesting they could never do—robbing the ryot of the benefits accruing from the labour and money he has expended on the land. Soil valuation corresponds to what in America and Australia is correctly called “prairie value.” We cannot call it so in India; for the productive value of the soil when acquired by Britain is the prairie value plus an indefinite number of increments and decrements, earned or unearned, which give it however a definite value at a definite point of time, and this may be called “conquest value.” But “conquest value” once ascertained is as unchangeable as “prairie value,” and should be the one immutable factor in all rent assessments. And why is this principle held so holy in the Permanent Settlements and treated with undisguised contempt in others? Simply because settlements of the former class were made with wealthy and powerful noblemen and landlords, strong to resist any infringement of their rights, never wanting defenders in Parliament or in the press; while the latter are for the most part entered into with helpless peasants, too weak to fight, too ignorant to combine, too poor and insignificant to enlist the aid of powerful champions.

My third point has somewhat of a personal bearing. The *Madras Mail*, after generally approving of my argument, states that my paper loses weight by “attempting incidentally to defend a number of well-known Congress nostrums.” I feel bound to notice this statement, absurd though it be, because a great many people, without honouring me by reading the article, will form their sole opinion of it from the remarks in the paper,—indeed one anonymous gentleman of this kind favours me with a whole column of criticism based on what he assumes I said. Now a *nostrum* is, as far as I can gather from dictionaries and other sources of information, a quack medicine, or, at best, a secret remedy,—a thing, we know, seldom favoured by the faculty. Nevertheless a *nostrum*, like a fact or an argument, must stand on its own legs, and I cannot for the life of me see how a *nostrum* becomes either better or worse for being a “Congress *nostrum*” or a “*Madras Mail* *nostrum*,” or a “*Madras Review* *nostrum*.” What I presume the writer means is, that I have defended certain remedies proposed or supported by the Congress, and therefore, being the offspring

of such a political Cagliostro, of the very quintessence of quackery. I am 'sorry' I cannot further defend these remedies, for I do not know what they are. I have re-read my article several times and have been unable to discover that I proposed or supported or defended any remedies whatever. I stated my intention was not to suggest remedies, and I endeavoured carefully to refrain from suggesting any—beyond indeed the great one, permanency in the principles by which Government rents are adjusted. Thus these knaginary "well-known Congress nostrums" will certainly not diminish any weight that my paper may have been fortunate to gain among the readers of the *Madras Review*; though they will no doubt serve the purpose of their inventor among those who never wander for their literary pabulum beyond the impeccable pages of the *Madras Mail*.

A stable tenure, though the first and most important, is yet only one of the requirements of agricultural prosperity in this or any country. When we talk of improving agriculture, what we really aim at is the increase of the production of the raw material (excluding minerals) of manufactures and of food staples in the country. Now, this involves various administrative and executive operations and adjustments which in this country and in this century can only be, and in fact only are, undertaken by Government. This action of Government is imperative, first, as we have already seen, because Government is the *de facto* landlord; secondly, as we shall endeavour to show, because the mere physical extent of the operations involved negatives the possibility of their being carried out by any less potent agency; and thirdly, because the great bulk of the land is held by peasant proprietors. This last proposition is seldom realized, and occasionally distorted into something very different. There must of course be circumstances special to all countries, but it is a prevalent enough error to seize upon some common feature and treat it as a special vice or virtue, as the case may be, of the people in question. That difficulties arise and Government aid is frequently demanded by the ryot, are too often laid as special sins at the door of the poor Indian; it is quite forgotten that peasant proprietors exist in other countries, and it is still more often overlooked that they too have their difficulties; that they too, in nearly every country at the present day, owe no inconsiderable share of such prosperity as they possess to the fostering aid of Government. The facts

here usually astonish those who have made no study of them. One instance will suffice to illustrate this point, for I shall have again to refer to the altered economic condition of the peasant proprietor owing to causes which are rapidly becoming as potent in India as they have been for some decades past in Europe. Of all European peasants, the French is continually held up to admiration as the model of thrift and prosperity, assiduity and ingenuity. Yet even he has to be kept up to the mark by Government. A very decided tendency had set in for the small properties to become absorbed, for the small proprietors, in fact, to give up the fight in despair. How was this checked? Mr. Egerton, of the British Embassy at Paris, writes in 1890.*

"The improvements in the methods and system of cultivation... is attributable in great measure to the admirable energy of the Agricultural Department, which, with small means at its disposal, has done very much.

"Independently of giving assistance to agricultural education, the Government has established experimental fields (*champs de démonstration et d'expérience*) for the instruction (on the principle of example being better than precept) of the peasantry, to demonstrate the advantages of this or that manure, seed, or improved variety of the plant cultivated. These fields are generally offered by one of the land-owners, for whose benefit they are intended, and no less than 20,000 of these fields† have been experimentally employed, and with excellent results, for there is steady improvement in the crops, and the cost to the State of this encouragement does not amount to more than £6,400.

"The improvement in the production of the soil of France—owing to amelioration of cultivation and manuring—has been very marked indeed of late, and the Agricultural Syndicates, or Co-operative Agricultural Societies, are playing a very useful part in promoting this improvement; but the number of members has not yet attained more than 400,000, and the system is yet in its infancy, though already it has proved of service to the land-owning peasantry, more especially to the small owners.

"The general object of these Syndicates is for the defence of common interests, suppression of middlemen in sales and purchases, mutual credit and insurance, arbitration and saving expenses of litigation, and in the

* This and the other quotations as to European Peasant Proprietors are taken from a Parliamentary Paper, 1891, C.—6250; *Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives abroad on the position of Peasant Proprietors*, &c.

† This would give for the Madras Presidency, in the same ratio,—on the basis of area, 16,000 fields; on the basis of population, 18,500; and on the basis of agricultural population probably many more. The total cost, and it could surely be done here as cheaply as in France, would be about a lakh of Rupees.

main, for furthering the progress of Agriculture : but as it is only six years ago that the Law of 1884 called these Syndicates into being, they have not yet apparently done much in the purchase of improved machinery, breeding animals, &c., for use among members, though this has been done in instances."

It will be noted that, even in progressive France, the strong lead of the Government was required to start such Agricultural Societies as Lord Wenlock desires to see developed; though it would be matter of some interest to see how much fostering care Government would extend to a Society of which one of the principal objects was "the defence of common interests."

The second reason mentioned was the magnitude of the operations involved. In some of these the cost of the works is so great and the direct benefit accruing to each individual peasant proprietor so small, that only a great landlord or association of great landlords could undertake them. A good example of this class of operations is that of Irrigation. What agency but that of Government could undertake a Periyar Project, or the Irrigation systems of Kistna and the Godavery? But, apart from these huge works, and also apart from petty irrigation by wells, it is difficult to find a landlord owning an area sufficiently large and at the same time so conveniently circumscribed physically as to admit of his incurring the great expense involved in irrigation projects. There is indeed one alternative, co-operation; and this was the mode by which in ancient times a great number of irrigation works, certainly those of a minor nature, were constructed; just as by the same agency many of the ancient temples were built. In an interesting and suggestive paper read recently in London before the Society of Arts by one of the most experienced and ardent agriculturists of this Presidency, Mr. C. Krishna Menon, it was urged with great force that Government should endeavour to take advantage of the lingering traces of village communism, which is simply village co-operation; should encourage and strengthen it, and make it available for carrying out works of this nature. There are no doubt many cases where this plan could be advantageously tried, but great difficulties lie in the way. There is, first and primarily, the feeling already alluded to, namely that of insecurity that the benefit of the advantages accruing from such joint effort will be allowed to remain for any considerable time with the co-operators and not filched away by Government; and there is the other and more important consideration, that the area

over which joint operations must be extended has so largely increased, that concerted action becomes more difficult and individual benefit less and less apparent. This is due to the complete change in agricultural economy and conditions to which I am about to refer, chief among them being the improvements in means of communication and transport. Perhaps the best solution of this, as of many other problems of a similar kind, will be found in an extension of the area and augmentation of the powers of local self-governing bodies, which have to some extent replaced the older voluntary associations.

Another factor which inevitably compels Government in India to undertake work of this kind is the uniformity of administration that is required over large areas, if not over whole Presidencies,—a uniformity necessitated in some cases by considerations of justice or even of mere expediency, in others by the breaking down of the old isolation by modern improvements, and the consequent decay or inefficiency of old methods. An example of this class is Forest Administration, with reference to at least a considerable portion of the operations of which it cannot be denied that a certain uniformity of policy and practice is desirable over areas much larger than any private effort could cope with. It would be impossible here to enter at length upon a discussion of the many vexed questions connected with the Forest Policy of the Government of India; I must content myself with pointing out its importance and its intimate connection with the whole field of Agriculture, and more especially with the branch of it to which Lord Wenlock draws particular attention, cattle-breeding to wit. For this factor, in so far as it is closely bound up with agricultural operations, is as important in India to-day as was that cognate one of Commons and Inclosures in England in the first halves of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet although the interests of agriculture and those of the Forest Department are identical and their work should be for a common end, it is undoubted and deplorable that there is constant friction, amounting at times to antagonism, between them. It was with a view of putting a stop to this suicidal tendency that the Committee so frequently referred to suggested that the Agricultural and the Forest Departments should be administered by the same head. As Mr. Nicholson said :—"The principal object of the Forest Department is the

benefit of the ryot, whether indirectly by conserving his sources of irrigation or directly by providing reserves of timber and pasturage. It is therefore obviously necessary that forest operations should be so managed as to safe-guard these interests, duly balancing the needs, conditions, and interests of the present and of the future." Mr. Nicholson we fear takes rather an optimistic view of the principles of the Department—certainly of their "obviously necessary" practice. The Madras Manual of Administration (Vol. I., page 311) puts it more bluntly. "The objects of Government in connection with forests are two-fold. First to establish an equitable and reasonable correspondence between the resources of nature and the present demands of the inhabitants of the country, which will include not only the supply to the people of timber, fuel, charcoal, tree-produce, &c., but the guarantee through the forests of the regularity of the water-irrigation required by their fields." [*Query*, What about grazing?] "Secondly, so to husband the resources of the forests viewing them as an estate or farm, as to ensure that they will exist hereafter in at least the same state of vigour and replenishment as at present; for without a rich vegetation India would soon cease to be inhabitable. According as attention is chiefly directed to the former considerations, there will be a tendency in the direction of making forest conservancy into a pecuniary consideration, of endeavouring to show a commercial profit on it, and even of making new forest imposts. According as attention is chiefly directed to the latter consideration, there will be a tendency in the direction of regarding forest conservancy as a matter of absolute State necessity, to be maintained if necessary as a charge on the common purse." One would have thought that the first object is an equally pressing "absolute State necessity"; and one's first supposition is that in the above extract "former" and "latter" have been unwittingly transposed. Considering that the forests belong to the State as landlord, and that the people to be benefited are its rack-rented tenants, one would have thought our rulers might find their duty to lie in the direction of denouncing and repressing any tendency to make such an extra profit. The State, however, does not in practice look at its duty in that way; and accordingly the figures show a startling development of the "tendency." In 1885 the revenue from grazing fees in the Madras Presidency was under Rs. 50,000; by 1889-90, four years after, it reached Rs. 1,43,845;

by 1893-94, another four-year period, it had sprung up to Rs. 2,66,891. These figures show that the Forest Department possesses capabilities as a tenant-squeezer that are not likely to be over-looked by a needy Finance Minister.

The recent Minute by the Governor-General certainly recognises more liberal principles and enunciates a more statesman-like policy; the difficulty always comes when the policy is to be carried into practical operation. Fine words butter no taxes; and not until financial burdens are reduced and harassing restrictions removed will the people affected begin to believe in the beneficent intentions of their rulers. A good deal of the difficulty has arisen from the use of the word "Forests"—a sad misnomer that has puzzled many an outsider. If the operations of the Forest Department were restricted to the management of forests proper, and not allowed to extend into a sphere where their presence cannot be justified, much of the friction, so constantly recognised and deplored, would be avoided. As I have said, I am loth to suggest remedies: but I cannot help thinking that were the administration of forests proper and the practise of forestry, as generally understood, left as at present with the Forest Department; and were concurrently the management of what are really not forests at all but common lands, waste, handed over to the Agricultural Department or to an office analogous to the English Enclosure Commissioners and co-operating with local bodies, much good would be effected. The opposing tendencies would at least be divorced. The true Forest Department would look for its reward in the thanks of grateful generations to come and would not mind being a burden on the State; while the Agricultural Department would see that its true profit was to be found, not in screwing an extra tax out of an already impoverished peasantry, but in affording them every facility and encouragement for thrift, energy, and the application of capital to their industry.

Lord Wenlock laid much stress, and rightly, on the urgent necessity for improving the cattle of the Presidency, and the question was fully discussed in all its difficult bearings by the Agricultural Committee. Into these technical matters examination cannot be made here; but I should like by an object lesson to enforce the importance of the question of forest-grazing in connection with this subject. That cattle-breeding is not wholly neglected in the Presidency is true; but it is

also true that a century ago it received much more attention from Governments and capitalists than now. The most potent cause of degeneracy seems to be the failure in the demand. Government required the finest oxen for commissariat and artillery purposes; and the origin of the celebrated Amrut Mahal herd can be traced to the military exigencies of Hyder and Tippu. But in those days oxen were employed almost solely for transport, and the scattered herds still to be found in Coimbatore, Salem, and Nellore, are survivals of the day when the traffic through the Ghats between the Karnatic and the Dekhan plateau was carried by pack-oxen of a most expensive type. A very interesting account of the cattle-breeders and forest administration of a Native State is given by Buchanan in his "*Journey through Mysore*." It throws light upon more than one side of the question and a few particulars will not be out of place here. When at Sira he heard that in the woods to the north and north-east many cattle were bred, the principal places being Paragadu with twelve large herds and Nidugal with ten. These being too far out of his way, he went to Midagesi, about midway between Sira and Penukonda, where he was told there were several herds. Arrived there he was "not a little disappointed on being told by the civil officers that in the whole district there was not a single cow kept for breeding; and that the whole cattle in the place were a few cows to give the village people milk and the oxen necessary for agriculture." Next day, however, the native officer commanding the sepoys in the Fort told him this was all nonsense, and that the people were deceiving him, being afraid that he had come to take away their cattle for the use of Colonel Wellesley's army. This turned out to be true; and at a neighbouring village he was able to inspect several herds, and obtain a large amount of useful information on the subject.*

The actual work of herding the cattle was performed by the Gaulis (Goalas, Goullis), a pastoral tribe specially distinguished for their dirty habits. These were under the jurisdiction of a renter called by the Muhammadans, "head of the butter office." There would be no lack of qualified candidates for this post in

* Buchanan, Madras Reprint, Vol. I., pp. 295-305.

India now-a-days. "He resides at the capital and pays to Government an annual revenue. He goes to every village where any regular families of Gaulis are established, and from each levies the tax which they pay to Government for liberty to pasture their flocks on its property. In this neighbourhood every family, whether it consists of many persons or few, or whether it be rich or poor, pays the same tax; which is indeed a mere trifle, being only six fanams,* or about 4 shillings a year. For this small sum they are exempted from any tax or rent for grass and may feed their cattle in whatever woods they please." "A Gauli not belonging to one of the regular tax-paying families could graze 100 cows for an annual rent of five fanams (3s. 4d.). A rich Gauli will have 200 cows, 30 female buffaloes, 50 ewes, and 100 she-goats, and labouring oxen for three ploughs." It was calculated that such a man, after paying rent and keeping his family, would make a yearly profit of 100 pagodas (£33-10s-10d). His clothing, being a blanket, costs a mere trifle; and part of the money he expends in the marriages of the younger branches of the family and in religious ceremonies; the remainder is in general buried, and a great deal of money is in this way lost; as when the men get old and stupid they forget where their treasures are hidden, and sometimes die without divulging the secret." A paternal Government has since effectually stopped such a wasteful practice.

The breed of cattle was however kept up mainly by capitalists, who employed the Gaulis as herdsmen. Capital was readily utilized, as a bull was worth from 10 to 20 pagodas, and the oxen sold for as high as 15 pagodas. These herds, it should be noted, were kept carefully apart from the ordinary village cattle. The oxen were fit for work at five years old, and laboured for twelve years, "all the best being purchased by merchants for carriage." The business was a very profitable one. The rich man sent out his cattle in batches of 100 cows worth 150 pagodas, with two bulls worth 30 pagodas, or 180 pagodas in all. The return he might reasonably expect from ghee, butter-milk, and oxen sold,

* This is the gold Fanam or Panam, of which 16 went to the Gold Pagoda (caraha, or hun) of Tippu, equivalent to 3½ Rupees. But silver was at a premium then in Mysore: see Buchanan, Vol. I., pp. 436, 7.

is put at 72 pagodas. The expenses included the wages of two men at 60 fanams a year, with a blanket and shoes each, and five fanams grazing fees, say 14 pagodas in all. The net profit was thus, 58 pagodas, or 32 per cent.* If anything like such a profit could be made now, there would be no lack of breeders or need of Government assistance.

Another department, and one that can be mentioned only to be dismissed, is that of communications,—roads, railways, and canals. This work can, for physical reasons, be more easily apportioned between Imperial, Provincial, Local, and private exertion; ethical considerations, so to speak, come less into play; the need is more pressingly apparent, the remedy is applicable more promptly and before all eyes; the individual benefit is instantly felt and appreciated. And for this reason nothing makes a Government more popular than a forward policy in providing means of direct and rapid communication.

Hence the Agricultural trinity, *Woods, Water, and Ways*, must in this country be to an overwhelming extent under the direct administration of the Government, Imperial, Provincial, or Local.

But it will be said,—Admit all this, and yet the great problem to which educated young men are invited remains almost untouched. This is in a sense true; but it is also true that if Government recognised the duties incumbent on it as a landlord, and discovered the true method of administering these great departments, it would open the road along which such private effort as is possible could travel. The problem, indeed, is barely appreciated. It is constantly discussed as if it were a mere question of ploughing, or manuring, or breeding, or one or other of the multitudinous operations that go to make up the producing machinery of the country. Too many also ignorantly or wilfully ignore the great change which is breaking up the old stereotyped customs and organisations, and penetrating, in spite of what optimists may say, to the remotest villages. In one of his eloquent papers,† Sir George Birdwood writes:—"The Indian plough is part and parcel

* I have taken the percentage from the pagoda amounts. Buchanan makes the profit 45 per cent., but his calculations in sterling are clearly wrong. In one line he makes 72 pagodas=720 fanams=£24 3s. 6d.; and in the next 180 pagodas=1,800 fanams=£43 13s.

† *The Mahratta Plough*. This interesting article commences on p. 417 of a volume of the *Calcutta Review* published about ten years ago.

of a fixed crystalized life, of which it is the primitive and primary integrant molecule, regulating the relations and determining the dimensions, and ultimate character of the entire and indissoluble economic, social, and religious system built upon it. In that life all are but co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, in which the provision and respect due to every individual is enforced under the highest and religious sanctions, and every office and calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations of caste on which the whole hierarchy of Hinduism hinges. Thus the social aspects of a Dakhan village are as of a large family, all living together that united life of contentment in moderation, which is the perfection of human felicity." And on such canvas he portrays a perfectly idyllic picture of the Hindu peasant's life—such as it may have appeared to his poetic imagination in the days of his youth, while yet the Railway Station Master, the Registrar, the B. A. Official and the B. L. Pleader, Second Appeals and Revision Petitions, Government paper and Limited Liability mills were in the womb of futurity. But—alas! it may be, as some would urge—these and other irresistible forces have struck deep into the heart of this tree of ancient growth. As a scientific statement of the problem, I shall quote a remarkable paragraph written by Mr. Nicholson; and although it is long, I am only too glad to be once more able to adopt the words of a most experienced Civil Servant of the Government.

"The whole external conditions of farming and the economic position of the country have altered and are altering with great rapidity. In old times a scanty population dwelt in villages shut off from the rest of the world by want of communications and by fiscal barriers, with a consequent absence of trade both foreign and internal; hence a system of self-sufficing farming and petty village industries, under which system there was little more than the mere local market for these goods; only the better soils were tilled, the remainder being left to grow wild field grass for common grazing; the simple village needs were supplied within the village, while any surplus, finding no external market, was stored for use in years of scarcity. Hence local custom became stereotyped almost into religious sentiment, and the isolation of the ryot, both mental and industrial, became an almost impenetrable fence. But practically within a generation, certainly within 50 years, external conditions wholly changed; communications rapidly developed both by sea and land, so that an immense export trade, due to the low prices of Indian produce, and an equally vast internal trade have sprung up; hence the self-sufficing system is in a rapid transition to the system of farming for profit or trade: any surplus produce is easily

exchangeable for silver which in turn is equally easily spent; population has enormously increased, both these causes operating to bring into tillage an immense area of the poorest possible lands; village industries have decreased with the opening up of foreign trade so that larger numbers take to tilling the soil.....The net result is a much larger population on a soil less productive per acre and more uncertain in its yield by reason of its poverty, from which any surplus is carried permanently away, while the return in silver being easily obtained is often lightly spent.....Finally it may be noted that private effort is in one way growing less able to deal with adverse conditions or to combat natural difficulties; the old communal organisation has largely given way under the rapid influx of new ideas, new political, social, and economic conditions. Hence village or local combinations for the execution of protective work is daily growing more difficult, especially in the south; individual welfare and success are more and more becoming dependent on individual effort, while as yet the individual is not strong enough, or is insufficiently provided, to meet the changes."

This is a succinct and striking statement of the change which has come over the economic condition of the agricultural community, and indicates both the extent and the difficulty of the problem. The question is at once raised, how far primitive systems of landholding are adapted to the demands of modern civilization and commerce? and, if these be permitted to continue radically unaltered, what minor modifications or supplements are necessary to enable them to live at all?

The great bulk of the land of this Presidency is held in Ryot-war, that is, practically by peasant proprietors. It is difficult to see how a graduate, however learned in agricultural science and however anxious to work for his country's good, could directly influence the methods under which the family plot of soil is tilled or rendered productive; and to cultivate the paternal acre or half acre personally would be an unpardonable waste of the best talent in the country. It is not done in other countries. The Scotch crofter, the Irish tenant, the French or German peasant proprietor or metayer, has no education beyond the village school. True there, as here, the laudable ambition exists of having at least one son educated to make famous the family name in literature, the church, or the professions. But the graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the University of Paris, does not return to the ancestral hovel to plant potatoes or trim vines. The peasant of France as regards the mode of land tenure and the system of descent of property perhaps more nearly resembles the Indian Ryot, than the peasant of any other country. And like him he is ignorant of every thing outside his own work, bigoted and obsti-

nately averse to change until it be demonstrated that such change will inevitably put money in his pocket. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that the graduate may do something indirectly to mitigate the pressure on the ryot induced by this change in environment, though such assistance can be rendered only in virtue of his citizenship and in concert with non-graduate fellow citizens, his sole advantages being that he will in most instances be a better educated, more intelligent, and less bigoted man. Special knowledge of Agricultural Science is here unnecessary. How in other countries do we find the peasant proprietor or tenant maintained in comparative prosperity in spite of the unfavourable economy of small holdings? In some instances, as in Ireland and the Western Isles, he is always on the brink of starvation and maintained, not in prosperity but in bare life, by public charity,—for that is what most recent Irish Legislation amounts to. In France, one remarkable factor is found in the artificial restriction on the growth of the population, people marrying late and voluntarily having small families. Then the natural products are often specially favourable; in that the growth involves the addition of some process of manufacture which can be carried on on the spot and affords supplemental employment to the labourer. Thus the cultivation of the vine is accompanied by the vintage and the manufacture of the wine or spirit. Again in a manufacturing country like France, Belgium, or South Germany, thickly studded with industrial towns, the immense non-food-producing population creates an inexhaustible demand for the products of the most profitable of all cultivations, the *petite culture*, that is, of vegetables, fruits, flowers, and such concomitants as bacon, fowls, eggs, honey. This is a remedy to which as yet the bulk of our agricultural population cannot turn for relief. Then there are village industries. Throughout vast countries, especially when winter puts a stop to all out-door work, every household is busy with some hand industry, weaving, glove-making, toy-making, in endless variety. It may be safely asserted that everywhere in Europe peasants without capital and without auxiliary industries always, however thrifty, find the greatest difficulty in making both ends meet.

This brief summary is not a mere fancy sketch: ample details could be cited in support of it. Thus we read of Belgium:—

"Since 1880 especially the peasant class in general have grown poorer; there are only rare exceptions to be found, which must be looked for among those

peasants who have small holdings, which they cultivate themselves with the assistance of their children, and who possess all the absolutely necessary virtues—strict economy, exemplary activity and morality, abstinence from the public houses, and especially abstinence from alcoholic excess; the villages the inhabitants of which have not kept clear of this curse have become poor.

"From 1850 to 1876 the peasant class, whether owning their land or not, were in prosperous circumstances. From 1876 to 1890, and especially from 1890 on, the liabilities of the generality of the peasant class have increased, especially among such as, in consequence of the great centres of population being at a distance, or of the insufficiency of their resources or skill, do not go in for high farming or subsidiary industries....."

And of Switzerland.

"The chief occupation of the peasant proprietors in the southern cantons is the cultivation of the vine, and in the Alpine cantons, cattle-grazing and cheese-making. One feature common to most districts in this country is the existence of numerous small accessory industries which enable the small proprietors to supplement their earnings from the land and occupy them during the winter months.

"Among other circumstances which I cannot help thinking considerably assist the Swiss peasant, may be cited the employment given in the tourist season by the large influx of summer visitors, the distribution of small pieces of forests and forest rights among the small proprietors, and the village system, in contradistinction to isolated homesteads, which afford valuable opportunities for co-operation and mutual assistance....."

"In districts like the Emmenthal and high lands where cattle breeding and the milk industry flourish, or in those parts of the Jura and Lake Districts where house industries come to the aid of agriculture, the peasant proprietor may be able to hold his own, even in years of scarcity. Where, however, his resources are limited to the uncertain produce of a small holding, his position, at the best a precarious one, must become untenable when exposed to the stress of bad times. There is then no alternative left to him but to part with his land altogether and to seek a livelihood either in one of the industrial centres at home, or in one of those countries of South America to which so many of his compatriots have emigrated in recent years."

As for Greece, the account of the prosperity of the peasant recalls all the pastoral joys associated in story with the name of Arcadia. But the causes are not to be lost sight of in the idyllic picture. *

"The working classes and peasant proprietors are as a rule abstemious and thrifty, intemperance is very rare among them, distilled liquors are avoided, and the wine of the country, which is mild and often mixed with water, is used in moderation. Among these classes the desire to obtain land and house property is very strong, and owing to their careful and thrifty habits they are generally able to satisfy this craving, and there is scarcely a family which does not own a small cottage or a plot of land or vineyard, which supplies it as the case may

* Foreign Office Diplomatic and Consular Reports, 1892, No. 980.

be, with oil, olives, wine, corn, and grazing for a few goats and sheep. These remarks apply principally to the working and labouring classes inhabiting the larger towns and their neighbourhood.

"The peasants who twenty or thirty years ago almost all led a pastoral life, inhabiting villages in the interior of the Peloponnesus, where, during the summer and autumn, they pastured their flocks on the high table-lands of Arcadia and on the slopes of Erymanthus, Taygetus, Iellene, and other high mountains, have mostly now become landed proprietors as well, for the Government wisely granted great facilities to all Greek citizens for acquiring Government lands in the plains of Achaia, Elis, Argolis, &c., which had been lying fallow for years. These facilities were largely availed of by the mountain peasants and shepherds, and large tracts which had long been waste and unprofitable have been turned in a few years by these indefatigable workers, into flourishing currant and grape vineyards, which all the members of the family, men, women, and children, cultivate on odd days and holydays, when employment is not easily obtained elsewhere, and thus the amount realised for their produce is almost all profit. Principally by their means the currant crop, which twenty years ago used to average 70,000 to 80,000 tons, now produces 150,000 to 160,000 tons, and is annually increasing.

