Vol. II. No. 4.

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

FEBRUARY, 1896.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
15 FEB. 96
MADRAS.

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Madras:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE NATIONAL PRESS,
100, MOUNT ROAD.

1896.

Annual Subscription Including Postage... Rs. 7 | Price per Copy Rs. 2.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Egmore, Madras.

MANAGER'S OFFICE, Egmore, Madras.

THE
Madras Review.

Vol. II. FEBRUARY 1896. No. 4.

MADRAS
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THE ELEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE eleventh session of the Indian National Congress at the Capital of the Peshwas has proved a signal success; attended by no less than 1600 delegates, witnessed with keen interest by no fewer than three to four thousand visitors, and pervaded all through, by a high pitch of lively enthusiasm. It therefore seems to justify a somewhat analytical consideration of its programme and its work. But no record of it will be complete or faithful, which omits to notice the controversy that immediately preceded the session—a controversy that was seized hold of by our opponents to indulge in captious criticism and depreciatory remarks at the expense of the National Institution. In this view, I shall first place before the readers a few facts that elucidate the exact bearing which the occurrences at Poona had or has on the Congress itself. That the people of Poona have all along been Congress-men to the backbone goes without saying. In the first place, it was Poona which was the earliest to come to the front to give practical proof of an earnest desire to give (so to speak) a local habitation and a name to the Indian National Congress. In the second place, it was only under an unanticipated emergency, for which she was in no degree answerable, she consented to transfer the task to her good sister Bombay to help in her birth. In the third and last place, the people of Maharashtra, with those of Poona as invaluable co-efficients, have up to date been thorough going supporters, warm adherents and powerful factors in guiding the fortunes and moulding the destinies of the Congress. Men, whom

these manifest and cumulative facts cannot convince as to the singleness of the Poona people about the welfare of the Congress, are, I think, beyond all hope, and must be left to air their vagaries to their heart's content. The leaders of the Congress and their friends will be acting most wisely to omit such men altogether out of their reckoning.

Apart from the policy of discounting the zeal of Poona for the Congress, our amiable friends have striven to derive capital, to run down the Congress, out of the fact that there happened to be in Poona a stronger party than elsewhere which was opposed to the use, by the Social Conference, of the pandal which was erroneously presumed to be meant *exclusively* for the Congress. That the erection of the pandal was ostensibly for the purposes of the Congress session is indisputable. It is presumptively implied by the fact that all the necessary trouble and expense in connection with it have been invariably undertaken by the bodies of men, who are locally constituted under the designation of *Congress Committees*. But even a perfunctory knowledge must suffice to show that it was not the Social Conference alone, but also Lectures by Theosophists and even meetings for the transaction of Theosophic and other public purposes were freely permitted by the local Reception Committees to be held in the pandal, notwithstanding that it was ostensibly and initially designed for the Congress session. That is not all. The running man and men whose vision has not been dimmed by the cataract of inveterate prejudice must see that though the social conference has been co-eval in existence with the National Congress and though its session followed on the heels of each Congress, it palpably retained its own separate and distinctive entity with Secretaries of its own, with its own Presidents elect each year and with reports and resolutions of its own, irrespective of the local Congress Committees *as such* and irrespective of the Subject Committees, voted each year by the delegates, assembling in their character of members of the National Congress. The only two points of contact, if they can be so designated between the Congress and the Conference have therefore been (I) that all along Congress pandal (as it has been called,) was used for holding the Conference whenever the Congress could spare it or did not need it; and (II) that a very considerable proportion of the number of Congress delegates were also members of the Conference, with

only a strong and compact minority, agreeing to disagree with each other on one subject alone, respecting nevertheless each other's differing sentiments and clashing convictions but working shoulder to shoulder so far as the Congress cause was concerned. Why this minority did not make common cause with their brethren of the Conference as to the methods of compassing social reform is quite beside the point in the present discussion. It is enough to note that such a difference has all along existed—and existed noticeably to the most superficial observers. If then there are outsiders who had not noted this palpable fact, and if they had laboured under a delusion or now pretend to have been labouring under the delusion that the Congress and the Conference were but a single body worked by the same leaders and proceeding on self-same lines, it is worse for those outsiders or pretenders and it affords no ground for regret on the part of either the adherents of the Congress or the followers of the Conference.

There seem however to be some few who would not take of the situation in Poona the view I have here presented. They pose as leaders of opinion and have engaged the unchecked liberty of indicting impertinences against the Congress, the Congress-men and Congress-friends. If fair means are not ready to hand to vent their spleen they have proceeded to the task on the notorious principle (if principle it can be called) said to have been enunciated by the Quaker father to his son in the art of making money. The atheist has something to teach these worthy disciples of Durvas. He is said to have quoted the Scripture for his handbook by omitting the words "the fool saith in his heart" from a well known text.

Both the Quaker father's advice and the atheist's device seem to have been adopted by a local publicist for belittling the Congress session at Poona. He says:

"*The two principal objects of the Congress were in* 1887 *declared to be*:—(1) "the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, until recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India" and (2) "the gradual regeneration along all lines mental, moral, social and political, of the nation thus evolved." For the benefit of those who might take their cue from this, we will extract certain passages from the Report which he has been misquoting from

The objects of the national movement, of which the Congress is one, and at the moment the most prominent and tangible outcome, are threefold; the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; the gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social, and political, of the nation thus evolved; and the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

(*a*) "*Now, the objects with which the Congress; primarily a political* body, though calculated *indirectly* to subserve other purposes, was *started by the National Party* may be divined from a consideration of *that party's threefold objects*, already set forth."

(*b*) "Of course, it was not overlooked that in this way would also be brought together men equally or even more interested, in *other branches of the national regeneration,* and that these would equally profit *indirectly* from these gatherings; and that in conjunction with, *though distinct from them,* conferences of groups of co-religionists or co-workers in the same branches thus met together would be held and some advance thus secured in all directions. *But the primary and avowed objects are political,* in the broadest sense of the word, and, *with these only, and not with the incidental advantages it brought in its train to other branches* of the *work, is it now proposed to deal.*"

(*c*) "*Boldly has the Congress taken the Ossa of Political Reform* upon its shoulders but this fault-finding party, who themselves will not extend a finger to lighten the burthens of the country, find no words, it would seem, too bitter in which to *denounce it for not piling the Pelion of Social Reform also on its existing load. The National Party, have undertaken through the Congress the political regeneration of* 200 millions of men; and these fatuous *foes of progress revile it, because, through this same organization it does not also attempt their social, moral,* and religious regeneration! The National Party is as deeply interested, we may say more deeply interested in these latter, than even in the former question, but *it suits its means to its ends and applies in each case* the proper mechanism. Throughout the country social and religious conferences, associations, and guilds are working at these deeper, and more spiritual problems, and

in many cases men most prominent in the political work of the Congress will be found equally amongst the most prominent in the more spiritual work which other bodies are carrying on."

After calling attention to these several extracts, may not one parody the critic's own words and declare "it is impossible not to admire the *trickish* manner in which *a plain passage in clear print* has been so quietly *mutilated* as soon as a *necessity* arose for doing so.

It is a real pleasure to pass from the disagreeable task of taking culprits to task to the consideration of the work achieved on the Congress platform.

First and foremost we have the very excellent address by the chairman of the Reception Committee and it deserves to take the first place in the inauguration of the second of a ten-year era. The author is a ripe old man of wonderful mental elasticity. He has been an active and diligent worker in the cause of Congress. He has been through a good deal of official life and this did not unfit him to take a proper view of the Congress. His example is worthy of imitation and his wide mature wisdom and mild and graceful criticism must commend themselves even to the most phlegmatic and the flippant. When a man is in the vale of years, mundane affairs usually lose all attraction to him and the pictures of future drawn by him are generally sombre and somewhat pessimistic. But where one's heart has been amenable for wholesome influences and where one has been floating with the current, taking a sympathetic and kindly interest in the utterances and deeds of earnest men and energetic youth around, one admirably conserves one's fire of enthusiasm of manhood and it is bound to be aplaze when kindred natures come in contact with it. Abundant proof of such undiminished exuberance of youthful spirit meets the eye as one peruses his discourse. Here is a passage which embodies a weighty lesson—the lesson to work from within if the work from without—the force of environment and chastening and elevating influences from the west—is to yield appropriate and adequate fruit.

"After having completed its first cycle of ten years existence, the Congress now enters upon a fresh cycle of another ten years of useful activity as a great instrument of political education,

welding together all the various races and creeds of India into a great and glorious whole, destined under Providence to take its rank among the foremost nations of the world. The welding process is always a work of time, and implies a long course of heating and hammering, and this process of heating and hammering has to be repeated times out of number before the union is completed. The hammering is done for us under Providence by great extraneous agencies represented by the supremacy of a militant civilization and literature which will allow us no rest and no seclusion, from the outside world; but will force us to take our place in the race of material improvement in which it deservedly occupies the foremost position. Not all the hammering in the world, however, can accomplish the full results of the welding process unless it is accompanied by a responsive generation of internal heat without which the outside forces would only splinter us to pieces as has been unfortunately the case in many other parts of the world where old civilizations have crumbled down and never learnt to raise their head again. Even in our own days in these last years of the 19th century, we have before us the spectacle of a great Mahomedan power in Europe and a great Mongolian power in Asia unable to retain their places from sheer inability to generate the heat without which the outside influences can never work to any good account."

His reflections on the past sovereignties and the present conditions in India are those of a discerning mind and the hearts of all the workers in the cause of Congress cannot but swell with pride and satisfaction when he says:

"The meetings of this Congress represent the highest triumph of the influences that have been at work for fifty years and more and it is for us to respond to this noble call in a way worthy of the place we occupy in the world's history."

In presenting his well considered observations in defence of "the Indian nation" he does indeed passingly allude to the differences that must have disturbed his equilibrium when he was preparing his address but he has the kindliness and grace to touch upon them but very lightly and brushes them aside for what they really were "quarrels about trifles" "temporary aberrations" and a struggle on both sides to render

the Congress a success. Let me reproduce here his own words descriptive of the heavenly fire to which he attributes the Congress gatherings.

"Here in this gathering we have representatives from the most distant provinces, Bengal, Assam, Punjab, N. W. Provinces, Rajputana, Sindh, Gujarath, Maharastra, Carnatic, Talangan, and the Dravid country. Nobody forces us to come together from all these distant places, and nothing but a common spark of heavenly fire could animate so many of the best and noblest of the land to sacrifice time, money and convenience and testify by their presence in these gatherings from year to year that they are determined to forget all their differences and do all that is in their power to build up the great Indian Nation which has been their aspiration by day and dream by night, and which, if not fulfilled before their eyes, will certainly be accomplished in the near future. All the elements which go to make a common united nation are now present with us; a common political citizenship, a common loyalty to the Queen-Empress, a community of interests, under the influence of which no part can thrive or suffer without the whole sharing in the prosperity or misfortune and a common language and literature which binds us morally and spiritually together and connects us with the wider world outside. Differences of race and creed there still exist, but they are getting more and more tolerant of each other, less and less angular every day, and it is the function of the National Congress, its chief and most glorious function, to induce in all the electric current of enlightenment which will hasten the union and make it strong to bear the strain which time may place upon it. The watch-word of the Congress-men is Indians first, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians, Panjabees, Mahrattas, Bengalees, Madrasees afterwards. It is for us by the moderation, and business-like character of our deliberations, by our mutual toleration of each others' feelings and prejudices to justify in act and word the hopes and aspirations of those who, in the not-distant future seek to realise the dream of a united and federated India, resting secure in its loyal dependence on the Great British Nation and able to lead the nations of Asia in the path of progressive advancement in all directions of human activity."

In taking note of what he calls the war of principle that is going on and which is bound to go on with unabated vigor, he does not speak from a platform of isolation from the people, unmindful of the tenacity of established order of things despite an intellectual cognition of them. On the contrary he describes the stern realities of the situation with graphic power but it is far from motive to supply an excuse for the indolent and lukewarm or to found scornful strictures upon. His words are meant to stimulate people's courage to mount with the occasion; and if in this object he succeeds in any degree, he would not have written in vain in the following strain.

"I have said that the welding process is a process of hard hammering and heating. We should not delude ourselves with the thought that things will be made easy for us and that we could enter upon this new inheritance until we are regenerated, and our sins in the past have been washed out in the tears that burn with repentance. Our whole nature has to be purified and elevated by constant struggles with injustice in ourselves and others. Many people among us do not sufficiently realise how hard this struggle is naturally bound to be. They seem to imagine that we can pass from the old world to the new, pass from the dominion of custom and status to one of individual freedom and responsibility, from a fond clinging to the past to an earnest confidence in the future, from obedience to force to an appreciation of self-imposed law, in fact from a narrow cast-iron type of life to a freer and more liberalised form of existence, without budging an inch or sacrificing anything. The sooner they abandon visions such as these, the better will it be for them and for us all. There will be struggles, our consciences accusing and excusing night and day, castes and creeds in conflict with one another in endless directions. Such struggles are inevitable and people who are put out by the first signs of such differences are not the men from whom we can expect success in such high tasks. The process of fusion always requires and develops a great amount of heat. The heat of controversy is only a form of such struggle for self-improvement. Already the struggle has commenced in earnest, and though it is a most unpleasant experience to those who have to take part in it, we have to reconcile ourselves to its inevitable necessity. Compromises and adjustments are practical lessons which can only be learnt usefully and become parts of our second nature,—habit—when we are earnestly engaged in a war of principle. As the chairman of the Reception Committee, it is not for me to enter more into the history of our recent experiences in Poona. I can however assure you, brother delegates, that if the struggle was keener here than elsewhere, it was due to the fact that on both sides there was an earnest desire to make this Congress gathering as great a success as any that preceded it."

He next touches upon the need of a constitution for the Congress and as the subject is in a sense *sub judice* I shall reserve my say and pass on to his neat and almost judicial treatment of the attitude of the Mahomedans of Poona. Organized action—be its result aloofness or fellowship—is always a good sign, as it premises the exercise of the mind and determination of conduct as a consequence, or as our green old man has said "the attitude is not one of feeling but one of reasonableness, when argument is possible." He then combats the objections raised by the Mahomedans and I can only refer to the full text which occupies something like a full column in the *Madras Standard* and half as much again in the *Hindu*. Finally, he has thrown out an idea which is of cardinal importance in the future of the Congress, —the idea of following the example of Poona and, encouraged by its success, of holding the Congress hereafter in other cities which without being capital towns are sufficiently such as Patna, Benares, Cawnpore, Delhi, Amritsur, Ahmedabad, Kurachi and the like. Sooner or later—sooner than later I should say—this idea is bound to be realized and acted upon; and one or two further and preliminary changes must be wrought before such a departure is initiated or rather in view to facilitate the initiation. The costly pandal must be dispensed with and the competition of princely munificence in accommodating the delegates must be resolutely overcome. The City of Palaces first set the example of unstinted profusion and its successors in welcoming the national institution had to imitate the example of lavish luxury. The notion has unconsciously insinuated itself into the minds of the bulk of the Congress-men that the people of the city where the Session is held play the hosts and the coming delegates occupy the position of guests. Each city in its turn rose indeed to the necessities of the moment and left nothing to be desired in the matter of commodious lodgings and sumptuous

banquets. But whether they had to strain their uttermost or not they must have had a depressing effect on the minds of minor cities, which might possess a competent local audience and facilities of locomotion and location of the delegates, but might be taken back by the colossal expenditure which has unwittingly become the fashion to prepare for. I know that Patna, Delhi, and Agra have already been mentioned but with bated breath for the reason indicated.

Only two years ago (*i.e.*,) at Lahore, Belgaum set the example of antecedent preparation to a considerable extent and of a formal invitation. But it was feared to be an aspiration on the part of Belgaum to which she was not equal, though her message had the warm support of Mr. Natoo and should therefore have been beyond the possibility of failure. When I enjoyed the honor of being the President of the Congress Sessions at Nagpore, those patterns of public spirit, Messrs. Kabrade and Mudholkar and few others gave me the information that for some few thousand rupees a vast pavilion could be made at Jubbalpore sufficient for the national gathering, and that if each Congress Committee once for all raised a donation for this express purpose enough of funds would be easily collected to meet the cost of the pavilion and of moveable seats of which a fair supply might be had on hand and which the local resource in each case might be strained to supplement. The pavilion and seats and other items of equipment might be secured and looked after at not an inconsiderable cost at some central place, and might be carried to such centres as might promise a sufficiently intelligent local audience—a scheme which will enable many minor centres to have the Congress in its midst and become thereby the means of irradiating light and knowledge of enlightened notions of citizenship through circles which might ere long border on one another. The idea seemed feasible to them and me, and in my closing Presidential remarks I explained and enlarged on it to the extent possible with the limited knowledge then available to me. But the seed did not germinate and I should nevertheless like the problem to be earnestly taken in hand, carefully worked out on a basis of accurate and adequate information and finally adopted or given up as the result might lead us to do.

Another change which I should see brought about is the abandonment of the present system of fêting the delegates as if

they were strangers and honored guests whose every wish and delicate taste have to be anticipated, got at and met. Every delegate goes to the Congress in the discharge of a patriotic duty and does undergo privations and sacrifices as he travels to and from the places where the Congress happens to sit. But why should his career of patriotic sacrifices end at the place of the Congress? It is too often and in too many instances the case that the delegate gets and enjoys comforts, luxuries and delicacies far in excess of what he was accustomed to. This should not be. This really operates as a prohibitive taxation on the Reception Committee and is in the last degree superfluous. Arrangements by the local rich to accommodate friends, to secure lodgings to others at reasonable rents—reasonable in the sense of being proportionate to the paying capacity of the delegate concerned—and to provide the articles of consumption at perhaps a little over the usual market rates must in all conscience suffice. Such inconveniences as these and of any further kind which might be suggested by way of addition may still have and must be borne if there is in the delegate, the spark of patriotism which I for one will postulate in each instance.

The adoption of this second method of dealing with the delegates will result in a tangible gain and will give confidence and *fillip* to the ambition of minor cities to enter upon this great career of becoming successively the seats of the Congress and the other bodies organized for national regeneration.

I next come face to face with a task that I must confess to be beyond me—I mean—to adequately characterize and without injustice to summarize the Presidential address of the Honorable Surendranath Bannerjee. Men beyond the reach of his powerful voice and the electric thrill of his magnetic eloquence at Poona where he literally surpassed himself may be stupid and unimaginative enough to deprecate its unavoidably prodigious proportions. But to such as listened, with rapt attention, to the wide range of subjects, to the long array of well considered pronouncements and to the uninterrupted succession of the flowing, impassioned and the rhythmic periods of a speech which was delivered with all the freshness and fervour of an extemporaneous outburst, it was "a feast of reason and flow of soul" round which the memory still lovingly lingers; while as a mnemonic performance the feat is simply colossal, keeping the audience as if spell-bound, for full two hours and forty minutes.

When Dr. Dodd brought out a tiny little volume which he called "Beauties of Shakespeare," the witty and humorous Sheridan is said to have exclaimed "how did the doctor manage to cram all the 32 plays within such small compass" or words to that effect. I fear that something like that feeling would break out, if I propose to cull from the encyclopedic repository of a wide variety of themes, specimen passages of what has probably been already read as a whole with ecstatic delight and may be read again and again with increasing zest. Without therefore pretending to make any approximation to the justice that is due to the panaroma of political deliverances in his speech, I shall just cite a few. Having regard to the ignorance real or simulated about the true scope of the Congress and its fundamental principle I begin with adding to the utterances of past Presidents already quoted, the contribution by this year's President.