"The Greek peasant woman is expert in the use of the handloom, spindle, and distaff. All the cotton stuffs, woollen blankets, bright coloured carpets, and coats used are made by the women of the household, besides these, each young girl, with the assistance of her friends, is expected to prepare her own trousseau of household linen, carpets, blankets, and even her future husband's brightly coloured saddle cloths and saddle-bags."

I have no space to quote the account of the happy, independent, hospitable life, led by these prosperous peasants, but it would be one more instance of the fact, that it is not toil that disheartens and ruins. Secure to the labourer the fair fruits of his labour, and you shall still find over the whole world,

"*Pingue solum lassat, Sed juvat ipse labor.*"

It is owing to the important position thus held by accessory industries in rural economy that the Department of Agriculture becomes in some countries really a Department of Industries. An interesting account of the working of such a Department, showing how industries have not only been revived but created, with the most marvellous effect on the prosperity of an agricultural population, will be found in a paper in the *Contemporary Review* for October 1886, describing the operations of the Bureau of Agriculture and Rural Industries in Wurtemberg. It is possible that graduates may at least help Government in any efforts it may

make in this direction ; unfortunately our village industries, where not dead, are in a state of rapid decay ; and any action to save them must be prompt.

But the most striking analogy to the present status in India is to be found in the condition of agriculture in England in the early part of the present century. As pointed out by Dr. Cunningham * the increase of population, the vantage ground occupied by the speculative capitalist, and the changes in the economy of manufactures produced by the invention of machinery, completely altered the conditions of rural life. Before 1815 the manufacturer was generally a petty farmer as well, and the agriculturist was almost universally a petty manufacturer. Thus it came about that "the differentiation between town and country became more complete... The survey of 1615 shows that Sheffield cutlers, who had a considerable struggle to pay their way, combined the management of some land with the production of whittles. At Pudsey, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, the woollen weavers practised agriculture as a by-employment at the beginning of the present century. They were able to add considerably to their personal comfort, and to pay high rents for pasture land, though their agriculture was backward in the extreme."

As to the domestic industries of the agricultural population, he writes thus :—

"It is still harder to trace the steps by which those who were mainly supported by labouring on the land ceased to practise industrial pursuits as by-employments. It does not appear that the ordinary husbandman engaged in weaving, though some of them seem to have done so in the Leeds district ; but it is quite clear that spinning was very generally practised as a domestic industry, and was carried on by the wives and children of husbandmen ; spinning was thus a by-employment which gave an additional source of income to families.

"The invention of machine-spinning and the enormous saving which it effected rendered it impossible for the hand-spinners to compete..... Since it had merely been a by-employment, the women and children could not follow the work to factories, unless these were established at their very doors ; and as agricultural wages were unusually high during the first decade of the century, they had but little temptation to try and compete with machines ; there was no violent opposition to the change at the critical time. As a consequence this by-employment in rural districts died out, while nothing was substituted for it as a means of augmenting the family income.....

* *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* ; Vol. II., pp. 480 seq.

"The migration of spinning and weaving was the most noticeable change which occurred ; it left the husbandmen and their families entirely dependent upon the soil, but other influences were just beginning to change the character of country life. Machinery has been adapted to so many purposes that the village artisan is no longer required. The capitalist farmer in all probability preferred the better goods which he bought for less money at a distance, to the productions of the local artisans ; as a consequence there have come to be fewer occupations than before."

As to the variety of these home and by-employments, Dr. Cunningham quotes an interesting passage from Mr. Prothero. *

"Hitherto the rude implements required for the cultivation of the soil or the household utensils needed for the comfort of daily life had been made at home. The farmer, his sons, and his servants, in the long winter evenings carved the wooden spoons, the platters, and the beechen bowls ; plaited wicker baskets ; fitted handles to the tools ; cut willow teeth for rakes and harrows and lardened them in the fire ; fashioned ox-yokes and forks ; twisted willows into the traces and other harness gear. Travelling carpenters visited farm houses at rare intervals to perform those parts of work which needed their professional skill. The women plaited the straw for the neck collars, stitched and stuffed sheepskin bags for the cart saddle, wove the straw or hempen stirrups and halters, peeled the rushes for and made the candles. The spinning wheel, the distaff, and the needle were never idle ; coarse home-made cloth and linen supplied all wants ; every farm house had its brass brewing kettle..... All the domestic industries by which cultivators of the soil increased their incomes, or escaped the necessity of selling their produce, were now supplanted by manufactures."

That a similar transformation, due to causes, some the same, some analagous, some no doubt special, is going on in our midst in India, can hardly be questioned ; but to accurately define its conditions, delimit its progress, and suggest remedies or at least ameliorations, is a more difficult matter than a mere admission of its existence, and requires all the aid that Government and its ablest servants can give. Statesmen do not attempt to mend these things by turning them over to graduates. Pitt, at least, did not. At the instance of Sir John Sinclair, the celebrated author of the "Statistical account of Scotland," he established in 1793 a Board of Agriculture, with the well-known Arthur Young as Secretary, which did a great deal of practical good, until, mainly through the influence of the tithe-owners, it was discontinued in 1819. If only a native Sinclair or Young should arise, it would not be so utopian to look for a Pitt as Viceroy.

* *The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* : (1888), p. 67.

Alternately or concurrently with a want of petty industries, we find a want of capital available for agricultural purposes. In many countries, and particularly in Germany, efforts have been made, apparently with much success, to supply the peasant proprietor with money needful for improvements by the agency of Agricultural Banks and other Associations of a more or less public character. Many proposals to this effect have been made in India, but hitherto they have come to nothing. The most healthy scheme, formulated by Sir William Wedderburn, proposed by the Government of Bombay, and approved by the Government of India, was quashed by the Secretary of State, for no given reason. The local Government has done something in this direction, but its loans have not been looked on with favour. Government itself tells us* that the "account for 1894-95, presents the same unsatisfactory features as marked the transactions of previous years." The unsatisfactory features are focussed in this fact that although a sum of seven lakhs was provided in the sanctioned budget for land improvement and agricultural loans, no more than 2·8 lakhs (or two-fifths) have been utilized.

We are informed that a revision of the rules is contemplated which will, it is hoped, effect an improvement, and His Excellency the Governor-in-Council fondly trusts that "greater advantage will in future be taken of the facilities afforded for improving agriculture and sanitation in the Presidency." It is understood that the proposed new rules are under consideration by the Government of India and are not available for publication. This I must characterise as a mistaken policy. Surely in a matter of this kind, where no party considerations could possibly find place, and no one could desire to do other than endeavour to render the rules as effective as possible,—it would have been wise for Government to have taken those most interested into its confidence and invited public criticism and suggestions.

The main reason for the disfavour with which the ryot regards the Government loan, seems to be the uncertainty as to the portion of the loan which, after passing through so many hands, will ultimately reach those of the borrower. If there be any truth

*G. O. 28th August 1895.

in the statements of witnesses on this point, the low nominal rate of interest becomes delusive; and its temptations vanish. In the Report of the Committee we find frequently such reasons as these.

"(1) Because the mortgage to Government hinders further mortgages if more money is required, as for marriage; (2) the loan is public and this spoils his credit with the money lender; (3) the estimate by Government officers of the work done is too low."

"Publication of his private circumstances, hard and fast rules, inspection of his property and improvements, restrictions as to his mode of carrying out the improvement, are objectionable to the ryot."

"Long delays: difficulty of access to officials: fear that the whole sum will not reach the borrower: fears as to repayment."

"High interest, worry and expense to ryots by lower officials, inelasticity and stringency of conditions."

The chief obstacle on the part of the ryot is undoubtedly the presence of the sowcar, from whom and whose fathers he and his fathers have borrowed for generations. He is as ubiquitous, as powerful, and as shrewd as the Irish gombeen man; and, like him, is a tough customer to fight. But there is no doubt it can be done if the second main obstacle, this time not on the part of the ryot, be overcome. I refer to the apathy of the officials. In fact, it was shown that practically all the money advanced in loans to agriculturists was lent in two or three districts, where the Collectors were enthusiasts and took special personal interest in this branch of their work. When Revenue officials learn that it is as much and as important a part of their duty to encourage the tenant to earn his rent as to collect the rent from him when earned, then the Government loan fund will soon over-swell the limits of the allotment in the budget. As one witness pithily put it, "Instead of the ryot going to the Tahsildar, the Tahsildar should go to the ryot."

Here, I may add, is evidently a field in which the educated non-official can help Government, acting as an intermediary and calming the fears and misapprehensions of the borrower. Here also is an opportunity for invoking the aid of Local Self-Governing bodies. As suggested by influential witnesses much good might be achieved by entrusting the management of these loans to Local Fund Boards.

But it may be suggested that many landholders are in a position to influence considerable areas of land and that to these attention should be directed. Unfortunately very few Zemindars or hereditary Mirasidars are Graduates of the University, and it is doubtful if it would do their estates much good if they were. Still more unfortunately such education as the Court of Wards provides for those under its charge does not appear to be specially suitable. Judging by the last Report there would seem to be no system or definite aim in the bringing up or training of these youths, and except in the cases of one or two who have the benefit of private tutors on their own estates, little attempt is made to impart any instruction likely to prove really useful. To study the elements of Revenue law and accounts can hardly be considered by itself satisfactory training for a landed proprietor. Were the Government to see that everyone of the Wards had at least the opportunity of being brought up as an educated country gentleman, with a knowledge of agriculture, estate management, and economy, it would—although only a small number might turn out successfully—confer an estimable boon upon the country. But graduates unfortunately are for the most part landless and moneyless, and to tell them to turn to agriculture is to give them a stone when they ask bread.

Further it may be asked if there is any insuperable objection to the introduction of improved methods, as suggested by the agricultural experts, on the estates under the management of the Court. The Reports show great activity in collecting rents and a most praiseworthy devotion to the financial superintendence of these properties, but nothing more. Even as regards such improvements as come under the head of Public Works, the results are most unsatisfactory, and here at least Government does not seem to blame in intention, though its want of real interest is sufficiently proved by its remissness in seeing these intentions carried into effect. We are told that during the year 1893-94* the actual expenditure on Public works, including irrigation works, buildings, and communications—was only 38 per cent. of the allotment of over 5½ lakhs, against 52·4 per cent. in the previous year.

* G. O., dated 6th June 1895, No. 334 Revenue.

That is to say that although works to the value of 5½ lakhs were deemed necessary and budgetted for, little more than one-third of these were actually constructed. No wonder Government considers this “very unsatisfactory”, and attributes it to “causes indicative of laxity or inefficiency in the management.” This is not all. “In respect to the utilization of the surplus balances standing to the credit of the estates, little or no advance appears to have been made, the balances in the more important estates being generally higher than they were in the previous year. The report should have described in detail what steps were taken during the year to carry out permanent improvements with the balances on hand . . .” Needless to say, we find no record of attempts to introduce improved methods of agriculture or cattle-breeding among the tenants, to do any of those things which we might expect from a good landlord, or to exert any of that influence which the Court of Wards would undoubtedly possess. I am again rather shy of suggesting a nostrum, but will nevertheless hint one and risk its being attributed to the Congress, though I have failed to find it in the ten volumes of the published proceedings of that body. Put the Deputy Director of Agriculture in charge of the Wards’ estates, not as rent-collector merely but as land-steward or bailiff, and give him a free hand—of course within the resources of the estate—for five years.

Undoubtedly, after all is said, the fact remains that many graduates do make money and also undoubtedly they do not invest it in land to the extent that might be expected; nor when they do buy land, do they devote time or capital to the improvement of their estates. As we have seen various causes combine to produce this result. The principal one, we need hardly repeat, is the uncertainty of the tenure. Moreover, the policy of the Government seems to be to restrict, if not to abolish, mirasi and kindred privileges and rights; while even the Zemindar’s security is not so perfect as it was once deemed to be. Another, and a very potent reason, was thus formulated by the Hon’ble Justice Subramania Aiyar:—

“It is true that Government paper is now being preferred to land as an investment because the interest is better, because it is more easily realized, and because the rights of coparceners in such moveable property are not so directly apparent.”

The last ground is no doubt of far-reaching and powerful effect; and has often been adduced to me in private conversation. There is, indeed, a curious measure of uncertainty as to the law, an uncertainty that will remain until some wealthy Vakil deliberately leaves an expensive law-suit behind him. The principle which is apparently law could not, on the authority of the Hon'ble V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, "be applied in the majority of concrete cases"; nor "could it be practically worked without a distressing degree of uncertainty." These considerations led him to formulate his "*Gains of Learning*" Bill, to which, however, he has proved a very negligent parent. In introducing this, he said:—"Feelings of delicacy and other considerations postpone partition in many families and the uneasy feelings as to whether the acquisitions which are being made by a member thereof by industry, intelligence, and learning, will at the time of partition be regarded as his own separate and exclusive property or as merged in the joint family property, leads to mutual distrust, discord, and misunderstanding among the members of the family. A rule which, by depriving a person and his heirs of the fruits of his learning; skill, and industry, because he happens to be a member of an undivided family, enables other members of such family each to claim as of right a share therein equal to that of the acquirer, and which, on the death of the acquirer undivided, intercepts the descent of such property to his personal heirs, cannot but act prejudicially to the interests, advancement, and material prosperity of the community, in which such a rule is or is supposed to be in operation."

Without committing one's self to the support of Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar's Bill as it stands, it may be safely said that some legislation in that direction would greatly promote the investment of capital in land by wealthy professional men and merchants.

It may not be without interest in this connection to observe that among almost all communities of peasant proprietors in Europe the change in the economic condition which I have described, has been accompanied by alteration in the laws of inheritance. Sometimes these alterations have been openly introduced by statute with the object of meeting the altered condition of affairs; sometimes they have been accused of producing a share

at least of the evils now met with. And it is further very remarkable to note that sometimes old custom has prevailed over the new statute, and averted or hastened threatened evils. Thus we find that in Austria, to prevent extreme sub-division of peasant-holdings, an Act was passed by the Reichsrath in 1889, but it has proved "a dead letter, as none of the Provincial Diets have passed the necessary laws making it possible to apply it." In Belgium, on the other hand, the provisions of the Civil Code "were intended to effect, and have effected, the increase of the sub-division of properties and the number of proprietors." In Denmark, again, special laws were passed in 1837 and 1845, with the view of preventing the sub-division of small properties while recognising the rights of the members of the family. This was effected by a system whereby the land went to one selected member, charged with money payments in favour of the others. The result is said to be an enormous increase in the indebtedness of the peasant proprietor class. In Germany, in 1874, a Land Act was passed "which gave the landowner the right to secure the inheritance of his estate to a single heir by registration." This Act is said to have been highly successful in Hanover, but custom was too strong for it in the more backward provinces. In France the law of inheritance is still that of 1793, which provided for the equal division of property among children. The effect of this law, however, we are told, "was in a great measure neutralized by the long formed habits of the peasant proprietary. This Law of Succession was eluded where possible, and the comparative sterility of marriages has been undoubtedly one of its results. In the south particularly, where the family system prevailed, the common practice continued, notwithstanding the new law. The father still remained the head and legislator of his family, all working for the common stock administered by him, and receiving the portion he allotted them when setting up for themselves, one son being selected by the father as his associate and heir. The change of system, therefore, has been only gradually carried out."

I hope no one will assume that I am suggesting such a supremely anti-Congress nostrum as an attack upon the joint-family

system. I am merely desirous of pointing out how modes of possession—absolute or qualified, joint, separate, or representative—and systems of inheritance—by will or by statute, primogeniture or family, conserving or dividing the estate—are inseparably bound up with the economic condition of the proprietor, and must be found more or less out of touch with the environment as the latter changes. The raising of the point as to “Gains of Learning” is a significant proof of this statement. Whether the inconveniences produced by the discrepancy or the evils likely to arise from any attempt to produce concord, should be allowed to preponderate in the scale, is another question and one of great difficulty. In this as in other spheres it may be better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of. But if we come to that resolution, we should clearly recognise it; the evil must be acknowledged as necessary; the presence of the disturbing factor must not be ignored. If it be found, for example, that the restrictions on the ownership of self-acquired property constitute one hindrance to the investment of capital in agriculture, we must admit that we cannot eliminate that element by telling the ryot to buy a new plough or the graduate to turn his dictionaries into pruning hooks.

There is one other point which if touched on at all would require an article to itself,—I mean agricultural education, to use a convenient if not strictly accurate phrase. As far as Madras is concerned, this is a pitiful story. Elaborate proposals as to agricultural schools and farms were made by Lord Connemara's Committee, they were formulated into a working scheme and sanctioned by Government,—then the scheme fell dead and apparently its very memory is now forgotten. *Cujus culpa?*

I have indicated above an opinion that much will in future be done in connection with these agricultural problems by a greater devolution of work and power on Local bodies. Many of the practical questions here arising seem peculiarly fitted for treatment in this way. I have already made some general remarks on this subject in the first number of this Review. I now only allude to it in conclusion on account of its special appropriateness in this connection, and because also Lord Wenlock gave utterance to views upon it from which I must venture to dissent. He says:

“Under this heading I would cover the whole ground occupied by Municipalities and Local Boards. Local Self-Government is out here *but a plant of tender growth*, and one which for many years to come will require the most unremitting attention and care on the part of those who have called it into being. *It has to overcome prejudices engrafted in the dust of ages, and to run counter to the habits and customs engrained in the very nature of the people.* And it is in consequence I am afraid not altogether popular.”

This is surely such a travesty of history as one does not expect to find outside the pages of the *St. James's Gazette*. Local Self-Government, as now established, is a plant of tender growth only in the sense that the elder tree which had grown and strengthened through centuries had been ruthlessly and ignorantly cut down. The idea is hereditary among the people, the only novelty consists in the immense amount of Government interference and restraint. The Government does not require to make Local Self-Government popular, but to guide it wisely and to endeavour above all things to assimilate its methods to those which have become heir-looms among the people. And is it not a curious assumption to begin with that Local Self-Government in its work “must run counter to the habits and customs engrained in the very nature of the people?” This is to court defeat at the outset. The longer one lives in this country,—lives intelligently, with open eyes, I mean,—the more one becomes convinced of this, that there is a great deal to be said in favour of habits and customs engrained in the nature of the people. Some may seem incongruous and but ill adapted to our times, but we are always more ready to observe small incongruities than great congruities. In fact what is required is not eradication but modification. You do not want to root up the tree, but to trim and train it properly. What elements go to form national custom and character? Some are practically unchangeable, for example, the physical conformation of the country, its hills, valleys, and rivers; its climate, with its sun, its rains, and droughts. Others are modified with such slowness that the change is almost inappreciable, the physical constitution and intellectual character

of the people, their religion and morality. Others, again, move with rapidity and are mainly external, as the increase of communications, diversions of trade, education, &c. A custom which is congruous with elements of the first two classes cannot be far wrong radically, though it may want modification to remove its glaring incongruities with elements of the third class. But to work at reform, thinking only of the last class and neglecting the two former, is to attempt impossibilities. And in no department of administration are the two former more potent, than in the department of Agriculture. Here, if anywhere, the physical conformation of the country and the physical constitution of its people's present barriers which make change in certain directions impossible. Like two parallel mountain ranges, they compel the river of progress to flow between them; and as surely as the waters of the river will never run up the slopes of the mountains, so surely will all attempts at change or progress be futile which endeavour to contend with the primeval conditions under which the land exists and the people have their being.

JOHN ADAM.

THE NATIVE CATHOLIC CHRISTIANS OF SOUTH CANARA.

1. *Origin.*—The Native Catholic Christians, of whom there are about 70,000 in South Canara are mainly descendants of local Brahmin converts as also of those who emigrated from Goa especially on account of disturbance there in the 17th century. It would appear that the Portuguese were instrumental in effecting conversions along the Canara coast early in the 16th century when their relations with the Vijayanagar Kings were friendly. Afterwards with the Sonda chiefs in the North and the Bednur chiefs in the South as their allies, the work of conversion was carried on apace so that Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" notices a Bishop at Karwa in 1772, under whose jurisdiction the Catholics of Bombay then were. We all know how the great St. Francis Xavier was helpful by the might of his zeal and charity in drawing many even among the higher classes of Hindus to Christ. Miraculous indeed was the draught of souls that filled his apostolic net. The promise given to the Fishermen of old by their Divine Master was here literally fulfilled, and souls innumerable were drawn into Peter's net. Thus, all along the coast of Canara and in a more marked manner in Goa,—the scene of Xavier's apostolic labours,—many hitherto strangers to Christianity were, between the 16th and 18th centuries, taught to confess Christ, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Portuguese nation. Most of the leading places along the coast had priests, churches and Christian congregations when Hyder Ali conquered Bednur and Sonda in 1763, and arrested the progress of Christianity. Up to 1784 the Christians remained unmolested, but when in that year Tippu the son of Hyder succeeded in driving the English out of Canara, he determined both on political and religious grounds to convert the Native Christians of Canara to Islam. In the same year, as narrated by Mr. Campbell in the "Bombay Gazetteer" to which (besides my own personal knowledge) I am indebted for much of the information contained in this paper, "Tippu issued orders that that a secret census of

Nasranis or Christians should be taken and the result sent to him. On receiving the papers he sent out detachments of soldiers under trustworthy officers, with sealed orders, and instructions that the orders should be opened and executed on the same day, one hour after morning prayer. These instructions were carried out, and of the 80,000 Christians, 60,000 or according to other accounts 30,000 were made prisoners. The Churches were dismantled and every trace of the Christian religion disappeared. Except infirm women and children the prisoners were marched under a strong military escort to Seringapatam, the capital of Maisur. Here under Tipu's orders they were divided into battalions of 500 each and officered with men who were versed in the Kuran. They were afterwards distributed among the principal garrisons where they were taught the Kuran, and named Ahmadis." The change of climate from the coast to the Mysore uplands, harsh treatment and the unhealthiness of some of the places to which they were sent so broke the health of these unhappy victims of Moslem fanaticism that within a year 10,000 are said to have perished. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 only a few thousands of the survivors returned to their desolate homes. It is from these remnants that escaped the angry breath of Moslem persecution that the Native Catholic Christians of Canara are descended. It is believed that in the Native Christian population of Canara there is a strain of European blood passed down from the Portuguese who in the 16th and 17th centuries settled along the coast for trade and other purposes. However this may be there can be no doubt that the bulk of the Native Christians are, as stated above, the descendants of local converts.

2. *Classes*.—They have, especially among the illiterate classes, retained their native surnames, such as distinguish the Brahmins and Vaishyas, so that while European surnames, such as Gonsalves, Saldanha, D'Souza, Sequeira, Borges, Furtado, Rodrigues, Noranha, Gomes, D'Almeida, D'Vas, Lobo, Fernandez, Lopes, Rozario, D'Sa, surnames which their ancestors must have received from those who stood sponsors to them at the time of their baptism—are commonly met with, native patronymics, or rather distinctive caste names such as Parbu, Shetti, Naik, Shonoi, Shanbog, Poi, Kampti and Padval, are by no means uncommon. Old caste distinctions are to some extent still kept up among these Native Christians, not of course with the same religious rigidity as

their pagan ancestors, but as dividing marks in the social scale. The classes into which they are thus socially divided are:—Bammans, Sudirs, Charodas, Gowdis, of these, the Sudirs are craftsmen, while the others are cultivators. The Bammans and others who are educated enter Government service, and generally display considerable talent.

3. *Language*.—All speak the Konkani language, a curious mixture of Maharatti, Canarese and Portuguese, with no literature of its own. An attempt has in recent years been made to systematize the language, and it appears to have proved a success. To the Reverend Father Maffei, of the Society of Jesus, the Native Catholic Christians of Canara are indebted for thus evoking harmony out of what used to be generally regarded as a chaotic language.

4. *Style of Living*.—The habits of the poorer classes do not differ much from those of their Hindu neighbours except that under the influence of Christianity, they have been considerably softened, if not altogether refined. Religion indeed enters into their daily life, and permeates their manners and customs in a manner which to the superficial observer may appear trifling, but which really elevates their nature to a higher level than it is possible for their pagan neighbours to attain. The richer classes live in European style, though not altogether discarding their native habits. Very many even don the European costume, though the female portion of the community is rigidly conservative in this respect. One distinctive style of dress worn by the women is the white overcloth called *Vol* which supplies the place of both cloak and veil, and is worn only in Church. It serves to impart an almost Puritanical primness to their exterior, otherwise gaily bedecked with jewels and flowers. The ordinary diet of the poor is rice, fish and vegetables. Animal food is used only on Sundays and festive occasions. Both rich and poor consider rice their chief staff of life. Their morning meal accordingly consists of rice-gruel with a little mangopickle and dried fish; the midday and evening meals, of cooked rice strained dry, with fish or vegetable curry. Flesh is generally eaten with rice-cakes called *sinhans* which are made of rice-flour, cocoanut milk and unfermented palm-juice, baked in steam, like pudding. They have various holiday dishes appropriate to the festive occasion for which they are prepared. One of these is rice-flour cakes stuffed with cocoanut and molasses.

About an ounce of kneaded rice-flour is spread on a green turmeric leaf to the thickness of a wafer-biscuit, an ounce of scraped cocoanut sweetened with molasses is laid on the paste and the leaf is folded double. These are called *pátolis*. Another holiday delicacy is what is called *manadares* or wafer-biscuits made of red pumpkin and rice ground together. They also make vermicelli called *sherio* by forcing rice-flour through a sieve. This is eaten with cocoanut milk sweetened with molasses. The poor indulge in country spirits, while the well-to-do prefer European liquor.

5. *Religious Customs.*—One prominent characteristic of the Native Catholic Christians of Mangalore is their enthusiasm for religious practices, which is fostered by their spiritual guides and those among them who have entered the religious state. It is not unusual to meet with families several of whose members have had a religious calling; and perhaps there is hardly a single family of any importance that has not furnished at least one member to swell the ranks of the clergy or religions. Every large settlement has a church, and small settlements have chapels which are visited by a Priest several times a year. Sodalties of men and women are established in all the leading churches, and each has its own distinctive badge. Some of the ancient brotherhoods wear, besides, special cloaks and tippets when assisting at the public functions of the church and according to their respective offices each individual member carries in his hand a wooden pole called *vava* or rod about four feet long covered either with a thin plate of silver or tinsel. Every Parish has its own special Feast which is celebrated at the expense of the President of the brotherhood appointed for the year and some of the members. These titular Feasts are celebrated with very great splendour. A nine days' devotion precedes the solemn celebration, and on the eve of the Feast, the neighbouring parishes are invited and received with honors. Each of the neighbouring Parish Priests leads his own Parish headed by a Processional Cross. The Vicar of the Parish where the Feast is celebrated, vested in surplice and stole meets them a little way off the Church, incenses the Cross and then allows them to pass on. This ceremony is repeated till all the Parishes with their brotherhoods have passed on to the church. Vesper follows, and then what is called "distribution of honors" in the shape of candles to the President and members who take a prominent part in the celebration of the Feast, as also to the leading men of the

Parish. The Native Catholic Christians are great sticklers for religious honors. Not a Feast but has its special donors and benefactors whose names are publicly read out in the Churches and who are presented with wax candles as a token of distinction. On the Feast day High Mass is sung with splendid solemnity, and with the Procession and Benediction that follows lasts for nearly 4 hours from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M. A touching custom is kept up on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin which is celebrated just when the paddy crops begin to ripen and are, in some places, about to be harvested. Sheaves of corn are brought from the various fields by their owners, some of them marching in procession accompanied by music and the inevitable tom tom, and are afterwards publicly placed in the church before the Holy sacrifice begins. Then they are distributed first among the leading men, and afterwards among the assembled people. During the novena preparatory to the Feast, every day the boys of the Parish go to the church with paper chaplets on their heads and plates full of flowers in their hands. They stand in lines on both sides of the entrance to the chancel which is separated from the nave by a wooden railing and has a statue of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Babe, put up in the centre shrouded by lights and flowers. The sacristan and the boys sing a hymn in Konkani, and the boys beginning with the couple who head the two lines, go in pairs to the table whereon the image of the Blessed Virgin is set up, strew flowers at the feet of the image, and on the floor of the chancel and then come back to their places. A very tender devotional practice this, which proves the devotedness of the Native Catholic Christians of these parts to the Blessed Mother of God, as Catholics regard the Virgin Mother of Christ.

6. *Social Customs.*—Girls are married at any age after 14, but among the lower classes they are generally married a year or two earlier. Proposals for marriage come as a rule from the girls' parents. Among the higher classes matches are generally a matter of dowry, and agents are often employed to bring about settlements, and yet the religious character of matrimony is never lost sight of. Undue freedom between the betrothed is not permitted. The announcement of betrothal is made on three successive Sundays. At the houses both of the young man and woman, two sheds called *matars* are built, a guest shed in front of the house and a cooking shed behind. In the cooking shed a band of

married women prepare earthen hearths singing Konkani songs. When the hearths are ready sweetmeats are handed round. This is called *roshio ghalcho*. Invitations to the wedding are made personally by the mother and father or a kinsman of the bride and bridegroom. A day or two before the wedding the married female neighbours help in preparing articles necessary for the wedding feast, singing Konkani songs as they work. This is called *dalop*. It used to be the practice in former days on the eve of the marriage for the bride and bridegroom to be rubbed with cocoanut milk, while songs were sung by the women; and afterwards bathed; but this foolish ceremony called *roslancho* is now done away with, the common sense of the Konkani Christians revolting against it. I believe it is the practice also to have Mass said for the souls of the deceased members of the families entering into matrimonial alliance, and alms in the way of food given to the poor. This feeding of the poor is called *Almanchanjevan* which literally means food of departed souls, food that is given to the poor, to expiate by such charity, the sufferings of the souls of the dear ones in Purgatory. On the morning of the wedding day, the bride and bridegroom, having on their wedding garments and adorned with jewels, receive the blessing and good wishes of parents and friends and start from their respective houses in procession to the church, where a nuptial Mass is invariably celebrated after the wedding knot is tied with the usual religious ceremony. Then the bride and bridegroom accompanied by friends and relations go in procession to the bride's house. When they reach the marriage booth married women of the bridegroom's family stand outside and sing merry songs in Konkani, the bride's people praising the bridegroom, while inside the booth a band of friends sings the bride's praises. This lasts for about half an hour. Then rosewater is sprinkled on the guests, and among the well-to-do cake and wine offered to them. The bridal dress with flowers and ornaments are shortly brought for the bride by the bridegroom's people, and offered with much ceremony. All this while, the bride is seated inside the house and the bridegroom and bestmen outside in the booth or pandal. Soon however the bridegroom's female relations enter the house, and robe the bride in her new bridal dress, and tie the marriage necklace

round her neck, and deck her with flowers. As soon as the robing is over, the bridegroom walks into the house and stands by the side of the bride, and all present say prayers and sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. The bridegroom afterwards returns to the booth leading the bride by the hand. Then follow the giving of presents by the bride's people to the newly married and dinner to the guests. The next day the bridegroom and bride start for the bridegroom's house amid a shower of blessings from all the elders both men and women. Here the bridegroom's people make the customary presents of gold ornaments or wearing apparel and afterwards treat the guests to a dinner. This done, the father of the bride makes his daughter over to the parents of the bridegroom saying:—"From her birth till now I have cherished my daughter. I now give her to your charge and trust that you will treat her as your own child." For five or six days after this, the newly married couple and their respective parties are entertained, now at the bride's house, now at the bridegroom's, till finally the couple return to the bridegroom's house. In the seventh month of her first pregnancy a woman is dressed in a new robe, decked with flowers, and after feasting with her friends and relations, taken to the house of her parent for her accouchement.

7. *Progress of Religion*.—In the Diocese of Mangalore, which comprises the whole of the District of South Canara, and a part of the neighbouring District of North Malabar, there are 30 Parish Churches and several chapels served by 33 native secular Priests and by some of the Jesuit Fathers of the Italian Mission. Each Parish is divided into a number of circles or village groups with a *Budvant* or headman at the head of each. The *Budvant* has an orderly called *Chamador* or *Kolkar*. In distant out of the way villages where there are no stationary Priests, the *Budvant* watches the conduct of the community, and in cases of misdemeanour gives notice to the ecclesiastical authorities. In this manner lay help is very creditably utilized chiefly among the illiterate classes of the community. There is an ecclesiastical seminary at the Head Quarters of the Diocese, where over 30 young men, all natives of the soil are studying for the Priesthood. Not far from this seminary is a convent of cloistered Carmelite nuns, recruited, like

the former; from among the natives, though the superior is French. Education is fostered among the people through the sedulous and watchful care of the Jesuit Fathers. The College of St. Aloysius was founded in 1880 and two years later affiliated to the Madras University. It consists of a Middle and High School, and a College Department, and the number of boys on the rolls is nearly 400. That the Native Catholic Christians take to a liberal education with avidity is evidenced by the fact that the passes at the University Examinations from this Collège, have always been remarkably fair. The girls too have schools in several centres conducted by the Tertiary sisters of Mount Carmel. These good nuns have so ingratiated themselves in the esteem of the high caste Hindus of these parts that they have been able to open a school also for the high caste Hindu children. The Mission supports a large asylum for the sick and destitute poor, as also orphanages for boys and girls. Able bodied men and boys are trained to various industrial arts in the Mechanical Institute attached to the asylum. There is also a Leper Asylum under the supervision of the Revd. Father Aug. Muller of Homœopathic fame. Here poor wrecks of humanity are housed and fed and otherwise taken care of with truly Christian tenderness. But these details refer rather to the work of the Jesuit Mission, than to the subject of this article which is confined to the origin, habits, and social and religious customs of the Native Catholic Christians of Canara. I shall therefore conclude with the expression of a hope that this community will exercise a still greater influence over the surrounding population, and by the example of their lives, free from the trammels of vice and superstition, lead their neighbours on to virtue and happiness.

F. F. LEMERLE.

VEDANTISM AND NEO-PLATONISM.

THE evidence for the influence of Indian thought on Greek philosophy, previous to the Christian era, is extremely meagre, but we have strong proofs indicative of Indian influence on Greek systems, such as Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism, which flourished chiefly in the second and third centuries after Christ. There are, no doubt, some striking traits of agreement noticeable between individual systems of Greek thought in ante-Christian times and the ancient schools of Indian philosophy, but these are nothing more than what can be accounted for by the natural sameness of human thought. It is true such eminent authorities as Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Bathelémy Saint-Hilaire, Leopold von Schroeder and others have tried to prove the dependence of the Pythagorean speculations upon Indian philosophy and cosmology, and, in proof of this, have adduced some striking analogies between the Indian and Pythagorean systems. But, in the absence of historical evidence of the influence of Indian on Pythagorean philosophy, we are not justified in attaching much importance to even a number of coincidences in regard to cosmological and philosophical conceptions; so long as these conceptions are what would suggest themselves naturally to the ancients, who attempted to reason concerning philosophical and scientific problems, without any extraneous aid. Colebrooke, in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, assigns the following reasons for advocating the Indian origin of Pythagorean philosophy:—

"Pythagoras, and Ocellus in particular, distinguish as parts of the world, the heaven, the earth, and the interval between them, which they term lofty and aerial. . . Here we have precisely the heaven, earth, and (transpicuous) intermediate region of the Hindus."

"Pythagoras, as after him Ocellus, peoples the middle or aerial region with demons, as heaven with gods, and the earth with men. Here again they agree precisely with the Hindus, who place the gods above, man beneath, and spiritual creatures, flitting unseen, in the intermediate region."

"Nobody needs to be reminded, that Pythagoras and his successors held the doctrine of metempsychosis, as the Hindus universally do the same tenet of transmigration of souls."

"They agree likewise generally in distinguishing the sensitive, material organ (*manas*), from the rational and conscious living soul (*Jivatman*), one perishing with the body, the other immaterial."

"Like the Hindus, Pythagoras, with other Greek philosophers, assigned a subtle ethereal clothing to the soul apart from the corporeal part, and a grosser clothing to it when united with body; the *sukshma* (or *linga*) *sarira* and *sthula sarira* of the Sankyas and the rest."

Now, there is nothing very peculiar in any one of these doctrines to justify our claiming for them a purely Hindu origin. They are broad guesses or half guesses at truth that would naturally suggest themselves to every thinking people. Even the doctrine of metempsychosis has been shown by E. B. Tylor and others as having prevailed among some of the lower races of mankind, such as the Tlascalans of Mexico, the Zulus of Africa and the Dayaks of Borneo, from the earliest times.

Whilst the coincidences between the Pythagorean system and Hindu philosophy do not warrant our ascribing an Indian origin to the former, the points of agreement between Neo-Platonism and Vedantism are of a more striking nature, and point distinctly to the influence of Indian thought on later Greek philosophy.

Neo-Platonism, as the term implies, is only a further development of Platonism. It is in fact the union of Platonism with oriental mysticism. When philosophy, on Greek soil, after passing through those remarkable stages of development, in the hands of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno and Epicurus, ended in a hopeless scepticism—a scepticism which tried to demonstrate that 'We can know nothing, not even this itself, that we know nothing'—it had evidently reached a stage of decay beyond all hope of recovery. Philosophy, therefore, driven from its home in Greece, found a congenial soil in Rome and Alexandria; but the Romans took no share of their own in the development of philosophy, and hence, on Roman soil, philosophy was but a weak paraphrase of the Grecian. In Alexandria, that great centre of religious struggles and of gigantic commerce, the case was different. Lively relations had been established in the first century A. D., and even earlier, between Persia and India and Egypt; and Alexandria was the great meeting place of Eastern and Western thought. Oriental mysticism was in the air, as it were, when philosophy, exiled from Greece, found a congenial home, for a time, in Alexandria; but the only system of Greek thought that could thrive in such an atmosphere was Platonism, which had already

shewn a leaning towards mysticism. On Grecian soil philosophy remains as philosophy, but in Alexandria, under strong oriental influences, it becomes a theology.

We shall take Plotinus (205-270. A. D.) as the best representative of Neo-Platonism and then trace the striking points of agreement between the system he developed and the Vedanta and Sankya systems of thought. Plotinus follows closely Plato in drawing a sharp line of distinction between the world of sense and the world of intelligence. The world of sense is in itself manifold, impermanent, half real. It is marked by multiplicity, for it appears to us as an interminable host of sensations, of sight, sound, touch, taste, smell, all in a constant state of change, like a stream of water. All that appeals to our senses is like a drifting cloud; before you can point your finger at it it has taken a different shape. The condition of sensuous existence is a ceaseless play of antagonism. In this material, contingent world everything depends on something else, everything is bound by the iron chain of causality. There is no freedom. The sensible world cannot, therefore, be understood in itself. The world is like a mirror in which a man sees the shadows of realities. There is a world higher and better than the world of sense, an existence in which a face to face knowledge with realities is possible. Above, around and within the world of sense, therefore, there is another world, the world of intelligence, which is characterised by Unity, Eternity, Goodness, Beauty, Truth, Freedom, and Life. So far, Neo-Platonism is merely an echo of Platonism. Vedantism agrees with Platonism in regarding the life of sensuous existence as a lower life, and in drawing a distinction between the world of sense and the world of intelligence, but this agreement is of too general a nature to make us infer a dependence of the one theory on the other. The resemblances, however, between Vedantism and Neo-Platonism are more striking.

One peculiar feature of Neo-Platonism, which distinguishes it from its Greek prototype, is the doctrine of the mystical absorption into divinity or the One. Plato had said that the soul should try and free itself from the shackles of sensuous existence in order to have a face to face knowledge of realities and enter the world of intelligence. There he stopped, but Plotinus points out the way in which a knowledge of the true may be attained. Such knowledge can only be won by a process of intuition, which consists in a swooning back as it were into the

absolute, and thus losing all consciousness of Self and Not-Self. The supreme degree of cognition is vision of the true being, the single principle of things; in which all separation between it and the soul ceases; in which this latter, in divine rapture, touches the absolute itself, feels itself filled by it, illuminated by it. He who has attained to this veritable union with God, despises henceforth even that pure thought which he formerly loved, because it was still after all only a movement, and presupposed a difference between the seer and the seen. To quote Plotinus: "The faculty by which the mind divests itself of its personality is *Ecstasy*. In this ecstasy the soul becomes loosened from its material prison, separated from individual consciousness and becomes absorbed in the infinite intelligence from which it emanated. In this ecstasy it contemplates real existence; it identifies itself with that which it contemplates." This doctrine of mystical absorption into divinity is pure Vedantism. The one object the Vedantist has is to penetrate beyond the unreal to the real, and thus make the individual soul recognise and recover its unity with the universal soul. The way to this is by a process of abstraction, the laying aside of the vestures of the soul by the repression of every feeling, every desire and every thought;—the renouncement of family, home, and worldly ties. By further and further abstraction the soul reaches the last and highest stage of development, the spiritual unity of undifferented being. After the soul has reached the highest stage,—the intuition of self—nothing remains but an undifferented unity. This is also the consummation which the Neo-Platonist puts forward as the goal to be reached by every individual bent upon emancipating himself from this life of sensuous existence.

It is regarded as a historical fact that Plotinus, with the view of perfecting his experience by personal acquaintance with the wisdom of the Persians and Hindus, attached himself to the expedition of the Emperor Gordian against the Persians; but that after the disaster of the expedition he returned immediately to Antioch. On Porphyry, the disciple of Plotinus, the Indian influence seems to have been even more direct. He made use of the treatise of Bardesanes, from which he copied an important passage about the Brahmins. And Bardesanes is said to have acquired information about India from the Indian ambassadors who were sent to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. This being so we are not surprised at the Indian stamp that is borne by Neo-Platonism.

The peculiar theory of emanation of the Neo-Platonists also bears more or less a Vedantic stamp. This theory assumes the world to be an effluence or irradiation of God. The all-perfect and eternal Being, in the fulness of its perfection, permits to emanate from itself—what is equally everlasting though only second to itself—reason. Reason, therefore, is the reflexion of this eternal one. From reason again there emanates the eternal soul of the world. This universal soul in its turn fashions the visible world, forming it as material copy of its own Self, penetrating and animating it. Thus from the highest series, the one eternal Being, we have reached the lowest, the world of sense; but this eternal being is the only noumenal reality. Neo-Platonism, therefore, is pure Monism and as such is akin more to Vedantism than to the Sankya system. The Vedantist doctrine of emanation also takes for granted one ultimate reality and that is Brahman, the impersonal self. Brahman, or self *per se*, is changeless, but in union with *Maya* becomes fictitiously the basis of this baseless world, and underlies the world fiction out of which the ever-changing figment worlds proceed. In the following exposition, by Sankaracharya, of the doctrine of emanation, as contained in one of the Upanishads, we cannot help noticing the prototype, as it were, of the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation:—

"First there is the one and only Self, apart from all duality, in which have ceased to appear the various counterfeit presentations or fictitious bodies and environments of the world of semblances; passionless, pure, inert, peaceful, to be known by the negation of every epithet not to be reached by any word or thought."

"Secondly, this same Self emanates in the form of the omniscient Demiurgus, whose counterfeit presentment or fictitious body is cognition in its utmost purity; who sets in motion the universal undifferented germ of the worlds, the cosmical illusion; and is styled the internal ruler, as actuating all things from within." (This corresponds to the universal soul of the Neo-Platonists.)

"Thirdly, this same Self emanates in the form of Hiranyagarbha (Prana, the Breath of Life) which accounts for the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep, the sum of the dreaming consciousness of the world.

"Fourthly, this same Self emanates in the form of waking sentiences in its earliest embodiment within the outer shell of things as *Vijraj* or *Prajapati*. He is identified with the totality of waking consciousness, with the sum of souls in the waking state, and the sum of their gross, visible and tangible environments. (This corresponds to the third and last stage of emanation of the Neo-Platonist which accounts for the coming into existence of the visible world.)

There is one more peculiar doctrine of the Neo-Platonists, the doctrine of the *Logos*, which seems to have its counterpart in Hindu philosophy as well. The *Logos* doctrine plays a very prominent part in all mystical systems beginning with Neo-Platonism. God being incomprehensible and inaccessible, an intermediate existence was necessary as an interpreter between God and man, and this intermediate existence the Neo-Platonists called the Word—*Logos*. God's Word or thought is two fold, according to one of the earliest Neo-Platonists, the thought as embracing all ideas (in the Platonic sense of the term idea,) i.e., thought as thought, and the thought realized, thought become the world.* The *Logos*, therefore, came to mean that which forms the basis of the explanation of things, the cause or living force or energy which brings the thing into being, and makes it what it is.

Professor Richard Garbe of Königsberg, in an able and interesting article in the *Monist*, on "The connexion between Indian and Greek philosophy," quotes with approval the theory of Professor Weber, who regards the idea of the *Logos* as one of the Grecian loans from India. Professor Weber seems to think that the *Logos* occupies the same position in Greek philosophy that the Sanskrit *Vach* does in Indian philosophy. He has put forward the supposition that the Indian conception of the *vach* (a feminine noun, meaning voice, speech, word) may have had some influence upon the idea of the *Logos* in Neo-Platonism, and passed from there into the Gospel of St. John. To quote Professor Garbe:—

"Weber starts from the hymn *Rigveda* X. 125, in which *Vach* already appears as an active power, and he refers to the personification of the "divine *Vach*" or language, as the vehicle of priestly eloquence and wisdom. He then traces the development of this idea through the *Brahmana* literature, where the *Vach* becomes more and more similar to the *logos* in the beginning of the Gospel

* Gospel of St. John, Chap. I. 1.

of St. John. In the numerous passages quoted by Weber, the *Vach* appears as the consort of *Prajapati*, the creator, in union with whom and by whom he accomplishes his creation; yea, the *Vach* is even ultimately the most spiritual begetter, and now and then she is placed absolutely at the beginning of all things, even above the personal bearer of her own self. Weber concludes with the following words:—"There are certainly no difficulties in understanding the cosmological position of the *Vach* which is simply to be conceived as the culmination of glorifying priestly meditation and knowledge, while the same position of the *logos*, on the other hand, appears without any suggestion as to its origin or development."

Prof. Garbe himself goes a step further and contends that as the Platonists seem to have adopted the doctrine from the Stoics and these again from Heraclitus, who flourished in the fifth century B. C., Heraclitus himself must have been influenced by Indian thought. The doctrine of *Logos* was no doubted anticipated in previous Greek systems but it was given a peculiar interpretation by the Neo-Platonists, and, therefore, Prof. Weber is justified in not going the length that Prof. Garbe does.

Prof. Garbe also refers to Lassen's treatment of Neo-Platonism. Lassen makes out that the Sankya system it is that has had the greatest influence on Neo-Platonism. There are no doubt some striking points of agreement between the Sankya system and Neo-Platonism. The Sankya system strives to lead men to discriminative knowledge and with it to redemption, that is to absolute painlessness; Neo-Platonism also promises to deliver the world from misery. The doctrine of the mystical absorption into divinity or the One, which Plotinus propounds, has much in common with the latter development of the Sankya philosophy viz., the Yoga system. Professor Garbe also points out that the *ecstasy* of Plotinus ("the union with the deity") is the same as the *prajibha* of the Yoga system (the immediate, universal knowledge of truth that comes upon one suddenly after systematic ascetic exercises). Moreover, the ascetic tendency of Neo-Platonism has its counterpart in Yoga philosophy. But every one of these points of agreement between the Sankya and the Neo-Platonic systems is to be found in the Vedantic system as well, whilst the fact that the theory of emanation of Plotinus bears a distinctly Vedantic stamp and the other consideration that Neo-Platonism is practically a monistic and

not a dualistic system, like the Sankya, clearly show that Vedantism it is that must have had the greatest influence on Neo-Platonism.

It is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of speculative thought,—this curious blending of Indian and Greek thought on African soil. It is true that, as a system of philosophy, Neo-Platonism has not had much influence but there is something fascinating in its mysticism, and in the bold attempts it made to solve by faith the problems unsolvable by reason. Greek philosophy expired with Neo-Platonism but before disappearing finally it made a desperate effort to regain its lost position by union with oriental mysticism; but a new influence, in the shape of Christianity, was at work, preparing new ground for an outburst of philosophy in a different direction altogether, and to this new influence Neo-Platonism succumbed completely. It is interesting to study the union of Indian and European philosophical speculations in modern times, and to compare the nature of this union with that seen in Neo-Platonism, but this is a task which must be taken up on a future occasion.

S: SATTIANADHAN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET.

WE are of opinion that though the *idea* of an alphabet—a system of written symbols giving a distinct visible form to linguistic sounds in their most elementary condition—may not have first suggested itself to the Vedic Rishis, still the mode of writing which they have employed to embody their thoughts on multitudinous subjects was all originated by them after they finally settled down in the country, and had leisure to devote themselves to a systematic study of their sacred hymns. And why did the Rishis invent the Alphabet? The Rishis repeated the Mantras (hymns) as their present descendants do, with the utmost scrupulosity, not mispronouncing a single word or fraction of it; and the words were carefully analysed, and each separate member subjected to a rigid scrutiny. In this way, the word came to be divided into syllables, and syllables into letters, and their separate properties were discovered. Naturally a desire was felt for a permanent preservation of the results of their linguistic inquiries, and distinct visible symbols were contrived. They were arranged in a systematic group, thus making up the Devanagari Alphabet, the most scientific Alphabet in the world, absolutely free from a single redundant sound or symbol. The Greek or Roman Alphabet is different. It was not produced to satisfy a felt want, and especially the want of purists, whether sacerdotal or literary. The Greeks and the Romans formed an Alphabet, which they used without inquiring into its scientific merits; and the first Greeks and Romans who used it were poets, who did not care how their poems were recited. They wrote them as they were moved by the afflatus which possessed them, and trusted for the appreciation of their performances or the correct enunciation of them to the same spontaneous inspiration. But it was different with the later Rishis. The poems composed by their ancestors were regarded by them as divine and potent engines for obtaining great gifts from the gods, for the efficacy of which correct articulation was essential. Hence the origin of the different

grammatical and rhetorical treatises that came into existence; and hence, also, the necessity that was felt for a mode of writing to preserve a knowledge of the accurate utterances of the sacred verses. The Devanagari alphabet thus sprang on the Indian soil, after the Mantra period, when the spontaneous poetic effusions of the primitive poets had come to be regarded as Divine charms. Each elementary sound was represented by an *akshar*—a distinct indestructible sign, and each full radical sound having been a syllable, the elementary symbol which denoted it was a syllabic representation. All the vowels and the consonants were syllables or *akshars*, the consonants having had the vowel *a* inherent in them.

Now the next question is, how did the letters of the Devanagari alphabet suggest themselves to the ingenious originator? Did he copy any existing alphabets or derive new forms by a modification of them? We believe the Indians did not borrow their alphabet. All the *akshars* are modification of one form or figure, and they could not, for this one form, go about either begging or borrowing. The Devanagari alphabet is formed upon one great principle:—the passage of the breath in utterance, and this principle can be traced throughout the whole of its scientific arrangement. The gutturals are placed first; then the palatals, then the linguals, then the dentals, and last of all the labials. The breath as it proceeds from the larynx is affected first by the muscles of the throat, then by those of the palate, the upper palate, etc. till it reaches the lips, when it explodes forcibly. So when articulation is traced from the lips backward we come to the larynx, which shows itself at the back of the mouth by means of two round holes making up a shape like this— ∞ —two circles placed in juxtaposition. This magic figure is the basis—the germ from which the whole of that most beautiful and systematic alphabet—the Devanagari—arose. Every letter or syllable of this alphabet is a modification of this copy of the two holes that stand staring at the beholder at the roof of the tongue. A detailed account of the genesis of the Devanagari alphabet is given below.

The circles, in their perfect or imperfect form, were placed in every possible position in reference to a perpendicular line, and the full-fledged letters or characters came thus into existence.

I. THE VOWELS.

(1) In अ *a* the twin circles are placed perpendicularly in juxtaposition to the perpendicular line, and the two are joined by a short line. The circles in hurried writing would not form perfectly rounded figures; thus अ, ञ, ङ, ञ, ञ *a*.

(2) The आ *ā* was made by adding the perpendicular line to अ *a*.

(3) The इ *i* is produced by writing the initial part of अ *a* with a twist at the bottom; thus, ञ, ञ, ञ, *i*. This is the short इ *i*. The long ई *ī* is the short इ *i* with a part of it at the top, as इ + ८ = ई.

(4) The उ *u* is the initial part of अ *a* with simply the horizontal line at the top; thus, ञ, उ *u*. The long ऊ *ū* is the short उ *u* with a part of it put at the side of it, as उ + ८ = ऊ *ū*.

(5) The ए *e* is a half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line with the whole of the initial part of अ *a*, put in an inverted form on the other side; thus, ञ, ञ, ञ, ए *e*. The long ऐ *ai* is produced by giving a twist to the right portion of the ए *e* as ऐ.

(6) The लृ *lṛ* is the initial part of अ *a* having its short line of union put upside down with a bent at the right end; thus, ञ, लृ, लृ *lṛ*. The long लृ *lṛ* is made up with a twist at the right end, as लृ *lṛ*.

(7) The ए *ē* is the half of the initial part of अ *a*, put perpendicularly and in a reversed position, with a slight bent at the lower end, and with the perpendicular line by its side; thus, ञ, ञ, ए, ए *ē*. The long ऐ *ai* is the short ए *ē* with the lower part of its initial member put at the top; thus, ए + ८ = ऐ *ai*.

(8) The ओ *o* is आ *ā* with the upper stroke of ऐ *ai*, and ओ *o* is ओ *o* with an additional upper stroke.

(9) The अं *am* is the अ *a* with a dot at the top, and अः *aḥ* is the अ *a* with two dots at the side.

II. THE CONSONANTS.

(i.) *The Gutturals.*

(1) The क *ka* is the initial part of अ *a*, written horizontally, or sideways with the perpendicular line put in the middle, and the left half fully rounded; thus, क, क, क *ka*.

(2) The ख *kha* is the initial part of अ *a* with the first half of क *ka*; thus, ख, ख, ख + व = ख *kha*.

(3) The ग *ga* is a half of the initial part of अ with the perpendicular line by the side; thus, ग, ग, ग *ga*.

(4) The घ *gha* is the initial part of अ *a* turned inside and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, घ, घ, घ *gha*.

(5) The ङ *nga* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in the vowel इ with a dot on the right side; thus, ङ, ङ, ङ *nga*.

(ii.) *The Palatals.*

(1) The च *cha* is the initial part of अ *a* put horizontally with the openings at the top, and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, च, च, च *cha*.

(2) The छ *chha* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in च *cha*, but with the right end curved and joined to an upper horizontal line with a perpendicular short line; thus, छ, छ, छ, छ *chha*.

(3) The ज *ja* is the initial part of अ *a* written as in च *cha* and joined at the right end to the perpendicular line; thus, ज, ज, ज. As in च *cha* so in ज *ja* the rounded part of one member of ω is straightened but in the reverse order: in च *cha* the first part, and in ज *ja* the second.