"Let it not be said that this is the Congress of one social party rather than that of another. It is the Congress of united India, of Hindus and Mahomedans, of Christians, of Parsees and of Sikhs, of those who would reform their social customs and those who would not. Here we stand upon a common platform—here we have all agreed to bury our social and religious differences, and recognise the one common fact that being subjects of the same Sovereign and living under the same Government and the same political institutions, we have common rights and common grievances. And we have called forth this Congress into existence with a view to safeguard and extend our rights and redress our grievances. What should we say of a Faculty of Doctors who fell out, because though in perfect accord as to the principles of their science, they could not agree as to the age at which they should marry their daughters, or whether they should re-marry their widowed daughters or not."

"The Congress has now been in existence for eleven years. We have not as yet got a written constitution, though, I hope, we shall provide ourselves with one before we separate. But there has grown around us a body of usages, the unwritten customary law of the Congress which govern our movement."

"If there is one principle more than another, which is uniformly accepted and universally assented to, it is this—that no matter what differences of opinion may exist among us as

regards religious beliefs or social usages, they shall be no bar to our acting together in Congress—they shall not be permitted to interrupt the cordiality of our relations as Congressmen."

"Ours is a political and not a social movement; and it cannot be made a matter of complaint against us that we are not a social organization any more than it can be urged against any of my lawyer friends that they are not doctors. Even in regard to political matters, such is our respect for the opinions of minorities, that so far back as 1887, I think it was at the instance of Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, who once was our President and whose elevation to the Bench of the Bombay High Court is a matter of national congratulation, a resolution was passed to the effect that where there is a practical unanimity among a class, though in a minority in the Congress, that a question should not be discussed, it should forthwith be abandoned."

The passage in which he has dealt with the expectations cherished and the shortcomings experienced as regards Legislative Councils richly deserves to be quoted as an eloquent exposition of the widely entertained view on the subject.

"Hitherto we had placed the reform of the Legislative Councils in the forefront among our topics of discussion. Then came the Councils Act of 1892 which re-constituted the Councils and enlarged their function. What is our attitude with regard to this Act? Are we satisfied with it and with the manner in which it is being worked? I am afraid we must answer the question in the negative. We regard the measure in the light of a cautious experiment which is being tried by the Government. Caution is an element of statesmanship. But caution carried to an excess—caution which is but another name for timidity—is a mistake, and may even amount to a blunder. We have no objection to the Government exercising due caution before it takes "a big jump into the unknown." Weighted with the sense of its great responsibility the Government must look around before it makes an important departure from the lines of its ancient policy. But what we complain of is that the experiment might have been tried under conditions more favourable to its success, more consonant to the declarations which were made in Parliament by statesmen on both sides of the House at the time of the enactment of the measure. Mr. Gladstone looked forward to a living representation of the Indian people. Lord

Salisbury was anxious that the machinery provided should give representation not to small sections of the people but to the living strength and the vital forces of the whole community. Have these anticipations been realized by the light of accomplished facts? In Bengal seven elected members represent the living strength and the vital forces of a whole community of 70 millions of people. The Councils have been enlarged, but in no sense so as to provide even a tolerably moderate representation of the people."

Then follows particulars about Bengal shewing among others the failure of the election on the system of rotation with the wish expressed that it might be rectified by lumping up the divisions so as to enable the whole Province to take part in the elections. We in Madras have our own complaint even as regards election on the system of lumping up the divisions and I think that if the object is anything more than to handle a gew-gaw once in two years, I would insist—not merely on the whole province *taking part* in the elections—but on the several parts *taking advantage* of, and *deriving benefit* from, them. We pointed out when the rules were under incubation and we have since repeated it *ad nauseam* that it would be a fundamental error to establish a system of dividing the Municipalities or District Boards into separate groups and of lumping together local bodies —be they Municipalities or District Boards—without reference to languages and to territorial contiguity which ensures greater affinity and community of interests.

The cry has been a cry in the wilderness; and while this evident injustice has remained unremedied, efforts have been made as though to add insult to injury to undermine the local bodies and remove from below them all foundation in popular will, as if hobgoblins were busy where angels were to be at work. That the discussion of the Budget is a privilege conceded for the first time by the Indian Councils Act of 1892 is generally known. That it should be accompanied with a prohibition to propose any resolution or press for a division on any item in the Budget is most unfortunate. How in the face of an assured majority on the part of Government this limitation is indefensible, is powerfully put by the Honourable President.

"Under the Indian Councils Amended Act of 1892 not only have the Councils been partially reconstituted, but their functions have been enlarged—the discussion of the Budget has been allowed, whether it is proposed to levy any new tax or not. This right, however, is to be exercised subject to an important reservation. Members may discuss the Budget—may make any observations they please—but they cannot move any Resolution in respect of any item in the Budget or divide the Council thereupon. This seems to me to be altogether a needless restriction, having regard to the fact that the Government has a standing majority in the Councils. If the non-official members were united to a man they could not carry any Resolution, if the Government was firmly resolved to oppose it. I venture to submit that if there is one class of questions more than another in respect of which the representatives of the people should exercise any control, it is financial questions. No taxation without representation is the theory of modern civilised Governments. We do not ask the Government to embody this principle in the administration of the country. We know that politics is a practical art, and it cannot deal with principles in the abstract. Every political principle must be tested by reference to the actual circumstances under which it is sought to apply it; but when, as in this case, the acceptance of our recommendation can lead to no practical inconvenience but on the contrary is calculated still further to extend the immediate objects of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, and to add to the popularity of the administration, we feel that we stand on sure ground, and that we may appeal with confidence to the Government to adopt it."

The argumentative force in the above passage is founded on the assertion that the Government have always an assured majority on their side. That the assertion has an authoritative foundation is perhaps not public property. Here it is in the words of the President:—"The Duke of Argyle in a despatch, dated the 24th November 1870, maintained that "the Government of India were mere executive officers of the Home Government who had the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure and of requiring also all the official Members of the Council to vote for it." The theory has however been always strenuously resisted by the independent Members of Council, and by none more strenuously than by Sir Barnes Peacock perhaps the greatest English lawyer who ever set foot on Indian soil. He said: "He had always understood and he still held, that the office of a Member of Council was a high and honourable one: but if he believed

that the constitution of this Council was such that its members were bound to legislate in any manner that either the Board of Control or the Honourable Court of Directors might order, he should say that instead of being a high and honourable office, it was one which no man who had a regard for his own honour and independence could consent to hold; for his own part he would state freely and without hesitation that he would rather resign his office than hold it on that tenure.....He believed that the trust and duty committed to every member of the Legislative Council was to act according to his own judgment and conscience."

Whether this despatch of the Duke of Argyle has ever been recalled or superseded I cannot say; but this I can say with confidence that one mischievous result of it, even if it were formally withdrawn, has nevertheless been and will nevertheless be that its underlying policy of official solidarity is fully as operative as if it was not withdrawn and few men have been found bold and independent enough to follow the example of Sir Barnes Peacock. The finances of a country are admittedly the backbone of an administration and the address of such a student of politics as is our Honourable President could not pass muster, without a pretty exhaustive utterances on that question of first importance. That he has girded up the loins, grappled with it right valiantly must be abundantly clear to every reader of the subjoined rather lengthy extract, bristling with ample figures and valuable expert opinions.

"It is no exaggeration to say that the financial position of India is one of ever-recurring deficit, and of ever-increasing debt. I should be sorry to say one word which would convey to the mind of any one an exaggerated notion of the difficulties by which the Government of India is surrounded. Let there be "Naught extenuate or aught set down in' malice." But I think I am strictly within the limits of truth when I say that so far, as our financial position is concerned, debt and deficit represent the order of the day. Let me ask you to follow me as I rapidly glance over a few facts and figures in connection with the financial history of the sixty years from 1834 to 1894. During this period you have had 34 years of deficit amounting in round numbers to 83 crores of rupees, and 26 years of surplus amounting to 42 crores of rupees in round numbers, with the net result that you have a net deficit of about 41 crores of rupees, which

makes an average of deficits of something over sixty-five lakhs of rupees every year. Our debt kept pace with our deficit. They are twin sisters which march apace. It must be so in the nature of things. An ever-increasing deficit must produce an ever-accumulating debt. During the same period the Public Debt increased from 26 crores to 210 crores; and 42 crores of this amount were incurred within the last ten years. If we are not bankrupts, at any rate we are on the high road to it. If an ordinary individual found that his expenditure was steadily increasing, that his income was not increasing in the same proportion, that his resources were strained to the utmost, and that his debt was past accumulating, he would feel that he was perilously near bankruptcy. But I suppose Governments are not like ordinary mortals. They do not participate in the common feelings and the common failings of our ordinary human nature—and hence the optimism of our rulers."

"It is not then exchange—it is not some economic monster over which the Government of India has no control and which cannot be disposed of by the closing of the Mints—that is responsible for the present deplorable condition of Indian finance."

The military policy of the Government and the value of a loyal, grateful and contented people came in respectively for a spirited protest and a warm recognition and the words at the close form a compendious embodiment of what Government will do well daily to meditate upon.

"But I am bound to add that the Government is alienating the sympathies of the people by wasting their resources upon those frontier wars. The commonest domestic improvements are starved, the most urgent domestic reforms are postponed through want of funds. But when it comes to a question of granting a subsidy to some frontier Chief or embarking upon some frontier expedition, or entertaining the son of a Prince who has been useful to us in frontier politics then our Government is as rich as the richest Government in the world."

It must on all hands be admitted that it is an ugly charge to be ashamed of, and chafed, at and a matter for the earliest remedy.

P. ANANDA CHARLU.

(To be continued.)

PRESENT DISCONTENTS IN INDIA.

WE have been hearing much lately of the discontents in India—social, religious, political: and men of thought from all parts of the country have been giving time and attention to the evils apparent and the possible means of righting them:—for we are just awakening to the fact that the remedies are within our power. Would that we realized how entirely so they really are.

The attitude in the country towards all these questions may be described as the attitude of *alarm*. We know that our old ways our present ways are unadvisable, *and we fear*—we greatly fear: so much so, indeed, that we convene large assemblies, and confide our fears each to the other and to the public.

Now although the epoch of alarm is useful, 'tis also, as we know, the epoch of exaggeration—(albeit, often of unconscious exaggeration.)

The shadow on the mountains startles the primitive savages, and in later ages (as one has reminded us) men project their own fancies into space until they assume huge and monstrous proportions: and then they shudder at them. Like children we excite ourselves over our confidences, and also like children our excitement is increased while we make them.

We have stated our case, in every particular, with a strong bias towards the miseries of our individual situations,—and so far what was done is well done. Enthusiasm, fanaticism—we cannot blame either: half the good work done in the world has been done by enthusiasts and fanatics. But that is just the point—the rousing will have been of no avail unless we act. And what one feels very strongly is, that unless we take very good care, all our energy may vapour in talking, and there will be no impetus left for solid action.

"The action will come in ten or twenty years" said a reformer to me the other day. But alas! if the action does not come now, so far as it can,—one fears it may never come at all. We are personally, individually, convinced of the need of a change: the conviction of our descendants may be but a *traditional* conviction: you may *charge* your sons and grandsons to reform certain evils:—but the quality of their work will fall as much below what your own work might have been—as an adulteration is below the pure spirit.

Why do we shrink from doing what we dare to exact from posterity? The fact is, we have not the moral courage to "put" our high sounding "creeds" into our daily deeds: we must appease our consciences somehow; so we speak, we agitate, we demand political freedom; we rend the air with our shrieks and how against every restraint and obstacle, against every injustice, every show of race prejudice.

It is but human we should, yet are we ourselves proof against prejudice? How about the reformers who taboo remarried widows? How about the Congress platform orator who looks askance at the student who has been compelled to break caste rules in England? How about the exposer of national favoritism who refuses to employ his own countrymen, who stoops to toady to those whom he hates, yet to whom he fears to render aught but a cringing homage?

Independence of mind—that is what we want: and in more senses than one, independence is the beginning of success.

Were there no obstacles in the world to overcome, there would be no strength, no courage. We want the true nobility of spirit which yields to none where principle and right are concerned, not even to itself—to its natural sluggishness and cowardice. We have had the wit to discern what we need in the way of reform: the ability to secure our emancipation must be possible to us too. And will and ability (with the blessing of the good God) can overcome all things—*even* that array of strong-minded orthodox women in Indian households of whom one fears so much. The chronic objection is "our women: you do not know our women."

But it seems to me too much is put upon the shoulders of these convenient burden-bearers. What can they do?—at most sulk or spoil the dinner? and for how long?

After all, every true woman at bottom loves to find her master: and a Paterfamilias who ruled his household with a firm hand would find admiration of his masterfulness added to the customary devotion of his docile little Indian bride. At any rate the experiment is worth a trial. How can he rule a city, who is conquered by a handful of ignorant women?

I said everything would yield to will and ability—but there is yet one quality which we need in large measure—*i. e. Tact*, Tactfulness;—the art of avoiding difficulties; of not touching upon sore places in the tempers or prejudices of our friends and our household: of getting what we want and what is good for others and ourselves without too much unnecessary aggressiveness.

Tact has been given to women in a distribution of the virtues by more than one psychologist: and they talk of tact being impossible of acquisition. But one does not see why men should not acquire a decent amount of tact. After all, it is only the product of sympathy and unselfishness.

If we think sufficiently about those among whom we live we must discover their peculiar angles and crotchets, and having so discovered them, we might set ourselves to avoid them.

It is wonderful how long a way a little humouring goes. If your great aunt cannot abide your post-prandial cigar, don't smoke it in her pet boudoir, on any account. Entertain her valiantly instead; talk her favorite author or occupation or aversion—taking due care at the same time not to let her lose sight of the fact that you have foreborne for her sake. She will be instantly remorseful, and if you ask prettily enough, will let you invite your reformed and outcasted cousin to dinner next night!

Never wage war against your womankind. 'Tis an absurdly inadequate, and grotesquely petty proceeding. Get your womankind on your side—(often one kind word will do it), and wage war against——a dummy.

Eh! my friends let us make our immediate households and communities our sphere of work for the next quarter—and we will then have something further to say on this matter.

CORNELIA SORABJI.

LORD WENLOCK AND THE MADRAS FAMINE.

LORD Wenlock arrived in Madras in January 1891 at a time when the severe agricultural distress commenced, which lasted for nearly half his term of office.

The north-east monsoon of 1890-91, during which his predecessor, Lord Connemara, left Madras, was for the most part a failure, and the deficiency of rain was chiefly felt in Cuddapah, Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot and Coimbatore, while considerable anxiety was entertained by the Government as to the prospects of South Arcot, Madura and Tinnevelly and the generally prosperous district of Malabar.

While the agricultural outlook was thus clouded, a late and very light south-west monsoon in 1891 intensified the distress in Cuddapah, Nellore, Chingleput, North Arcot and Coimbatore, and resulted in an extensive failure of crops in Salem, Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnool, which last-mentioned districts were yet to suffer from the failure of their north-east monsoon in 1891-92.

Thus within the first six months of his term of office Lord Wenlock's Government found it necessary to inaugurate special operations for the relief of distress in Chingleput, North-Arcot, Nellore, Cuddapah and Coimbatore, while soon afterwards Salem, and later on Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnool were added to the list of affected tracts. The rainfall in the Deccan group of districts had averaged 17 inches in 1890-91, 1891-92 against an average of 25 inches, in the Carnatic 26 compared with 43 usually registered, and in the Central districts 25 against 31 inches. Following these disastrous seasons the north-east monsoon of 1892 was very deficient in Chingleput, North, and South Arcot, South Coimbatore, Madura, Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly. Meanwhile prices in February had risen to a point within 50 to 75 per cent. of scarcity rates in regard to dry grains, and within 16 to 33 per cent. of such rates in regard to rice, and the distribution of the rainfall had been as unfortunate as its quantity had been deficient.

In short the Government of Lord Wenlock succeeded to the lean seasons, that of Lord Connemara having enjoyed, with the sole exception of the Ganjám famine of 1888-89, unusual agricultural prosperity.

Fortunately the rainfall of the early months of 1891 removed South Arcot, Madura and Malabar from the list of affected districts and in February it was thought that the area affected might be put down at 18,000 square miles, of which about half was situated in the Carnatic and Central districts and the remainder in Cuddapah and Tinnevelly, the population concerned being upwards of four millions.

The post of Famine Commissioner in the Board of Revenue was occupied by Mr. Clogstoun, whose energy and devotion to his duty probably contributed in no small measure to his premature and lamentable decease last year. His many inspections, and equally those of the Governor, were made without regard to the character of the season, and involved long and exhausting rides and marches in the hottest months of two exceptionally trying years. In his opinion the condition of Chingleput, North Arcot and Tinnevelly alone gave cause for anxiety early in March 1891, and in these districts larger grants were accordingly made for existing, and for new, irrigation works in order to provide employment. Liberal grants under the Land Improvements Act were also sanctioned, a measure to which Lord Wenlock, as will subsequently be seen, attributed great, but by no means undue, importance. Even at this period the numbers employed on the works above described rose to 3,500 with the termination of harvest operations in March; and upwards of 16,000 were on relief works before the end of June.

In March Lord Wenlock made his first famine tour to the district of North Arcot. At Wandiwash the condition of the poor produced such an impression upon His Excellency's mind that three days later the Government ordered the distribution of gratuitous relief to those, who suffering from famine, were unable to labour. The Governor personally inspected several hundreds of the poor in company with the Collector and the Medical officer, and shortly returning to Madras described the results of his

inspection to his Honourable Colleagues, Sir Henry Stokes and Mr. Garstin. Kitchens for the issue of cooked food were accordingly opened first in North Arcot, and subsequeatly in Chingleput and other districts. Nine kitchens at convenient centres were sanctioned in the former district within a month of the Governor's visit, and upwards of 800 inmates were then registered, while more than thirty relief works were started for the employment of the labouring classes. Surgeon-Major Walker, who was placed on special duty, reported "that had the relief kitchens not been opened a considerable number of persons, chiefly old people and children, would have succumbed, while the health of a still larger number would have been permanently undermined." Statistics and census reports show very clearly how the fertility of future generations is affected by famine, which impairs or destroys the reproductive powers of the people.

Before the end of June 1891 the forecast of the authorities was so far justified that severe distress was felt in Cuddapah, Chingleput, North Arcot and Coimbatore in areas of upwards of 3,000 square miles, with a population below one million. Prices, everywhere very high, were still well below famine rates owing to large importations by sea and by rail from the Deltaic districts, and from the province of Mysore.

Up till this time well-grounded hopes were entertained that a good south-west monsoon would materially improve prospects, but it arrived late and disappointed those who trusted in it, when it came. In Bellary, Anantapur and Chingleput, the fall was less than half, and in Coimbatore it was only slightly above half the average registered, and the dry cultivation in the nine districts affected, amounted to only 3,587,000 acres out of a normal cultivation of 6,089,000. Relief works became necessary in Salem in September. These the Governor visited in October when the fact that the rainfall of that month in the Deccan districts of Bellary, Kurnool and Anantapur was barely half the average gave rise to serious apprehensions. In March Lord Wenlock had already visited North Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore, in August Bellary, Cuddapah, North Arcot and Chingleput, and in September Coimbatore for the second time. Further details of of these famine tours are given at the end of this paper, and a

passing reference to them is here made, as the fact that they were undertaken, when they were, shows that before distress had deepened into famine, the administration had correctly and adequately gauged the situation, and the head of the Government was actively engaged in obtaining at first hand, by personal inspections and from intercourse with the local officers, information as to to its extent and character, and as to the precise localities affected. The failure of the autumn rains in the Deccan placed a more serious complexion on affairs, for famine there has always appeared in its sternest aspects, but since 1876-78 the extension of communications has half broken its powers for evil. In November too the skies were unpropitious and the monsoon almost failed in Nellore, North Arcot, Chingleput and Cuddapah and was slight in the Deccan. Mercifully the rainfall in December 1891 was good in Chingleput, and orders were issued for closing relief works, and kitchens in that district, though such irrigation works as were incomplete were finished without regard to the official closure of the period of distress, and loans under the Agriculturists Loans Act were continued till the end of September 1892. But no improvement was manifested in the Ceded districts and in Kurnool where hundreds of thousands of acres of crops withered, and still larger areas remained unsown. Relief works had already been open in Kurnool, and similar treatment was now extended to Bellary and Anantapur, and shortly afterwards in January 1892 to Cuddapah, in parts of which collectorate four consecutive monsoons had wholly or in part failed. Lord Wenlock had visited these districts in the preceding December.