(4) The झ *jha* is the modification of the initial part of अ *a*, as in इ *i*, joined to the perpendicular line with a short horizontal line; thus, झ, झ, झ, झ, झ *jha*.

(5) The ञ *ña* is a half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line with a short horizontal line; thus, ञ, ञ, ञ, ञ, ञ *ña*.

(iii.) *The Linguals.*

(1) The ट *ta* is the initial part of अ *a* put in an inverted position; thus, ट, ट, ट *ta*.

(2) The ठ *tha* is the ट *ta* with its lower part turned round; as ट *ta*, ठ *tha*.

(3) The ड *da* is the initial part of अ *a* written as the guttural nasal ङ *nga* without the distinctive dot; thus, ड, ड, ड, ड *da*.

(4) The ढ *dha* is the ट *ta* with the lower part bent in; thus, ढ *ta*, ढ *dha*.

(5) The ण or ण *na* is the whole or a part of the initial part of अ *a* written with its two ends turned upwards, having the perpendicular line put by its side on the right hand; thus, ण, ण, ण, ण, ण or ण *na*.

(iv.) *The Dentals.*

(1) The dental त *ta* is the half of the initial part of अ *a* joined to the perpendicular line; thus, त, त, त *ta*.

(2) The थ *tha* is the initial part of अ *a* having its upper end turned round, and the lower somewhat curved in, being joined to the perpendicular line; thus, थ, थ, थ, थ, थ, थ *tha*.

(3) The द *da* is the inverted form of the initial part of अ *a* having its lower curve enlarged with a twist at the bottom; thus, द, द, द, द, द, द *da*.

(4) The ध *dha* is the initial part of अ *a* with a knot at the top and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, ध, ध, ध, ध, ध *dha*.

(5) The न *na* is the elongated half of the initial part of अ *a* joined horizontally to the perpendicular line with a knot at the other end; thus, अ, ञ, न *na*.

(v.) *The Labials.*

(1) The प *pa* is the half of the initial part of अ *a* written upright and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, अ, प, उ, फ, प *pa*.

(2) The फ *pha* is the प *pa* with a bit on the other side of the perpendicular line, as in क *ka*.

(3) The ब *ba* is the प *pa* with its initial part fully rounded as in क *ka*, and having a stroke in the round part.

(4) The म *bha* is the initial part of अ *a* written almost as in the dental थ *tha*, which see; thus, अ, र, म, म *bha*.

(5) The म *ma* is the म *bha* without the initial knot; thus, म, र, म, म *ma*.

N. B.—The modifications of अ *a* have been made in the above forms of the consonants according to some fixed rule, and not quite at random.

(1) The guttural sounds are most close, and the parts of the initial portion of अ *a* are therefore mostly closed up; thus, in क *ka* the first part व is so; the same is the case in ख *kha*, in ग *ga*, घ *gha*, etc.

(2) The palatals are more open sounds and the initial part in them is open and flat; thus च in च, छ in छ, ज in ज, etc.

(3) The linguals are sharply and forcibly uttered, and the letters are formed in knots; thus ट *ta*, ठ *tha*, ड *da*, ण *na*, etc.

(4) The dentals are soft and flat sounds, and the initial part of अ *a* assumes, therefore, a distended open form thus, त *ta*, थ *tha*, द *da*, ध *dha*, न *na*.

NOTE.—These forms may be compared with the gutturals.

(5) In sounding the labials the breath appears to rise upwards, and the ends of the initial part of अ *a* are turned upwards; thus प in प *pa*, फ *pha*, म *bha*, म *ma*, etc.

(vi.) *The Liquids.*

(1) The य *ya*, which is the semi-vowel corresponding to इ *i*, is the initial part of अ *a* as in इ *i*, without the twist and the lower part being turned sideways; thus, अ, य इ *i*; अ, य, म, य *ya*.

(2) The र *ra*, which corresponds to ऋ *ri*, is the right part of ऋ *ri* written upright; thus, ऋ *ri*, र, र *ra*.

(3) The ल *la*, which corresponds to लृ *li*, is the लृ *li* without the curve at the bottom; thus, लृ *li*, ल *la*.

(4) The व *va*, which corresponds to उ *u*, is the lower end of उ *u* turned round, and joined to the perpendicular line; thus, उ, व, व *va*.

(vii.) *The Sibilants.*

(1) The श *śa* is the initial part of च *cha* to which it corresponds, written perpendicularly, with the perpendicular line written by its side; thus, च, श, र, श, श *śa*.

(2) The ष *sha* is the lower part of ट *ta*, to which it corresponds, joined to the perpendicular line, with a stroke in it; thus, ट, ष, प, ष, ष *sha*.

(3) The स *sa*, which corresponds to the dental त *ta*, is the त *ta* with a twist, the initial being joined to the perpendicular line in the middle; thus, त, स, स *sa*.

(4) The ह *ha*, which is a guttural, is the guttural ड *ḍa* without the dot, and a stroke at the left side of it; thus, ड, ह, ह *ha*.

(ix.) *Miscellaneous Letters.*

(1) The ळ *la* is a modified form of ल *la*, thus ल *la*, ळ *la*.

(2) The क्ष *ksha*, which represents क *ka* and प *sha*, is the initial round part of क joined to the first part of प *sha* with a twist, and both united to the perpendicular line; thus, क + प = क्ष.

२, ३, क्ष. The internal stroke of ष sha is used for the twist of the initial part of क्ष ksha.

(3) ज्ञ jna which is composed of the palatal ज ja and न na is ज ja modified with a twist; thus, ज ja, ज्ञ jna.

When once the letters of the alphabet were formed, the figures expressing the numerals were easily derived. They were produced from the initial letters of their names. Thus,

१ = ए in एक	one	(1)	६ = ष in षट्	six	(6)
२ = द्व in द्वि	two	(2)	७ = स in सप्त	seven	(7)
३ = त्र in त्रि	three	(3)	८ = अ in अष्ट	eight	(8)
४ = च in चतुर	four	(4)	९ = न in नव	nine	(9)
५ = प in पञ्च	five	(5)	१० = द in दश	ten	(10)

NOTE.—The origin of the numeral signs had been traced before. We have simply suggested the origin of the Alphabetical characters.

G. R. NAVALKER.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued)

WE have a vivid picture of Madura in the verses left by the poets of this period (1). Long before dawn Brahmin students begin to recite Vedic hymns; musicians tune their lutes and practise upon them; pastry cooks clean the floors of their shops; and toddy sellers open their taverns for early customers (2). Minstrels go round, singing their morning blessings. In the temples, in the monasteries and in the palace of the Pandya, conch shells boom, and big drums resound with deafening noise (3). The rays of the morning sun now gild the tops of the fort towers and reveal the proportions of the city. The main streets "are long and broad as rivers" and the buildings on either side of the main streets are, most of them, lofty mansions with upper stories, furnished with many windows (4). At every temple a flag is hoisted. Over each liquor shop floats a merry steamer. Each trader's warehouse is distinguished by a special banner. For every victory gained by the king's forces gorgeous colours are unfurled. So many; and of such divers shapes and colours are these flags that the city looks as if it has been decked for a grand festival. Detachments of the king's troops return to the city, from their raids into enemies' territories, bringing with them such booty as horses and elephants, and beautifully carved gates removed from fortresses which they had stormed. Other parties of soldiers return with herds of cattle, lifted at night, in the light of burning villages, and driven with their long spears, which now serve as goading sticks. Feudatory chiefs follow with their tributes to be presented to the king. Later, flower-sellers with trays

(1). Mankudi Maruthavar's Mathuraik-kāñchi—Nakkirar's Nedu-nal-vālai and Ilanko-adikals' Chilappathikāram.

(2) Mathuraik-kāñchi line 654 and ff. Two very interesting articles on the "Ten Tamil Idylls" which appeared in the *Christian College Magazine*, from the pen of Mr. Sundaram Pillay M. A., have been of much use to me, as they contain translations of extracts from the Nedu-nal-vālai and Mathuraik-kāñchi—C. C. Magazine Vol. VIII No. 2, page 661 and Vol. IX No. 2, page 114.

(3). Chilapp-athikāram—XIV—7 to 14.

(4). Mathuraik-kāñchi—357 and ff.

full of loose blossoms and garlands suspended on their arms, and vendors of fragrant powders, of aracanuts and betel leaves, stroll in the streets or sit in the shade of the lofty buildings. Elderly women with tempting dainties and sweet smelling flowers, go from door to door, offering the articles for sale to the inmates of each house. The wealthy classes drive in chariots drawn by horses or ride on ambling steeds which are trained to special paces. The poor pedlars and petty dealers now run hither and thither, excited and terror stricken, as a fierce elephant, which had burst its chains and killed its guards, rushes through the street, while men run before and behind it, blowing conch-shells to warn passengers off the road. Now and then the brawls of drunken soldiers also disturb the peace of the street. In the great market which is held in an extensive square, are exposed for sale (5) "carts, chariots and ornamented chariot tops; coats of mail and metallic belts which cannot be cut; leathern sandals and fly whisks made of the white tail of the yak; strong spears and curved clubs; elephant goads and shields to protect the face of elephants; various articles made of copper and of brass; saws and lathes and other tools; pretty garlands of flowers and fragrant pastes to be burned as incense or rubbed on the body, and other articles too many to be set forth." In the jewellers street are sold diamonds of the four kinds then known to merchants, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, topaz, lapizlazuli, onyx stones, lustrous pearls and bright red coral beads. The gold merchants who dwelt in a separate street, sell the four varieties of that precious metal known as Satharupam, Kilichchirai, Adakam and Sambunatham. Cloths of various colours and patterns, made of cotton, wool or silk are exposed to view, folded and neatly arranged in rows, to the number of several hundreds, in each of the clothier's shops. Sacks of pepper and the sixteen kinds of grains, such as paddy, millet, gram, peas, sesamum seeds, are heaped in the grain merchants streets; and the brokers move to and fro with steel yards and measures in their hands, weighing or measuring the pepper and grains purchased by the people. In the Courts of Law preside learned Judges, who carefully avoid all anger and levity, and weigh the evidence and expound the law, without fear or favour (6). In the Ministers Courts are seated the sage councillors of the king, honored with the high title of

(5). Chilapp-athikāram—XIV—168 to 211.

(6). Mathuraik-kānchi—line 489 and ff.

Kāvithi, who with a keen foresight prevent all that is evil and promote what is good for their prince and for the people over whom he rules.

On a spacious lawn enclosed by a wall stands the palace of the Pandya(7). The gateway is so high as to allow elephants to enter with banners erect on their backs. "The tower over the gateway" says the poet "is like a hill and the passage underneath like a tunnel bored through the hill." The folding gates are strongly rivetted with iron and provided with, massive bolts and bars. They are painted with vermillion, and on the door posts are carved images of the guardian deities. In the court yard which is covered with white sand, gambol "the long-haired yak and the short-legged swans." In another part of the enclosure are the royal stables where superb steeds are ready for the king's use. The stately apartments reserved for the use of the queen and her attendants, which no male but the king can approach, are decorated with flags of all the colours of the rainbow. The walls are of the hue of polished brass, and are at intervals plastered with white mortar which shines like silver. The beautiful creepers, painted on the walls, and the blue colour of the pillars blend to make a harmonious picture of the whole.

In the audience hall is seated the handsome Pandya. He wears only a single piece of clean starched cloth on his waist(8). Over it is clasped a jewelled belt. On his bare arms, above the elbow, are armlets of pure gold beautifully wrought. On his broad shoulders, fragrant with sandal paste, is a priceless necklace of brilliant pearls, besides a wreath of flowers. Around him stand a group of sturdy warriors, his trusted Captains, heroes who had captured many a fortress or slaughtered fierce elephants in battle, veteran chiefs, whose coats of mail have been battered and bruised in many a fight. Actors and minstrels and lute players display their skill in the presence of the monarch and receive chariots and elephants as presents.

In the cool hours of the evening, the noblemen drive out in splendid chariots, drawn by horses, each guarded by a number of his footmen who run by the side of his chariot(9). They are clad in red coloured garments. Their swords hang by their sides,

(7). Nedu-nal-vādai—lines 76 to 114.

(8). Mathuraik-kānchi—716 to 752.

(9). Mathuraik-kānchi—lines 431 and ff.

in scabbards ornamented with gold, and on their breasts are wreaths of flowers. Their ladies wearing sounding ankle rings and golden bracelets, appear on the high terraces, of their mansions, and their perfumes spread fragrance through the streets. The public walks are filled with a motley throng of chank-cutters, beadmakers, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, weavers, painters and dealers in perfumes and flowers, who move about the streets and dispose of the things they have brought for sale⁽¹⁰⁾. The hotels and restaurants are all now crowded by visitors who feast upon luscious fruits such as the jack, mango or plantain and on sugar candies, tender greens, edible yams, sweetened rice or savoury preparations of meat. Above the hum of voices is presently heard a flourish of trumpets and other instruments of music, which summons the people to their evening worship. Women wearing glittering jewels, accompanied by their husbands and children, carry incense and flowers to the Buddhist monasteries. In the retreats of the Brahmin ascetics, which are like excavated blocks of rocks, is heard the chant of vedic hymns. Nig-ranthas crowd the cool cloisters of the monks of their sect, the walls of which are exceedingly high, and painted red, and are surrounded by pretty little flower gardens. Others visit the Brahminic temples and offer the evening sacrifices to the gods, "the chief of whom is He who is the creator of the five elements and who is armed with the battle-axe" (Siva).⁽¹¹⁾

As the shades of evening darken, lamps are lit in each house. Youths gaily attired, and harlots decked with jewels and flowers, walk the streets. Drunken soldiers go reeling, not minding even the sharp pointed caltrops strewn in the streets to keep off elephants. Young mothers, escorted by their relations, proceed with lights, singing sweet melodies to the accompaniment of the lute and the tabor, and present boiled rice and other oblations to the goddess who is supposed to ensure the safe delivery of children, and with the priestesses they partake of the offerings. In the suburbs, among the lower classes, at the bidding of soothsayers, festivals are held in honor of Muruga, and they dance hand in hand, wild and uncouth measures, with noisy songs and loud cries, while shrill cymbals and rattling drums keep up a discordant music.

Little by little the dancing and singing parties disperse. The petty traders close their shops; the dealers in sweetmeats go to

(10). Ibid lines 511 and ff.

(11). Mathuraik-kānchi lines 453 and ff.

sleep in front of their stalls, and silence reigns in the city. The night guards now patrol the streets. Armed with bows and arrows, unerring archers as they are, they go their rounds with fearless hearts and sleepless eyes, "not failing in their duty even in dark and rainy nights when the high streets overflow with water."⁽¹²⁾

Such is the description of Madura given by Tamil poets of the first and second centuries of the Christian era. It was doubtless the most famous and important town in Tamilakam at this period. What distinguished it however from other towns in the Tamil country were the high towers over the four gates of the fort. Hence it was familiarly known as Nān-mādak-kūdal or the "Cluster of four towers." The name was sometimes shortened into Mādak-kūdal, or Kūdal.⁽¹³⁾ The site of this ancient Madura or Kudal was most probably Palā Madura (or old Madurā,) now in ruins, which is situated at a distance of about 6 miles to the South-east of the modern town of Madura. The ruins are now on the northern bank of the Vaigai, whereas ancient Madura stood on its southern bank; but it is quite possible that the river had changed its course since the destruction of the old city. That Madura was in danger of being destroyed by the Vaigai may be inferred from a poet's description of Pandya in the following words. "Lord of the fortified

(12). Mathuraik-kānchi, lines 646—650.

(13). Nakkirar's Tiru-murukārup-padai, line 71. Kalith-thokai, stanza 35, line 17. Stanza 92 lines 11 and 65. The tradition that the name Nān-mādak-kūdal owed its origin to the four temples Tiru-ālavāy, Tiru-nallaru, Tiru-mudankai and Tiru-naduvur appears to be an invention of the Puranic age.

I believe that the kingdom of Mo-lo-kiu-cha referred to, by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled through Southern India between 629 and 645 A. D., is the kingdom of Madura or Malaya-kūdal. Dr. Burnell relying on an inscription at Tanjore, supposed Malakuta to represent the delta of the Kaveri. (South Indian Palæography 2nd edition page 40. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII page 39 ff.) Dr. Hultzsch has shown that this identification rested on an erroneous reading of the Tanjore inscription: but as regards the name he observes as follows: "The first half of the name Mo-lo-kiu-cha is no doubt the well-known Dravidian word 'Mala' a hill: and the second may be connected with 'Kūrram' which means a Division, or more probably with 'Koddam' which means a district." *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XVIII p. 240.—It appears to me however, more likely that 'kiu-cha' stands for Kudal, the old name of Madura.—During Hiuen Tsiang's time, the kingdom was 5000 li or 832 miles in circuit, and the circumference of the capital town was 40 li or about 7 miles—Si-yu-ki Book X. page 21.

city, whose walls knew of no siege by any other enemy, but the waters of the Vaigai when it is swollen with floods." (14.)

Outside the fort of Madura resided those men, who led a life of religious devotion and poor classes of people such as the Panar and other lower castes (15). West of Madura was the hill Parankunru sacred to Subramanya (16) according to the poet Nakkirar. This hill is south west of modern Madura but directly west of the ruins now known as old Madura; east of the Capital was another hill, where there was a temple dedicated to Vishnu. On the latter hill were three springs, to bathe in which was believed to be an act of great merit by the votaries of Vishnu (17). On the way from Madura to Uraiyur (now a suburb of Trichinopoly) were the Sirumalai hills which were covered with groves of mango and jack trees, arecanut and cocoanut palms, and where onion, saffron, raggy, millet, mountain rice, edible roots, plaintain and sugarcane grew in abundance (18).

Of the boundaries of Pandynadu or of the exact extent and position of the other twelve nadus comprised in Tamilakam, there is no record in ancient Tamil poems. The accounts given by commentators are also conflicting (19).—In the absence of any connected account of the ancient geography of the country by Tamil authors, I have had to make my own researches with the help of the information available in the Periplus and in the works of Pliny and Ptolemy.

(14). Kaliththokai, stanza 67, lines 3 to 5.

(15) Mathuraik-kanchi, 340-342.

(16). Thiru-murugattup-padai, 71-77.

(17). Chilappathikaram-XI 91-103.

(18). Ibid-XI-80 85.

(19). Gunasâgara in his commentary to the Yâpparunkalam of Amrithasâgara, eighth sutram of the third part Olipiyai, gives the limits of Chen-tamil-nadu or the province where pure Tamil was spoken "as north of the Vaigai river, south of the Marutha river, east of Karuvur and west of Maruvur." This would include approximately, the northern half of the modern district of Madura and the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. It would exclude Madura, the capital of the Pandya. The commentator Chenâvaraiyar and after him, Nachchiñâ-kkiniyar accepted this definition of Chen-Tamil-nadu, and they mention the names of the surrounding Nadus in the following order from the South-east to the North-east of Chen Tamil Nadu :—Ponkar, Oli, Then-pandi, Kudam, Kudam, Panri, Karka, Cheetham, Pooli, Malayamanadu, Aruva and Aruva vada thalai. Gunasâgara gave the same list with this difference that instead of Ponkar, and Oli, he had Ven and Punal Nadus. Sankara-namach-chivayâr rejected with very good reason, this definition of Chen Tamil Nadu, in his commentary to Pavananti's Nannul-Chollathikaram, Peyariyal, sutrams 14 and 16. He was of opinion that Chen Tamil Nadu ought to have included Paudi Nadu and excluded the Chola country or Punal Nadu.

There appear to have been four nadus or provinces bordering on the Arabian sea, in the following order, from North to South. Pooli or the "sandy tract," Kudam or the "western province" Kuddam or the "land of lakes" and Ven or the "bambooland" (20). The names were appropriate to the natural peculiarity of each province. Pooli extended most probably from the banks of the modern Agalappula to the mouth of the Ponani river. The soil of this part of the country is remarkably sandy. Kudam denoted apparently the region between the mouth of the Ponani river and the southernmost mouth of the Periyar near Ernakulam. This would have been the most western land to the first immigrants who came into Malabar by the Palghat pass. Kuddam comprised the territory around the modern towns of Kottayam and Quilon which is to this day known by the same name to the natives of the country. The river Pali or Palai which flows through this province formed at its mouth several islands and lakes, and hence this tract was called Kuddam or the "land of lakes" South of Kuddam lay Ven which stretched up to very near Cape Comorin. The lowhills and valleys in this region were covered with luxuriant forests of bamboo, and therefore it was aptly named ven-nad or the "bambooland"

The chief town on this coast was Vanji or Karur (21) the capital of the Chera kingdom. It was situated on the banks of the Periyar a few miles inland from its mouth. The site of the town appears to have been near the modern Tiru-Vanjikalam; and its other name Karuvur or Koruvai survives in Karuvaippattina, which is a village situated on one of the branches of the Periyar about three miles north-east of Tiru-Vanji-kalam. About five miles north of the latter place is a village still known as Madilakam, a name which signifies "within the wall." The northern wall of Vanji appears therefore to have at one time extended up to Madilakam. The town

(20). The names Pooli-Nadu and Kuda Nadu survived till the Mysorean conquest of Malabar, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, though slightly altered into Payanad, Polanad and Kutnad. Paynad comprised 9 amshams around the modern town of Quilandy, and Polanad 22 amshams surrounding Calicut. Kutnad consisted of 24 amshams in the modern Taluk of Ponani. Malabar Manual, Vol. I, pp: 647 to 666.

(21). Chilapp-athikaram XXV-9-22.

was strongly fortified⁽²²⁾. On the battlements were mounted various engines which could throw missiles on those who attack the fort. Over the gates in the walls, were towers plastered with white mortar and adorned with flags. Surrounding the walls was a broad moat in which man-eating alligators of large size abounded. All the refuse water of the town flowed into the moat, but its banks were bright with the blossoms of the lotus and the red and white water lilies. No mention is made of any large building and the houses were not built in rows. The king's palace, a temple of Vishnu called Adakamadam or the "golden shrine,"⁽²³⁾ a Buddhist Chaitya,⁽²⁴⁾ and a Nigrantha monastery⁽²⁵⁾ which was outside the Eastern gate of the fort, appear to have been the most conspicuous edifices in the town. The king's relations resided in one street, his ministers and high officers of State in another, and the Brahmins in a third street. The merchants who dealt in gold and precious stones, in corals, and pearls, and in cloths of various kinds, sculptors, painters, carpenters, potters, goldsmiths, copper-smiths, blacksmiths and braziers; tailors and washermen, workers in leather and in conch-shells, musicians and astrologers, bards, minstrels and panegyrists; those who train horses or tame elephants; harlots, and dealers in salt and fish lived in separate streets. If Madura was noted for its many mansions and towers, Vanchi, with its flower-gardens and tanks full of crystal water, limpid streams and little islands, shady bowers and parks with artificial hills and waterfalls, was charming to every visitor. Outside the fort resided the soldiers of the Chera king. Ascetics and philosophers also dwelt in the silent and shady groves, far away from the din and bustle of the capital.

Near the mouth of the Periyar was Muchiri an important seaport. A poet describes it as follows:—"The thriving town of Muchiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold, come

(22). Manimekalai XXVIII 2 to 68.

(23). Chilapp-athikaram XXVI 62 and XXX 51. The commentator states that Adakamadam was Thiru-ananthapuram (the modern Trivandrum) or Hari-puram: but there is nothing in the text of the poem to warrant this conclusion.

(24). Manimekalai XXVIII 127.

(25). Chilapp-athikaram, Pathikam line 1.

splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Kherala, and return laden with pepper." ⁽²⁶⁾ "Fish is bartered for paddy which is brought in baskets to the houses," says another poet: "sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from ships, in exchange for articles sold, is brought to shore in barges, at Muchiri, where the music of the roaring sea never ceases, and where Kudduvan (the Chera king) presents to visitors, the rare products of the seas and mountains." ⁽²⁷⁾

Thondi was another flourishing seaport on the western coast. It stood on the banks of the Makkali ⁽²⁸⁾ or the "big salt river" which is now known, as Agalappulai. "It was bounded" says a poet "by groves of cocoanut trees bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice-fields, a range of hills, bright sandy salt marshes and a salt river, whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of flaming colours." ⁽²⁹⁾ This description suits exactly the village now called Pallikara which is situated at a distance of five miles north of the modern town of Quilandy. The name Thondi is not now remembered by the inhabitants; but the richest landlord in the village, a hereditary nobleman, is styled Thondippunathil Nair or Thondiyil Kuruppachan. About twelve miles up the Agalappulai, near Kuttiadi, is a village still called Thondippoil, a name, which, I believe, signifies, the way to Thondi. The Agalappulai must have been navigable up to Thondi or Pallikkara in former days; but since the Kotta river diverted into another channel, the Agalappulai has shrunk in size and is no longer navigable. ⁽³⁰⁾

Pliny writing of the trade of India mentions the discovery by Hippalos of the direct route to the Indian shores and says, "Afterwards it was found the safest course to proceed direct from the promontory of Syagrus in Arabia (Cape Fartak) to Patala ⁽³¹⁾ with the west wind (Favonius) which they call there

(26). Erukkadue Thayankannanar—Akam 148.

(27). Paranan,—Puram 343.

(28). Poykaiyar,—Puram 48.

(29). Kurunkoliar-kilar Puram 17.

(30). "It would seem as if the Kotta river had at one time found its way to the sea by this outlet (Agalappula) instead of by the channel now in use"—Malabar Manual Vol. I, p. 12.

(31). Patala, at the head of the delta of the Indus, McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 146.

the Hippalos, a distance reckoned at 1435 miles. In the next generation it was judged to be both a safer and nearer course to proceed from the same promontory direct to Sigerus, a port of India. And this mode of navigation was preserved for a long time until merchants discovered a shorter route and the profits of India were thus brought nearer to hand. The voyage is now made every year with cohorts of archers on board the ships, on account of the pirates which infest those seas."

He estimated that India took 55,000,000 sesterces (£ 486,979 sterling) annually, and the goods purchased brought a hundred times that amount when sold in Europe. He described the journey by the trade route through Egypt and then proceeded as follows:—

"They begin the navigation in the middle of summer before the rising of the Dog-star or immediately after its appearance, and arrive in about thirty days at Ocelis (32) in Arabia, or Cane (33) in the frankincense-bearing region. There is also a third port called Muza (34) which is not frequented by those sailing to India, but by the merchants, who trade in frankincense and other Arabian perfumes. In the interior is a city, the capital of the kingdom called Sapphar (35) and another called Sane. But for those whose course is directed to India it is most advantageous to start from Ocelis. From thence they sail with the wind called Hippalos in forty days to the first commercial station of India named Muziris, which is not much to be recommended on account of the neighbouring pirates who occupy a place called Nitrias: nor does it furnish any abundance of merchandise. Moreover the station of shipping is far from the land and cargoes have to be loaded and unloaded in barges. The ruler of the country at the time of which I speak was Coelobothras. There is another more advantageous port which is named Barace in the territory of a nation called the

(32). The modern Ghalla or Cella McCrindle's *Periplus* p. 84.

(33). It has been identified with the port now called Hisan Ghorab McCrindle's *Periplus* p. 87.

(34). This port, once the most celebrated and most frequented in Yemen is now the village Musa about 25 miles north from Mokha, McCrindle's *Periplus* p. 78.