Throughout 1891-92 the rainfall was less than half the average in Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah, only just above half in Kurnool, and seriously deficient in the other affected districts. At the end of 1891 therefore an insufficient south-west, had been followed by an equally insufficient, north-east monsoon in the Deccan and Central districts, in which prices, everywhere high, had risen nearer and nearer to famine rates, and it was obvious that 1892 would be a year of distress and difficulty to the people and of anxiety to the Government. In Bellary, Kurnool and Nellore the staple food nearly doubled in price during the year, and generally prices rose to nearly twice, to twice,

and, in some cases, to nearly three times normal rates. Meanwhile imports of grain into the presidency had reached double the normal figure, while exports were greatly curtailed, phenomena amply evidencing the great depletion of stocks.

Fair falls of rain had however removed Tinnevelly from the list of affected districts in August 1891, and in Coimbatore, works which had employed nearly 7,000 labourers per month were closed in December, while in Salem a similar number was reduced by half before the end of the year, and in North Arcot a relief work population of upwards of 10,000 in October fell to a figure below 3,000 in December. In Chingleput too a population of 10,000 gradually fell till works were closed at the end of the year. In Nellore nearly 4,000 souls were on relief in October. In Cuddapah, of which and of the Deccan districts the worst days were to come, the numbers never rose to a monthly average of 1,400. The famine population on the works in all districts in October was upwards of 34,000, but the numbers declined to 18,000 before the end of the year, while those on gratuitous relief never quite rose to 7,000 in any month of the year.

During 1892 distress was greatest in the four Deccan districts of Kurnool, Bellary, Cuddapah and Anantapur, but parts of Nellore, North Arcot, Salem and Coimbatore also suffered, while even in Kistna it was feared at first, but as was subsequently proved without sufficient foundation that it would prove necessary to open relief works. The affected area amounted in all to about 22,000 square miles with upwards of 3½ millions of inhabitants. Prices ranged far higher, stocks of grain were more depleted, and the area affected was thus very much larger than in 1891. Indeed, the prices of rice, ragi and cumbu came within measurable distance of those of the end of great famine of 1876—78, though they remained considerably lower than the highest point reached during that great visitation, which none who experienced its effects will ever forget. During the months of April and May the Governor toured in the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Kistna and North Arcot.

The numbers on relief works in the nine affected districts rose in June to 92,000, but rains in that month in the Deccan

and in July elsewhere, and particularly in Nellore, led to a speedy diminution in the numbers on relief, which fell to 55,000 in July and to 20,000 in August, at the end of which month all works were closed except in certain parts of Kurnool, Bellary and Cuddapah. Meanwhile the numbers on gratuitous relief in no month in the year reached 1,400. This satisfactory result was due to the fact that the people preferred labour on a small wage to idleness, and were encouraged in this laudable preference. The kitchens were indeed chiefly used by children of labourers.

It has been decided by the Government of India that the object of State intervention is to save life and that to this end all other considerations must be subordinated, and the framers of the Madras Famine Code are careful to say that "it must not be thought that they accept the idea that it is possible to fix, except in an arbitrary manner, the exact time when agricultural distress has reached the stage at which, and not before, the intervention of the State has to be invoked; they fully recognise the fact that its approach is gradual and that a system of relief to be effectual should not only deal with it in its initial stage when unfavourable seasons give reasons to apprehend an actual scarcity of food, but should take cognisance of it in normal times whenever, and in whatever form it may be found to exist so as to prevent the physical and economic condition of the people from ever falling below the standard of efficiency."

It is therefore essential, as the late Mr. Clogstoun pointed out in his report, "that relief works shall be provided before the labourers have lost their strength, and that employment should be given not only to able-bodied labourers accustomed to work, but to all in actual need, a limitation of the wage and the exaction of a suitable task being the preventives adopted to deter any but the needy from flocking to the works." In this matter, a great mistake was made in the Ganjám famine of 1889, when relief was at first restricted to those who could turn out a fair day's work, with the result that eventually gratuitous relief on a lavish scale became unavoidable, "if many lives were not," as Lord Connemara said, "to be lost by the most lingering and dreadful of deaths." The late Governor insisted that prices alone were not a sufficient test of the need for relief measures, which might become necessary before prices reached scarcity rates. In fact, a far larger sum was spent in Ganjám

on gratuitous relief than on useful works. Far different was the case in the more widely spread and more prolonged famine to which this paper relates, the expenditure on works having been Rs. 16,50,000 and that on gratuitous relief only Rs. 65,000. "While therefore," Mr. Clogstoun continued, "there is some risk that an untimely opening of the works may induce people to rely too largely on State aid when other employment might be obtainable, there is on the other hand very great danger in postponing the opening of works after it is *primâ facie* certain that numbers must be in need, not only because of the sufferings which such a course must entail on those who have been deprived of their ordinary means of livelihood, but because the influx of labourers is likely then to be so large as to render a proper organisation of relief a matter of the greatest difficulty."

This is one of the lessons taught by the great famine of 1876-78 and by those of Orissa and Ganjám, and the mistake was avoided during the famine of 1891-92, action having been taken within three days after Lord Wenlock's first visit to North Arcot in March of the first of those two years, and having been vigorously maintained throughout the whole period of distress, in which Lord Wenlock made three famine tours in North Arcot in March and August 1891 and in May 1892, two in Chingleput, two in Nellore, three in Cuddapah in August and December 1891 and in April and May 1892, two in Bellary, two in Kurnool in December 1891 and in April 1892, and one in each of the districts of Coimbatore, Salem and Anantapur, where distress was lighter and operations were of less importance.

The experience of this famine, which was taken in time, kept well in hand, and treated throughout on the broad lines laid down by the Famine Code, was, if the expression may be used in regard to such calamities, and why not in regard to their mitigation, eminently satisfactory. It was proved to demonstration that when distress was great labourers flocked into the works notwithstanding the low wage obtaining, and that when any other work was procurable, they abstained from seeking employment at the hands of Government. A most convincing proof of this important deduction was afforded by the fact that in two adjoining taluks, subject in all respects to similar conditions, the people of one weathered the storm on the proceeds of past railway work, while the

people of the other, who had nothing to fall back upon, resorted in large numbers to the works. Similar experiences were not wanting in several other cases.'

Mr. Atkinson, Sub-Collector of Cuddapah, in his most interesting report, says "any hesitation in enforcing the Code is a mistake. It is the only certain means I know whereby to test the extent of distress, and immensely lightens the responsibility of district officers. If properly carried out, the Famine Code, so far from being expensive, is a guarantee against waste of money."

It was also found by all concerned that the wage prescribed by the Madras Famine Code for other than ordinary skilled labourers who had not suffered from famine, fulfilled all the requirements of a relief wage, and was sufficient, but not one infinitesimal cowrie beyond sufficiency.

These conclusions, drawn from well-watched and well-directed operations, affirm the value of the deductions drawn from the disastrous famines of former times and will prove of infinite value to the administration if unhappily, or when unhappily, famine again is sore in land, for there is no room to doubt the almost regular recurrence at intervals of these aweful visitations.'

The relief works of the famine of 1891-92 were chiefly managed on the task work system, payment being made to each individual worker of an amount sufficient to keep him in good health, and a day's task suitable to his physical condition being exacted from him in return. Ordinary public works, executed for the most part on the contract system, were extended and multiplied in order to widen the field for employment, but they are of less value as tests of distress, as contractors naturally only employ the best workers they can get. It will probably be found in future, as it was in 1891-92, that the task work system is the best suited to such occasions. Minor irrigation works afford most useful relief, works in the early periods of distress, but the supervision of numerous small and scattered operations is of necessity, unduly expensive, while the construction and repair of larger works of the same character afford employment to great numbers at a few selected centres. The construction of new, and the collection and storage of metal alongside existing, roads, are also operations eminently suited to famine labour. The work is easy to learn and can be extended as desired, while its concentration allows of frequent

inspection and supervision and of punctual individual payment. Rules for the management of gangs of such labourers drawn up by Mr. G. Stokes, Collector of Salem, were very generally adopted, and are to be printed as an appendix to the Famine Code.'

It has already been noticed that the proportion of persons on gratuitous relief to those employed on works was extremely small, and, apart from the comparatively less severe nature of the distress, this fact is ascribed to the higher wage now granted as compared with that given in the great famine, and to the restriction of gratuitous relief to the distribution of cooked food in public kitchens, whereby considerable saving in expenditure was effected. That the restriction did not exclude those in real distress is proved by the fact that classes, which in North Arcot freely frequented the kitchens, abstained from so doing in the Ceded and Central districts, the inhabitants of which resorted to gratuitous relief in large numbers in the severer crisis of 1876-78. It is to be hoped that in any future famine those proportions of gratuitous to remunerative relief which obtained in 1891-92 may be preserved. Taking the totals month by month many, nay most of which, must of course be composed of recurring constituents, the numbers on works and on gratuitous relief in 1877 and 1878 were respectively 9,425,000 and 7,735,000 as compared with 630,000 and 38,000 in 1891-92. In other words gratuitous relief was given to 82 per cent. of the sufferers by the earlier and to 6 per cent. of those by the later famine.

The large advances made by Government as Land Improvement Loans were a special feature of this famine. Lord Wenlock entertained from the first a conviction that the repair and construction of wells would be of the highest possible advantage to the borrowers, to the country in general, and to the State. On all occasions he urged upon the Collectors concerned the importance of giving a foremost place among famine works to such as alone conduce to prevent the recurrence, and to mitigate the severity of, these calamitous visitations. Of all the millions acres of cultivated land in the presidency only the comparatively small, but of late largely increased area under wells, can be said to be superior to the vicissitudes of seasons. The rules under which advances were given for well digging at favourable rates in the Deccan districts, which suffered most in the great famine, were extended by Lord Wenlock's Government to the whole

presidency. No less than Rs. 39,60,000 were advanced during 1891 and 1892, nearly all of which was borrowed by ryots of distressed districts on good security, and, in September 1892, 5,763 wells had been completed and 16,128 were under construction. There is moreover ample evidence that the money borrowed was, with rare exceptions, applied to the purpose for which it was lent. Smaller sums were advanced for the purchase of fodder, cattle, and seed-grain, and to weavers in Kurnool. The significance of these figures becomes apparent when it is remembered that from 1886, the first year in which such advances were made, up till the end of 1890, less than 7½ lakhs had been advanced. During the years 1891, 1892, 1893 and 1894, upwards of 10,000 new wells have been constructed and about 12,000 have been repaired, while the area under well cultivation now exceeds 518,009 acres, or upwards of 100,000 in excess of the area similarly protected prior to the famine.

Mr. Tremenheere in Chingleput, and Messrs. Sturrock, LeFanu and Atkinson in Coimbatore, North Arcot and Cuddapah, were particularly successful in encouraging ryots of their districts to borrow from the State for the construction of wells.

The first principle of a famine campaign being the saving of life, the mortality bill must be scrutinized for proof of its successful issue, and it must not be forgotten that years of agricultural distress are necessarily years of sickness and that a considerable advance upon normal figures must be expected as a matter of course, and wholly irrespective of deaths from starvation, or disease brought on by chronic insufficiency of food. Cholera, moreover, which invariably accompanies famine, prevailed in 1891-92 in other than distressed districts, and most severely of all in the favoured district of Gódávari, which enjoyed, as it always does, an excellent harvest. The cholera mortality of the presidency in 1891 was 98,000, of which the famine districts of that year supplied 25,000, and, in 1892, 79,000, of which they supplied 20,000. In the light of these facts must be considered a total mortality in the two famine years in the affected districts of 547,000 against a normal figure of 458,000, or an increase of nearly 20 per cent. In 1891, the average cholera mortality in stricken districts was 4,500 and in 1892 about 3,000, whereas in

the famine, of 1889, in the one district of Ganjám, to which it was confined, no less than 14,000 persons perished of this scourge. The cholera mortality bill, however sad a subject to study, yet affords another proof that in the last famine the losses were kept down with greater success than on former occasions. All the officers in charge of relief works testified to the good health of the labourers. No deaths occurred in the kitchens of six out of nine districts, and none from starvation were recorded either in kitchens or on relief works. On one occasion on certain works in Kurnool the condition of the labourers was found to have deteriorated owing to the institution of a minimum wage, with which they were found to be so content, though it was insufficient for proper nourishment, that they ceased to endeavour to earn more.

The protection of the cattle of the agricultural classes, among which distress was most severely felt, received the most anxious attention of Mr. Clogstoun, and of Lord Wenlock's Government. Forest reserves were opened for grazing without payment, or at favourable rates, and permission was granted for the removal of grass for fodder, but the endeavour to add the prickly-pear to the list of fodders avilable for cattle proved now, as it did in the great famine, a failure. Great losses in the agricultural stock were, however, inevitable during two successive seasons, in which pasture was only available for payment for cattle, which in many cases were hardly worth the expenditure required to keep them alive. At the same time, it must not be supposed that the loss of such cattle is not severely felt by their owners. It is by no means the case, notwithstanding frequent assertions to the contrary, that ryots keep to their own disadvantage cattle for which they have no real need. Stock of the poorest class is as necessary to the poorest ryots, as the stall-fed ox is to his richer owner. Altogether in the nine affected districts the stock decreased by over 700,000 head, but it must be remembered that the total number of horned cattle, returned as existing in these districts in 1890, fell not far short of 7,000,000, and Mr. Clogstoun observed with satisfaction that in the year succeeding the close of the famine there was not only no decrease in the affected tracts of the area brought under cultivation, but actually an increase of about 8 per cent. as compared with the average figure. The total cost, including remissions of land revenue, in excess of those of a normal

year, forgone on account of loss of crops (Rs. 40,66,000), was Rs. 59,00,000. The advances under the Loans Acts are not included in this figure, as the sums lent will be recovered in due course. On works undertaken for relief sixteen and a half lakhs were spent, a very moderate figure considering the extent of the distress, and of the area of the affected districts, and the expenditure on gratuitous relief was Rs. 65,000, nearly half of which was expended in North Arcot, the Collector of which district, Mr. LeFanu, was the first to press for the grant of relief. At his first visit to this district in March 1891, Lord Wenlock anticipated that no inconsiderable expenditure would be incurred under this head. The early opening of kitchens, where required, on which His Excellency insisted at the commencement of the famine, was at its close pronounced by the Famine Commissioner to be a measure of economy, because experience showed that there was no sort of tendency on the part of the people to abuse this form of relief, and that those who were driven by stress of circumstances to the kitchens left them, in a fit state of health to exchange gratuitous for remunerative relief at the earliest possible opportunity.

A famine which affected so wide an area, and so large a population, can only be called small in comparison with such a stupendous calamity as the catastrophe of 1876-78, and in any less vast empire than that of British India whould have attracted far more public attention than was bestowed upon it. That it escaped notice to so great an extent is due chiefly to the fact that it was taken in time, and never allowed to develop to such an extent as to afford to the world the sad spectacle of innocent and industrious people perishing of starvation. So general was the feeling that affairs were being unostentatiously but efficiently managed that a sensational and inaccurate communication from Madura to the *Scientific American*, which was repeated in one of the English papers, passed almost unnoticed, though accompanied by photographs purporting to represent starving coolies. It is an instructive commentary on the respective positions and responsibilities of public men and of their critics, to observe that three years later, the writer of this article in the *Scientific American*, a Madura missionary, admitted "that

his article was misleading, as though some distress prevailed in Southern India" (probably Madura is meant), "no widespread famine prevailed nor did it develop into one." The reverend gentleman also stated that the illustration was from a photograph taken at a previous famine, that of 1877–78, the greatest known to us, that he was new to India, was unaware of the probable serious effects of his letter, and did not explicitly connect the photograph with his letter which however it accompanied! Throughout the records of this famine universal testimony is borne to the fact that, if any suffered from starvation, they must have mutely borne with the pains of the most horrible of deaths within the recesses of their homes, for nothing of the sort came under the observation of any one of a cloud of official and unofficial witnesses.

The experience of this small famine, if indeed the epithet can in any sense be properly applied to it, has suggested a modification in certain respects of the Famine Codo while it has proved incontestably that this Code, which was the outcome of past famines, works admirably in actual practice.

During the currency of the period of distress in Ganjám the question which form of gratuitous relief was most suitable became one of considerable importance owing to the fact that the relief given on that occasion was chiefly of this class. The Board of Revenue considered that as a rule such relief should be granted in grain doles and not in money, for which the Famine Code expressed a preference, while the Government of Madras decided in favour of cooked food, considering the acceptance thereof, in view of the prejudices entertained by the people against the reception of prepared rations, the truest and safest test of the need for unearned assistance. The experience of the present famine has confirmed the wisdom of the view taken by Government, for it was found easy throughout to confine gratuitous relief to the distribution of cooked food. Mr. Clogstoun however entertained doubts as to whether this would be possible if, for instance, which heaven forbid, a million and a half should ever again be on the gratuitous relief list as happened in September 1877. In regard also to the agency, whereby relief works were supervised, the experience of 1891-92 confirmed the opinion expressed by Government after the Ganjám famine to the effect that wherever it be available professional is preferable to non-professional civil agency.

Additional light was also thrown upon important questions of wages and classification of labourers, and, as it was shown that a wage based on the value of a certain amount of grain with the addition of a fixed money allowance, necessarily provided more food when prices were cheaper and less when they were dearer, and so was inherently unsuitable for a famine wage, the Government of Madras decided that the standard should be the money value of a certain weight of the staple food grain husked or reduced to flour as the case may be, viz., for a man 2¼lb., for a woman 2lb., and for children 1¼ to 1¾lb., according to age and condition, with the proviso that labourers, who can, may earn the value of an extra half pound of grain for doing half as much again as the prescribed task. At the suggestion of the Madras Government made in the light of the experience gained in these two years of trouble, the Government of India has agreed that the tasks of labourers affected by famine, as compared with those prescribed for ordinary professional labourers, shall be 25 and 50 per cent. lighter respectively in the two classes into which affected labourers are divided, and not 15 and 25 per cent. lighter according to the previously suggested scale.

As the hand of death has, to the great loss of the administration, removed Mr. Clogstoun for ever from the scenes of his long and conscientious labours, and as the completion of his term of office will shortly terminate Lord Wenlock's shorter, but not less arduous and sincere endeavours, to ameliorate the lot and to mitigate the sufferings of the people of this Presidency, it may be permitted to one who was privileged on several occasions to accompany them to briefly refer here to their joint tours of famine inspection.

The visit to Wandiwash in March 1891 has already been noticed. It was the starting point of all the operations undertaken during the famine. On this occasion Lord Wenlock was not accompanied by Mr. Clogstoun but only by his Private Secretary and Aide-de-camp. Mr. Clogstoun, however, was seldom absent. He always had his own tents and his own horses in the train with him, and within ten minutes after a stoppage he was in the saddle and prepared to ride anywhere alongside the Governor, who did most of his inspection on horseback. He seemed to feel the heat and the sun less than younger members of the party, but it seems now only too probable, that zeal drew too largely upon an

insufficient capital of strength. The Wandiwash tour included visits to six other places in the district, including Arni once famous for its muslins, but now a place of little commercial importance. In August of the same year, when it became clear that the south-west monsoon had failed and that the rainfall was insufficient for the crops then sown, the Governor visited Bellary and discussed with the Collector Mr. Sewell, who has since retired, his plans for the future. A visit was also paid to the little State of Sanduru, which subsequently materially aided to keep the Bellary cattle alive, by supplying to them large quantities of grass. In August, after an inspection of the Ráyachôti taluk, he settled with Mr. Wolfe-Murray the fixed wages to be paid to the labourers for breaking metal on the roads. Mr. Wolfe-Murray was in a bad state of health and suffering considerable pain, but he rode all over the parched country with the Governor and his staff, and he and his lieutenant, Mr. Atkinson, were full of schemes for facing the approaching ordeal. In the same month His Excellency visited Kálahasti, traversed the affected portions of that zemindari and proceeded to Chingleput, where there had been an almost total loss of upwards of 60 per cent. of the food crops of the district. Here he inspected two of the kitchens, and the relief works, which were being executed by the district staff in the taluks of Tiruvallúr and Ponnéri. Already, in consequence of the strenuous exertions of Mr. Tremenheere, and of his lieutenant, Mr. Pinto, the country side was perforated in all directions by newly constructed wells. An honorary distinction was subsequently conferred on Mr. Pinto by His Excellency the Viceroy for his conduct in this behalf. Coimbatore was the next affected district on the list, and while visiting works and kitchens in the Palladam, Polláchi, Udamalpet and Dharapuram taluks, in localities somewhat remote from centres where medical advice is available, the Governor was taken ill, and some anxiety was manifested by the party accompanying His Excellency, until professional aid was obtained first from Dharapuram and subsequently from Coimbatore. On this occasion Mr. Clogstoun entertained doubts, which were shared by His Excellency, whether relief works might not possibly have been started sooner than was necessary and it was arranged with Mr. Sturrock, who had just returned from England, that the wage should be temporarily reduced in order to test the condition of those entertained upon the works.

The autumn inspections of the first of these famine years commenced with Salem in which district it had been decided that if rains failed in September road works should be opened to test the extent of the distress in four separate taluks. Lord Wenlock's inspection followed the failure of the rains in the middle of October. The road works were visited at Sankaridrug and Tiruchengódu and the system of management and of payment of gangs of coolies was discussed with Mr. Stokes, who has made a special study of this subject. Here as in other districts hundreds of cloths presented by Sir Ramasami Mudaliyar, were distributed in the presence of the Governor to the recipients of that benevolent Raja's bounty. The condition of affairs in Salem was sufficiently bad, but not so serious as had been represented in the vernacular press. Pictures had been drawn of miserable women leaving their work to pluck scanty blades of grass with which to stay the wolf within them, "unguibus et raras vellentes dentibus herbas," but happily nothing so heartrending as this was seen.

In December 1891 when the prospects in the Deccan districts first looked gloomy the Governor visited Bellary for the second time, and personally revised the list of relief works which in the preceding August he had discussed with the Collector. Next in Kurnool, his inspection in company with the Commissioner resulted in the district being declared to be "affected" in the following month, and before this tour ended, in concert with the Commissioner and the Collector, he concerted measures for combating the distress, which was imminent in the sub-division of Cuddapah, and urged upon all concerned the vital importance of encouraging operations under the Improvement Loans Act.

In the spring of 1892 the round of inspections recommenced and visits were paid by Lord Wenlock to Kurnool, Cuddapah, Nellore, Kistna and North Arcot. In the previous November a sudden rise in prices, attributed in part to a combination among merchants had resulted in two grain riots in Kurnool and the temporary cantonment of troops from Bellary in the town. The Governor's inspections extended, also on this, as on other occasions, to the works in progress in the outlying taluks, and at Markapur he found the condition of the coolies not so good as it had been on the occasion of his previous visit, a fact which he attributed to the introduction of the minimum wage, to which reference has already been made.

This wage was thereupon abolished, and gangs were henceforth paid in proportion to the outturn of their work. At the same time the aged and weakly were constituted into separate gangs with a light work task, varying from one-half to two-thirds of standard, and carefully calculated with reference to their powers. Cholera of a somewhat virulent type prevailed at Markapur, in which taluk the Governor, with Messrs. Bradley and Clogstoun, visited all the relief works in progress. Mr. Clogstoun paid no less than eight visits in ten months to the stricken portions of Kurnool. The last days of April, and the first week in May, were spent in Cuddapah, in the sub-division of which district the Governor inspected one by one 3,000 coolies and expressed himself satisfied with their appearance. In Nellore district numbers of relief works and of coolies were in like manner inspected, cloths distributed, and what had now become a usual routine observed. After a tour in the Kistna district where happily forebodings of distress were not realised, Lord Wenlock made a third famine inspection in North Arcot, where in the Punganúru Zamindari a wide spread failure of crops had occured. He found the labourers on the works which by Mr. Clogstoun's orders had been already started, to be satisfactory in condition, but two months later a copious downfall of rain enabled Mr. LeFanu to close these works. This was the last of Lord Wenlock's famine inspection tours and made in all thirteen, including a visit to Anantapur, where operations were of a less important character. His Excellency's views, on most points of interest, have perhaps been sufficiently indicated above, but the labour he underwent and the anxiety he felt, have been lightly passed over. It may be added however that the incalculable benefits resulting from railways, by way of famine protection, were most vividly impressed upon his mind with the result, that he has throughout his term of office been an ardent advocate of as forward a railway policy as finances make practicable.

Three months after the date of the last-mentioned tour, the famine was officially declared to have practically ceased from vexing the people, and as a result in no small measure of the conduct of the operations, of which I have just now attempted to describe the chief features, no signs of the recent occurrence of so dread a visitation are apparent to those who journey up and down the land.

J. D. REES.

INDIA PAST AND PRESENT, BY MR. REES.

FORTY YEARS' PROGRESS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

BY THE HON'BLE DEWAN BAHADUR S. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA IYENGAR C.I.E.

IT is unfortunate that the great events of History and the achievements of nations have not always come down to us through impartial channels. We have not the Persian account of the struggle between the Greeks and Persians. No Carthagenian or Parthian has written a history of his country's struggle with Rome. The nations of Asia and Africa of that period must therefore always remain barbarians in the eye of posterity. Their historians would probably have told us a very different story of the heroes of Greece and Rome. The little knowledge we possess of the state of a country under foreign dominion is as a rule derived from witnesses who are inclined to portray too favourably one side of the picture. India is no exception. Those indigenous races who opposed English agression are depicted by certain historians, with whose writings we are familiar, as being generally faithless to their promise and tyrannical to their subjects. According to these writers it is the English interference that has, through God's mercy, saved India from the oppression and injustice that the country was subject to under native rulers. An average Anglo-Indian laughs at the simplicity of those who rely upon native testimony to the glory and prosperity of Ancient India and his acuteness sees in the writings of Indian authors nothing but bias and a natural inclination to give a flattering picture of everything native, though such acuteness fails him entirely when he reads his own historians. The Anglo-Indian, therefore, has no conception of a state of society in India before the English conquest which maintained order and enforced morality without any court of Justice. He smiles at the credulity of the Greek writers who testify to a high degree of prosperity, not affected by any internecine wars; for we are told by them that in India in their days the armies never molested the (Vaisya) trading or (Sudra) cultivating classes. Our Anglo-Indian friend is further unable to understand the Mahomedan traveller, who, speaking of a purely

Hindu dominion says, that every rood of ground therein was under cultivation and that Justice was so well administered that one may leave anything on the roadside without fear of its being stolen. The typical Anglo-Indian is satisfied of your ignorance if you dispute the accuracy of his gloomy picture of the Mahomedan dominion. He is annoyed if an educated native attempts to prove to him that in the early years of British conquest the English were as bad as they could possibly be; and thus becomes easily disposed to question the wisdom of imparting to natives higher education. He is astounded when any native has the hardihood to deny his alleged natural inferiority, and is positively alarmed and enraged at the audacity and ingratitude of those who question the fitness of the foreigner, in certain matters, in preference to the natives who claim to possess better qualifications; and he almost curses the day when higher education was imparted to the natives thereby enabling them to advance these high pretensions.

The one main object of the Anglo-Indians as a class, including of course the officials from the Viceroy down to the clerk in the Government Office, is to prove that the English Government is humanely speaking perfect, that the people are contented, and are happier than they ever were before. But in the press and on the platform, by means of books and pamphlets, articles in reviews and newspapers, their position is being fiercely assailed and an uneasy conciousness has risen in the minds not only of the Anglo-Indians themselves who are open to argument and conviction, but also among the people in England, that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark. A new plan is therefore occasionally resorted to, with a view to establish what may be termed the perfection theory of the British administration. With great difficulty a Raja of Bhinga—a native nobleman—is occasionally discovered to join in the chorus of praise. But his voice is lost in the contempt and redicule of the Educated India. This being so yet another plan of operation is followed. A native of high education and culture is persuaded to join the chorus. Lord Connemara when Governor of Madras "desirous of collecting evidence", to establish beyond a shadow of doubt the progress of the people under the English rule entrusted that task to an educated and well-qualified native. This gentleman had spent all the years of his service in the Government

Secretariat, and was therefore thoroughly conversant with everything that could be urged in favour of the views of Government. The task was performed, no doubt, to their entire satisfaction and before the publication of his book he had ceased to be an officer in the Secretariat, was appointed the head of a great department and was decorated. So that the Blue Book "Forty years' progress of the Madras Presidency" is now issued from the Government Press as the compilation of the Honorable Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, C.I.E. The Private Secretary to Lord Connemara, Mr. Rees, an accomplished writer well known to the readers of the English Reviews, was, as we learn from the article, under notice, associated with this gentleman 'in the inception and the execution of his work." In the Madras Presidency, however, the work fell flat; not much greater value being attached to it than is to the Government reviews so often issued to assure an incredulous public of the hollow nature of native agitation. It has now been introduced to the English public in a very able and clever article by Mr. Rees. But the difference between the Blue Book and the review is in one respect remarkable. The Blue Book gives a dark picture of the Madras Presidency under the native rule and a still darker picture under the Mahomedan rule. It skips lightly over the first half of the century under the English sway and in great detail depicts as an era of progress and reform the period comprising the next forty years. The author lays great stress on the spread of education and the widening the foundations of Local Government for further progress and exhorts the government to entrust to local bodies more and more of the work of real administration. We are not now concerned with the author's account of the country under the native rule though we envy the imagination of those who could, out of Burnell and Sewells' writings, trace a picture of ancient society, sufficient to serve as a basis for comparison with modern India. Neither are we inclined to dwell on the author's picture of the Mahomedan period though he seems to have lost sight of the controversy that is now being carried on regarding the finances of the Mughal Empire; but his description of the country in the first half of the century is naturally of great importance, as a true understanding

alone, of the state of the country at the close of that period will enable us to form a right conception of the progress we have made. But after a brief, a very brief, account of that period the writer speaks of the various directions in which progress has taken place. It may be that he is right in his view of such progress though some of his conclusions are open to question. We also endorse his view that the future progress of the country depends greatly on the spread of education and the widening of the basis of Local Government, but what we most miss in the Blue Book is a review of the various forces that have conduced to the progress of the country. A superficial reader therefore, impressed with this great progress of the country may naturally conclude that the same rate of progress will be maintained without any further introduction of administrative reforms, being forced on the Government from without. Mr. Rees accordingly invites the stay-at-home Englishman to admire the work of his compatriots in India. But he too loses sight of the forces that have been tending to this progress. Lord Harris at a recent meeting in London enlarged on the necessity of giving a free hand to the Anglo-Indians and deprecated any interference on the part of the Parliament or the English press. The same view is being put forward constantly by other Anglo-Indian statesmen. While free to admit the great progress, the country has made under the British rule during the last forty years we object entirely to the theory that such progress is primarily due to the Anglo-Indian services. Such progress is, we consider, mainly due to the increasing force of the native public opinion and to its influence on the English public. It is impossible in this article to deal adequately with the problem, but we feel that an attempt however crude and imperfect must be made. It is with considerable reluctance that we make this attempt, as it is liable to be very much misunderstood. We are fully aware of the great benefits derived from the Civil Service. We recognize also the earnest attempts of some of the members of this service to lift the country from its degraded condition. It cannot be denied that the Civil Service has been generally against the policy of aggression which threatens to lead to the bankruptcy of India. We have to manipulate our currency to suit England's needs. Our customs tariff has to be subordinated to the commercial interests of England. In the name of philanthropy, the English trade is forcing on us

labour-laws that we do not require. In all these matters the Indian Government as represented by the Civil Service has honourably distinguished itself by the attitude it has taken up in India's favour against the trade selfishness of a certain section of the English people. In a certain sense no doubt the prosperity of the Indian service depends on that of the country. But the fact that we have to make these acknowledgments is no reason why we should ignore the conflict of interests in certain matters between the Civil Service and the Indian public. It is perhaps not to be expected that there should be complete agreement between the rulers and the ruled on the important questions that are involved in the great experiment of governing India, not as a conquered country for the benefit of England, but for India's own benefit. We must not be surprised to see the adoption by natives of views diametrically opposed to those of a certain class of English politicians. If possible, however, an approximation is desirable. If we could bring the representatives of the various classes interested in the good Government of India into accord with one another we may regard the problem as practically solved. But such accord or approximation is impossible unless the various views are formulated and discussion invited. A criticism, therefore, of the official view of the progress of the country and a statement of the native view of such progress, however distasteful it might be, must not be regarded an indication of irreconcilable hostility but rather an invitation to a careful consideration of the conclusions put forward. With these preliminary remarks we proceed to consider the progress of our Presidency.

The Blue Book divides the present century into three periods. The first period extends to 1830 or rather 1835; the second period extends from 1850 to 1855, and the third period from 1855 to the present time. We will adopt this division as it is convenient for various reasons, and will first proceed to state briefly the nature of the English revenue system, and the condition of the ryots under the same.

It is generally asserted by English writers that wherever the Mahomedan dominion was established by conquest, the complete degradation of the agricultural classes was the consequence. Landed proprietors ceased to exist. The Hedaya recognised the

Sovereign's right to half the produce; but practically the agricultural classes were either allowed only a share of the produce barely sufficient to preserve them and their families from starvation. When the British power succeeded the Mahomedan, they claimed to exercise the same right asserted by their predecessors. The Blue Book under notice recognises the fact. The British also claimed the proprietory right in all the lands either in virtue of the right of conquest or as successors to Mahomedans, or under the Hindu law. It is plain that such a claim could not be asserted without prejudice to private rights and without great oppression. And it is to us a marvel how a nation pretending to be civilized and professing to annex territories with the one single object of relieving the oppressed subjects from the tyranny of their sovereign could still enforce certain rights merely because they had been enforced by their predecessors under the sanction of a savage law in the days of anarchy and misrule which immediately preceded their conquest. That savage law is now fiercely denounced in Turkey. Yet that is the very basis of the English revenue system.

That the established share of our Government in the produce of the land was 50 per cent. is admitted in the Fifth Report. The other half of the gross produce, left to the cultivator, would scarcely be sufficient for the support of himself and his family after defraying the cultivation expenses and the interest on the capital required for cultivation. A far greater share would often be necessary. We have also to remember that the Government share of the gross produce was levied in money. In 1817 the Madras Revenue Board found that the conversion of such share alone of the produce is, in some districts, as high as 60 or 70 per-cent. of the whole, and with the falling in prices towards the latter part of the first half of the century such conversion very often exceeded the entire gross produce. Thus even under an efficient and honest administration an assessment of half the gross produce meant the ruin of the ryots.

But "the demand on the cultivator was however by no means confined to the established rates of land-tax or rent." As a matter of fact, the amount levied on each ryot was really "left to be determined at the discretion of the European or native revenue

officers. For it was the practice to *compel* the ryot to occupy as much land and consequently to pay as much revenue as they deemed proportionate to his circumstances; he was not allowed on payment even of the high survey assessment fixed on each field to cultivate only those fields to which he gave the preference; his task was assigned to him; he was constrained to occupy all such fields as were allotted to him by the revenue officers. And whether he cultivated them or not, he was, as Mr. Thackery emphatically terms it, "saddled with the rents of each." If the ryot was driven by these oppressions to fly and seek a subsistence elsewhere, he was followed wherever he went and assessed at discretion or deprived of the advantages he might expect to derive from a change of residence. The revenue thus imposed was so oppressive that Colonel Munro in 1805 was obliged to admit that if allowed, the ryots would willingly give up the cultivation of a good part of the lands in their possession. "The system then was to make as high a settlement as it was practicable to realize." As was to be expected the constant increase of the revenue constituted the Collector's "strongest claim on the Revenue Board and the Presidency for praise and promotion."

Every expedient was resorted to realize this heavy demand. It was laid down in the instructions to Collectors that they should not encourage the ryots to expect any remission, that if the crop produced even less than the seed sown the full rent should still be demanded; and if the ryot be unable to pay, the deficiency was required to be assessed on the village. And if the village could not pay, on a neighbouring village limiting the re-assessment to a certain proportion lest it should injure the next year's revenue. Before allowing a remission to a ryot, as the Revenue Board pointed out in 1818, the most severe scrutiny was instituted. Not only was the whole of the Collector's detailed establishment of servants employed in an investigation of the means of a ryot but his neighbours were converted into inquisitors by being themselves made liable for his failure to pay revenue Under this last mentioned rule which was fould to be indispensable to the security of the revenue, as there was no other method of realizing the same, the little profit accruing to the industrious ryot was taken by the State as a compensation for the losses it sustained from the failure of the less fortunate or the most extravagant, while

the system dissolved the unity of interest and joint partnership in profit and loss which formerly existed in each village community. No wonder, therefore, that it operated as a tax upon industry and an encouragement to idleness. No wonder, therefore, that Sir T. Munro had to admit that it was doubtful whether in the succeeding year the ryots would be in the rank of cultivators or labourers. The loss of a bullock or of a member of the family who worked in the field, or confinement on account of sickness, frequently disabled them from paying their usual rent the ensuing year. And we can, therefore well believe the statement of an experienced official, himself once a Collector, that "each Collectorship has been taxed or assessed to the utmost farthing which it was possible to extort from the helpless ryots with the reserve only of what was necessary for the private embezzlement of the native officers." This picture may appear overdrawn and incredible. But it is confirmed by the following extract which the Madras Board declare to be "no exaggerated description":—

"Ignorant of the true resources of the newly-acquired countries as of the precise nature of their landed tenures, we find a small band of foreign conquerors no sooner obtaining possession of a vast extent of territory peopled by various nations differing from each other in language, customs, and habits, than they attempt what would be deemed a herculean task, or rather a visionary project, even in the most civilised countries of Europe, of which every statistical information is possessed and of which the Government are one with the people—viz., to fix a land-rent, not on each province, district, or country, not on each state or farm, but on every separate field within their dominions. In pursuit of this supposed improvement, we find them unintentionally dissolving the ancient ties, the ancient usages, which united the republic of each Hindoo village, and by a kind of agrarian law, newly assessing and parcelling out the lands which from time immemorial had belonged to the village community collectively, not only among the individual members of the previleged order (the Mirasidars and Cadeems), but even among their inferior tenantry (the Pycarries); we observe them ignorantly denying, and by their denial abolishing private property in the land; resuming what belonged to a public body (the Grama Manium), and conferring in lieu of it a stipend in money on one individual; *professing to limit their demand on each field, but in fact, by establishing for such limit an unattainable maximum, assessing the ryot at discretion; and, like the Mussulman Government which preceded them, tieing the ryot by force to the plough, compelling him to till land acknowledged to be over-assessed, dragging him back to it if he absconded, deferring their demand upon him until his crop came to maturity, then taking from him all that could be obtained, and leaving to him nothing but his bullocks and his seed grain—nay, perhaps obliged to supply him even with these in order to renew his melancholy task of cultivating not for himself but for them.*"

Under the conditions referred to, it must have been extremely difficult to realize the revenue and we are not therefore surprised to hear that the revenue officials were in the earlier years of British Administration expressly given the power to torture. In their Minute of 5th January 1818, the Revenue Board admit the power of the revenue official, till then exercised, to punish and coerce the ryot to cultivate. They refer to the Tahsildar's use of the *ketticole* or hand torture, the stone placed on the head under a burning sun, the stocks, &c. Well may Sir John Kaye exclaim "this is a worthy illustration in the progress of British justice. We wonder how anything of the kind could ever have existed." Laws no doubt were subsequently passed which by their *general* principles took this power away from the revenue officials. But they had little or on effect.