(35). The metropolis of the Arabs of Yemen. It is now Dhafar or Dsoffer or Zaphar McCrindle's *Periplus* p. 80.

lam, Kalaikarais was most probably Chalacoory, and Paloura is doubtless Palayur which is still a large and populous amshom near Chowghat. Mouziris (43) may unhesitatingly be taken to represent Muchiri which according to Tamil poets was situated near the mouth of Periyar and was frequented by Yavana merchants. Pseudostomos signifies in Greek "false-mouth" and is a correct translation of the Tamil or Malayalam expression "Alimukam" by which the mouth of the Periyar below Kadungolur is known even now. It was so called because during the monsoons the river frequently made a new opening for itself in the low sand banks which obstructed its entrance to the sea. The proper name of the river was Periyar or Perunai. South of this river at a distance of 500 stadia or about 58 miles Ptolemy mentions another river called Baris. Neither the river Baris nor any of the towns mentioned as situated between Muziris and Cape Kumari or Comorin has been satisfactorily identified by the scholars who have hitherto examined Ptolemy's account of ancient India. I experienced the same difficulty till one day, when travelling by boat from Alleppy to Kottayam, the boatmen informed me that I should land at Vaikkarai. This brought to my mind Ptolemy's Bakarei and on further enquiry, I was glad to learn that the landing place at Kottayam is known as Vaikkarai and the hill, on which the Dewan Peishkar's Court-house is built, is called Vaikkarai-kunnu or the Vaikkarai hill. I came to know also that the river which flowed through Kottayam is called Palai or Pali, and this corresponded to the Baris which Ptolemy places next to Bakarei. I was satisfied therefore that the ancient sea-port of Bakarei was identical with the village of Vaikkarai near Kottayam. (44) I was surprised to find that the towns on the sea coast between Muziris and Bakarei named by Ptolemy viz., Podoperoura, Semne and Korcoura may be identified with Udiamperrur, Sembai and Kothora, which are situated on

(43). Muchiri is the Muyiri of Muyiri-kodu, which says Yule "appears in one of the most ancient of Malabar inscriptions as the residence of the king of Kodungolur or Kranganur, and is admitted to be practically identical with that now extinct city." It is to Kranganur he adds that all the Malabar traditions point as their oldest sea-port of renown: to the Christians it was the landing place of St. Thomas the Apostle—McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 51.

(44). Yule conjectured that Bakarei must have been between Kanetti and Kollam (Quilon) in Travancore. McCrindle's *Ptolemy* p. 134.

the eastern coast of the back water. This led me to the startling discovery that in Ptolemy's time the sea coast was along the eastern shore of the backwater, and that neither the backwater, which extends at present to over 40 miles from Changanachery to Pallipuram, nor the long strip of land which forms its western bank, and on which now stand the flourishing sea-ports of Cochin and Alleppy, was then in existence.

Nelkunda, the town from which pepper was exported in barges to Bekarei, I am unable to identify. It is mentioned by various authors, under varying forms of the name. In Pliny it is Neacyndi: It is Nelkunda in the Periplus, Molkunda in Ptolemy: in the *Peutingarian Table* it is Nincylida, and in the Geographer of Ravenna, Nilcinna. The site of this town must have been somewhere near the modern Meenachil, where the best pepper is grown to this day.

South of Bakarei, Ptolemy places the country of the Aioi. This was the territory of the Ay⁽⁴⁵⁾ a family of chiefs of the Pothiya hills, who were great patrons of poets. The towns Elankon, Kottiarā and Bammala may be identified with the modern Vilavankodu, Kottaru and Ponnañai. It will appear therefore, that even south of Bakarei or the modern Kottayam, the sea coast has advanced six or seven miles since the time of Ptolemy. Of the inland cities named by Ptolemy I would suggest the following identifications.

Pounnata. ... The modern Poonjaru near Meenachil, where the descendant of a fugitive king is said to reside at present.

Alor. ... Always, a famous place of resort for its medicinal water.

Karoura, the royal seat of Kerobothros } Karuvai or Vanchi, near the modern Karuvaipatna and Tiruvānchikolam about 25 miles north of Cochin. (46)

(45). Puram—stanzas, 127 to 136.

(46). "Karoura" says Caldwell "is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chera, Kera or Kerala kings, and is generally identified with Karur, an important town in the Coimbatore District, originally included in the Chera kingdom. It is situated on the left bank of the river Amaravati, a tributary of the Kaviri, near a large fort now in ruins—" (Intro. pp. 96, 97) This identification rests merely upon the similarity of the names Kareura and Karur. Dr. Caldwell would not have made this mistake, if he was acquainted with the ancient Tamil poems which I have taken as my authorities.

Neacyndi. The king of that country was named Pandion, who resided far from the port in a city of the interior which is called Madura. But the region from which pepper is brought to Bavage in barges hewn out of single trees is called Cottonara. None of these names of nations or ports or cities are found in any former writer, from which it is evident what changes take place in the state of things in these countries. They commence the return voyage from India at the beginning of the Egyptian month of Tybis, which answers to our December, or at all events within the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is, within our Ides of January. Thus it comes to pass they return home within the year. They make the return voyage from India with the south-east wind (Vulturinus) and when they have entered the Red Sea, with the south-west or south wind." (36)

The author of the Periplus commences his account of the commerce and navigation of the Erythraean Sea with a description of the roadsteads on the Red Sea and of their exports and imports. Then he gives a similar account of the seaports on the African Coast and on the Arabian and Persian Coasts. Passing the mouth of the Indus, he mentions the gulfs of Barake (Kach) and Barugaza (Cambay) then Barugaza (Broach) near the mouth of the Nammadios (Nerbada). South of Barugaza the country is called Dakshinabades (Dakshanapatha). Among the local marts in this region is Kalliena (the modern Kalyana near Bombay). After Kalliena, he mentions seven seaports, then the islands called Sesekreienai and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaineitai, near what is called the Khersonesos, places in which are pirates, and after this the island of Leuke (or "the white.") Then he proceeds as follows:—

"Below the White Island commences the kingdom of Keprobetas styled Limrike the first mart of which is Naoura then Tundis a large village close to the shore; and next to these Mopziris a flourishing place frequented both by the native vessels from Ariake and by the Greeks from Egypt. It lies upon a river, but at a distance of 20 stadia (37): and five hundred from Tundis

(36). Malabar Manual. Vol. I, p. 250-251.

(37). The Olympic stadium which was in general use throughout Greece contained 600 Greek feet, which were equal to 625 Roman feet or 606½ English feet. An English mile is equal to about 8½ stadia. McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 4.

the intermediate space is equal whether you measure by land from river to river or take the passage by sea. (Naoura, Tundis and Mooziris) are succeeded by Nelkunda which is in another province under the Government of Pandion. This mart is again five hundred stadia from Mooziris by measurement between the two rivers or by the road on shore or by the course of the vessel along the coast.

"Nelkunda lies on a river at the distance of a hundred and twenty stadia from the sea: but at the mouth of the river there is a village called Bakare, and here the vessels which come down from Nelkunda lie in an open road to receive their cargoes, for the river is full of shoals or mud banks and the channel between them is not deep. Both Nelkunda and Bakare are subject to a king who resides in the interior.

"There is a great resort of shipping to this port for pepper and betel: the merchants bring out a large quantity of spice and their other imports are topazes a small assortment of plain cloth, stibium, coral, flint, glass, brass and lead, a small quantity of wine as profitable as at Barugaza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic and wheat, not for sale but for the use of the crew.

"The principal article obtained here is pepper, which is the staple of the country as growing in the interior; it is brought down to this port in preference to all others, and is of that species called Cottonarikon; great quantities of the best pearl are likewise purchased here, ivory, silk in the web, spikenard from the Ganges, betel from the countries further to the east, transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds, rubies and tortoise shell from the golden Chersonese or from the islands off the coast of Limurike.

"The best season for the voyage is to leave Egypt in the month of July or Epiphi: and the voyage was originally performed in small vessels from Kane and Eudaimon in Arabia which followed the coast during the whole passage. But Hippalos was the first navigator who discovered the direct course across the ocean by observing the position of the ports and the general appearance of the sea. For at the season when the annual winds peculiar to our climate settle in the north and blow for a continuance upon our coast from the Mediterranean in the Indian

Ocean the wind is continually from the south-west. And this wind has in these seas obtained the name of Hippalos from the pilot who first took advantage of it to make his passage to the east.

"From the period of that discovery to the present time vessels bound to India take their departure either from Kane on the Arabian or Caph Aromata on the African side; and from these points they stretch out into the open sea at once, leaving all the windings of the gulfs and bays at a distance and make for their several destinations in the coast of India; those that are intended for Limurike waiting sometime before they sail, but those that are destined for Barugaza or Skythia seldom more than three days.

"Upon leaving Ela-bakara or the Ruddy mountain the country which succeeds is under the government of Pandion: it is called Paralia and lies almost directly north and south; it reaches to Kolkhoi in the vicinity of the pearl fishery and Pandion is sovereign of the whole.

"But the first port after leaving the Ruddy mountain is Balita and next to that is Komar which has a fort and a harbour. This place is frequented for the purpose of ablution by those who have dedicated themselves to a religious life and taken a vow of celibacy. Women as well as men are admitted into this institution; and the legend respecting it reports that a goddess in some former period practiced the same ablutions once a month at this spot."⁽³⁸⁾

Ptolemy gives the following list of sea ports and rivers in Limurike:—

Tyndis a city, Bramagara, Kalaikkarias, Mouziris an emporium mouth of the river Pseudostomos, Podoperoura, Semne, Koreoura, Bakarei, mouth of the river Baris. Then he mentions the country of the Aioli and the following seaports in it.

Melkynda, Elangkon (or Elangkor) a mart, Kottiar, the metropolis, Bammala, Komaria a cape and town. ⁽³⁹⁾

Of the inland cities he gives the following list: Inland cities of Limurike to the west of the Pseudostomos are these: Naroulla,

(38). The Periplus of the Erythraean sea and Voyage of Nearchus, translated by William Vincent, D.D., p. 105. ff.

(39). McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 48. ff.

Kouba, Paloura. Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris these cities: Pasage, Mastanour, Kourellour, Pounnata where is Beryl, Aloc, Karoura, the royal seat of the Kerobothras, Arembour Bideris, Pantipolis, Adarima Koreour, Inland town of the Aiol-Morounda. (40)

The three writers agree in fixing the northern limit of the Tamil country on the western coast somewhere above Tundis. The Periplus gives a clearer indication of the boundary as it states that Limurike (correctly Dimirike) or Tamilakam commenced immediately south of the Island Leuke or "the White." This island which is north-west of the modern town of Badagara about 8 miles from the coast is still known to the natives as Thoovak-kal or Vellaikal "the white rock." The Europeans have called it "the sacrifice rock," because when the Portuguese first settled at Calicut, the Kottakkal cruizers surprised a Portuguese vessel and sacrificed all their prisoners on that rock. (41) I am unable to identify Naura. It appears to have been a small village on the banks of the Akalappur. Tundis is of course Thondi which was near the site of the modern Pallikkara about 5 miles north of Quilandy. Even to this day trading vessels from Arabia regularly visit old Kollam or Pantalayini Kollam (42) a village about 3 miles south of Thondi.

Between Tundis and Muziris, Ptolemy mentions two towns on the sea coast, Bramagara and Kalaikarias, and three inland, Nitroulla, Kouba and Paloura. Bramagara may be identified with Brahmaku-

(40). Ibid, p. 180 ff.

(41). Malabar Manual. Vol. I, p. 356.

(42). This is the Pandarani of Portuguese writers, the Flandrina of Friar Odoric, the Fandreeah of Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-mujahidin and the Fandarina of Ibn Batuta. Malabar Manual Vol. I, p. 72) ("Tanur itself" says Yule "may be Tyndis; it was an ancient city, the seat of a principality, and in the beginning of the 16th century had still much shipping and trade. Perhaps, however, a more probable site is a few miles further north Kadalundi i.e., Kadal-tundi, the raised ground by the sea standing on an inlet three or four miles south of Beypoor. It is now a port, but persons, on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one and in communication with the backwater." He adds in a note supplied by Dr. Burnell "The composition of Kadal and Tundi makes Kadalundi by Tamil rules" McCrindle's Ptolemy p. 50. With due deference to so great an authority as Dr. Burnell, I should however state that I am not aware of any rule of Tamil Grammar by which the words Kadal and Tundi can combine and form Kadalundi. The only objection to my identification of Tundis with Thondi near Pallikkara will be that it is nearly 800 stadia from Muziris or Kadungollur and not 500 stadia as stated in the Periplus; but the calculation of distances by sea voyages at this early period when navigators had no mechanical contrivances whatever to register the speed of vessels, cannot be expected to be correct.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO. 325.

Videris ... Pithara.

Adarima ... Atharimalai.

The region Kottanara (47) from which pepper was exported was doubtless Kuddanadu, the limits of which I have already described.

Cape Kumari (the modern Comorin) was a sacred bathing place. Brahmin pilgrims came from Varanasi (or Benares) to bathe in Kumari and absolve their sins. (48) Similarly the Brahmins of Southern India went round the Pothiya hill, which was famous as the residence of the vedic sage Agastya, then bathed in the sea at Kumari, and travelled northward to the Ganges to bathe in the sacred waters of that river. (49) Pilgrims from the banks of the Ganges to Kumari, and from Tamilakam to Benares appear to have kept up communication between the northern and southern Aryas. This account of Kumeri given in the ancient Tamil poem agrees with what the Periplus states regarding it which I have quoted above. At the period of which I now write, the people remembered that in former days the land had extended further south and that a mountain called Kumarikkodu and a large tract of country watered by the river Pahruli had existed south of Cape Kumari. During a violent irruption of the sea, the mountain Kumarikkodu and the whole of the country through which flowed the Pahruli had disappeared. (50) Similar irruptions of the sea, and the subsidence of

(47). Dr. Buchanan identified Cottonara with Kaddattanadu the name of a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell identified it with Kolattanadu, the district about Tellicherry, which he says is the pepper district. McCrindle's Periplus p. 132. But when we compare Cottonara with the names of the ancient divisions of the Tamil-land, the identity of Cottonara with Kuddanadu will readily suggest itself.

(48). Manimekalai, XIII. N. 3 to 7.

(49). Chilapp-athikaram XV. N. 14 & 15, and XXVII: N. 68, 69 and 110.

(50). Kalith-thokai-stanza 104 N. 1 to 4. Chilapp-athikaram, XX. N. 17 to 22. "The river Pahruli, and the mountain Kumari, surrounded by many hills, were submerged by the raging sea." The commentator Nallarkiniyar states that between the Pahruli and Kumari rivers there was a tract of land extending to 700 Kavalaams: and that it was divided into 7 Thenga Nadus, 7 Mathurai Nadus, 7 Munpalai Nadus, 7 Pinpalai Nadus, 7 Kunra Nadus, 7 Kunakarai Nadus, and 7 Kurumporai Nadus, or 49 Nadus in all. But he does not quote his authority for this statement.

land on the south-western coast of Ceylon in the second century B. C. are recorded in the Buddhist annals of that island. (51)

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(51). During the reign of Tissa, the sovereign of Kalyani, the province was submerged by the overflow of the ocean. This was about B. C. 200: Mahavamsa. L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliar's edition Chap XXII, p. 84. The event is thus recorded in the Rajavali. "In these days the sea was seven leagues from Kalyani; but on account of what had been done to the priest (who had been tortured by the king of Kalyani) the gods who were charged with the conservation of Ceylon became enraged, and caused the sea to deluge the land. . . . In this time of Tissa Raja, 100,000 large towns, 970 fisher villages, and 400 villages inhabited by pearl fishers making together eleven twelfths of the territory of Kalyani was swallowed up by the sea. Rajavali : Vol. II. pp. 189, 190. Sir J. E. Tennent disbelieved the traditions of the former extent of Ceylon and submersion of vast regions by the sea, and remarked as follows :— " But evidence is wanting to corroborate the assertion of such an occurrence at least within the historic period, no record of it exists in the earliest writings of the Hindus, the Arabians or Persians" Tenant's Ceylon Vol I. pp : 6 & 7. The mention of a similar catastrophe at the southern extremity of India, about the same period, in Tamil works, may be taken as strong evidence of the occurrence.

MALABAR AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS.

THE earliest mention we have of the Keralas in Indian Literature is in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. (1) They are there classed with the despicable people of the south, such as the *Huns*, *Pulindas*, *Sabaras*, *Phalavas*, *Sakas*, *Malavas*, *Varvaras*, *Konkanas*, *Andharas*, *Colas*, *Pandiyas*, *Mlechas*, *Chandalas*, *Swapachas*, *Khalas*, *Marallakas*, *Lalitas*, *Kiratas*, and *Kukkuras*. The degeneration of the times is attributed to the existence of such nations of the lowest origin. (2) To them were also ascribed the atrocities of warfare. (3) These facts surely evidence a period long anterior to the Aryan colonisation of South India. The Brahman emigration to the south must have taken place in very early times for we have the authority of the early Greek travellers and geographers for the existence of a temple at Cape Comorin, dedicated to *Kumari* or *Durga*, the bride of *Siva*, which certainly shows the prevalence of the worship of Puranic deities in the south at the latest in the early years of the Christian Era.

At the dawn of history in Southern India we see the three kings of Kerala, Chola and Pandya sharing the country between them. They are said to have been the sons of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the Lunar line of Kshetrias. The existence of these early kingdoms, and more specially of Kerala, may be traced back to several centuries before the Christian Era by means of the Asoka inscriptions, and the accounts left us of the Coast line of India by the early Greek geographers. But unfortunately nothing more than their mere existence can be gathered from them.

(1) Ramayana I, 41; IV. 41. Mahabharata I, 6685; III. 1991 &c. Harivamsa 229, 4756.

(2) On the Weapons, army organizations and Political maxims of the Ancient Hindoos by Dr. Oppert, page 33.

(3) Nitiprakasika by Dr. Oppert. Madras journal of Literature and science for 1881.

The earliest source of information, then, we have about these kingdoms is to be found in the descriptive account of India left us by Megasthenes (B. C. 306 to 289) wherein he gives us a general sketch of the historical and political geography of the country. Commencing from the mouth of the Indus Megasthenes passes over 187 miles of desert, and enumerates five tribes inhabiting the hills parallel to the sea-shore. "Next follow the *Naræ*, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of the mountains work extensive mines of gold and silver. Next are the *Oratæ*, whose king has only ten elephants, though he has a very strong force of infantry. Next again are the *Verlatæ*, subject to a king who keeps no elephants, but trusts entirely to his horse and foot. Then the *Odambroæ*: the *Salabastroæ*: the *Hortæ* which have a fine city, defended by marshes, which serve as a ditch, wherein crocodiles are kept, which having a great avidity for human flesh, prevent all access to the city except by a bridge. Another city of theirs is much admired—*Antomela*, which being seated on the coast at the confluence of five rivers, is a noble emporium of trade. The king is master of 1,600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5,000 cavalry. The poorer King of the *Charmæ* has but 60 elephants, and his force is otherwise insignificant. Next come the *Pandæ* the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities, and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants."⁽⁴⁾

Mr. Wigram in the Introduction to his work on Malabar Law and Custom thinks that it is clear from the context that Megasthenes was describing the inhabitants of the Malabar Coast. He would identify the *Naræ* with the Naifs of North Malabar, and Capitalia with the Camel's Hump which is 6,000 feet in height and a conspicuous landmark for mariners. The Wynad goldmines would then lie on the other side. The *Oratæ* may be identified with the ancient Kola kingdom which still survives in the name of *Kolattur* and *Kolattiri*, the title of the Cherecal Rajas. The *Odambroæ* stands for the kingdom of Kurumburnad which to this day is

⁽⁴⁾ Ancient India as described by Megasthenes by J. W. Mc. Crindle p. 146.

known as Kurumburnad. The *Verlatæ* may be an allusion to the now extinct Vettatu Raja. The *Salabastroæ* may be the subjects of the Vullabha Raja of Vulluvanad. In the *Hortæ*, *Charmæ* and *Pandæ* we have Chera, Chola and Pandya, the three most ancient kingdoms of Southern India. "The site of Antomela (? Ettu Mala 8 hills or Attu-Mala = River hill) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Cranganore which was always an emporium of trade, and in the vicinity of which may be found to this day a village called Anjanaday (i. e., Anjan-Nadi or five rivers.) The site of the Crocodile City is perhaps Tripooniturai, the ancient residence of the Rajas of Cochin—the *Tropina* of the ancient historians. The legend of Hercules and his daughter survives to this day in *Cunnya Cumari* or Cape Camorin."⁽⁵⁾

Without pledging ourselves to adopt Mr. Wigram's suggestions *in extenso* we may safely recognise our old friends Chera and Pandya in the *Charmæ* and *Pandæ* of Megasthenes.

The King of Chera or Kerala is specially mentioned as Kerala-putra in one of the Asoka Edicts B. C. 257. The Edict in question runs thus:—"In all the subjugated territories of King Priyadarsi, the beloved of the Gods, and also in the bordering countries (*Pratyanta*) as Chola, Palaya, (Paraya), Satyaputra, Kerala-putra, Tambapani it is proclaimed * * * *." From this it is evident that Kerala existed as a separate principality at the time of King Priyadarsi or Asoka. It also shows Kerala was not then subject to his dominions. The mention of the Asoka Inscriptions leads us to further enquiries, the result of which seems to prove the existence of an earlier intercourse between the Eastern and Western nations—the Orient and the Occident—than that evidenced by the invasion of India by Alexander or the stationing of a Greek Ambassador at the Court of an Indian Prince by Seleucus Nikator. We are told that these inscriptions are cut on rocks. The question naturally suggests itself to us in what characters were they cut? And was the art of writing an indigenous production or was it derived from external sources? We have the authority of Dr. Burnell to say that "the art of writing was, little, if at all known in India before the 3rd Century before the Christian Era, and

⁽⁵⁾ Wigram's Malabar Law and Custom, Introduction.

there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system. It naturally follows that the art was introduced by foreigners. I have already mentioned the numerous indications that point to a semetic original of the Indian alphabets, and which are generally received as sufficient. The immediate original is, however, as yet uncertain. Three probable sources may be suggested. The first is that the Indian alphabet came direct from Phœnicia. The second is that the original of these alphabets is to be sought in the modified Phœnician alphabet used by the early Himyarites of Arabia, and this has been lately put forward as an ascertained and certain fact. As a third possibility I would suggest that the Indian alphabets may be derived from an Azameic character used in Persia or rather in Babylonia.⁽⁶⁾ In another place the learned Doctor observes that "all known facts tend to prove that the earliest date of the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into India which became the South Asoka character, cannot have been earlier than 500 B. C. and probably not later than 250 B. C." the date of the Asoka Inscriptions. He then proceeds to point out the difference between the South Asoka alphabet and the *Vattaeluthu* alphabet—the most ancient Tamil and almost the present Malayalam character. His conclusion is that, these two alphabets, are derived from one source, and that semetic, that the Asoka alphabet was moulded for the expression of Sanskrit in the North, and the *Vattaeluthu*, for the Dravidian in the South, and that the latter reached Southern India by way of the three ports *Musiris*, *Tundis* and *Nilkanda* or Kodungalloor, Kadalundi and Kallada.⁽⁷⁾

If the Dravidian alphabets owed their origin to the Phœnicians,⁽⁸⁾ it shows an early intercourse between the people of Southern India and those of Sidon and Tyre. India has always been a commercial country, and Malabar lying on the seaboard between

(6) Elements of South Indian Paliography, by A. C. Burnell 1st Edition page 8.

(7) C. C. Magazine Vol. I page 340. See also an article by Dr. Burnell entitled "The oldest Indian alphabet" Indian Antiquary Vol. I.

(8) A Phœnician origin of the Indian alphabets has been suggested by Lepsius and Weber; Profr. Pott, is however unwilling to admit it (Etymol Forschungen W. II. 2 page 4111) though Profr. Benfey considers it probable. (Orient and Occident III. 170) Profr. Westergaard also appears to accept this theory—Indian Antiquary Vol. I.

Cape Comorin in the South and Gokarnam in the north afforded every facility for foreign commerce. It abounded in pepper and spices of all sorts. All the rich products of the interior could be conveniently brought to its ports, by means of the numerous rivers and lagoons with which the country is intersected, to be shipped to foreign parts. The whole land lay invitingly before the maritime nations of the period.

The Egyptians were perhaps the first nation in the world's history who turned their attention to commerce and navigation. But their attempts at enterprise in this direction were not of long duration. Blessed with a fertile soil and mild climate, producing all the necessaries and comforts of life in profusion which rendered them independent of other countries, it soon became one of their cardinal principles of life not to have any intercourse whatever with foreign nations whom they regard in the light of "outer barbarians." They were followed by the Phœnicians—"that navigating race who were to all appearance the exclusive intermediaries of intercourse by sea between Asia and Europe."—Their geographical position was one peculiarly adapted for carrying on commercial enterprises on a large scale. From the shores of the Mediterranean they extended their trade towards the East and West, towards the East by sea, and towards the West by land. Even previous to 1000 B. C. they had planted colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and in far off Britain. Their vicinity to Tyre and Sidon induced the Jews to covet a share in the prosperous commerce of the Phœnicians. This they effected in the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon by forming an alliance with Hiram King of Tyre. At about B. C. 1000, Solomon King of Israel, fitted out a fleet manned by a crew of Phœnicians, which under the direction of Phœnician pilots sailed to Tarshish and Ophir. Benfey identifies Souppara a place situated to the North of Kallian near Bombay with the Ophir of I Kings IX. 28, which the Greek version of the Bible translated in Alexandria in the third century B. C. renders into Sophira a word identical with the Coptic name of India. But Dr. Burnell is surprised that it has never been suggested that Ophir was somewhere in Travancore or Malabar, he being of opinion that Lassen's *Abhéra* at the mouth of the Indus is

most improbable.⁽⁹⁾ It is believed that it was from Southern India, and more specially from the well known ports of *Musiris* and *Tundis* and *Nilkanda* on the Malabar coast, that Hiram's shipmen⁴ that had knowledge of the sea' and the servants of Solomon collected their cargoes of ivory, apes and peacocks. The Hebrew names used to denote these cargoes give us a clue to the places from which they came. They are called *Lalim*, *kafim* and *tukim*. The first is supposed to be *Ibha* (Sanskrit Elephant,) the second is similar to *Kapi* an ape, and of the third Dr. Caldwell says the Hebrew word for pea-fowl which is *Thuki* is certainly Dravidian.⁵ "The oldest Tamil word found in any written record in the world" says the learned Bishop "appears to be the word for peacock in the Hebrew text of the book of Kings and Chronicles, in the list of articles of merchandise brought from Ophir (about B. C. 1000) in Solomon's ships which formed a portion of the great mercantile fleet of the Phœnicians. The old Tamil *Tokai* became in Hebrew *Tuki*."⁽¹⁰⁾ Dr. Burnell also observes that the Phœnicians who voyaged for Solomon came to Southern India at least, and exported from thence peacocks which were called in Hebrew by a Tamil name⁽¹¹⁾ Solomon's peacocks are supposed to have come from the Western Ghats.⁽¹²⁾ The Wynad gold fields of to-day and the country lying on the other side of Capitalia, whose inhabitants worked extensive mines of gold and silver in Megasthenes's time show that Solomon's gold also came from the Malabar coast. In the name of the River *Ponnany* we have indubitable philological evidence of the existence of gold on the West Coast.⁽¹³⁾ Even to this day some of the most magnificent

(9) Indian Antiquary Vol. 1.

(10) Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

(11) Elements of South Indian Paliography 1st Edition page 5.