All these evils,—the enormity of the tax, the oppression of the subordinate officials,—were pressed upon the attention of responsible authorities in England before 1813, when the Charter was renewed. The Committee of the House of Commons came to the conclusion that "the whole system thus resolved itself on the part of the public officers into habitual extortion and injustice" whilst "what was left to the ryot was little more than what he was enabled to secure by evasion and concealment." Yet the result was only a few proceedings of which "the keynote was moderation." And further, under the alleged pretence of protecting the ryots, the Collector was constituted with the powers of deciding disputes, as to illegal exactions, etc.; he became Judge, Magistrate, Police Officer and Tax-gatherer. There was of course no improvement since then as was repeatedly acknowledged. The following is a description stated to have been given by a Member of the Government of Madras in 1823.

"To convey to the mind of an English reader even a slight impression of the nature, operation, and results, of the Ryotwar System of revenue connected with the judical arrangements of 1816, must be a matter of some difficulty. Let him, in the first place, imagine the whole landed interest—that is, all the landlords of Great Britain, and even the capital farmers, at once swept away from off the face of the earth; let him imagine a cess, or rent, fixed on every field in the kingdom, seldom under, generally above, its means of payment; let him imagine the land so assessed lotted out to the villagers, according to the number of their cattle and ploughs, to the extent of 40 or 50 acres each. Let him imagine the revenue rated as above, leviable through the agency of 100,000 revenue officers, collected or remitted, at their discretion, according to their idea of the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property. And in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demands, let him imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of their parish. Let him imagine Collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a Board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour by a general equalization of assessment, seizing and sending back runaways to each other. And lastly let him imagine the Collector the sole Magistrate or Justice of the Peace of the country, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone any criminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the superior Courts. Let him imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer, employed in the collection of the land revenue to be a Police officer, vested with the power to fine, confine, put in the stocks, and flog any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case. If the reader can bring his mind to contemplate such a course, he may then form some judgment of the civil administration in progress of reintroduction into the terriotories under the Presidency of Madras, containing 125,000 sq. miles, and a population of 12 millions."

In 1826, in drawing attention to various acts of oppression and atrocity, the Court of Directors remarked that "there is hardly a case wherein the sufferers who have had the courage or been in circumstances to enable them to complain against their oppression have met with redress of their grievance and the accused have not been sent back to their situation they have so grossly abused, and thereby encouraged to renew their excesses by the facility they experience in escaping justice."

The result was thus stated by one who was for sometime the Collector of a district. "The enormity of the land tax and the corruption of the subordinate officials have invariably tended to a natural progression to extortion on the one hand and to poverty and moral debasement on the other; violence, corruption, artifice, on the one hand are met by deceit, hyprocrisy, and cunning on the other. What the one tries to extort the other endeavours to withold. And universal degradation of character ensues. The basest principles of action are substituted for honesty and truth. And this contest for lucre lying between power and weakness terminates at length in reducing helpless ryots to a worse condition than that of common labourers hired at 2 annas or 3 pence per diem." The same writer remarks that the land tax is the "utmost the wretched inhabitants are enabled to pay. Flesh and blood can yield no more."

We think it unnecessary to continue a description of this deplorable system of collecting the revenue. It was wanting in the requisities to promote the purposes of a good Government. Neither person nor property (as was stated in 1829) was adequately protected. Every incitement to industry or improvement was either deadened or removed. Any little surplus in the hands of an industrious ryot, after paying what was alleged to be 50% of the gross produce, was grasped by the rapacious officials for their own benefit. And if the peculation was detected, it only afforded a motive to recommend "improvement" of the revenue since the Collector's credit with the higher authorities was likely to be promoted by the increase. The Collector naturally became anxious to realize the increased revenue and attempts to enforce it, were seldom, if ever, relinquished until starvation, universal distress, and irrecoverable defalcations, proclaimed the dream of "improvement" to be mere delusion.

The supposed reduction effected in the Settlements in certain districts by Sir Thomas Munro is occasionally referred to. We have, however the evidence of the Government of Madras in 1854 that the assessment pressed very hard upon the ryots in those districts; and we have the admission of the Revenue Board that those districts so heavily suffered from peculation corruption and over exaction that many thousands left their homes and connections and migrated to Mysore.

"The system itself commenced in error. It continued through a long train of oppressive exactions. It fixed its hapless victim "to the galling oar for life." It counteracted the ordinations of Providence who called man into being to be blessed with the fruits of his own industry. The poor ryot toiled as if in Egyptian bondage for others benefit. Doomed to exist in unimprovable poverty, he sowed wretchedness and reaped despair."

We have thus traced the desolating course of the revenue system from the commencement of the century till about 1830. The policy followed towards Indian trade completed the ruin. A law was passed in England imposing a heavy fine on those who wore clothes of Indian manufacture. In 1793, the importation of piece goods from India and the consequent injury inflicted on the English trade by the East India Company was an article of charge against them. The Court of Directors declared that the export trade of India to England exhibited a gloomy picture. England in fact

has always adopted a selfish and ungenerous course of treatment towards India in her commercial relations with that country. She has always pressed for facilities to export her steam-wrought manufactures to India at a low frieght while imposing a heavy duty on the hand-wrought manufactures of India and on her coffee, sugar rum, tobacco &c. It is said that by the increase of the principal article of export "many *millions* of the Hindu British subjects have been totally ruined in their trade and forced to seek a subsistence by any labour however coarse or ill-remunerated that presented itself, while thousands of men and women have perished of want." Sir Lionel Smith told the House of Commons that the native merchants were immensely rich when he first went to India, that is after the Government was vested in the East India Company, and that in 1832 their prosperity had immensely declined. It is noteworthy that these restrictions were placed on Indian trade not for the benefit of the English trade alone but also of the West Indian slave colonies and of America. The avowed principle was not free trade but a selfish desire to benefit the English trade. In a memorial presented to parliament it was rightly asserted that "the labouring and manufacturing classes of natives specially are already suffering grievous hardships, in consequence of the principles of trade and commerce which actuate the English Councils not being extended to India."

Land, already heavily taxed, could not afford to sustain the burden of the mass of labourers thrown out of employ on account of this ruinous commercial policy.

We have now completed the survey up to the close of the first period—and it is an Anglo-Indian writer who thus describes the then condition of the people :—

"Poverty—hopeless, helpless poverty—with its usual concomitants apathy and despair, is thus the unpitied unredressed lot of this most valuable and important race." Their food was deficient and coarse in quality, their clothing was scanty and poor, their dwellings were extremely mean.

Within the limits of a review article it is not possible to deal with the next period (1830 to 1850) in detail. The Blue Book describes the condition of the agricultural classes during that period as 'wretched' and gives extracts from the Reports of the Revenue

officials in support of that view. We shall only attempt to describe in a rough outline the nature of the Revenue Administration towards the close of the period as that would enable the reader to form an idea of any period anterior in date thereto.

An official high in the Government service drew a picture of the population, even of those who were deemed favourably situated under this system, which was truly appalling. He described them as prostrate physically and mentally, pressed down by debt, by destitution,—exhibiting a dead level of squalid pauperism, misery and starvation.

Mr. Bright, who was a member of the Cotton Commission said in 1854, in the House of Commons

"What is in truth the condition of Madras? It was generally admitted that large tracts of land were lying waste, while great numbers of the population were scarcely employed—were almost absolutely naked, and in a state of physical weakness, arising from the want of the common neccesaries of life. This was proved by books, papers, Parliamentary Reports, and a number of witnesses. All the evidence that had been adduced tended to prove this fact, and what was the conclusion? That the land was not unfertile, but so heavily taxed, that there was scarcely any profit from working it: and between the miserable pittance derived from it and the large revenue drawn from it by the State, the whole of the annual produce of the land was absorbed, so that the land had no saleable value."

Other members confirmed these statements. And it was pointed out that the revenue was so heavy that it was usual to realize it by torture. The President of the Board of Control *had to acknowledge that the assessments were heavy* and promised to take steps for their reduction: and to investigate the grave charges brought against revenue officials of employing torture for the collection of revenue, a Commission was appointed at Madras consisting of a Barrister and two Civilians. The Report of the Commission throws a lurid light on the Administration of Justice.

The practice of torture in criminal cases was so invariably admitted as an actually existing evil that the Torture Commission considered that "it would be a mere work of supererogation to pursue that branch further."

Among the principal tortures then in vogue in Police cases we find the following—"twisting a rope tightly round the entire arm or leg so as to impede circulation; lifting up by the moustache; suspending by the arms while tied behind the back; scaring with hot irons; placing scratching insects, such as the carpenter beetle, on the navel, scrotum, and other sensitive parts; dipping in wells, and rivers, till the party is half suffocated; squeezing the testicles; beating with sticks; prevention of sleep; nipping the flesh with pincers; putting pepper or red chillies in the eyes, or introducing them into the private parts of men and women; these cruelties occasionally persevered in until death sooner or later ensues."

With reference to torture for the collection of revenue the evidence consisted of European and Native witnesses,—and the state of the administration as disclosed by the evidence must be borne in mind in order to understand clearly the nature of the forces that subsequently brought about a change for the better.

It must also be remembered that the number of cases so proved bears no proportion to the enormous number of cases where torture is really applied and considering the publicity with which all this was carried out in the various districts there can be no room to doubt that torture was widely employed not only for the collection of revenue justly due but for various other purposes.

It was thus proved by European testimony that a ryot who paid the kist due by him but would not pay the excess demanded by the Curnam had his neck tied to his leg with his puggree and a stone placed on his back and in addition to all this he had to find security for payment. Once a European came across a number of men who were being tortured and the native Revenue officials on being remonstrated with by him not only acknowledged the fact but to his great astonishment declared that they had written orders from the Sircar. This was in 1852, and this officer was able to say that the practice of coercion as described above obtained in the regular every-day transaction of business by the Curnams of his part of the district. There was no secrecy about it, one Missionary said that the headman acknowledged the usage of an instrument shown to him to torture the ryots to pay their taxes, and another Missionary who lived in the neighbourhood of a Police Station saw daily prisoners beaten, flogged, and in other ways ill-treated. He knew also for certain that for the purpose of extorting confessions from women a disgusting application of red pepper

was sometimes employed. Another Missionary told the Commission that flogging was resorted in many places and on one occasion the sound of the flogging was so severe that he could hardly take his dinner on account of the unpleasant sensation it caused him. An English merchant came upon at least a dozen ryots ranged in the court-yard of the Tahsildar's office under the meridian sun in the hottest part of the year with heavy stones placed either on their heads or their back, their bodies bent double, standing on one leg, the other being raised from the ground by means of a string joined round the neck and round the big toe. Another European landlord said, "I am constrained to make of our own knowledge positive affirmation of the habitual use of violent and illegal means for the collection of revenue." A lady was an eye-witness to the following:—A poor man's turband was passed over his neck and fastened under his knees which put him in a bending posture and a heavy stone placed on his back; another Englishman, a Lieutenant and Engineer said he used to hear night after night a great uproar and sound of blows in the direction of the office of the tax-gatherer, and one day when he went there found that functionary, surrounded by a number of peons and other people flogging a wretch. Another gentleman in the Government service found a man in sitting posture with a stone in each of his hands, the palms upwards in line with his shoulder. This mode of torture was apparently not considered very severe for we find, that this official was suspended on account of his inability to collect the revenue.

It is clear therefore that torture was applied openly in the presence of Europeans, without any attempt at concealment and justified as being in accordance with Government Orders. Such was the state of things, disclosed in 1854 according to European testimony. The subordinate officials fully believed in their power to torture to realize revenue and they felt that their appointment rested upon their ability to collect the same. But once the power was conferred for a certain purpose, there was a tendency to exercise the same for other purposes.

We will now proceed to consider how these officials exercised their powers. The facts that we will now refer to are not, based upon vague testimony. They are supported by the statements of witnesses on oath before the Commission one of whom the Advocate-General of Madras, another a Collector.

They say "we tested their credibility by their manner and deportment, and the probability of their story, which we corroborated, wherever opportunity offered by reference to extraneous circumstances, such for instance, as inspecting or calling for petitions alleged to have been presented to the various Provincial authorities, showing that the tale was not one of recent invention, obtaining productions of records where any partial investigation had previously taken place, and the like, leaving it to the Government, should it deem it necessary or expedient, to order criminal or other proceedings to be taken hereafter in any cases of more than ordinary severity. We have further referred many cases, which appeared to us to admit of easy investigation on the spot, to the various local authorities; and making every allowance for the tendency of natives to exaggerate, even when their story is founded on fact; being painfully conscious of their untruthfulness, knowing by experience how litigious and revengeful they are, we still think that most of their depositions, as a whole, bear marks of veracity, and that their stories are in the main true;" and referring to other circumstances in favour of this mass of testimony which in their opinion is conclusive as to its general character the Commissioners finally say, "the above conditions preclude the possibility of any other conclusion than that the acts of violence complained of are commonly practised."

The evidence given under these circumstances gives us an idea of the state of the country at that time. Every revenue official considered himself entitled to apply torture to any one who did not pay the revenue according to his Puttah. Where a ryot paid the entire revenue and even produced the receipts for payments made, even then torture was applied if he did not pay what the Tahsildar told him was the balance. If a ryot considered that the land was heavily assessed and expressed his disinclination to accept the Puttah, he was forced to take up the land and tortured, until he expressed his consent and such ill-treatment continued for some months until the revenue under the Puttah was paid. It was proved that torture was applied even though the crop failed through want of rain. The oppression extended not only to the ryot class, but to the labourer who had to supply the officials with the fruits of his labour. In case of refusal, the latter was directed to pay tax not due and tortured till he complied with the same. On the occasion of any

marriage in the house of any official, the ryot was expected to pay a certain sum of money; non-payment of the same being followed by arrest on account of complaint lodged against him and torture until the demand was satisfied. If an official cast covetous eye on any land, the owner was not safe unless he complied with his request. A complaint to a higher official was always fruitless, as the complaint was referred to a subordinate official interested in the matter for enquiry. It was not the males alone that were subjected to this treatment, but the females as well were taken to the Cutcherry and ill-treated. Even the chastity of women were at stake. Women of respectable families were ill-treated and in case of refusal to prostitute herself, any female without adequate male protection was liable to be arrested on false charges and then taken to the residence of the official and detained or tortured during his pleasure.

The descriptions of violence commonly in vogue for revenue and other purposes which were referred to in the course of this enquiry were as follows:—"Keeping a man in the sun; preventing his going to meals, or other calls of nature; confinement; preventing cattle from going to pasture, by shutting them up in the house; quartering a peon on the defaulter who is obliged to pay him daily wages; the use of the kittee; Anundal; squeezing the crossed fingers with the hands; pinches on the thighs; slaps; blows with fist or whip; running up and down; twisting the ears; making a man sit on the soles of his feet with brickbats behind his knees; putting a low caste man on the back; striking two defaulters' heads against each other, or tying them together by their back hair; placing in the stocks, tying the hair of the head to a donkey's or buffaloe's tail, placing a necklace of bones, or other degrading or disgusting materials round the neck, and occasionally though very rarely more severe discipline still."

The Blue Book, indeed, recognizes that the realization of the Government revenue by means of torture was one of the institutions of the country, and the practice continued though in a mitigated form, down to 1855.

The evidence before the Commission conclusively proved that the practice of oppression was applied for the gratification of private passions, avarice, lust, revenge, though the removal of demands

for old balances and outstandings on account of Government revenue was usually made the pretence and cloak under which such acts of oppression were carried out for mere private personal purposes. In the graphic words of the Commission "all that perfect but silent machinery which combines the forces of revenue demands and Police authority" were brought into play. The most ingenious artifices which the subtlety of the native mind can invent were resorted to.

That the oppressive character of the assessments was the cause of this universal prevalence of torture was conclusively proved before the Commission. The combination of the police and revenue functions delivered the ryots to the tender mercies of the Police peons who were accustomed to employ torture. We are not therefore surprised at the spectacle of millions of men in abject condition cowering before the meanest official. Accordingly, in other departments also where the officials were brought into contact with the people we meet with the same account of oppression and injustice. We will here, by way of illustration, refer to one—The Public Works Department. To keep the roads, tanks, and other irrigation works in repair was the duty of the revenue official. The lowest paid and the most unscrupulous class of Government officials "were employed to collect the labourers, to take them, in some cases two days' journey or more, to the road, and prevent them from leaving the place till the work was done. As a matter of course the power entrusted to these men was abused and made a means of benefitting themselves; exemption from the work was obtained by such means as were necessary, at the cost of those who were too poor to bribe, too weak to resist, or too dull to escape." In fact, there was no district in which labour was not more or less obtained by compulsion.

We find in the same report of the Commission from which the above is extracted an account of the various ways in which the labourers were cheated of the wages due to them. "Firstly, the rate allowed was too low, as in Madura where it was fixed at one-third of the rate paid by private persons; secondly, the device of short measurement was adopted and the work done was undervalued; thirdly, artificers, bricklayers in particular, were often required to leave their towns, where they could get constant work,

to go to a distant part of the taluk, to be separated from their friends and to submit to privations; fourthly, there was great delay in payment; and fifthly, much of the wages entered in the accounts as having been paid was never really received by the labourers, who submitted to various deductions, which had become customary, in favour of officers employed on or about the work and in the disbursement of the money."

We have thus reviewed the internal administration of the Madras Presidency till the middle of this century. Whether it was an improvement upon the systems of administration under the established Governments, Hindu or Mahomadan, that preceded, we confess, we are not in a position to affirm; but that it was an administration that in future ages may well be pointed out by an hostile critic of the British rule as simply disgraceful, we have not the slightest doubt. Since the middle of the century there has undoubtedly been great progress. The great reforms in the internal administration of the country referred to in the Blue Book are the reduction of the land Assessments, the construction of Roads, Railways, Canals, the organisation of the Police force, the prohibition of employment of torture in the collection of revenue; the great progress of local Government is also sympathetically referred to. How was it, then, that during the first half of the century there was utter stagnation, while during the next forty years there was such remarkable progress? On this phenomenon the Blue Book throws no light and it was not, perhaps, intended to throw any.

To understand, then, the forces that were at work, and the causes of the great reforms that have undoubtedly been effected since 1853 we have to go back a little and glance at the conditions which rendered any real progress impossible before that period.