"That the Phœnicians came to Southern India is certain" says Dr. Oppert "the peacocks which are mentioned to have been brought from India are called in the Bible *Tukkim*, a plural form of *Tukki* in which word scholars have long ago recognised the Tamil "*Togai*" as can be seen in old Hebrew Dictionaries especially in that of Gesenius." Of *Tukki* with the common Telugu word "*Toku*" tail used also for the tail of the peacock. Ancient commerce of India. A section by Dr. Oppert page 25.

The English word peacock is from the Guck *toos*, which is according to Skeat, from old Tamil *tokei*, *tojei*.

(12) Missionary Enterprise in the East, by the Revd. Richard Collins, page 39.

(13) That there were gold mines in India is a fact beyond doubt, and some rivers contain gold dust. Even the 2nd chapter of Genesis according to the generally accepted explanation attributes gold to India. Gold was found in the

elephants are caught on the Malabar mountains. In the *Almug tree* or *Algum tree* one of the articles brought by Hiram's shipmen from Ophir, scholars have recognised the sandalwood tree. Professor Max Muller says that "one of the numerous names of this tree in Sanskrit is *Valguka*. This *Valguka*, which points back to a more original form *Valgu* might easily have been corrupted by Phœnician and Jewish sailors into *Algum*, a form as we know, still further corrupted, at least in one passage of the old Testament into *Almug*. Sandalwood is found indigenous in India only and these chiefly on the coast of Malabar."⁽¹⁴⁾ It may therefore be safely concluded that the Phœnicians carried on extensive commerce with Malabar and that it was from that source that Solomon's shipmen obtained their cargoes of gold, ivory, apes, peacocks and sandalwood.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Phœnicians have left behind them a permanent trace of their influence in Southern India in the *Vattaeluthu* alphabet which according to Dr. Burnell is the most ancient Tamil and almost the present Malayalam character.

There is abundant reason to suppose that the early Hindoos were not altogether disinclined to a seafaring life and that the aversion they now evince is only a later development fostered by the influence of Brahmanism. Judging from the traces of colonies in Arabia and elsewhere and especially in the island of Socotra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, we are constrained to conclude that the Hindoos had at an early period of their existence sailed out of India and formed settlements at distant places. The Mala-

Himalayas in the North and in the Western Ghats in the South. Ancient commerce of India by Dr. Oppert.

Compare the words *Ponnoorcode*, *Ponmana*, *Ponnudi* &c. The prefix "Pon" in all these proper names mean gold.

(14) Lectures on the science of Language 6 "Edition Vol. 1 page 232."

(15) (i) The land is covered with graceful palms, and is one of the headquarters of ginger and pepper tribes. It was to procure these spices and other valuables that the servants of King Solomon visited Malabar in the golden age of the Jewish nation—Native life in Travancore, by the Revd. S. Mateer F. L. S. P.

(ii) Philology proves that the precious cargoes of Solomon's merchant ships came from the ancient coast of Malabar—The Indian Empire, by Dr. W. W. Hunter page 438.

(iii) In Malabar we find all the products Solomon imported, for gold is yet found in Nilamboor—Dr. Burnell in the Indian Antiquary Vol. 1, page 230.

(iv) The gates of the ancient city of Carthage were made of sandalwood imported from Malabar—See Bosworth Smith's Carthage and the Carthaginians.

Malayalees themselves seem to have formed colonies in Arabia and Strabo (about A. D. 20) mentions an hereditary caste division in Arabia Felix, as well as a community of property and women in the several families which correspond exactly with the peculiar customs of the Nairs of Malabar.⁽¹⁶⁾ That this early connexion with Arabia was kept up by the Malayalees is evidenced by the fact recorded in the Keralolpathi that the last Cheraman Perumal, one of the early sovereigns of Malabar, abdicated his throne, went to Jedda and died there.

On the dismemberment of the great Empire which Alexander had raised almost out of nothing, Egypt fell to the share of one of his officers Ptolemy the son of Lagos. He established the seat of his government at Alexandria, a town which the sagacity of the great monarch had founded, and which was therefore called after him. Under Ptolemy it soon became a wealthy and populous city—the rallying point of all trade towards the East. The Eastern trade developed itself under the successive Ptolemies who reigned in Egypt between the years B. C. 323 and 144. The greatest impetus was given by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who built the city of Bernice on the west coast of the Red sea, which soon became the starting point of all trade with the “glowing Orient.” Traders would start from Alexandria built in B. C. 322 and go up the Nile a voyage of 12 or 14 days to Koptos, on its banks, near Thebes, in about 26 N. Latitude. From Koptos a good road led through the desert to Myos Hormos (27-12- N. L.), a port on the Red sea built by Ptolemy Philadelphus in B. C. 274. From Koptos there was another road leading to Bernike (23-55-N.) a newer port, built by the same Ptolemy about half way down the Red sea and named after his mother.⁽¹⁷⁾ Dr. Robertson says that “the ships destined to India took their departure from Bernice, and sailing according to the ancient mode of navigation, along the Arabian shore to the promontory of Sayagrus (now cape Rasalgate) held their course along the coast of Persia either directly to Pattala (now Tatta) at the head of the lower delta of the Indus or some other emporium

(16) India and the West in old days by Profr. Weber See C. C. Magazine vol. V. p. 278.

(17) C. C. Magazine vol. 1. page 340.

on the west coast of India. To this part of India which Alexander had visited and subdued the commerce under the protection of the Egyptian monarchs naturally confined itself for 250 years, i. e., as long as Egypt continued to be an independent kingdom. Afterwards a more convenient course was followed and from cape Rasalgate vessels sailed in a direct line to Zeizerous.⁽¹⁸⁾ Authorities seem to differ in the identification of this latter port. M. De Montesque says that it was in the kingdom of *Segirtis* on the sea coast adjacent to the mouth of the Indus conquered by the Greek monarchs of Bactria. But according to Major Rennel it was a port in the northern part of the Malabar coast.⁽¹⁹⁾ Wherever Zeizerous may be situated, we have indisputable philological evidence to prove the connexion of the Greeks with the Malabar coast through the Persians so early as B. C. 400. “The oldest Tamil word in Greek” says Dr. Caldwell “is the name for cinnamon learned by Ctesias (about B. C. 400) from the Persians. This is *Karpion*, the root portion of which *Karpi*, is no doubt identical with the Tamil-Malayalam *Karappu* or *Karura* the common name for cinnamon.” Again the Greek word “rice,” “*Oryza*” dates from the time, whenever that was, when rice was first introduced into Europe, and it cannot be doubted that here we have the Tamil word “*arisi*” (of which the Malayalam word “*ari*” is but a contracted form) rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which, then, as now, rice was exported.⁽²⁰⁾ Dr. Oppert also observes, “The Grecian name for ‘rice’ “*Oryza*,” for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word “*arisi*,” which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenus quotes *Oryza lepta* cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greeks received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the

(18) Dr. Robertson's Historical works p. 1094-5.

(19) Ancient map of India with a Memoir by Major Rennel. Introduction page XXXVII.

(20) Caldwell's History of Tinnevely. page 23.

Indian trade.”(21) Again the Greek word *Zingiber* (ginger) is considered by Dr. Burnell to have a distinctly Malayalam origin. He thinks that the word is derived from the Malayalam name of the plant and the Greeks probably took it direct from the same. In Malabar ginger is called *Inchi* and *Inchivér* is from *inchi* root. *Inchi* was probably in an earlier form of the language *Sinchi* or *Chinchi* as we find it in Canarese *Unti*. Ginger is chiefly exported even now from Malabar, and in earlier times the Greeks procured it almost exclusively from that Province so that there is every probability that the name is Dravidian and not Sanskrit.(22)

While the Egyptians were thus enjoying a monopoly of trade with the East a power had arisen in Europe which soon bade fair to become masters of the then known world. The Roman Republic rose rapidly from small beginnings, overthrew the rival republic of Carthage, subdued all Italy, Sicily and Macedonia and began to extend its conquests outside the Continent of Europe. Egypt was soon overrun and under Augustus was reduced to a Roman Province. The Eastern trade was so well conserved by the Egyptians, that the Romans had simply to follow up the course so well laid by their predecessors. It received a marked impulse with the beginning of Roman rule in Egypt B. C. 30. The arrival of Greek merchants in South India was almost contemporaneous with the conquest of Egypt by Rome. It was perhaps through the Egyptian Greeks that the Romans carried on their trade with the East. Egyptian ships manned by Egyptian crews brought Indian treasures to Roman shores. They were, indeed, much prized at the Roman Capital. Merivale says that “the vessels which bore the merchandise of Egypt were required to hoist their topsails on sighting the promontory of Surrentum, both to distinguish them from others and to expedite their arrivals. These vessels moreover, according to the institution of Augustus, were of more than ordinary size and they were attended by an escort of war galleys. The importance attached to this convoy was marked by the phrases auspicious and sacred applied to it. Hence it glided rapidly by night or day under the guidance of the Surrentine Minerva on the

(21) Lectures on the Ancient Commerce of India.

(22) The Indian Antiquary Vol. I page 352.

right and on the left by the lighthouse of Capree. A deputation of Senators from Rome was directed to await its arrival at the port where it was about to cast its anchor * * *. As soon as the well known topsails were seen above the horizon, a general holiday was proclaimed, and the population of the country far and near streained with joyous acclamations to the pier and gazed upon the rich flotilla expanding gaily before them.”(23)

About A.D. 47 the voyage to India was made easy by the discovery of a new route across the Ocean. A merchant named Hippalos, says Pliny, “discovered a compendious route whereby India was brought so near that a trade thither became very lucrative” The Periplus also says that “Hippalos was the pilot who, first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the course across the Ocean, whence, as at the season when our Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the Ocean, likewise blows on the Indian sea, the wind which is the South-West is, it seems, called in those seas Hippalos.”(24) This important discovery so thoroughly revolutionised the maritime trade of the period that it may not be uninteresting to give a detailed account of how it was made as told by Dr. Robertson. “In the course of their voyages to that country (India) the Greek and Egyptian pilots could not fail to observe the regular shiftings of the periodical winds or monsoons and how steadily they continued to blow during one part of the year from the east and the other from the west. Encouraged by attending to this circumstance Hippalos, the commander of a ship engaged in the eastern trade ventured about four score years after Egypt was annexed to the Roman Empire, to relinquish the slow and circuitous course which I have described and stretching boldly from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf across the Ocean was carried by the Western monsoons to *Musiris*, a harbour in that part of India now known by the name of the Malabar Coast. This route to India was held to be a discovery of such importance that in order to perpetuate the memory of the inventor the name of Hippalos was given to the wind which enabled

(23) History of the Romans under the Empire Vol. 4 page 392, quoted in the C. C. Magazine Vol. I page 341.

(24) The commerce and navigation of the Erythran sea being a translation of the Periplus Maris Erythraei by J. W. Mc. Crindle page 136.

him to perform the voyage.”⁽²⁵⁾ Dr. Oppert considers that Hippalos simply rediscovered the south-west monsoon, which, he says, was known to the Phœnicians and the knowledge of which had fallen into oblivion since their time.⁽²⁶⁾ Vincent is also of opinion that there was a direct passage by the monsoons both in going and coming from India in use among the Arabians before the Greeks adopted it and that Hippalos frequenting these seas as a pilot or merchant had met with Indian or Arabian traders who made their voyage in a more compendious manner than the Greeks and that he collected information from them which he had both the prudence and courage to adopt just as Columbus while owing much to his nautical skill and fortitude, was still under obligations to the Portuguese who had been resolving the greatest problem in the art of navigation for almost a century previous to this expedition.⁽²⁷⁾

Dr. Robertson endeavours to identify the modern sites of *Musiris* and *Barace*. The description given by Pliny would seem to apply to many ports on the Malabar Coast. But from two circumstances mentioned by Pliny viz. (1) that they are not far distant from *Cottonara* the country which produces pepper in great abundance, and (2) that in sailing towards them on the course lay *Nitras* the station of the pirates,⁽²⁸⁾ Dr. Robertson is inclined to adopt the opinion of Major Rennel that they were situated somewhere between Tellichery and Goa and that the modern Merjee or Mersaw is the *Musiris* of the ancients and Barcelore the *Barace*. In this the great historian would seem to have been mistaken for, modern scholars, especially Dr. Burnell, Caldwell, and Gundert have identified *Musiris* with *Kodungalloor* (Cranganore) and the doubt now seems to be settled by a consensus of opinion of orientalists of all shades of views.

“To those bound for India” says Pliny “it is most convenient to depart from *Okelis* (now *Galla* or *Cella* a small bay within the

(25) Historical works p. 1097

(26) Ancient Commerce of India p. 28.

(27) Indian Antiquary vol. 8.

(28) Fra Paolo da San Bartolomeo suggests that the sea-robbers mentioned by Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy as existing on the Malabar Coast must have been the Malabar pirates or *molandis*, as he calls them, who lived about mount Ely. See Voyages to the East Indies p. 145. The coast continued to be infested with pirates till so late a period as 1765 when they were finally exterminated by the British.

Straits of *Babelmandeb*). They sail thence with the wind *Hippalos* in forty days to the first emporium of India, *Musiris* (*Kodungalloor*) which is not a desirable place to arrive at on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood who hold a place called *Nitrias*, which is not well supplied with merchandise. Besides, the station for ships is at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and to be shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this—*Calobothras*. Another port belonging to the nation is the more convenient *Neacyndon* which is called—*Becara* (*Sic rodd* Barace Harduin and Sillig). There reigned *Pandion* in an inland town far distant from the emporium called *Modura*,—the region, however from which they convey pepper to *Becare* in boats formed from single logs is *Cottonara*.⁽²⁹⁾ The *Periplus* of Arrian written probably in the 1st Century A. D. gives a description of the Malabar Coast. The passage runs thus:—“Then follow *Naoura* and *Tundis* the first marts of *Limurike*, and after these *Musiris* and *Nilkanda* the seats of Government. To the kingdom under the sway of *Kepröbotras* *Tundis* is subject, a village of great note near the sea. *Musiris* which pertains to the same realm is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from *Arikê* and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies near a river at a distance from *Tundis* of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river, or by the length of the sea-voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of *Nilkanda* from *Musiris* is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river, or by the sea-voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom.”⁽²⁹⁾ A.

That part of India to which the name *Limurike* is applied by Arrian and Ptolemy is called *Damurike* in the *Pentingerian* Tables. Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that this is the Tamil country. He says that the Greek letters for “L” and “D” being so much alike, a transposition of them was very easy, and the fact that *Madoura* (*Madura*) is placed in *Limurike* leads along with other considerations in the same direction. In *Damurike*, the Tamil Country of the 1st Century we have the four ports *Naura* (the present *Honore*), *Tundis* (*Kadalundi* near *Beypore*), *Musiris* (*Kodungalloor* or *Cranganore*) and *Nilkanda* (*Kallada* near *Quilon*).

(29) Mc. Crindle's *Periplus Maris Erythraci* p. 103 note.

(29) A. *Ibid*.

The description given by Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy of *Limurike* or the Tamil Malayalam Country enables us to gauge approximately the extent of the sway of Cœlobothras or Keprobothras. From Pliny it is difficult to gather its northern limit, but after making mention of the important port of Musiris he goes southwards and names Neacyndon which according to him belonged to Pandion. In this the Periplus agrees with him. Ptolemy calls the place *Melkynda* and places it in the country of the *Aioi* identified by Caldwell with south Travancore. Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus are at one in making Tyndis the most northern port in Limurike. The Periplus gives its distance at 700 stadia or nearly 12 degrees of latitude if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. Notwithstanding this authoritative statement which makes Limurike begin somewhere near Calicut (11° 15' N. Lat.) its frontier has generally been placed nearly 3 degrees further north, Tyndis having been located at Barcelore. This error has been rectified by Yule whose adherence to the data of the Periplus has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Mousiris with Cranganore instead of with Mangalore as previously accepted.⁽³⁰⁾

According to Ptolemy, who flourished in the middle of the 2nd Century A. D. the capital of Limurike was *Karcoura* where Kerobothras or Keralaputra lived. But Pliny who died in 79 A. D. and who seems to have written his work 2 years before his death says that "Cœlobothras was reigning there (Musiris) when I committed this to writing" (Pliny VI. XXVI 104). Evidently there were two capitals, the northern and the southern, the capital for the interior and the capital for the coast or Cœlobothras or Keprobothras must have removed his capital from Musiris on the coast to Karcoura in the interior; for it will be found that Ptolemy names the latter as one of the interior cities of Limurike. Dr. Caldwell identifies Karcoura with Karoor an important town in the Coimbatore District situated on the left bank of the Amravati a tributary of the Kaveri. He further says that Karoor is mentioned in Tamil traditions as the ancient capital of the Chera kingdom and that Ptolemy's word Karcoura represents the Tamil name of the place. The authority of the learned

(30) Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy pages 49-50.

Bishop is very high indeed. But some doubt has been expressed as to the correctness of this identification. Early Tamil records point to *Vanji* as the Capital of the Chera kingdom and according to the Tamil Metrical Dictionary *Tivākaram* the modern name of Vanji is Karoor. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillay in the Indian Antiquary observes⁽³¹⁾ that the European scholars who have identified the Chera capital Karoor with the Karoor of the Coimbatore District were more or less misled by the catching similarity of the names. He remarks that ancient Tamil works describe Vanji as being situated west of the Western Ghats. In the *Peria Puranam* Vanji is mentioned as the capital of the Chera king and it is, indeed, noteworthy that it is stated that it was known as *Makôtai* or *Kodunkalore*. In the syrian copper plate of Bhaskara Ravi Varma about the 8th century A. D. Kodungalloor is called *Makotapattanam* and this is generally accepted to be the capital of the Cherman Perumals. In the Keralolpathi Karoor or Trikkaroor (the prefix "*Tiru*" simply means sacred) is mentioned as the capital of one of the Cherman Perumals and the tradition is still remembered by the inhabitants of a place called *Trikkaroor* in North Travancore.⁽³²⁾ It is situated inland and the location of Karcoura in Ptolemy's Tables lends strength to the suggestion that the modern Trikkaroor was the royal seat of Kerobothras. He places it near the West Coast on a river flowing into the sea not far away from Musiris. It comes between the mouths of the rivers the *Pseudostomos* and the *Baris* the former of which enters the sea at one third of a degree below Musiris. It must have been one of the streams that discharges into the backwater. The *Baris* must be a stream that enters the backwater in the neighbourhood of Quilon.⁽³³⁾ The Revd. W. Taylor assures us that "the Sera Metropolis was no other than *Tiruvanchi* the capital of the Sera Desam according to Manuscripts and all known traditions, early records, and inscriptions point to *Tiruvanchikulam* adjacent to Cranganore as the capital of the Cherman

(31) Vol. 8 page 259.

(32) Trikarur;—3 miles from Kodamangalam, 28 miles east by north of Cochin, a deserted village at the foot of the Ghats (Codamangalam) the remains of an old Temple and of the walls of some old buildings (Journal of the Asiatic Society II. 36.) Archeological Survey of Southern India Vol. 2 page 261. A plot of ground here is pointed out by the people as the place from which Parusu Rama is supposed to have taken his final farewell of the Namboories.

(33) Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy page 52. 53.

Perumals or early rulers of Malabar.⁽³⁴⁾ These considerations lead us to look for the ancient site of Karoor somewhere near the modern towns of Cranganore or Tiruvanchikulam and Trikkaroor.

Within the limits of Limurike are placed by Pliny and Arrian Tundis and Musiris while Ptolemy names many more, such as:—Brahmagara, Kalaikarias, Mouziris, Podoperour, Semné, Koreoura, Bakarei, he also gives the names of the two rivers already mentioned, viz. the Psendostomos and the Baris. In addition to the above named places Ptolemy proceeds to name some of the inland cities of Limurike or the country governed by Keprobrotas. They are:—To the west of the Psendostomos—Naroulla, Kauba, Poloura. Between the Psendostomos and the Baris:—Pasagè, Mastanour, Kourellour, Poumтата, Aloè, Karour, the royal seat of Kerobothras, Arembour, Bidderis, Pantipolis, Adarina, Koreour South of Nilkanda lies the country of the Aïoi. The first city named in it is Nilkanda itself. The other cities named in this region are:—Elangkôu (or Elangkôr) a mart, Kottiar, the Metropolis, Baiala, Komaria, a cape and town. The only inland city mentioned in the country of the Aïoi is Morounda which has not yet been identified. The Periplus also notices the country lying to the South of Nilkanda as belonging to King Pandion.

The identification of these, wherever possible, with their modern sites, is an important link in the chain of our early accounts of Malabar. Tyndis is identified by Dr. Burnell with Kadalundi (properly {ka da l} (t) u n d i = the raised ground by the sea) standing on an inlet, three and a half miles to the south of Beypore. The composition of the words *Kadal* and *Tundi* says Dr. Burnell makes Kadalundi by Tamil rules. According to the Periplus its distance is 590 stadia or about 50 miles to the north of Musiris. This distance from Musiris or Cranganore brings us to Tanûr. "Tanur itself" says Yule "may be Tyndis. It was an ancient city, the seat of a principality and in the beginning of the 16th Century had still much shipping and trade." He however, thinks that Dr. Burnell's site is the more probable one. To Dr. Gundert the wellknown Malayalam Scholar we owe the identification of Musiris. It is no other than the *Muyirikodu* of the ancient Malabar inscriptions of Blas-

(34) Oriental Manuscripts Preface page 13.

kara Ravi Vurma and Şthanu Ravi Gupta. It is referred to as the residence of the Cheraman Perumals and is practically identical with Cranganore and Tiruvanjikulam about 18 miles north of Cochin. Some point to Krishnagotta opposite to Cranganore as the probable site. Arrian's description of the place seems to be very apt, and answers exactly to the situation of Cranganore and Tiruvanjikulam. He says that it is 20 stadia, i.e. 2 miles distant from the mouth of the river on which it is situated. According to Pliny it is not a desirable place for shipping purposes though it was the first emporium of trade on the coast. The station for ships was at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and to be shipped by means of small boats. At Cranganore the ships have to stand off at sea and though its shipping trade has been shifted to the better harbour and port of Cochin, the Travancore Sirkar still unloads its cargo of salt consigned to its depôt at Pallippuram here. The salt has to be brought to the depôt in *Dhonies* (boats) the ships themselves being unable to enter the harbour for want of water. It may be interesting to note that in the 14th chapter of the *Brahatsamhita* Varahamihira notices this city as being situated in the Southern Division. He calls it *Maruchipattana** and Kern in a note adds:—"Maruchî, or *Murachî*, *Marachî* seems to be the *Muziris* (transposed from *Muziris*) of the Greeks."

Bramagara is placed in Ptolemy's Table half a degree to the east of Tyndis, i.e., really to the south of it, since Ptolemy makes the Malabar Coast run east instead of south. Mc. Crindle thinks that the name may be a transliteration of the Sanskrit, *Bramagara* or "the abode of the Brahmans" referring to some city occupied by the Aryan Brahmans. It is not unlikely that it represents one of the Namboory gramas (villages) in that part of the Country.

With respect to *Kalaikarias* Mc. Crindle says, that the last half of the word (*Kazias*) is doubtless the Tamil word for coast, Ptolemy using the same word to denote the same thing in *Peringkarai* which as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell has retained the same name to the present day. Mc. Crindle would identify *Kalaikarias* with the "Cholacoory" of Arrowsmith's map of India, a place lying to

* The word *Marichî* in Sanskrit means Pepper.

the north east of Cranganore and at about the same distance from Musiris. *Podoperoura* must evidently be *Pudupattana*, lying to the north of Calicut. It was one of the most ancient ports of Malabar but has unfortunately now disappeared from the maps. It stood near Badagaray. It is noticed by Cosmos surnamed Indekoplenstus A. D. 545, as *Pudopattana*, as *Pendifitania* by Nicolo Conti, *Buduf-tan* by the author of the *Tohbat-al-Miyahidin* and *Bodfattan* by Ken Batuta. It was indeed well known at the time of the Portuguese discoveries. Mr. Crindle regards *Semnê* as a town inhabited by Bhudists, having perhaps a Bhudist Temple of noted sanctity. He conjectures that *Semnê* is just the same as *Sramana* the Sanskrit name for Bhudist ascetics. In Tamil they were called *Samana* and as Eleræns Alexandrius rendered this as *Semoni*, he infers that it denotes a Bhudist town. It is well known that Bhudism had made much progress in Malabar in early times and the *Keralolpathi* as well as the *Keralamahatmyam* records a strong contest between Bhudism and Brahmanism for religious supremacy in Malabar. For all that no modern site can be referred to and any inference made will at the best be purely imaginary.

Of Karoura enough has been said and we therefore turn to *Bakrei*. This city is mentioned by Pliny as *Becare*, as *Bakari* by the author of the *Periplus* and as *Bakarei* by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* places it at the mouth of the river on which at a distance of 120 stadia or 12 miles inland from the sea was situated the great mart of Nilkanda or Melkynda as Ptolemy has it. It was the shipping port of Nilkanda. According to Muller it is now represented by Markari (Lat: 12. N.) while Yule conjectures that it must have been between Kannetti and Kollam or Quilon in Travancore. Nilkanda is mentioned by various authors under varying forms of the same name. It is Melkynda in Ptolemy, Neacyndon in Pliny, Nilkunda in the *Periplus*, Nineylda in the *Peutinger Tables* and in the *Geographer of Ravenna*, Nileynna. One Manuscript of Pliny writes the second part of the word not *Cyndon* but *Canidon*. Dr. Caldwell says that Melkynda, *i. e.*, probably Western Kingdom seems to be Kannetti the southern boundary of Kerala Proper. According to the *Periplus* the distance from Musiris to Nilkanda is but 300 stadia,

i. e., 50 miles. "At this distance from Cranganore it is some what difficult to point to a quite satisfactory Nilkanda. The site selected as the most probable is nearly 800 stadia south of Musiris. That site is Kallada on a river of the same name 12 miles north east of Quilon." That the choice is a happy one and that it is moreover accurate will be evident from the following circumstances:— (1) Nilkanda is placed by the author of the *Periplus* on a river, at the mouth of which stands Bakre 120 stadia, *i. e.*, 12 miles distant from the great Interpôt; and Kallada stands exactly 12 miles inland to the north east of Quilon close to Bakre or Markari (2) Kallada or its vicinity is believed to be the Kannetti of the *Keralolpathi*, the southern boundary of Malabar Proper and Kannetti is a town and river situated to the north east of Quilon not far away from Kallada. Now according to Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy the territory of Celobothras or Kerobothras or Keprobethras extended southwards only to Nilkanda when the sway of the Pandion began. (3) Kallada is the only navigable river on the south-west coast except the Peryar or the Alwaye river near Cranganore. The *Periplus* says that the river has sunken reefs and shallows which makes its navigation difficult so much so that the ships despatched from Nilkanda to Bakare had to sail down empty and there take their cargo. This description exactly fits in with the navigable condition of the Kallada river and the Quilon or Ashtamudi backwater into which it pours out its waters. (4) The *Periplus* says that after Bakare occurs the mountains called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south near another district of the country called Paralia. There can be little doubt that this refers to the bar of red laterite known as the Warkalay Barrier which extending from Quilon southwards cuts short the backwater navigation and which has been not long ago pierced through by two long tunnels to carry the waterway direct to Trevandrum, the capital of the Travancore State. (5) After referring to the importance of Nilkanda Pliny proceeds to say that the region, however, from which they convey pepper to Bakare in boats formed of single logs is Cottanara. It is indeed well known that Kallada is a great interpot of Travancore pepper which is sent from there to ports on the coast for shipment in boats formed of single logs exactly as they used to be

in the days of Pliny. A reference to the map of Travancore will show that Kottarakkaray which produces pepper in abundance and of the finest quality is situated close to Kallada and looking to the respective positions of Bakrae and Cottonara there can be little doubt that the latter is represented by the modern Kottarakkaray.