When the English took possession of the country they found that long oppression had reduced the people to a state of abject servility and helplessness. No doubt courts were established to administer justice but courts are helpless where the people would not assert the rights that law gives them. To prevent robbery and murder is a difficult task where the man robbed or the relatives of the murdered would not render any help towards the detection of the crime. The country must continue a prey to the oppression of the subordinate officials so long as the people will not protest against injustice or seek to bring home to the offender

his guilt. This difficulty in the way of the better government of the country early attracted the attention, and was the despair, of those who were anxious for the prosperity of the people. Sir Thomas Munro complained that the ryots would rather submit to extra assessments than seek redress from the courts. He found instances where men have paid such extra assessments and have even parted with sheep and cattle without compensation, not caring to go to Zilla Courts though the Judges were acknowledged to be most active and zealous public servants. Rarely and at long intervals of time, the official serenity might be disturbed by the wail of despair, but as to resistence to oppression, there was none.

Naturally therefore, to the tyranny of the subordinate officials there was no limit. The Court of Directors had to acknowledge that it had been their unpleasant duty to notice "numerous instances of extortion, embezzlement, repeated malversations, and fraudulent combinations on the part of the native servants" and they admitted that there were few districts which did not afford the most lamentable proofs of the prevalence of these abuses. The Revenue Board also bore testimony to the magnitude of this mischief and to the entire hopelessness with which the suffering inhabitants endured it; and the result was that the authorities resolved to entrust the Collectors themselves with uncontrolled power to redress these abuses—that is—as we have already pointed out the Police was placed under the revenue officials and the Collector was empowered to determine all complaints respecting the tenure of land, the collection of the revenue, and all illegal exactions, embezzlement of revenue, concealment, destruction or falsification of accounts or other misdeeds of his subordinates. The collectors had also magisterial authority and the Tasildars were also empowered to try and punish for petty offences. The result could have been easily anticipated. The previous Hindu and Mahomedan misrule generated that state of society which rendered this oppression possible and that state of society was made the pretext for introducing a system of administration whose tendency was to stereotype the then existing state of apathy and hopelessness. The union of the powers of the Magistrate, Police officer and Tax-gatherer was attended with disasterous results. For, the class of native servants who were then (1816-1822) invested with judicial authority were the very persons who formerly practised extortion

and oppression. The ryots were unwilling to complain even when they had independent tribunals willing to receive and hear their complaints. Now that the power of redressing their grievances was transfered to the Collector, whose chief interest was not the administration of justice but the realization and the increase of public revenue, they ceased practically to complain. To the Government of the day, including in that appellation, the Board of Directors in England as well as the local Government, that was the best system of administration which centred in the Tax gatherer all the powers of the Judge, Magistrate, and Police officer. Nothing was required of the people and nothing was expected from them. These changes as we have already pointed out failed miserably to alleviate the condition of the masses; but the renewal of the Charter in 1833 took place under conditions very different from those of 1813. In 1813 it was left for a few Anglo Indians to fight the cause of the people of this country. And it was a fruitless fight against the bureaucratic tendency which animated the governing classes. But the years that preceded the renewal of the charter in 1833 were memorable years in the history of England. The struggle for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and generally for the grant of equal previleges to the Roman Catholics, had permeated the middle class of England with ideas of equality and liberty. The struggle for the great reform of 1832 had roused the spirit of opposition to previlege, monopoly, and tyranny. In the same year the Charter was renewed, was also passed, by the House of Lords, the act to emancipate the negro slaves in the West Indies and other British Colonies. The struggle for the abolition of slavery had taught the British people the truth of Burke's observation concurred in by Canning, and Lord Brougham "that the masters of slaves are not to be trusted with the making of Laws upon slavery, that nothing they do is ever effectual; that if by some miracle they ever chance to enact a wholesome regulation it is always found to want the "executory principle:" it fails to get itself executed." The application of this principle to the East India Company and to the people of India was apparent. Actuated by these fealings, roused by the protests of those few noble Anglo-Indians who depicted in its true character the misgovernment of the country, the middle class of England enthusiastically called upon their candidates to assuage the misery and to relieve the oppression of the people of India.

The situation was grasped by them quickly. They found that every progress was practically impossible in the then existing condition of the masses of India. They found that it was indispensible to raise the Indians from their lethargy and torpor, to make them realise that they were not slaves doomed to pass their lives in poverty, but that they were the citizens of a great empire with the rights of citizenship. Progress was therefore impossible so long as high appointments in the services were refused to them on account of their race disqualifications, so long as they were treated as helots unfit to be associated with the Englishmen in the administration of the country. It was of course obviously necessary for this purpose that the natives should be sufficiently educated to take part in such administration. Education was also indispensable to galvanize the torpid mass of India into life, to enable the Indians to take steps for the redress of their grievances. As early as 1813 a more extended employment of the natives of India was suggested. But the proposition was considered visionary. In the discussion that proceeded the Charter of 1833 their claims were strongly pressed. The appointment of Native Judges as colleagues of European Judges sitting on the same bench with adequate salaries was insisted upon, and even the introduction of a native Legislative Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations was pressed. At the head of the Government of India was Lord William Bentinck, a name that will for ever be dear to India. The advocates of native claims found strong support in him and it was specially declared, mainly at his instance, by Act of Parliament in 1833 "that no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural born subject of Her Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place of office or employment under the said Company." By solemn declaration therefore of the highest authority, race disqualification was abolished for ever; but to carry out the principle in practice it was necessary that natives of education and capacity should be forthcoming to fill the appointments that the aforesaid declaration threw open to them. The task of initiating the new policy was entrusted to Lord William Bentinck who was assisted by Macaulay the then appointed Law Member. It could not have been entrusted to better hands. The policy of educating the natives and raising them to the level of Europeans was a new one and was regarded by

some as full of danger to the permanence of English superiority. But without such education the Parliamentary declaration that we referred to, would have remained a dead letter and the Indians would still have continued in the state in which they were found at the commencement of the British rule. Nor did these men and the few Anglo-Indians who supported them shrink from a contemplation of the consequences that were urged by their opponents as inevitable. They regarded with equanimity the day, should it ever come, when the Indian becomes the equal of the Englishman in all the arts of Government. Lord William Bentinck emphasised the great principle that India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians, and that the advantages which Englishmen derive from it should only be such as are incidental to and inferential from that course of proceeding. It is instructive to consider the attitude generally of the Anglo-Indians towards this policy of Lord William Bentinck of admitting the natives to the higher grade in the service, of dissiminating modern culture among upper classes with a view to their admission to such higher grades. Their attitude was one of bitter hostility, only equalled or perhaps surpassed by their attitude towards one who about fifty years later attempted to enforce the principles, first publicly avowed in Lord William Bentinck's time. Even his personal character was attacked. We do not for a moment wish to suggest that all the Anglo-Indians avowed this hostile policy. The venerable names of Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Colvin and Trevelyan will be found ranged on the other side. But it is useful to remember that the great body of the Anglo-Indians acted in opposition to the elevation of our political status. It was not from them that India's friends expected the large measures of reform that were necessary for India's prosperity. This Governor-General, the main indictment against whom was that he wanted to substitute native for European Government, declared after his return to England, that it was only by enabling the natives of India to bring their complaints and grievances before the authorities and the public in England and by persuading the "globe-trotters" to report to their country at home the nature and circumstances of India that the shameful apathy and indifference of Great Britain to India could be roused, and that the desired amelioration could be accomplished. This view was also entertained by others.

They found that though the natives always had a few Anglo-Indians to fight for them the majority of Englishmen in India were averse to any improvement in the political status of the natives. They also found that it was only the public opinion in England that enabled Bentinck, in the fine words of the inscription on his statue, to efface the humiliating distinctions, to abolish cruel rites, to keep steadily in view that the end of Government is the happiness of the governed, to give liberty to the expression of public opinion, and to attempt to elevate the intellectual and moral character of India, and that for his noble deeds he encountered the bitter enmity of the dominant class in India and has been handed down to posterity by an Anglo-Indian historian as the most unsuccessful of the Indian Governors. Accordingly India's friends in England collected a mass of information concerning this country from various quarters. "From the chaos of testimony written and oral brought together, an appalling state of things began to disclose itself. Slavery itself, with all its hideous concomitants, became actually belittled, in comparison with the devastating scourges which had been endured by the vast populations of Hindustan. It seemed as if by some cruel destiny, which must needs be grapled with, and defeated by all Chiristian men, some of the fairest regions of God's earth had been placed under the remorsless thrall of mammon." And their conclusions were: "That over a vast portion of our Indian possessions the working cultivators of the soil were unable to live; that our land-system, even more than domestic slavery, paralysed native industry and impoverished the people; and that the restoration of the land to the people, could it be effected, would, with the cheap free labour of India, probably result in such a development of produce as would bless both England and India with beneficent increase." They therefore resolved to do what they could to bring home to the English people the sense of their responsibility to the people of India. This view was entertained not only by those who formed their opinions from published information, but also by eminent Anglo-Indians like Sir Charles Forbes and this view was fully borne out by official records. The results of an official survey of the richest and most populous parts of British India were published

in three bulky volumes. The Court of Directors ordered a number of copies to be transmitted to India as they considered the information to be extremely valuable, and that "the opportunity of perusing it would be highly advantageous to our servants in India especially to those occupied in the collection of the revenue." The compiler says in his preface

"That a survey containing such materials, offering so vivid a description of the social aspect of millions of our fellow-subjects, and corroborating every useful fact by minute statistics, should have remained so long in obscurity is indeed to be deplored, and can only to be accounted for by supposing that it was deemed impolitic to publish to the world so painful a picture of human poverty, debasement and wretchedness. To see this picture in all its hideous deformity, it would be necessary to employ deligently as many months as I have spent in examining the voluminous official records laid before me; but enough is presented in the three volumes now printed, to make any man of ordinary feelings start with repulsiveness from the disgusting task of contemplating misery, ignorance and superstition in all their degraded forms; while the most sanguine philanthropist may have his noblest energies chilled at the difficult and uncheered labours which await on his exertions."

"To offer an analysis of the facts contained in these three volumes would be a difficult task and it would fail to convey an accurate impression as to the reality of the case; the whole work should be read and pondered on; the very minutiæ of detail conveys to a thinking mind a clearer view of what the condition of people so situated must be, than any other mode of description. While those who are in the habit of contemplating the progress of society, and whose mental faculties are sufficiently comprehensive to examine all the elements of social wealth and happiness, will philosophically scrutinize the materials on which alone sound and just opinions can be based. *I do not hesitate to declare that the object I have in view in rescuing these manuscripts from oblivion, is an endeavour to arouse in some measure, the people of England to some sense of feeling for the condition of the myriads of their fellow-subjects now pining and perishing of famine, disease, and all the slow but sure concomitants attendant on long-continued want and slavery.* England is considered the abode of a Christian people, enlightened, far above their continental neighbours, and blessed with all the advantages of advanced civilization. But how has England treated British India, which is as much a part and parcel of the Empire as Scotland or Ireland? A dominion which the dream of the wildest enthusiast could scarcely be expected to have realized, has most mysteriously been subjected to her sway; an hundred million of human beings of various creeds, colours and races own her sceptre; and every product of earth, sea and air which can minister to the wants, comforts and luxuries of man are tendered in lavish

profusion. Yet an insignificant Island in the Arabian seas, excites more of our attention than an Empire which would have quenched the ambition of Alexander, whose armies rival these of Rome in her palmiest days; and whose commerce would have satiated Tyre or Carthage."

"The neglect of duty is a crime. Is it reasonable to suppose, that retributive justice which overtakes an offending human being is confined to an individual. Do not the pages of all history sacred and profane indicate, that retribution has sooner or later overtaken a nation, who not only despises the blessings conferred by an Almighty Providence, but perverts them to selfish purposes, and thus extends the circle of sin and woe throughout the Earth? Had France—had any other European power been so long in the possession of India as Great Britian, how different would its condition have been; how thoroughly would its wants have been known; what efforts would not have been made for their relief? Let us examine a few of these official statements;—statements be it remembered not made by interested persons for private purposes, but statements made by the intelligent, and far from morbidly humane officer appointed by the Directing Government in England, and the Supreme Government of India to examine and report for their information."

Eminent Anglo-Indians endorsed the view taken by this writer. It has to be remembered that the impeachment of the Company's servants was the express and unconcealed design of the work and that the writer expressly states that his object was "an endeavour to arouse in some measure the people of England to some sense of feeling for the myriads of their fellow-subjects". With this object they tried to enlist the sympathy of some of the public men. They first sought the help of O'Connell and his response was hearty and enthusiastic. He agreed that they must educate the public by means of the platform and the press and, leave with them the responsibility. With characteristic promptitude within a few days of his promise he brought the subject before an Anti-Slavery meeting. He said: "It is not alone the slavery of two millions of human being, but of the hundred millions of human beings who now suffer the degrading slavery of having no title to their land—no right to their houses—no species of permanent property—because the maladministration of the British Government in India has left them beggars in their native land. . . . . We are but beginning our fight! But we have the power of British humanity on our side. This day should be an earnest. For one, I am only beginning. It may be said, How dare an insignificant individual like myself attempt to promise such mighty results? I do not promise it, from

any foolish affectation of talent or energy, but because this mighty nation, once a roused, we must be successful; I PROMISE IT, BECAUSE THERE ARE GOOD MEN ON EARTH, AND BECAUSE THERE IS A GOD IN HEAVEN." Further, in his place in Parliament when a petition from the natives was under discussion he declared :—

"The fatal mistake in India is to consider the natives merely as contributors to the advantages of the East India Company, instead of looking to the prosperity and happiness of our fellow subjects, the native population, as the great, the wise, the only good object of our Government of their country. The country is really theirs, not ours, and we are criminal in not considering their interests and indefeasible rights as the paramount object of our solicitude."

In fact, it was generally agreed that to the English public alone must we look for assistance. But even then there were not wanting men to prophesy evil from this attempt, to declare that this agitation would increase excitement in India and endanger peace, but our friends were all agreed "that the dangers of rebellion lurked beneath neglect, and that nothing but good could come of constitutional agitation in England and Scotland"; and that it was the imperative duty of the British people to correct the blunders and remove the admitted evils which pertained to the Company's mis-government. And it was with that object that the London British India Society was formed.

The first meeting was a remarkable one. It consisted of eminent Anglo-Indians, like Sir Charles Forbes, Sir Jeremiah Bryant, C.B., Sir Henty Strachey and others not less famous in their days, a few Indian noblemen like the Prince of Oudh, the son of Tippu Sultan, and many well-known members of Parliament. It is instructive to compare their speeches with the very moderate demands of the Educated Indians who form the National Congress. The opium and the salt monopoly, the heavy land tax oppressively administered, the land settlement, promise unfulfilled were all expounded, but Lord Brougham put it in the very forefront of his impeachment that the affairs of India were managed behind the backs of the people of India. He said :

"I am one of those, who hold that no pains must be spared to increase that share which they—the English people—now have in the conduct of their own affairs in Parliament. But, at all events, this representation—their share in the Government—their power of interfering to secure the right management of their own concerns;—why, it is as infinity compared with nothing, contrasted with the unrepresented state of all the millions of the Indies.....Not one of those individuals who comprise the millions I have mentioned has a single voice—is allowed to utter a cry, except the cry of misery when famine covers the land and sweeps off its hundreds of thousands." He was followed by O'Connell.

"I will leave the result of this day to do its own work. And it will do its work. It will speed on the wings of the press, and raise the mighty power which emancipated the African to give freedom to the Indian—the power of the English people. We shall have the mighty force of that power with us. We shall have the countenance and support of the people of England. And we shall have with us the sect of Christians who, not mixing in angry contests, or mingling in passionate conflict, whenever they undertake any good work, never desert it, but press zealously forward until victory is secured. Those are now in our van—those who never shrink from the charge where oppression has to be destroyed; and who in the good which they have done to mankind have found their only reward. We have with us much of the intellect and virtue of the country. Have we not with us the power and countenance of the women of England? Is that small? Is that to be overlooked? Why, at the present moment the most powerful sovereign on the face of the globe, and at the same time the most beloved who sets at defiance foreign foes and internal enemies—the sovereign of England—is a woman. The cause of religion and of justice must succeed; and it is only necessary to its success, that what India has suffered and what her people are now undergoing, should be known."

All these have no doubt been said before that occasion and since but it was then that this duty was recognized and undertaken as part of a definite and organized scheme for the amelioration of the people of India.

The British India Committee continued for some time their good work in educating the English people and it was fully recognized that it was in England alone that the cause of India must be fought out. When the question of the renewal of the Charter came before the Parliament in 1853 the wisdom of this policy became apparent, and the apprehensions of those who refused to rely upon

the Board of Directors and the Indian services were fully realized. It was then found that none of the great reforms which were promised by the East India Company in 1833 was carried out. It was proposed in 1833, for instance, that for every vacancy in the Civil Service four candidates should be named and the best selected by examination. It was mainly on the faith of this provision under which the English people expected superior men to be sent out to India that the East India Company obtained a renewal. Yet after the renewal these provisions were deliberately violated and not one examination was held. The administration of justice was considered a scandal and a Law Commission was, immediately after the Charter, appointed to frame a code of laws. But the Board of Directors refused to fill up the vacancies and no law reform was introduced till the Mutiny. But the most important provision in the Charter was the one enacting, that no native shall by reason of his colour or creed be incapable of holding any office, yet not one native was ever appointed till 1853 to an office which he was incapable of holding before 1833. English University degree did not secure entrance into the charmed circle. All those pledges made by the East India Company in 1833 were thus shamefully violated till 1853. It was found useless to trust them to carry out the benevolent intentions of the English people. The East India Company went further; they took care so far as it lay in their power to retard the progress of natives. When Lord Hardinge proposed to send a few medical students to complete their education in England the Board expressed their strong displeasure. When it was proposed to establish a University at Calcutta they expressed their dissatisfaction. In fact, as the President of the Law Commission and a Member of the Indian Council expressed it; "It is not of this omission" to appoint natives "that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shown any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their Covenanted Service. Their disposition, as far as it can be divined, *is of the opposite kind.*" Lord William Bentinck's measures should not be credited in their favour. His educational policy to give the highest English education to natives was strongly disapproved by the Company. His emancipation of the Press brought upon him

their severe censure. But notwithstanding their disapproval, the educational policy was carried out and its results were apparent in 1853. One of the chief reasons of Lord Dalhousie in urging an immediate renewal of the Charter was the agitation due to the education received by the natives that was springing up in India. The Madras Native Association, the Bombay Association and others presented various petitions to Parliament and the India Reform Association was supplied with the necessary materials by these Associations. And it was this native agitation supported by the influence of the friends in England that brought about those great reforms referred to in the "Forty Years' Progress." We will first take the improvement of the internal communications of the country. The following is an extract from a petition presented to Parliament at the instance of the Madras Native Association. "The unwillingness of the Company and the local Government to expend money on the construction of roads requisite for the interchange of traffic from province to province, and from the interior to the shipping ports along the coast, would be incredible if it were not a notorious and substantial fact; and it is still worse that they should pretend the ryots ought to make them at their own expense, for, pressed down as they are by a heavy load of taxes, which renders them too poor to purchase Company's salt for their miserable food of boiled rise and vegetables—the latter too frequently wild herbs, the spontaneous produce of the uncultivated earth. Unable to supply themselves with clothes, beyond a piece of coarse cotton fabric, worth 2*s.*, once in a twelve month, it is impossible for them to find the means or time for road making gratis, even if they possessed the skill requisite for the purpose, and your petitioners submit that it is the bounden duty of the State which reduces them to their miserable condition, and keeps them in it from Charter to Charter, to spend a far larger portion of the revenue upon the improvement of the country whence they are derived than it does at present."

From his place in Parliament Sir C. Wood representing the Government of India declared all this to be a tissue of falsehood; but what was the result: the Madras Committee challenged an inquiry; a Commission was granted; and that Commission submitted a report which to the horror of the officials, condemned the Government of Madras. How that Government treated the

members of the Committee will appear from the proceedings published with the report and they form instructive reading. It is to this report that we owe, as acknowledged in the Blue Book, the great progress in the improvement of the internal communications in the country. We owe it really to native agitation and to English support.

The same was the case with the practical disappearance of torture and the reduction of Land Assessments.

A petition was presented to Parliament complaining of the heavy assessments, and the torture employed in their collection. A Member of Parliament made a tour in the Madras Presidency at the request of the Madras Native Association and on his return there was a motion for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the land tenures of the Madras Presidency. It was then alleged that torture was freely resorted for the collection of the revenue and to examine into the truth of these allegations as to torture a Commission was appointed. We have already referred to the report of the Commission who found that the allegations as to torture were completely proved. The organisation of the Police as a separate branch and the measures taken to prevent torture in the realization of the revenue was the result. Here again we have to thank the native agitators of those days and their English friends.

It was again this discussion on the motion of Mr. Blackett to appoint a Commission to proceed to India to enquire into the tenure of land in the Presidency of Madras that induced the officials to reduce the assessments. The President of the Board of Control admitted that the assessments were too heavy and the Governor-General admitted the force of the demand to appoint a Commission to enquire into the assessments on the land but as the President Sir C. Wood pointed out, such a Commission was unnecessary as the charge was admitted and he instructed Lord Harris the then appointed Governor of Madras not only before his departure to Madras but in every subsequent letter to reduce the assessments. It is remarkable that the motion was lost only by a majority of five. The result was the immediate reduction of the assessments in many districts, the organization of the Survey Department avowedly for the purpose of reducing the assessments where heavy, and the reduction of the share of the Government demand from half the gross produce to half the net—the present rate.

Here again we have to thank the native agitators of that day and their English friends. The proceedings of the Madras Government constituting the Survey Department and the instructions to the Department form in our opinion a very strong condemnation of the Government of the previous half of the century.

It is admitted that the policy of imparting English education to which we owe the great progress we have made has never found favor with the Indian Services. In 1813 the East India Company was forced by the English people to set aside a lac of rupees for that purpose. But nothing was done till public attention was again drawn to it by the Committee of instruction. Lord William Bentinck was as we pointed out severely censured for his Educational Policy and Lord William Hardinge's measures for imparting education to Indian youth were not allowed to be carried out. It is in fact to the efforts of Missionaries, natives like Ram Mohan Roy and his Mahomedan colleague and to the English public that we owe the great boon of English education. It is admitted that the Educational policy now followed in India to which we owe the great progress we have made has never been held in high favour by the Services. Lastly the appointment of natives to high posts, *i.e.*, to seats on the High Court Bench and in the Legislative Councils is due to the absorbing interest which Englishmen then took in Indian matters, on account of the Mutiny. The Indian Civil Service as a body is opposed to education, to widening the basis of Local Self-Government, and to the increased activity on the part of our local bodies, but it is to these that Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, rightly in our opinion, looks for our country's future progress.

The members of the Civil Service are neither better nor worse than any body of ordinary men. Some of them are only anxious to earn their pensions and leave the country at the earliest possible opportunity. Many of them may be well-intentioned, prepared to serve the native cause, but helpless against the system under which India must be bled. It is therefore on strong persistent native agitation, assisted by our friends in England that we have to rely.

If further evidence were necessary, it is supplied by the fact that all the great reforms in the internal administration of the country, with the exception of those in Lord. W. Bentinck's time, were effected during the last forty years; though the Civil Service in the earlier half of the century could boast of men quite as able, as sympathetic with the natives as any of their successors. It was not till the native and the English public opinion practically forced these reforms on the Indian Services that they were really carried out.

The task of educating native opinion has been taken in hand by the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the work is proceeding apace. To the feeling of listlessness and apathy of the masses, and the despair and sullen discontent of the educated natives, has succeeded a feeling of hope due entirely to the teaching of the National Congress, There is now a belief in the final vindication of justice, and a confidence that every grievance will ultimately be redressed. Consequently every act of injustice is dragged into light and its remedy sought with a persistence which was unknown before. This resistance to petty oppression is a healthy symptom which must lead to the happiest results. It must, in course of time, put an end to the oppression of the subordinate officials. The Congress teaching has also aroused an interest in Municipal government which leads to that conflict with the executive so much deplored by the latter. The people are desirous of taking Municipal administration into their own hands and are not content to leave it in the hands of the officials who used to carry on the administration hitherto in the name of the Municipal Boards. For these reasons the official element is uneasy and it is not to be wondered at, that insidious attempts are occasionally made to stifle the spirit of resistance to official oppression. The attempts to gag the Native Press, to bring the Local Boards under the complete control of the Executive, to interfere with the Jury system, the independence of the Judiciary, and of the Bar are so many straws that show the direction of the wind

Left without English help there is not much hope of success. The system is far too powerful for native agitation and the few

sympathetic Anglo-Indians to cope with; the destiny of India for good, or evil, is ultimately, in the hands of the English people. The Indian Services, as a body, will attempt to mislead them. It was the practice of the East India Company to hire writers whenever the question of the renewal of the Charter was raised, to corrupt the public mind by publications which exhibited their government in rosy colours. When Mountstuart Elphinstone was about to publish a continuation of his History which was understood not to be favourable to the East India Company, at enormous expense to themselves, they got a History of India written by Thornton, widely advertised and distributed the same, and Elphinstone, a comparatively poor man, was unable to publish his book. In 1853, about the time of the renewal of the Charter they had Kaye's History published at their expense and Marshman and others were ready with their pamphlets and books to plead the cause of the Company. The course followed was the same. The English public were invited to consider the progress made under the East India Company; while it was carefully concealed from them that such progress was due to the persistent pressure from the English public and that those few great men who carried out that liberal policy did so in spite of the protests of the services generally and the Board of Directors. In fact most, if not all of the great reforms referred to by their great apoligist J. S. Mill were carried out when the British India Committee were most active in England. In issuing the Forty Year's Progress, the Government of Madras are thus only continuing the tradition of their predecessors. Everything that comes from the manufactory of the Government Press to extol the Indian services, we would entreat the English public to accept with caution. The foundations of future progress have been well and truly laid. It is now impossible to stop the importation of the daily English papers, Journals, and Books into India. It is equally impossible to check the progress of English education. Secret and irresponsible Government is then doomed. Privilege and monopoly must therefore cease to exist. Will Englishmen fight for them or

will they accept the noble task of guiding India's tottering steps to equality?

We have no doubt of the reply ourselves if Englishmen realize the gravity of the issue. The newspapers in India are not sufficiently influential to be read across the seas. We have therefore mainly to rely upon that band of noble Anglo-Indians and friends of India who form the Congress Committee in London. Their predecessors, the British India Committee, the India Reform party, and for sometime the East India Association did useful work; but the task of educating English opinion has not been carried out systematically. May the London Congress Committee be able to avert any conflict between English opinion and United India's aims and aspirations which are slowly but surely manifesting themselves.

England has now attained a puissance perhaps unequalled in History. That will only be a measure of her degradation and fall in future ages if instead of raising the fallen nations under her sway, she leaves each a corpse drawing the vital fluid out of its famishing frame. Those therefore are not doing any good service to India who *unduly* dwell on India's prosperity, to indicate how and where the lancet may be applied.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE HINDUS.

There are many things that men possess, and enjoy by convention. Of them religion is one. The majority of mankind take it for-granted that thier fathers' religion is theirs till the opportunity presents itself, when a man puts himself the question "what is my religion?" This question is one of the most important questions of men during their existence on earth—in the opinion of a large majority it is the most important question that a man can ask himself during his life. The Hindu, as he is called, i. e., an inhabitant of the country named Bharatavarsha, is no exception to this rule. He is pre-eminently a religious man. Among men, the Bharata ranks first as the man whose ancestors in remote ages proclaimed to the world the holiest of holy truths—"Ekamevadwitiyam Brahma"—"only one without a second is God." Hence, the most important question to the Bharata is "what is my religion?" This question has been answered in many ways and by many men. We have the learned men of Europe, who have taken upon themselves the onerous task of answering this question. Their writings bear ample testimony to this. There is however one important point in respect to their writings which has to be rememberd—they have little of no personal experience of the inner life of the people about whose ancient beliefs they have written. Some of them write at length about the Vedas, the Upanishads, and other spiritual works that grace Bharata antiquity while their knowledge of the present life of the people and of the manner in which their ancient beliefs are interwoven with their present life is necessarily meagre—if not nil. None the less is it true that there are many savants in the west entitled to our regard and admiration for more reasons than one. The examination of the present religious life of the Bharata and its relation to the past may to some extent furnish the answer to this question. One who has travelled among the Himalayas must remember how the mountains rise tier above tier till the highest peaks are lost in eternal snow. If a man should imagine a journey from the top

of one of these eternally-snow-clad peaks to the plains below, in which he personally takes a part along with others, he will certainly find in physical nature a parallel to the progress or descent or whatever else, we may choose to call it, the Bharata has made from the Vedas, the most ancient repositories of his country's religion to the present form of religious life in it. Before proceeding further, certain creeds and conceits common to mankind about the amenities of antiquity have to be discussed. We often hear people say that the faith of the Bharatas in the Vedic times was purer and simpler than what is found now-adays. This is assuming that at the time the Vedas were brought into the sphere of human consciousness every Bharata was imbued with the spiritual notions that illuminate the texts of the Vedas. To hold this assumption right will be no way dissimilar to a man asserting that when the Indian Penal Code was brought into existence every inhabitant of the land was more or less imbued with those high judicial actions which enabled the framers of the code to bring it into existence. Just as the criminal code came into existence to chastise those who erred against justice, the spiritual code—the Veda—was brought into existence to combat those principles of unbelief—if principles they could be called—which warred against the spiritual progress of mankind in those remote regions of that very wide domain of Time's empire, known as antiquity.

In plainer language—just as thieves and murderers abounded even at the time the Penal Code was passed there abounded at the time the Vedas were known to men atheists and other individuals, who may be said to form the Lord's opposition in the spiritual parliament of the Empire of the world just as we have what the Earl of Beaconsfield called, Her Majesty's opposition in the temporal Parliament of the British empire. It is a point in the dovetailing of the simile to say that just as the members of the opposition become ministers of state, atheists often become staunch supporters of the tenets of that common faith of mankind which teaches the power and personality of the God-head. Again it is a common saying among the Bharatas that the Vedas are infinite in number—"Vedavianantah." This expression has been construed as meaning that the Vedas are not simply the four Vedas known as

the Rig—Yajur—Sama and Atharva, but many more like them. The more reasonable interpretation appears to be that those scriptures—written and unwritten—which proclaim the substance and character of the God-head are not merely these four Vedas, but as many as the works that exist on earth importing the same. According to the Bharata the very creation as it stands would be a Veda. The noting of the relation between a stream, and the sea into which it flows would be a Veda. The opening of a flower and the resort to it of the humming tribe would furnish the text for a Veda. Thus all knowledge, howsoever singular and macrocosmic; which tends to prove the relation of cause and effect and, by a progressive scale of ratiocination, the relation between the God-head and the Universe, would be a Veda. Hence the fond idea of the sages that as every atom or particle is an essential part of the physical world every piece of knowledge—so to speak—however small—is an essential part of that sum total of knowledge known as omniscience. It is from this stand point that the sages proclaimed the fact that the Vedas had "Shadangas" or the six members, of which grammar and Astrology have been considered doubly important. In the Himalayan simile that we have adopted, the highest peak would represent the Vedas with the Upanishads; the next in the order of descent would be the Shadangas. That this view is as old as the hills from one end to the other in the land of the Himalaya and the Ganges is evident from the words.—"Arumari Arangam" even in the songs of the adyars or saints of the Dravidian regions. We may give by way of example the Tamil stanza which would read as follows:—

அருமறை யாரங்கமோதும் கழகனிருப்பதுமாரூர வரம்மையுமால்வ
சோ சேனீர்:—"In Arur lives the great God who recites the Vedas and the Shadangas. Please ascertain from him, if he will save us." The religion of a people is like a texture in which all kinds of materials enter by way of ingredients; just as there is difference between texture and texture there is difference between religion and religion. Again the religion of a nation at one period is not what it was at another. Changes, perceptible and imperceptible, happen from time to time

Arumarai Arangamodum Kalaganiruppadum - Arur avaremmaiyumalvaro Kalir.

and lead to corresponding changes in the life of the people. In spite of all these facts there are certain fundamental principles, which like the elements out of which the universe has been formed, are common to all religions. From fetishism to the highest form of spiritual thought evolved under the auspices of the saints who have worshipped the Supreme being at Benares or Jerusalem or Mecka, these principles hold good. They may be stated to be.—

1. The existence of a higher power than the powers cognizable in the universe, which under the name of the highest, is conceded to be the guiding principle of existence.

2. The universe—spiritual and material.

3. The spiritual part of man.

4. The relation subsisting between the Highest on the one hand and the universe and man as contained in it.

5. The conditions prior and posterior to existence in the universe.

The comments made on these texts, so to speak, from time to time by men of radiant minds may be said to form the sum total of the religious codes of the earth. In all these matters the Bharata has possessed very definite views propounded by men of the highest intellectual expansion. As a supplement to these comes in what is known as the Moral aspect of man, wherein figure prominently sin and righteousness and the principle of divine adjudication appurtenant thereto. In this respect there is an important doctrine known as the Principle of vicarious sacrifice which has also been known to the Bharata from the remotest times. A careful student of the Veda will be able to see that it is this which forms the skeleton of that time honored Code of Bharata beliefs. Sacrifice removes sin is the cry at every step in the Veda. The catalogue of sins and corresponding sacrifices in the Vedas as further illustrated by the Smritis is perhaps the most exhaustive we have on earth. There are similar catalogues in the Pentateuch and the doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice among the Hebrew races certainly found its climax when Jesus Christ came forward and said in substance—"I am the victim—through me let the sins of men see annihilation."

We must now make an effort to see how far these principles are interwoven with the present life of the Bharata. He is fond of caste and innumerable are the castes that exist among his people. The best religious traditions of the land relate to the Brahmin. The other classes to this day look up to him for enlightenment about matters that stand higher than bread and butter and the comforts common to all mankind. Between the Brahmin and the other classes in the country there are marked differences in the modes in which religious actions are exhibited, but in spirit they are alike. The Pariahs and other inferior castes, as they are called, are alike subject to the highest religious influences of the country as illustrated by the beautiful story of Nanda. He was a Pariah peasant of a Southern Mirasidar who early imbibed some of the best religious views of that part of the country. But the common life of his caste was an impediment in his way. It was the fondest wish of his heart that he should visit the shrine at Chidambaram. His master ridiculed the idea; but the man stuck to his resolution. Poetry has embellished this story with its own complement of anecdote and allegory. But the up-shot of the whole was that the man made his way to the shrine of the deity of his heart and effected his exit from the theatre of this world in one of the many miraculous ways in which saints and saint-like-men have gone beyond the horizon of human existence. The story of Nanda is as already suggested a clear illustration of the fact that all classes in the land have been influenced from time to time by the highest forms of spiritual belief.

It is a truism to say that principles are different from the way in which those principles are put into practice. Religion is one thing and the way in which that religion is professed and put into practice is another. This is illustrated by the Bharata also in his religious life. The Christian practices his religion by attending churches with images and no-images, by study, prayer and meditation. The Bharata attends his temples, studies, prays and meditates. Both have their ritualistic codes. Both have their practices for the removal of sin and the growth of righteousness. Both attribute the exigencies of life to the waves that rise and fall in the ocean of man's moral existence. Just as the days make the

years the daily practice of religion by a people makes up the aggregate of their entire religious existence. It behoves us therefore to see what this is in the Bharata. The Brahmin comes first for his share of illustration. He has—at least he ought to, according to the tenets of his faith, early in the morning, his bath in clear waters, and addresses his hymn to the Supreme Being. This hymn of hymns, which begins—"Sahasra Seersha Purushas &c." is the most general among hymns addressed to the Supreme Being. It has been said to be the most natural and shastraic in the proper sense of the term. After this recitation of the hymn and the usual offerings made to the great powers of the Universe and their great master, the Brahmin attends to his daily avocations. This is the Shastra. To what extent each and every Brahmin discharges his duty in respect to this, is a matter for personal observation and statistics. While the Brahmin is so engaged the Brahmanee who is known in the Shastra as his "*Sahadharma Charinee*" or "co-performer of the duties enjoined by religion and righteousness" attends not only to his wants in point of religious performances, but also in respect to his temporal wants as a man viewed in the capacity of a householder. Here we may pause and note that in the whole world there are very few homesteads perhaps where duty, religion and virtue are so well cared for, as a well-regulated Brahmin household. The Brahmin is not only the most intelligent and industrious human being in India; but also he is that among all the denizens of the world put together. Here we may have to enter into polemics a little. The most important language of the world is Sanscrit. Ninety per cent of the cultivators of this language have been the Brahmins. The Vedas are the greatest among the religious monuments of antiquity. The same percentage of the great minds that figure in them are Brahmins. The Puranas, poems, dramas, chronicles, works of science and art in the language are manifold and of great consequence. The writers that figure in them are almost all of them Brahmins. Although the Brahmin has taken to himself religion, he is prominent in the other branches of human knowledge and duty. This prominence is not of yesterday. It dates back beyond the remotest epochs of ancient history.

It is, further, a prominence, which has lost none of its pristine vigor and lustre. This is one of the most important facts of human history—i. e. that the Brahmin is this day what he was thousands of years ago, if not better under better auspices than what his past history reveals. We need refer only to the administration of India this day. Be it in the native states or in the British Raj the person that represents the official world minus the European or other foreign element that superintends it, is the Brahmin. To be still more matter-of-fact, who are the High Court Judges, the Sub-Judges, the Deputy Collectors, the District Munsiffs, the Vakeels and other people of the kind?—All or a good majority of them are Brahmins. When the hierarchy of Egypt controlled the kingly power in the country with their immense organizations—religious and temporal, the Brahmin was the parallel power in India. The priests of Egypt have been lost in the antiqity represented by the Pyramids. Their temples are gigantic heaps of ruins. Their polity is a fossilised curiosity in the Museum of history. Their language is supposed to be represented by the hieroglyphics we see on the monument planted on the Thames embankment. We ask—who were they? Historians blink and antiquaries hold their heads in sage meditation. But the Brahmin, who lived and moved and had his being when they flourished, is still what he was—if not better, as suggested above. Hence, some people have surmised that there is an eternal vigor in the Brahmin—physical and spiritual—which so far places him above the other grades of humanity as to entitle him to the name "Bhoosura" or "Mundane God" That in the ancient polity of India, the helm of the vessel of religion should have been entrusted to this class was in perfect conformity with the law that the most onerous duties in a country should be discharged by those who are the fittest for the same. In the middle ages all the learned and the most intellectual people in Europe were the clergy. Some have thought that this was so, because the clergy specially trained themselves in matters of learning. It stands to reason also to say that the pursuit of religion, so to speak, was considered the most eminent and influential of human avocations in those days. The most intellectual seek these avocations. Therefore the most intellectual became the most learned

and influential. This truth is to a great extent illustrated by the present history of the British constitution also; for, who are the most intellectual and learned in the land of the Thames. Certainly the clergy taking them all in all. The political life of England is a tempestuous career over a sea beset with adverse currents in perpetual motion. The statesman has to lead a life of perpetual worry. The merchant has his share of trouble also. The other branches of life have their own drawbacks. But the most comfortable life is the life of the clergyman. Who has not heard of those rural haunts in England in most of which the parsons guard their flocks unbeknown to the cares and concerns that mark the other architects of their fortunes in the country. From the Archbishop of Canterbury to the sexton in the remotest out of the way church yard, church life has amenities which no other life in England possesses. The most intelligent and learned are among them; because the most intelligent and learned generally seek a life in which the greatest amount of ease is secured with the least amount of worry attendant on it. The Brahmin is no exception to the rule. In all those branches of life, in which enterprise, foreign travel, hard physical labour, extensive operations for securing ultimate success are needed, the Brahmin would be found conspicuous by his absence. Where it is simply a question of religious study, observance, or meditation, the administration of revenue or justice, or any other pursuit or art in which the gentle use of the internal faculties of man secures results admirable and useful, we have the Brahmin prominently coming forward. In religion also, his most congenial pursuit, the Brahmin has earned for himself a reputation in the land of the Ganges and occupies a rank in point of intellectual merit and sanctity which no other class has been able to attain. Some have thought it fair to dispose of the Brahmin summarily by saying that from time immemorial he has been keeping the other races in subjection. Whatever truth there may have been in this observation in the past, the schools in the British Raj have been open to the people without distinction. The Mahomedan still sticks to his matchlock and dagger, the Pariah to his spade and his whip, the Brahmin has clung to his books and, in spite of adverse currents that have been started from time to time, in the ocean of communal opinion, has

steered the vessel of his prosperity with flying colors over the ocean of life. The same is the persistence of spirit that he brings to his pursuit of religion. The greatest Yogis in the country have been Brahmins. It was but a few months ago that a Brahmin died in the Chingelpett District, who clung to the canons of his faith and practice so very strictly as to proscribe to himself also the ordinary travel by rail in which most of his kinsmen took part. Call him what you will from your stand point as a civilized man of the nineteenth century radiant with all the philosophy and art-lore of the west—he was a sound man of his principles—all gold and no alloy.