The second place mentioned in the country of the Aioi is *Elangkon* or *Elankor* a mart which is identified by Mr. Crindle with Quilon otherwise written as Kollam. But a more correct place will be somewhere in the vicinity of Kottarakkaray. The family of the now extinct Raja of Kottarakkaray collaterally related to the Royal House of Travancore was known as Elayada Swaroopam and its territory comprised within its limits Shevcottah, Chaugaud, Kercudi and Valliyoor on the Tinnevely side, and Kottarakkaray, Pathanapuram on the then northern limits of Travancore. In 909 M. E., 1734 A. D. this Rajaship was annexed to Travancore. The term *Elangkoor* according to Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary means the dignity of the 2nd Prince and the Kottarakkaray Raja was not simply a tributary of the Travancore King, but was also a relative of the Travancore House. It might have been that originally his was the dignity of the 2nd Prince of the Travancore House.

Next to *Elangkor* Ptolemy names *Kottiarq* the Metropolis. Coming soon after *Elangkor* one is tempted to identify it with the town of Kottarakkaray. It must have been no doubt a place of considerable importance. It may be either Kottarakkaray or Kottar in South Travancore. Pliny names it as *Kottara* and the same name is found in the Peutinger Tables. It may more probably be the modern Kottar a town which now as in the times of the Greeks is celebrated for its commerce. Fra Paolino believes that this is the *Cottora* or *Cottiar* of the ancient Greeks and Romans. He refers to it as a place of considerable trade, of upwards of 2,000 years old. In his day it was much frequented by merchants from Ceylon, the Provinces of Madura, Marava, Tanjore and the coast of Coromandel. A river which flows through the middle of it divides it into two parts. It contains, says Paoli, abundance of merchandise, and is inhabited by a great number of weavers, money changers, silver smiths, jugglers, comedians, quacks, dancing girls, conjurers

and black artists, perhaps all the *entourge* of the Metropolis of an oriental prince.—The Kottiar of Ptolemy could not evidently have been the Cottonara of Pliny or the Kottonarika of the Periplus. It is indeed singular that Ptolemy does not make mention of Cottonara though Pliny refers to it as the region where the best pepper was produced and whence that commodity is brought to the port of Bakrae for shipment. Buchanan identifies Cottonara with Kadathnad in the Collectorate of Malabar, while Burnell identifies it with Kolathnad the District about Tellichery also in the Collectorate of Malabar, both well known for their produce of pepper. But neither of these localities satisfactorily answers to the description given by Pliny. If Nilkanda is Kallada or Kannetti near Quilon in Travancore as has been satisfactorily shown by Burnell himself, if Bacare stands at a distance of 120 stadia or 12 miles at the mouth of the river on which Nilkanda is situated, if the pepper of Cottonara was brought to Bacare for shipment in boats formed out of single logs then certainly the district of Cottonara could not be so far away as Kadathnad or Kolathnad in North Malabar. Indeed, there was no necessity for the pepper of those districts to be carried so far south as Quilon in Travancore to be conveyed to foreign marts. The ports of Calicut, Cannanore, Pudukattanam, and Cranganore, not to mention many an other port lay near and more conveniently at hand, add to this the fact mentioned both by Pliny and Arrian that Nilkanda belonged not to Colobothras or Keprobotras but to Pandion. It cannot have been that Pandion had any territory in North Malabar seeing that Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy all agree in fixing Nilkanda or Kallada as the northern limit of the Pandion kingdom. The district of Cottonara can in no way be situated at a distance from Nilkanda or its shipping port Bacare. We may safely point to the district of Kottarakkaray in the vicinity of Kallada as the Cottonara of the Greeks. "On the east of Collam (Quilon) and towards the interior part of the country" says Fra Paolino "lie Perumanadu and Cirumuttu, two beautiful and uncommonly fertile districts, which belong to the ancient kingdom of Kottarakkaray and, which produces great quantities of pepper, ginger, cardamom, gum-lack, cotton, and various kinds of valuable wood. The river

on which these articles are transported takes its rise in the Ghauts, and proceeding past Collare, Tuyam and on the north side of Collare, discharges itself into the sea, towards the south not far from the town of Aybica." (35) The first part of the name of this latter town certainly leaves behind a trace of the name by which Ptolemy called this part of the country *Aiomim Regio* and it is significant that Nilkanda is placed by Ptolemy in the country of the Aioi.

Bamala is the next place mentioned after Kottiarā. It may be the Balita of the Periplus which Arrian says is in the country of Paralia. Mannert identifies it with Manapilly a little north of Anjengo in British Travancore.

The last place noticed by Greek Geographers in southern India is Komar situated at the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula. The disguise is so thin and the description given so apt that it is not difficult to recognise in Komar the modern Cape Comorin. As we shall have to say something further on respecting this place we leave it here; but it may be remarked that the Periplus makes the mistake of extending the Peninsula southwards beyond the cape. Ptolemy too makes the somewhat serious mistake of making the Malabar Coast run east instead of south.

Mr. Crindle compares Ptolemy's enumeration of places on the west coast with that of the Periplus from Barygaza (Broach) to Cape Comorin. It may not be uninteresting to append here that part of it which relates more specially to Malabar in its widest sense.

<i>Ptolemy.</i> —Tyndis.	<i>Periplus.</i> —Tyndis.
Trinesia Islands.	
Bramagara.	
Kalaikarias	
Mouziris.	Mouziris.
Podoperoura.	
Semne.	
Is. Leuké.	

(35) Voyages to the East Indies p. 117.

Koreourā.	
Melkynda.	Nelkynda.
Bakarei.	Bakarā.
Elangkor.	Mons Pyrrhos.
Kottiarā.	
Banfmala.	Balita.
Komaria.	Komar.

Of the inland cities, named by Ptolemy both in Limurike and in the country of the Aioi most have as yet defied all attempts at identification. The identification of others is more or less fanciful resting as it does on mere guess without any further clue. *Konba* is supposed to be Goa the capital of the Portuguese possession in India. But it may be remarked that one of the divisions of the ancient kingdom of Kerala according to the Keralolpathi was known as *Kuva* or *Koorala*. Palour looks very much a Tamil name meaning "Milk town."

It is at present an unimportant village lying off the main road about a mile or so south east of Chowghaut on the sea-coast and is said to possess one of the seven churches originally founded by the Apostle St. Thomas on the Malabar coast, the others being Quilon, Cranganore, North Paroor, South Pallippuram, Neeranum and Nellakul. Its situation in the vicinity of Chowghaut which itself is not far away from one of the many openings through which there is water communication between the sea and the Cochin and Travancore backwaters makes it extremely probable that the early voyagers visited the place. Chowghaut now forms the port of the large and flourishing Syrian town of Kunnankulam where there is a settlement of the descendants of the old Christians. Paloor may have been one of much the same importance as a trading colony as Quilon and Cranganore in ancient days. Fra Paoli mentions the church at Paloor as one under the supremacy of Rome in his day.

It is remarkable as Caldwell observes that many names of places in southern India mentioned by Ptolemy ends in "our," i. e., a town in Tamil. It would appear that there are 23 such places in all. There are more places than one in Malabar and situated in

the interior answering to the name of *Arembour*, but they are, more or less, obscure villages at present. There is one about four miles to the west of Trichoor in the Cochin state.

Cape Comorin, situated at the southernmost extremity of India and which forms also the southernmost point of Malabar, was known to the Greeks from very early times. It then belonged to the Pandion kingdom and as such is noticed by various Greek authors. It is called *Kumaria Akrou*, Cape *Kumaria*, by Ptolemy, and *Kumarei* or simple *Komar* by the author of the *Periplus*. The latter says, "After *Bakare* occurs the mountain called *Pyrchos* (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called *Paralia* (where there are Pearl Fisheries which belong to the King *Pandion*), and a city of the name *Kolkhoi*. In this district the first place met with is called *Bilita* which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called *Komar*, where, is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed." (36) As to the *Paralia* of the above quotation it may be remarked, that the country so called comprises the line of coast, including South Tinnevely and South Travancore. It commenced at what they called the "Red cliffs" south of Quilon, and included not only Cape Comorin but also *Kolkhoi*. *Paralia* is the Greek word for coast. Dr. Caldwell thinks that it could not have been the Greek mode of writing a native name, for Ptolemy mentions several *Paralias*. The coast indicated by this name included Ptolemy's country of the *Aioi*, South Travancore and that of the *Karei*, South Tinnevely. (37) Burnell identifies *Paralia* with *Farali* which he says is an old name for Travancore. Yule agrees with Burnell and observes that "this *Paralia* is no doubt *Purali* an old name for Travancore from which the Raja has a title *Puralisan*, Lord of *Purali*." According to Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary *Puralisan* is a title of the Raja of Travancore.

(36.) M^c. Crindle's *Periplus* page 139.

(37.) History of Tinnevely page 19.

Professor Wilson, however, thinks that it is possible that the *Paralia* of Ptolemy's Tables may be a wrong reading for *Keralia* or *Kerala*.

In the quotation from Pliny we read that *Cœlobothras* reigned over *Mouziris* in his time. The *Periplus* calls him *Keprbothras*. There is another reference extant, viz. an extract from Ptolemy "*Karoura basileon kerobothron*"—*Karoura* the royal seat of *Kerobothras*.

The Prince called *Kerobothras* by Ptolemy is styled *Keprbothras* by the author of the *Periplus*. The insertion of "p" says Dr. Caldwell "is clearly an error, but more likely the error of a copyist than that of the author who himself had visited the territories of the prince in question. He is called *Coelobothras* in Pliny's text; but one of the manuscripts gives it more correctly as *Celobotras*. The name in Sanskrit and in full is *Keralaputhra*, but the *Kera* and *Kela* are Dravidian abbreviations of *Kerala*. They are Malayalam, however, not Tamil abbreviations, and the District over which the Tamil *Keralaputhra* ruled is that in which the Malayalam language is now spoken." (38).

Thus it is clear that according to Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy a king, reigned over the Malabar coast in their time, call him what we may—*Ceranibothi*, *Cœlobothras*, *Keprbothras*, *Kerobothras* or *Keralaputhra*—As we have already observed at the outset, Southern India was from very early times divided between the *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya* kingdoms. We are now concerned with the first of these. According to Dr. Burnell from the 3rd to the 7th century appears to have been the most flourishing period in the modern history of this kingdom. It then extended over the present Mysore, Coimbatore, Tondinad, South Malabar and Cochin. It was however one of the three great Dravidian kingdoms and existed already in the 3rd century B. C. Professor Dowson describes it at a later period as extending to the Mysore frontier in the north, the district of Salem in the east, and the Travancore Coast up to Calicut in the north-west. The capital of this kingdom is said

(38.) Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Introduction p. 95.

to have been Karoor. The Revd. Mr. Foulks contends that Chêra and Kêrala denote the same country. He says that there is a general concurrence of the authorities that Chêra and Kêrala are synonymous names notwithstanding the difficulty caused by the supposed identity of Kongu and Chêra. Dr. Rottler's Tamil Dictionary has under the word "Kêralam" "The King Cheran who reigned at the Malabar coast." (39) "I have no doubt" says Dr. Caldwell "that the names Chêra and Kêrala were originally one and the same and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous in native Tamil and Malayalam lists." Dr. Gundert has in his Malayalam Dictionary under the word Kêram, "Chera=Malabar, Canarese pronunciation of Cheram" and under the word Keralam "Cheram.—The country between Gokarnam and Cumari." It may also be remembered that the South Indian King is called Keralaputhra in the Asoka Edict. Thus there would seem to exist no doubt as to the identity of the king, or the land over which he held his sway. The latitude of the Chera Metropolis according to Ptolemy was 33.°15' and the ports of Tyndis and Musiris were within his dominions.

Pliny describes Muziris as *primum emporium, Indiae*. Well may it deserve that proud distinction. Situated on the coast, a few miles to the north of Cochin, at a place where the great rivers that form the only means of communication with the interior emptied their waters into the sea, it attained an unrivalled prosperity from very early times. It was through this port that the Hindoos received from the Phœnicians their art of writing; it must have been from this port that the shipmen of Solomon King of Isarel obtained their valuable cargoes of gold, ivory, sandalwood &c.; it was to this port that the Greek merchant and mariner Hippalos—that Columbus of ancient times—in his voyage for the discovery of a new route to India, was carried by the western monsoon; it was here according to common tradition that the great Apostle St. Thomas landed first and founded a church and preached Christianity in the opening years of the 1st century of the Christian Era; it was here that later on that the Jews arrived after the destruction

(39.) Manual of the Salem District.

of the second temple and the final desolation of Jerusalem A. D. 69, and founded a settlement; it was at this port that the Romans had formed a colony and set up a temple of Augustus; it was here that Thomas Cana landed from Syria when he brought with him a fresh colony of Syrian Christians and it was here that the great Chêraman Perumâl lived and ruled over Kêralam prosperously for many years. Tundis and Nelkanda or Kadalundi or Kallada were second only to Muziris. All trade with the west converged to these points. The produce of the interior was carried to these ports in country craft and the western merchants, who then carried on extensive commerce with the east, and whose splendidly equipped merchant-men always lay anchored there bore it to western marts. What strange tales would history unfold if the gift of speech were allowed to the stones and pebbles that lie imbedded deep in the bosom of the river that flows by the once famous fort of Kodungalloor!

The early intercourse between the east and the west may also be traced by means of the Roman coins that we occasionally find in Southern India, and the localities where they are to be met with generally mark the zone of Roman and Grecian influence in that direction. According to Mr. Little in the Christian College Magazine for December 1883, there are at least 13 references to discoveries of Roman coins in Southern India, besides the one in Karoor of which he had given a description in the October number of the same magazine. The earliest reference is contained in a letter written by Mr. Alexander Davidson, Governor of Madras in 1786, and published in the Asiatic Researches. It says "As a peasant, near Nelloor about 100 miles north—west of Madras was ploughing by the side of a stony craggy hill, his plough was obstructed by some brick work: he dug and discovered the remains of a small Hindu temple under which a little pot was found with Roman coins and medals of the 2nd century. He sold them as old gold; and many were no doubt melted, but the Nawab Ameer—Ul—Umrah recovered upward of 30 of them. This happened while I was Governor; and I had the choice of 2 out of the whole. I chose an Adrian and a Faustina. Some of the Trajans were in

good preservation. Many of the coins could not have been in circulation. They were of the purest gold and many of them as fresh and beautiful as if they had come from the mint but yesterday; some were much defaced and perforated and had probably been worn as ornaments on the arm and the others pending from the neck." Dr. Francis Buchanan records a find near Pollachy in the Coimbatore District in 1800. On the 24th November of that year he makes the following entry in his itenary. "Pollachy—In this vicinity was lately dug up a pot containing a great many Roman silver coins, of which Mr. Hurdie was so kind as to give me 6. They were of two kinds, but all of the same value; each weighing 36 grains, one of the kind is that of Augustus. * * * The other belongs to Tiberius."⁽⁴⁰⁾ In 1801 potfuls of silver denarii were found in different parts of the Coimbatore Province. Another instance is mentioned by Col. Mackenzie as occurring in the same district in 1806. In 1817, a silver coin of Augustus was found in excavating an old kistaven in Coimbatore, and Sir Walter Elliot, in Notes and Queries for April 19th 1873 says, that he possesses an Aureus of Trajan found at Cuddapah and a solidus Zeno at Madura. In Vol VI, New series of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Sir Walter Elliot says that "a large hoard (of Solaka or Punch coins)⁽⁴¹⁾ was discovered in September 1807 at the opening of one of the ancient tombs known by the name of, *pandu kulis* near the village of Chavadippalayam in Coimbatore, and about four years earlier a potful of the same pieces was dug up at Pennar also in the Coimbatore Province, among which was found a silver *denarius* of Augustus, which proves that they were current at the commencement of the Christian Era". Roman gold coins of the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Antonia and Claudius are said to have been found in the

(40.) Buchanan's Canara and Malabar vol. 2 Page 31. On the subject of Roman coins in Southern India reference may be made to Coins catalogue No. 2 Madras Government Museum 2nd Edition, by Edgar Thurston. This paper was completed long before I came to see Dr. Thurston's book.

(41) These Punch marked coins were evidently of early Bhudistic origin for they were all coined by the early Bhudists several centuries before the Christian Era. They were perhaps the only coins India knew before the invasion of Alexander. See "The coins of India as witnesses to her history by James E. Tracy. Vol. 5, C. C. Magazine 680-1.

Coimbatore District (Karoor) in 1806. Again we have it on the authority of Mr. Sewell that when Mr. John Sullivan was digging the foundations of a house on the hill to the south of the lake, now called Bishop's Down, (Ootacamund) about the year 1827 he discovered a gold Roman coin which is now in the possession of Sir. Walter Elliot.⁽⁴²⁾ Cooly loads of Roman coins would seem to have been found by some workmen near Cottayam in North Malabar, who were searching for gold dust in 1851. Seventy-three of these were secured by the Maharaja of Travancore. They belonged to the reigns of Augustus, Antonia Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. Dr. Caldwell appears to have given a description of these coins in a paper printed at Trevandrum in 1851 at the instance of the Maharaja of Travancore. He says that there were upwards of 30 types of them, commencing with the earlier coins of Augustus and including some of Nero's.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. XX, p. 382) mentions a find at Kilalur, 24 miles from Tellicherry in North Malabar. In 1842, at Vellalur near the town of Coimbatore a large number of *denarii* were unearthed. They were buried in an earthen pot. It contained 134 coins of Augustus, 373 of Tiberius, 1 of Caligula, 4 of Claudius and 2 unrecognisable, in all 522.⁽⁴³⁾ Three miles to the south of Pulney, near the village of Kalam-patour a pot containing 63 beautiful gold coins of the early Roman Emperors and others were found in 1856 buried 6 inches below the surface. About the same time some washermen of Karoor while searching for fuller's earth, came upon a large pot containing some hundreds if not thousands of denarii. There were 5 or 6 Madras measures of them. Mr. Little's informant who saw the hoard believed that most of them were like an Augustus that Mr. Little showed him. A solitary coin was picked up some time ago near the Seven Pagodas in the Chingleput District. It was thought to be of the reign of Theodosius, but was a good deal the worse for wear. We have already observed that Sir. Walter Elliot mentions the find of a solidus of Zeno at Madura, but the most important discovery in

(42) List of antiquities of Southern India Vol. 1, p. 226.

(43) Whitehouse's "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land" p. 13 note.

that neighbourhood is that of a number of copper Roman coins either in the bed of the river or in the village near, some of them of the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. In 1806 another interesting relic of ancient communication between the west and the east was found at Avanashy in the Coimbatore District in the shape of a handsome bronze jug and two other articles of western workmanship, a plate of which will be found in the Indian Antiquary. (44) Mr. Walhouse, late of the Madras civil service records another find in 1840. It was a potful of Roman Aurei of which only a few would seem to have been preserved (45). Mr. Whitehouse observed that in 1837 some 300 large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint and bearing the image and superscription of Nero were found in or near the bed of a river in the district of Trevor sixteen miles from Cananore. (46) Dr. Day also refers to a find at Ponnany but gives no particulars. (47)

The Roman Coins that have as yet been found in Southern India range from the time of Augustus to that of Zeno, i. e., from B.C. 27, the date on which Augustus was invested with the title of Imperator, to A. D. 491, the date of Zeno's death. Those found in Malabar range from Augustus to Nero (B. C. 27 to A. D. 68); those in Coimbatore from Augustus to Claudius (B. C. 27 to A. D. 54); those in Nellore belong to the reign of Trajan and Hadrian (A. D. 98 to 135); the one found in the Chingelput District is supposed to belong to the reign of Theodosius. There were two Emperors of this name. The first reigned from 379. A. D. to 395, and the second from 408 to 450 A. D. The Madura Coins belong to Arcadius and Honorius and Zeno, i. e., from 395 to 423 and 474 to 491 A. D.

The period of these coins covers the whole of the palmy days of the Empire and goes even beyond them. Even after the division of the Empire into the East and West the flagging interest in the

(44) Vol. 4 p. 302.

(45) Indian Antiquary Vol. 6 p. 215.

(46) Lingering of Light in a Dark Land p. 13 note.

(47) Land of the Perumals p. 574.

eastern trade appears to have been kept up, for we come upon a solidus of Zeno (474-491) near Madura.

From the record of the find of Roman Coins in Southern India the following facts may be noted:—

(1) That they are, with a few exceptions, found within certain specific limits. They are most extensively found on the Western Coast, and more specially within the area of the ancient Chera kingdom which comprised Coimbatore, Mysore, Tondinad, South Malabar and Cochin. In the Coimbatore District the vicinity of Karoor would seem to be most prolific. Next to Coimbatore Malabar appears to possess them in abundance. The gold coins found at Cottayam, were so numerous that five coolies could scarcely carry them. Those found at Trevoor near Cananore amounted to 300 large gold coins. The *denarii* which the washermen of Karoor found buried, measured 5 or 6 measures. Those unearthed at Vellalore near the Town of Coimbatore amounted to more than 500. It may be remembered that Ptolemy mentions Karoor as the Capital of the Chera or Kerala kingdom—“*karonna basilon kerobothron*”

(2) That those found on the West Coast belong to the earlier Emperors while those found in Madura Chingelput and Nellore belong to the later Emperors. In Malabar we find the coins of the Emperors in regular succession from Augustus to Nero and in Coimbatore from Augustus to Claudius. Those of Madura are the latest viz. of Zeno. (48)

(3) That they are invariably found buried under the earth in large quantities and are often not the worse for use. It may be concluded that these coins were never, or seldom, in circulation. For if they ever circulated, they could not at this distance of time be found in such good preservation. With regard to the gold coins it may be observed that gold as a circulating medium has never found favour with the Indian nations. They use that precious

(48) Says Mr. James, E. Tracy “A Company of Romans bent on trade once lived in Madura, and had a mint in operation there. They had their head-quarters there for many years, if not for several centuries, and have left behind them in gold silver and especially in the copper coins which are being found there the indisputable record of their long ago presence.” C. C. Magazin Vol. 5 page 676.

metal almost exclusively for the making of jewels and the theory that the Roman gold coins were invariably used as ornaments obtains support from the fact that many of the coins found were perforated so as to pass a string through them. They are often found in pots buried under the earth. This practice of burying treasure in pots under the earth is still dear to the native mind. It must have had its origin evidently from the insecurity of the times.

The natural and artificial products of India were always in great demand in foreign marts. Not so the products of other countries in Indian markets. The few and simple wants of the Hindoos were amply provided for by home produce. Even to this day, in spite of the introduction of western luxuries into the Hindoo home, the value of exports stands considerably higher than the value of imports. Under such circumstances foreign merchants being unable to pay in kind for the articles they bought from India, had to pay in Coins. Then gold and silver coins which always formed the medium of interchange among civilized nations were imported to India in considerable quantities. Pliny complained most bitterly, of the immense sums of money 50 million *Sesterti* i.e., 2 million pounds exported to India year after year to pay for the Indian wares which had in most instances to be paid for in coin as few other equivalents were acceptable. Thus gold coins poured in copious quantities and as these never circulated found their way into subterranean receptacles to be unearthed after centuries had gone by. To this ancient custom may we attribute the finds of gold, silver, and at times of even copper coins, in places like Bishop's Down in Ootacamund where they may be least expected.

The find of Roman coins in Southern India may not perhaps by itself lead to the conclusion that the Romans had any direct intercourse with South India. But when coupled with the evidence we have from Roman and Grecian sources of a long standing commercial relation between Rome and Southern India through Egypt, the conclusion inevitably follows that Rome exerted a good deal of influence in the Early History of that part of the Asiatic continent. The Pandion kings, as well as the ruler of Malabar, seem to have sent more than one embassy to Rome. The one to

Augustus is noticed by Strabo and subsequently to him in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus (A. D. 800) who says under the head of the 185th Olympiad, "Padion—King of the Indians sends an embassy to Augustus desiring to become his friend and ally."⁽⁴⁹⁾ This embassy, says Florius, was four years on the road⁽⁵⁰⁾ Dr. Oppert speaks of Indian envoys with precious presents being sent to Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius and Julianus.⁽⁵¹⁾

The Roman coins found in Madura are supposed by Mr. Sewell to point to something more than mere commercial relations. The company of Romans that lived in Madura possessed according to Mr. Tracy the right of minting coins which indicates some political power.—According to the *Peutinger Tables* there was at one time a temple of Augustus with a garrison of 2 Cohorts or 1200 men at Kodungalore (Cranganore).⁽⁵²⁾ This no doubt points to something more than commercial relations. The fact ought to set us about thinking as to how the Romans came to have planted a colony at so distant a place as Cranganore. They were indeed an ambitious people. Under the Republic they had extended their conquests far and wide. Caesar had conquered Gaul and Britain for them. After the battle of Pharsalos where Pompey was defeated, Julius Caesar was appointed perpetual Dictator under the title of Imperator or Emperor. On his assassination he was succeeded by his nephew Octavius Augustus Caesar who added Egypt to the already wide spread Empire of Rome. The intercourse with the East began with the Conquest of Egypt. But a long time must have elapsed before Rome thought it fit to plant a Colony in the far east. The fact of the setting up of a Temple of Augustus shows that when the Colony was planted at Kodungalore the Romans had already begun to worship Augustus as a god. The apotheosis of the early Roman Emperors is a matter of known notoriety.

(49) History of Tinnevely p. 17.

(50) History of Rome IV. 2. see also Priault's *Appel of Tayana* p. 68. also, *Indian Antiquary* vol. IV.

(51) *Ancient Commerce of India* p. 25.

(52) *Lists of Antiquities of South India* vol. 1, p. 251.

The Romans had in very early times deified Romulus the founder of the City. Julius Caesar himself was after his assassination deified and worshipped under a decree of the senate. The first two Caesars allowed themselves to be worshipped even during their life time though not at the Capitol. For, we read that "neither Julius nor Augustus suffered themselves to be actually worshipped in the City or even within the limits of Italy while they graciously permitted themselves to be adored as gods in foreign countries." An instance of this may be given. About B. C. 14, Drusus the Younger, brother of Tiberius, had command of an army in Gaul, and in order to secure more fully the allegiance of the northern tribes, who after a fashion, acknowledged the sway of Augustus, hit upon the device of building a temple for the worship of the image of the Emperor. May we not conjecture, with some show of reason, that it was for a similar purpose that the Romans set up a temple of Augustus at Kodungalore? But in the dearth of historical date it would be idle to speculate, as yet we have no evidence of any Roman conquests in South India on the western Coast.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

MUBTALA.*

Chapter, I.

Birth and Childhood of Mubtala.

SO far as his position in society was concerned, Mubtala was the son of a well-to-do man. His birth was hailed with great joy by the family as he was born after nine daughters, and in the dotage of his father who had passed his days in the expectation of a son. The news was given out but slowly and gradually. Every one who heard it went at once to prayer. Some began to utter words of well-wishes, while others began to sing songs fit for the occasion. The news spread throughout the suburb like the light of the sun. When the morning dawned, all the ladies of the locality were seen making towards the house where the child was given birth to. The streets were full of *doolies*. The desire for a male child was so great that any such child however ugly he might have been, would have been considered a precious gem and cherished. But love of beauty was the ruling passion of this family and the pride of its members specially consisted in their handsome features. So, whoever came in, wished to see the child. But the inmates of the house hesitated to shew him lest the evil-eye, and the shadow of the fairies should fall on him. When however the midwife came out of the chamber, all the ladies gathered around her and enquired what the child was like, to which she replied that he was an image of beauty itself—having round glistening eyes, a high aquiline nose, thin lips, a small mouth, dark glossy curly hair, a long face, a round and pearl-shaped neck and symmetrical limbs. "I have now come to this advanced age" said she, "but I have not seen such a beautiful child as yet even in high circles, where beauty of face is so highly valued. May God give him a long life and prosperity." In the whole household and in the family, he was regarded as a rare thing; and a rare thing he really was, from whatever point of view he was regarded. From the very day of his birth he

* Translated and abridged from the original in Urdu of Moulvi Nazir Ahmad of Delhi.

was carried about in the arms of his grandmother, of his aunts, and sisters. Mubtala's father was a very pious man who scrupulously observed the ordinances of his religion. The old women even of the house were regular in their prayers five times a day. But in spite of all this, such means were adopted and such precautions taken in the bringing up of the child that one might be led to infer that in the opinion of these people the health and well-being of the child depended not merely on food and water, but on the eye of the relative and of the stranger, on the eclipse of the sun and the moon; on the dog, on the cat, on the lizard, on the devil, and on the genii. In fact everything that was real, and every thing that was imaginary was supposed to have a potent influence on his well-being. We shall be the last to attribute blasphemy and polytheism to anybody, but we cannot help saying that the way in which he was dealt with, was not wholly free from of such a charge. It is a matter of surprise how his bringing up was possible under the circumstances; and how he escaped safe from the hands of those silly friends. There was no illness, no pain, that was not attributed to by them to wrong causes—to the imaginary effect of the evil-eye, and to the devil. Since such blunders were committed in the diagnosis, it is no wonder that wrong means were resorted to in the prescriptions. But by nature Mubtala was strong and healthy; and his constitution always overcame diseases. However, Mubtala was brought up somehow, and advanced in years. When Mubtala had entered on his sixth year, his father wished to send him to school, but as usual, the ladies came forward with their excuses and said that he often became sick and that confinement in the school and the punishment of the teacher would make him sad and unhappy and so on. The mother openly gave out that until the eighth year had safely passed away, she was not prepared at all to send her boy to school. Thus on account of the persistent opposition of the ladies, full three years of his life were vainly spent without education.

Chapter II.

Maktab-Education and its effects.

A Maktab * had to be opened for him, at his very door. In the beginning Mubtala played many tricks and shewed much obstinacy in not going to the master or sitting in his presence. At

* Maktab is a Primary Vernacular School, conducted on indigenous methods.

last the temptations of small gifts of money, flattery and the cajoling of his mother had their effect. When once he went to the Maktab, reading and writing were not matters of great difficulty for him, for he was by nature, very intelligent and had a very good memory. As for inattention and mischief-making—with regard to which much could be said against him—the teacher had no occasion to make any complaints so far as his reading and writing were concerned. In spite of utter indifference, and first-rate mischief-making, he was able to attain to such proficiency in Persian, that he almost surpassed his teacher, who was a good Persian scholar. The Maktab-education of Mubtala was useful to him so far as it stood him in good stead in obtaining the mastery over a foreign tongue, without which, the study of Urdu could only be imperfect, but this very education had also a pernicious effect on him, which no relative or friend could then discern. It is difficult to say at what stage of his life did he realize in his own mind that he was a beautiful and lovely person. We have already mentioned that in this family, there was much hankering after good features. With the ladies of the house, good features and a white complexion outweighed every other thing that may be called a blessing and a gift of God. The fact of his having been born and brought up in such a family clearly indicates that when he became sensible and intelligent, the first thing that he appreciated was the nature of the beautiful and of his being an embodiment and living example of beauty. He was in the *Zenana*, until he was seven or eight years old. Till then, he could only understand that a sweet thing is liked by all. He had personal experience of all things that were pronounced good or bad by others, and had come to the conclusion that the thing which gives ease and pleasure is good and the thing which gives trouble and pain is bad. But as regards beauty, he had no means of acquiring such experience. The unusual attainments and the rapid progress made by him, in Persian are chiefly to be attributed to the fact that a good deal of poetry in this language is about love. The nature of Mubtala was such that when once he read a couplet of this kind of poetry, he remembered it well. Thus, through the teaching of the Maktab, another trait of character was developed in him, viz, that of love-making.

Chapter III.

School-Education and its effects.

Mubtala's father insisted from the very first, that he should be sent to school; but the ladies could not brook the boy being taken away from their sight, even for a short time, and hence this *Maktab* had to be maintained at the door for nearly six years. Now the stock of knowledge of the teacher was nearly exhausted; and Mubtala had studied nearly all the important Persian authors. He was also tired of this mode of instruction, other thoughts having taken possession of him. His eyes were looking out for pic-nic and dancing parties; and these were not to be had at the door. Thus, the father having one aim in view, and the son another, Mubtala had, with the consent of all, to seek admission into the school.

He had to sit in the *Maktab* for nearly six years, but what was the *Maktab* to him? It was a nominal school, for it was only with a view to afford him diversion, that four or five other little children were associated with him in instruction. In other words, it can be said without contradiction, that for nearly fourteen years, he was brought up in a cave* and no sort of worldly atmosphere was allowed to touch him. He found admission into the Arabic class of the school. The ages of the pupils ranged from six or seven up to twenty or twenty-four. Children associated with full-grown youths of all castes and creeds amounting to nearly four-hundred were congregated in one place. Although English, Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit classes were different, and kept in different chambers still out of school-hours, the boys were mixing, speaking and playing with one another freely, and without any reserve or distinction. When Mubtala saw this state of things, he felt as much joy and freedom as a bird would out of its cage. Till now he had been under the impression that a teacher or Moulvi was always an old man; for his teacher was so old that even his eye-lashes had turned grey. Here he observed that most of the teachers were young men who had themselves been students some four or five years back, and who after passing their examination had taken up this profession.

* Brought up in a cave—refers to the confinement of royal children from their birth up to their youth in under-ground houses, with the view that they may not be affected by the changes of climate, or by the evil-eye, &c. Hence this expression means "brought up with most anxious care, without being allowed to mix in society."

It was a matter of great surprise to him that some of the teachers themselves were younger than some of the students of their classes. The class into which Mubtala was admitted, was the lowest Arabic class; and hence there was a very large number of boys in it. There were 70 boys on the rolls; but about 50 or 55 were present daily. About a third of the pupils were much older than Mubtala himself. This being the lowest of all the classes, the Moulvi Sahib who was in charge of it, was the youngest of all the masters and the smallest in size, the lowest in rank, dignity and respect. Mubtala was a handsome and fashionable lad; and as soon as he set his foot on the threshold of the school, companions gathered around him. Previously there were many cliques amongst the students and now a new clique was formed called by the name of Mubtala. The whole organization and administration of the school was praiseworthy. Such subjects were taught as were of practical good in this world. Discipline and drill were strictly observed; but alas! nobody paid any attention towards the conduct and morals of the pupils. Each teacher was anxious that the subject which he taught, should be done well in the examination. As long as this condition was fulfilled—fulfilled though it might be, through cheating, copying and getting another's assistance, nobody seemed to care at all for the conduct and morals of the pupil. When Mubtala was undergoing training in the *Zenana*, the seed of evil was sown in him. In the *Maktab*, the seed sprouted into a sapling, and in the school, the sapling developed itself into a mighty tree, prospered and blossomed. He got into the habit of returning from school late, and in the small hours of the night. But no sooner did the day-dawn than his evil companions would come to his house and begin to strike at the door-chain, to clap hands or to whistle and thus call him away. Matters finally came to such a crisis, that Mubtala would absent himself from home for three or four days together at a time. His mother was fully aware of all these circumstances; but her affection had now assumed another complexion. She was as much afraid of her son, as the cow is of the butcher. Fear had arisen of itself; in her mind, that now that her son was a young man he might take offence at her words and run away or do some harm to himself; then where would she be? The poor woman, thus out of fear, never uttered a word in opposition. From the beginning, the

mischief done by him was screened from his father. Now this mischief had turned into wicked actions; and the more the wickedness increased on one side, the greater were the precautions taken on the other. But the father had not turned his beard grey in sun-shine. From his general deportment the old man could well read the conduct of his son—but he was afraid of his wife and knew well enough that she had a great love for him. Besides, his habit was to procrastinate in all things he should do. On this account he did not pay any attention to the improvement of his son's conduct. Now how could he scold a young man? He might be paid back in his own coin, and thus the only means that the father could think of for his reformation was to bring him under the heavy shackles of wedlock.

Chapter IV.

Mubtala's Marriage and his Dealings with his Wife.

In the fourth year of his admission into the school, proposals were set on foot for his marriage. The son of a well-to-do father, a youth of handsome and attractive, nay even more than handsome and attractive features, a youth who had read and learned, and who had an income from scholarship of ten rupees per month, such as Mubtala then had, what fear could there possibly be in that the number of offers to him would be few. According to the custom, the offer of marriage should have gone, from Mubtala, to the family of the bride, but people had become so enamoured of him from his outward circumstances that, setting aside all ceremony, they sent offers to him from all quarters. When a marriage proposal came, the first request that was made by the people of Mubtala was not even for a silver but at once for a golden* sleeping cot, and this request was put forth and repeated with as much emphasis as if it was the chief condition of the *nickha*.

In the usual affairs of the world giving and receiving are observed with equal strictness. With regard receiving, Mubtala's people insisted on a golden cot, but in matters of giving, they would not mention even a pie towards the usual monthly expenditure of the bride; for this they said, was not the custom of their family.

* Silver or golden cot means a cot which is covered with a thin plating of either of these metals.

They would content themselves with the Mohar* of the Shara since Mubtala belonged to a family, the members of which were handsome and since he himself was a handsome man, he deserved a beautiful wife. The ladies would, by some secret means or on some plea or other, themselves go and see the girl, or if an opportunity of seeing was not afforded to them, they would cause some old woman of their household to see her in a similar way. But these people wished most to see the girl themselves with their own eyes and to place the lump of sugar-candy in her mouth, with their own hands.

Offers came from many a suitable and good quarter, and offers were also sent by these people to many such quarters. In one place giving and receiving were moot-points of discussion. In another place, the face of the bride was not approved; and in a third place, the condition of seeing the bride before marriage was not approved. Thus many a proposal was rejected, and many an offer declined and no settlement came to. The dropping of proposal for such relationship after once it is made is not a matter for joke. The family of the bride take this in the light of an insult; such cases, therefore end in great annoyance, and heart-burning. It may be mentioned that the ladies of a certain house from which the card was recalled were so very polite and sociable that they were held in high esteem by other ladies of the whole town. Whenever there was a marriage or celebration of any rite, they were always invited, and they too, in their turn, invited others in their small as well as in their important ceremonies and treated all of them alike. When these ladies were thus enraged, they became instrumental in having him held up to reproach and abuse throughout the whole town. The disagreement with this household therefore

*When marriage, which is a contract amongst the Mussulmans, is performed, a Mohar or some money or property is settled on the bride which the bridegroom is at liberty to pay at the moment of the *nickha* or afterwards. The Mohar fixed by the Shara or laws of the Prophet is rather slight—but people set larger Mohars according to the circumstances of the bride. The people of Mubtala named a small Mohar for the bride.

†Placing the lump of sugar-candy—refers to the initial ceremony of the marriage. The people of the bridegroom visit the house of the bride for the first time, and place a small lump of sugar-candy in the bride's mouth in as much as to say that the beginning is made of a pleasant and sweet life.

vanquished the hopes of Mubtala's people; and made his marriage in the town impossible.

The paternal aunt of Mubtala had married into a family at Saiyidnugger, a village some ten or twelve miles distant from Delhi. Those people who were most prominent amongst the Zemindars of that part of the cuntry were the owners of some six important villages. Their ancestors were, in their generation, known far and wide, for their generous dispositions, hospitality, and charitable deeds; but now owing to the distribution of lands and the consequent multiplicity of *puttadars* (or land-holders) their revenues had much decreased, so that there was none of that generosity and hospitality left in them for which they were once famous. On account of their proximity to the city, the ryots of this village had become impertinent and the *puttadars* litigious. Somehow or other, there were always two or three men from this village, present in the City-Courts carrying on litigations. Just as a man in chronic illness becomes his own doctor by frequent personal treatment, so these people had, by carrying on frequent lawsuits, become so well-versed in law that they were considered superior to any Barrister or Vakil. They would purposely hunt after occasions for lawsuits.

The quarrelsomeness and the litigious predilections of these people had spread so far and near, that others were afraid to enter into family relationships with them. The arrival of the offer of marriage was then a matter of great consequence. If even the least mention was made of the proposal amongst them, and if they had approved of it, they would carry it out in a highhanded manner and would resort to such legal stratagems, that no one could shew the least opposition. No other family now remained in which Mubtala could marry than this one, and God had so much brought down the pride of his people that the golden cot and the condition of personal inspection was left out of question. The mother of Mubtala went, and performed the initial ceremony and returned home subdued and humbled. Marriages between people of equal standing, slight differences apart, are suitable. But here, the fear of the Saiyidnuggeris had as much overshadowed and subdued the people of Mubtala, as if they

had been criminals sat upon by an oppressive *kutival* (police officer). Whatever orders were given there, were executed here; whatever recommendations made, were all accepted; and whatever said, was at once attended to. After a few days they sent word to the effect that on the 10th of the month, the bridegroom should come in procession with such and such illuminations and attendants and music; the same was done. Twenty thousand rupees was recommended to be fixed for the *Mohar* the same was accepted. A thousand rupees were demanded in cash for the bride's suit and gift-jewels, the same was given, Rs. 25 per month was to be set apart for the personal expenses of the bride, the same was agreed to. But be it said to their credit, that although the Saiyidnuggeris did not give a golden cot, which was probably not in keeping with their custom they gave jewels for the neck, the ears, the head in complete sets and in duplicate; one sort being set with precious stones for use on occasions of marriages, feasts, and so on, and the other, of plain gold, to be put on at ordinary times. In short, they performed the marriage of their daughter in accordance with their dignity and reputation. So much dowry could not possibly be had at Delhi. From outward appearances and from the list of jewels and articles given, the people estimated the dowry to be not less than five or six and a half thousand; and then there were other expenses such as large quantities of ghee and many maunds of corn. Thus the marriage of Mubtala was performed in his nineteenth year. In respect of dowry, a good bride was secured. Social position and birth were unquestionable; for the bride was his own niece—daughter of his paternal aunt. In respect of personal appearance, there was no particular defect to be found. Her complexion though not white, was rather fair and the nose and lips, and the parting in the hair did not display any particular defect. But her general contour and features were not expressive of delicacy and fine appearance; and her body did not show itself off under a smart dress. If she sat amongst a thousand ladies, she was plainly seen to be a foreigner and the worst of it was, that when she sat beside Mubtala, her beauty, such as it was, was thrown into complete shade. When, therefore he first saw his wife, he saw her with the eyes of disapproval, scorn, and displeasure. His days were spent with her half willingly, half unwillingly, and there was not that love and affection established between them as is generally, if not mostly, to be found between a newly married pair.

Chapter V.

Beginning of the Troubles.

The life of Muhtala was spent in great ease and freedom till his marriage. Till his fourteenth year, he was brought up at home, in such comfort and pleasure as is rarely accessible to many. At school, his companions shewed more attention to him than even his parents would; but his days of happiness were now numbered. The only thing that was held in estimation in his eyes was a beautiful face. Beard began to grow in his seventeenth year only; now in his eighteenth it came out in full exuberance. He felt very keenly the rapid decline of his early prosperous condition; and when the state of his mind of those days is taken into consideration, such feeling was not out of place. Gradually the effects of this decline became perceptible. The people who were fond of his company began to shew indifference, and those who had followed him like a shadow, began to fall off. His mode of living had so much multiplied his unreal and superfluous wants; and these latter had so much increased his expenditure, that his school stipend *plus* four times that amount hardly sufficed for his wants. Desires arose, and he had to subdue them; inclinations came up, and he had to curb them. There is a proverb in English which says "troubles never come single" i.e., when they do come, they come in numbers. To prove the truth of this proverb as it were, deaths occurred in his family in such numbers that in the space of five years, all the elders, whether male or females passed away one after another. His sisters were all married and were living separately with their husbands. Thus, he and his wife alone remained and she too on account of his indifference, used to remain much in her father's house, and would come to his a guest, once in five or six months. Now, it was a year since both her parents had passed away; and the brothers with a view to deprive her of her share of inheritance, had entirely ceased to call her to their house. Under this necessity, she had to remain in his house unattended and uncared for. Such a mountain of troubles had befallen Muhtala, that if he had the least sound sense, he would not have forgotten for his whole age, the lesson given him by this condign chastisement. But a seal was set on his heart, a screen fallen before his eyes, and where was the lesson and where the fear? Immediately after his father's death, his old companions under the plea of showing condolence again mustered them-

selves around him, and renewed to him the old lesson. Now even before the 40th day ceremony came off, the pleasure parties had commenced.

Chapter VI.

*Uncle's return from the Hajj.**

Muhtala's uncle Mir Muttaki† was employed for a long time, in the service of the Nawab of Rampur; and having married into a respectable family in that kingdom, he had settled himself there. Muhtala was reading in the *Maktab*, when Mir Muttaki last called on his brother at Delhi *en route* to Mecca. Muttaki's original programme included only pilgrimages to Mecca and Madina; but when he reached that place, his intentions were changed. After deliberation extending over so many years, he was able to start on this journey; and it was not certain whether he would be able in the remaining years of his life, to retrace his steps to these sacred places; and hence he resolved upon performing as many pilgrimages to the shrines, as were possible. Three years were spent in going through this pilgrimage; and during the next three years, it so happened that he repeatedly became ill. Thus, when in the seventh year he had to return, he determined to call on his way back at Rampur, on his teacher at Bhopal, on his Pir (spiritual guide) at Ahmadabad, and on his brother at Delhi.

When he entered the city of Delhi, it was rather late at night and he directly made for the house of his brother. On going up to the door of the gate he found it bolted from within; and the noise of beating *tubla*‡ issuing forth, and then after a short time, a roar of laughter burst out. This made him understand that a burlesque was being played by the buffoons. Mir Muttaki, at first, thought himself mistaken in the identification of the house and he returned to the corner of the street; but on examination he found that many changes had taken place in the locality in the space of seven years, but not so many as to mislead him in identifying a house in which

* Hajj is the pilgrimage that the Muhammadans make to Mecca, once in the year in the month of Zill-hajj.

† Muttaki—literally, a pious man.

‡ A musical instrument resembling a small drum.

he was born and brought up. Then it struck him that his brother might have changed his house; and when he was standing in this perplexity, he found a man well-stricken in years slowly coming up from the lane leaning on his stick and with a bed under his arm and a young man following him with rapid strides. When the young man overtook him, he said, "Sir, where are you going now, with your bed? Give me the bed, I shall have it handed over to you at home." The old man replied: "No son, why should you take the trouble, what weight is there in the bed? What is to be done? Since the death of the good Mir Muhazzab, his son (may God bring him to the right path) has fallen into bad company and become a profligate. Whole days and nights, there is uproar in his house; we are his next-door neighbours! Only a partition wall is between us. It is not possible to go through two *rakats** of Namaz, with composure of mind, I am therefore compelled to go to the mosque." Hearing the news of his brother's death, Muttaki was about to swoon and fall down, but he was a man, religious by nature and so he restrained himself, saying "We are of God Himself and we shall return unto Him only." He began to think, "If I go now, and tap at the door and call out, who is likely to hear my voice in this uproar? Supposing even that the door is opened by crying out and screaming, a good deal of trouble will be caused, as it is late at night; and then there will be weeping and lamentation. It is, therefore, advisable to spend the night some where else." It then struck him that he might spend the night in the adjacent mosque as he would be able to make further enquiries from the old man. He entered the mosque and making the necessary ablutions, went through the Namaz. He had entertained a great amount of love for his brothers. So that he used to pray for his welfare even in the latter's absence; and now after the Namaz was over, when he raised up his hands for *dūa*,† the prayer of Moses for his brother Aron viz., "Oh, Protector, forgive me and my brother, and admit us both into Thine blessings—Thou art the most merciful God" came into mind and swelled the tide of his sorrow. He involuntarily wept. Muttaki passed the whole night wide awake. He sat bare-headed in the compound of the mosque, and sometimes read *dūas*

* One *rakat* is one prostration in the Namaz or prayer.

† This is a verse from the Koran. Muhammadans are enjoined to repeat it, on hearing the news of death or on seeing a dead body carried to its grave, or when a calamity occurs.

‡ *Dua* a prayer or benediction said after the regular Namaz is over.

and blessed his brother's soul; and sometimes weepingly prayed to God for the forgiveness of his brother's sins. With the earliest dawn of the morning, he performed his first morning prayer, and then began to count his rosary, till the full break of day. When he had finished the *nafl* Namaz of the morning, he saw the old man too, after rolling up his bed, preparing to go home. On account of his old age, the latter's sight was dim; Muttaki recognizing him approached him and salaamed and told him all the events of the previous night. The old man condoled him and according to the custom, spoke words of consolation and begged him to be patient in distress. In company with the old man, Muttaki prepared to go to the house of his brother, fully determined not to weep any more, but to suppress his sorrow as much as possible; but as he began to advance towards the house, he found his state of mind gradually changing. When he reached the gate he could no longer control himself and involuntarily burst forth into loud weeping. Hearing the noise, the neighbours and others gathered round him from all sides. The door could not be opened from out-side, but news reached the *zenana* (apartment for females) first and then the *Maradana* (apartment for males) through the window.

Mubtala and his companions had not long gone to sleep, after their music and dancing party. The arrival of Mir Muttaki* disturbed and dispersed the sleep of all. The people who were just an hour or so ago, making the dancing-girls and buffoons dance in their presence were now themselves hurrying about, and trying to find out some way or other by means of which to escape. But where was the way of exit? Mir Muttaki Sahib with 40 or 50 men of the neighbourhood was waiting at the door; and to go through the *zenana-khana* (ladies' chambers), Mubtala and his friends had, at the first stage, to encounter the lady of the house, who, though she was like a mouse in the presence of her lord and master, was a lioness in regard to these wretches. Besides this, if a way for egress was to be found, it was through the houses of other people; and why should gentle folks allow such people to pass through their houses. Mubtala was so much bewildered that he ran backwards and forwards like an idiot, but could hit upon no means of escape. At length, he called out to his old servant, *Wafadar* (the faithful). This servant, whose name so well suited

* Muttaki being the younger brother of Mubtala's father.

his character was an old man. He used to give advice to Muhtala regarding his bad conduct; but what could there be in the power of a servant? When he had repeatedly tendered his advice, Muhtala would browbeat him; and in despair he had severed his connection with his young master. There was a room in the out-house; and he used to live there all day and night. On this occasion, he was sitting quiet in his room, and observing what was going on. He was well aware of the arrival of Muttaki and of the confusion of the party in the house, and well understood the object of Muhtala's calling him, contrary to his habits. But intentionally he lied down and covered his body with his sheet. Muhtala called out once, twice, thrice, but no reply. If such a call was made, was it ever possible for Wafadar to be quiet, and not to attend to it, at once? But now Muhtala had come, and the colour of everything was changed. Muhtala himself therefore went to his door and called out "Wafadar, Wafadar, Uncle has come," Wafadar enquired if the younger master had returned; to which Muhtala replied "Yes." Wafadar remembering his late master sighed deeply and tears began to roll down his cheeks and at last thanking God for the safe return of Muttaki ran towards the gate to unbolt the door. Muhtala stood in his way and said "Wait a moment." Muhtala had formerly seen his uncle, but in the space of seven years, he had forgotten his face, and so asked Wafadar to look through the opening in the window and see if his uncle was really there. Wafadar identified him at first sight, and said "Undoubtedly, it is my young master, he quite resembles the late master, but his beard is not so grey". Hearing this, Muhtala embraced Wafadar and said "For the sake of God spare me this disgrace. Where can I take these wretches and where can I hide them." Seeing the bewildered condition of Muhtala, the old man took pity on him, and said "Hide these people for a while, in the latrine; after the master has entered the house, we shall take them out and dismiss them." In fact, there was no other way of hiding them than this, so these men and women were packed up into the latrine and the door bolted upon them. Muttaki was then let in. The uncle ran and embraced his nephew; and those who witnessed the scene could never possibly forget it. The old man and the "young

fellow," angel and satan if you like, or blessing and cursing, or virtue and vice, whatever you call them respectively, were there and embraced each other and wept bitterly. Muhtala cried out loudly; but only silent tears were rolled down the cheeks of Muttaki. But since the latter suppressed his sorrow, every muscle of his body shook and quivered like the willow. Fifty or sixty men stood around them in a circle, and every one was affected. After exactly a quarter of an hour, Muttaki put away his nephew from his breast and accompanied him into the chamber and sat down. For sometime, every one was quiet. Afterwards somebody in the crowd broke the silence and began to mention the late gentleman. First, they spoke of his good ways and then of his illness and death and finally, they read the *Fatiba** and departed,—and then Muttaki went into the house with his nephew.

Chapter VII.

Muttaki Endeavours to Rectify the Domestic Evils of Muhtala.

Muttaki's original intention was to call on his brother and to stay with him for a week or fortnight—*en route* to Rampur. But what he proposed in one way, God disposed of in another. When he came here, he found that six months had elapsed since his brother's death, and that the nephew of his had ruined himself. If his arrival had been three months later, everything would have been lost. Salaries, rents of the houses, the good name of the ancestors would all have shared their settled fate. From the day of his father's illness, and of his leaving the school, up till now, Muhtala had never for a moment bestowed a thought on the school. At first, two or three classmates called on him and asked him to attend, and even some of the teachers sent for him. He never attended to anybody. Leave was first granted and this was changed to absence which finally led to the removal of his name from the Register. Thus without a cause a good scholarship was lost, and his hopes of the future were frustrated.

It was necessary, after the death of the father, for his heir to show the claims to the Nawabs, and to apply for the continuation of his pensions, but who was here to assert such claims except Muhtala himself? If after his father's death, he had presented

* *Fatiba* is a short prayer.

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Himself before his *Circars* he would surely have received the robes of mourning and gifts of money from them; as well as his father's pension, but where had he any leisure from his useless engagements to consider all these matters and to dance attendance in the Court for his claims? Thus all the sources of income were stopped except the rents of the houses, in the collection of which also irregularities crept in. Muhtala inherited the jewels of his mother which were worth about Rs. 2,000; and it was with this only that he was leading a fast life. The whole of this amount was run through in the course of six months and now everything was managed on borrowed money.

When Muttaki saw this, it was impossible for him to leave the affairs in this mess and go away; and hence he was compelled to forego his intentions of going at once to Rampur. He took Muhtala along with him to the *Circars*. In some places, he made arrangements with the superintendents and the managers and in other places he took letters of introduction. Sometimes he laid stress on the good services of his late brother and at other times he carried the point by force of his own character. Thus, in the course of running to and fro for a few months, he accomplished thus much, that all the arrears salary of the late Mir Muhazzab were restored by these Nawabs in their entirety. Muttaki used his discretion and foresight to such an extent that all salaries that were given for mere subsistence *i. e.*, without service being rendered, were entered in the name of his niece, Ghirat Begum, *i. e.*, Muhtala's wife, and all salaries conditioned on service were entered in his nephew's name. His object in having done this was to place Muhtala under the control of his wife. Out of the arrears obtained, he had the houses and the godowns repaired and arranged to let in the tenants. The lease of the godowns was also issued half in the name of the husband and half in that of the wife. Since the death of Mir Muhazzab, the household affairs were managed by money borrowed from the *buneya*, he had this account also settled and arranged so that nothing was to be bought in future except on cash payment.

KHAJA KHAN SAHIB.

(To be Continued.)

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