Next to the Vedas and Shadangas already referred to, the Upanishads form the most important portion of the religious literature of the Bharata. The ideas of the Upanishads permeate the religious writings of all the people of the land of the Himalaya and the Ganges in some form or other. When Sivavakier says, in the Tamil country, that the Supreme spirit pervades the Universe in unseen grandeur he but echoes an Upanishadic strain. When Thayumanavar says that nothing transpires in the minds of sentient beings unmoved by Him, he but exhibits his entire dependence on the tenets of the Upanishadic School. When Nammalwar says that He rises without a higher level above Himself, he but professes most devoutly his attachment to the Upanishads. When Baba Nanak in the land of the Five Waters said that all were alike in the eye of the Supreme Being irrespective of caste or creed, he but prostrated himself before the high altar of the fane of the Upanishadic deity. When Chaitanya rushed towards the ocean of nectar that he perceived in the vision calling on the redeeming name of Hari and expressing sentiments of devotion which gladdened the hearts of all his disciples—who by the way, were as many as the good Hari-loving souls in the land of the Lower Ganga—he but paraphrased in his own happy style the sublime truths which form the gems at the bottom of the ocean of the Upanishads. You see a man in the eastern most extremity of Assam, a man in the westernmost extremity of the land of the Five Streams, a man in the southernmost extremity of Travancore, a man in the northernmost extremity of Gurwal and ask him—"My good man, is there a God who controls

the affairs of this universe?." The ready and characteristic reply is—"Ah Sir, how can there be day and night, without a God!" The words are simple and oft-heard among the populace; but none the less are they the quintessence of great Upanishadic dissertations. The term "Upanishad" is Sanscrit. It literally means according to one method of interpretation "knowledge derived from the Guru or Preceptor by sitting at his feet for instruction," and according to another—"The destruction of avidya or ignorance by letting in the knowledge of the Paramatman or Supreme spirit and dispelling the ties of Bhava or Mundane existence." Many other interpretations have been suggested and adopted by people as it suited the convenience of the doctrine they promulgated. Howsoever it be, the multifarious character of the interpretation of the name cannot affect the sublime truth that the name "Upanishad" is the simplest and most magnificent designation ever coined by man for that spiritual doctrine which explains the connection between the Supreme and Animal souls, which comprises the sum and substance of all the spiritual cognitions of rational existence. The Upanishads are ten in number, when we concern ourselves with the most important among them. Just as we have Davies, Gladstones and Broughams and Victorias in the mercantile world after the names of distinguished individuals, we have, in the Sanscrit language, Unpanishads of all kinds including the "Allopanishad" or the Upanishad that explains the greatness of the formula—"Bismilla Ir-Rahiman-Ir-Rahim." and its relation to the Illalee state or God-head. But these are illustrations of that commendable spirit in man to give publicity to good names, which half redeems him from the accusation that "man is an envious animal." Here by the way it may be pointed out that there are names which assert themselves in spite of the fact that there are others that may occupy their place for manifold reasons. Christopher Columbus discovered the other hemisphere. Yet it was the name of an ordinary naval man that gave birth to the name of the great continent of the antipodes. The pages of history contain no reference to any special fiat issued by Ferdinand and Isabella that the name should be as it has been; but it has been as it has been by some mysterious power inherent in itself.

The Christian missionary in India has endeavoured to make out that the Vedas are no good, that they cannot compare favourably with the Pentateuch and its sequel, that they have not the same spiritual sanctity in them that the psalms of David have and that the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice so powerfully enunciated in the New Testament is entirely foreign to their scope and character. Without examining the correctness of these observations proceeding from the Hallelujah Brigade of occidental evangelists with oriental lights, let us refer to the singular fact that even they have found it convenient to adopt the name 'Veda' in the Indian Vernacular versions they have given to themselves of the term "Scripture." "Kirustava Vedam" is a familiar term to those who have paid some attention to that body of men in India who have endeavoured to prove to the masses in their mother tongues how our oriental Man-God Jesus stood proxy for all mankind on the altar of the temple of Supreme Justice in the midst of the angels that sang his glory as the beloved of God. Once a catechist was asked by a sleek Vaishnava Brahmin, who had done a good deal of cheap polemics in his day, what he (the catechist) meant by calling the Bible the "Kirustava Vedam", when the very term "Veda" must be held approbrious to a christian, unless he purblindly sanctioned the sanctity of the Veda; because when a man says "Poverty is the mother of virtue" he sanctions the sanctity of the mother-idea. The catechist was not quite prepared for the onset. The battle was a drawn battle like the one thousand and one fights that happen between catechists and their audience, which very often end in a hearty laugh on both sides with exceptional references to that arbiter between man and man in ill-humour—the magistrate. Even so the term Upanishad in India has been freely used by many for treatises which are no Upanishads at all in the strictest sense of the term. The ten Upanishads are as follow:—

(1) The Isavasyopanishad.
(2) The Kenopanishad.
(3) The Kathopanishad.
(4) The Prasnopanishad.
(5) The Moondakopanishad.
(6) The Mandookyopanishad.
(7) The Tittiriyopanishad.
(8) Brihadaranyakopanishad.
(9) Chandogyopanishad.
(10) Itereyopanishad.

The spelling of the English language has its own patent imperfections. These have been regretted from time to time by distinguished men, who have perceived the necessity for their mother tongue being represented by rational combinations of sounds. But *mamool* is all powerful. All the tyranny of the despots of the world, from the last day of the deluge to the minute that we pen these lines in, cannot compare with the tyranny of the custom which has been keeping the Queen's English in the condition in which it is in the matter of spelling. In spite of this, some *savants* in the west have nobly endeavoured to give to themselves a programme of phonetic representation anent Sanscrit names which has done more justice to their eagerness to sound Sanscrit reasonably than to the capacity of the people at large to utilize it. We need not trouble ourselves with these learned representations of Sanscrit sounds for the present. We may content ourselves, as we have, with putting Sanscrit words in a garb in which the general English reading public may understand them. Now the first Upanishad means in strict theosophical language, the Upanishad that treats of the supreme spirit pervading the Universe. The holy treatise begins with the words—"Harih Om, Eesavasya Midagam Sarvam." This may be rendered into—(1) The universe is pervaded by the supreme spirit (2) The world is the Lord's residence—as we choose to look into the spiritual or moral sense of the words. The first two words are the name of Vishnu and the Pranava syllable Om, which invariably precede all Vedic and Upanishadic recitations. This is a part of the unwritten law which governs the conduct of Vedic study and recitation. The unwritten laws of the world are more powerful and manifold than the written ones. Innumerable are the instances in which the unwritten law improves or detracts from the value of the written law by the occult influence over men's minds which it exercises. A Brahmana who is conversant with the Vedic literature of his land, would rather go without the sun in this world than recite a passage of Vedic scripture without pronouncing "Harih Om" as the initial formula. The traditions of the country support this time—honored privelege enjoyed by the God with the flaming disc. Out of the ten avatars or incarnations ascribed to him one was specially dedicated to the all-holy task of redeeming the Vedas from the awkward position in which a demon put them—in the abysses of the sea. Who is there that has paid any attention to the religious literature of India, and that knows not how the great fraction of the Trinity-Unit descended into the deep and brought up triumphantly the Vedas in the form of the holy fish. Call this an allegory, or metaphor, or myth, or tale, or truth of immaculate religious power, or what you will—the fact remains that it is the duty of the God-head to save the scripture just as it is the duty of a King to save his dominions from perdition, and that this duty was most nobly performed. Hari or Vishnu having been the guardian of scripture his name is first pronounced and then the holy syllable Om. Some passages of this Upanishad—the Easavasya may be advantageouly given here as illustrating the greatness of the same:—"It moves; it moves not; it is far, it is near; it is in every thing, it is out of every thing".—"To the wise man that sees all nature in the atman form there is no delusion nor grief (as the same disappear) from the perception of the universality of the Atman." "The Atman is other than the existent, it is other than the non-existent." This Upanishad starts by asserting the great truth that the universe is pervaded by the supreme spirit, that knowledge known as Brahmavidya or Divine wisdom—*i. e.*, wisdom or knowledge of the divinity—is the source of salvation. It is not difficult to point out the utility of putting this Upanishad at the very head of the ten great Upanishads. It starts by asserting a truth which must be first realized by a man who is *mumukshu* or desirous of attaining salvation. It points out that the instrument of salvation is what it briefly sets forth. Now that we have referred to brevity in this context, we may also point out that this Upanishad is a very brief Upanishad: yet it is none the less magnificent, as an edifice of spiritual power and light. How big is the morning star, when compared with the sun, moon and other luminaries of the skies? yet, where is the man that can feel it in his heart to deny to the brilliant little jewel on the brow of morn the tribute of admiration which is its lustrous birth-right?—Even so where is the heart that will not leap with joy when it has realized the beauty of the spirit and tenor of the great—little—Upanishad, the Eesávasya—that it has opened

the portal of the edifice of spiritual truth of which the nine following Upanishads are like nine great compartments. Here we would offer a word for consideration to those who are the people of the land of the Himalaya and Ganges properly so called.

P. V. RAMASWAMY RAJU.

(To be Continued.)

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

The eastern coast of Tamilakam is described as follows in the Periplus :—

"From Komar the district extends to Kolkhi and the pearl fishery which is conducted by slaves or, criminals condemned to the service; and the whole southern point of the Continent is part of Pandyan's dominion.

"The first place that succeeds after leaving Kolkhi is the bay Argalus connected with a district inland (of the same name). Here and here only the pearls obtained in the fishery at the island of Epidorus are (allowed to be) perforated and prepared for the market and from the same island are procured the fine muslins sprinkled with pearls.

"Proceeding from Argalus the most conspicuous of all the marts and anchorages on the coast are Kamara, Podooka and Sopatma. To these the traders from Limurike and the other provinces north of Limurike resort; and in the marts are found the native vessels which make coasting voyages to Limurike, the Monoxala of the largest sort called Sangara and others styled Colandiophonta which are vessels of great bulk adapted to the voyages made to the Ganges and the Golden Chersonese.

"To these marts are brought all the articles prepared (in Egypt) for the market of Limurike: and almost all the species of which Egypt is continually drained by its trade with Limurike finally centres on this coast, as well as all the produce of Limurike itself.

"But after passing Limurike and the provinces next in succession the coast winds round to the east; and as the vessel takes this direction in her course, the island now called Palaisimoondus but formerly Taprobane lies out in the open sea to the west. The northern part of the island is civilized, but the passage to it from the Continent is seldom performed in less than twenty days.

The whole extent is so large, that it reaches almost to the opposite coast of Azainia (in Africa); and here pearls, precious stones, fine muslins and tortoise shells are to be obtained.

"But (returning now to the coast above Kamara, Padooka and Sopatma) lies Masalia a district which extends far inland. In this country a great quantity of the finest muslins are manufactured; and from Masalia the coast lies east-ward across a bay to Desarene, where the ivory is procured of that species called Bosare".(1)

Ptolemy mentions the following provinces rivers and towns on the East Coast:— Country of the Kareoi: In the Kolkhic Gulf, where there is the pearl fishery: Sôsikourai, Kolkhoi an emporium, mouth of the river Solen. Inland cities of the Koreoi: Mendêla, Selour, Tittoua, Mantittour. Land of Pandion: In the Orgelic Gulf, Cape Kory, called also Kalligikon: Argeirou a town, Salour a mart. Inland cities of the Pandionoi: Tainour, Peringkarei, Korindiour, Tangala or Taga, Modoura the royal city of Pandion, akour. Country of the Batoi: Nikama the metropolis, Thelkbeir, Keroula a town: Inland cities of the Batoi: Kalindoia, Bata, Talara In Paralia specially so called: the country of the Tôringoi; mouth of River Khabêros, Khabêris an emporium, Sabouras an emporium. Inland cities of the Paralia of the Sôrêtai: Kaliour, Tennagora, Eikour, Orthoura the royal city of Sôrnagos, Berê, Abour, Karmara, Magôur.

The Arouarnori (Arvarnoi): Podoukê an emporium, Melangî an emporium, mouth of the river Tyna, Kottis, Manarpha (or Manaliarpha a mart)—The inland cities of the Arvarnoi are these:—Kerauge, Phroution, Karigê, Poloour, Pikendaka, Iatour, Skopoloura, Ikarta, Malanga the royal city of Pasaranagos, Kandipatna.

North of the territory of the Arovarnoi, Ptolemy places Maisolia the region watered by the river Maisôlos or the Krishna. Between Cape Comarin and Taprobane or Ceylon, he mentions an island Nanigeris and in the Argaric Gulf another island Kory (2)

(1) The Periplus of the Erythrœan Sea and Voyage of Nearchus, translated by William Vincent D. D. p: 105 ff.

(2) Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy p. 57, ff. and 183, ff.

From the works of the Tamil poets of this period, it appears that the eastern coast extending from cape Comari was inhabited by a tribe called Parathavar who subsisted by fishing. They were the Kareoi of Ptolemy. The correct form of the name in Tamil is Karaiyar or the "Coast men", which is to this day the ordinary designation of the Parathavar tribe amongst the Tamils. The chief town in the country of the Parathavar was Korkai which was the seat of the pearl fishery. The population of the town consisted mostly of pearl divers and chank-cutters (3). The pearl fishery was a source of such large revenue to the Pandyan kingdom, that the heir-apparent usually resided here.(4) The site of this town, which stood on the sea coast, is now about five miles inland. After the sea had retired from Korkhai, a new emporium arose on the coast. This was Kayal, which was a flourishing sea-port when Marco Polo visited it in the thirteenth century. Kayal in turn became in time too far from the sea, and Kayal also was abandoned. The sea port Sosikourai, I am unable to identify. The river Solen is evidently Tâmraparni, which was called Sembil in Tamil. Of the inland towns mentioned by Ptolemy, Selour may be identified with Seyaloor, (5) which is frequently alluded to in Tamil poems. The sea between Lanka and Pandyan coast was known as the Arkali. Ptolemy calls it the Orgalic Gulf. The chief town on this coast was "the far-famed port of Sâliyar, ever crowded with ships, which have crossed the perilous dark ocean, and from which costly articles of merchandise are landed, while flags wave on their mast-tops, and drums resound on the shore" (6) announcing the arrival of the goods to the merchants. Ptolemy calls it Sabour. Of the inland cities whose names appear in Ptolemy's lists, the following may be identified with certainty.

Tainoor—Thenoor (in the Tirushuli Taluq, Madura District) spoken of in Tamil poems as the capital of a chieftain called Thêr-vaṉ-komân. (7)

(3) Madurai-kanchi, ll. 134, 144.
(4) Chilap-athikaram, XXVII—127.
(5) Akam. 90.
(6) Madurai-kanchi. ll. 75—88.
(7) Old stanza quoted in Nachchinarkiniyar in his commentary to Tholkappiyam, Porul-athikaram, sutram 150.

Tangala or Taga—Thiruth-thankâl (in the Satur Taluq, Tinnevelly District). The author of the Chilappathikaram states that the revenue of the towns of Thankâl and Viyalur were once assigned by a Pandiyan king to the temple of the goddess at Madura. (8)

Modoura—The royal city of the Pandyan is old Madura which is 6 miles south east of the modern town of Madura.

North of the Pandyan kingdom lay the country of the Veddu-var or Vedar (8) (the Botoi of Ptolemy), which was also known as Panri-Nadu or "the land of pigs"—The Capital of this province was Nagai or Naga-paddinam. Very little is known of this town from Tamil poems of this period. It appears therefore that there was not much of communication between the Vedar and the rest of the Tamil people.

North of Panri-Nadu was Punal-Nadu or the Chola kingdom. The name Punal-Nadu signifies the land of floods. This province which comprise the region around the mouth of the river Kaveri was so called as it was subject to floods caused by the periodical freshes in the Kaveri. No dam had been built across the river at this period and there is no mention of the branch Coleroon which appears to have been formed by the river, many centuries later, after the construction of a dam in the eleventh century. The Chola capital was Uraiyoor on the southern bank of the Kaveri. The site of this capital is still known as Uraiyoor and is a suburb of the modern town of Trichinopoly. It was strongly fortified with a wall and ditch and a jungle of thorny trees sorrounding the ditch. (9) Here was an ancient shrine of the Nigranthas which contained an image of Argha, with a triple umbrella under the shade of an Ashoka tree. A town of even greater importance than Uraiyoor

Ainkuru-nuru, stanzas 54 and 57.

(8) Chilap-athikaram. XXIII—75 and 118, 119. Mr. Crindle states that Tangala is now represented by Dindigul an important and flourishing town lying at a distance of 32 miles north by west from Madura. Mc. Crindle's Ptolemy. p. 184.

(9) Chilap-athikaram, X—242, XI—1 to 4 and Akam, 121.

was Kaviripaddanam, which stood at the mouth of the river Kaveri and was a great emporium of trade. We have a full description of this town in the poems Chilappathikaram and Paddinappalai. (10) It was also known as Pukar or Kakanthi. The latter name is said to have been given to Kavirip-paddinam, because it was once ruled by a prince called Kakanthan. The name Kakanthi occurs in the Bharaut Inscriptions, which were engraved in the first or second century B. C. One of the inscriptions records the gift of the nun Sorna from Kakandi." It is also mentioned in the Pattavali of the Kharataragachha (Indian Antiquary Vol. XI. p. 247 and Vol. XXI. p. 235.

Kavirippaddinam (the Kamara of the Periplus and Khaberis of Ptolemy) or Pukar was built on the northern bank of the Kaveri river, which was then a broad and deep stream into which heavily laden ships entered from the sea without slacking sail. The town was divided into two parts one of which was called Maruvur-Pakkam and adjoined the sea coast, and the other, which was situated to the west of it, was called Paddinap-pakkam. Between these two portions of the city was a large area of open ground, planted with trees at regular intervals, where the great market was held. The principal streets in Paddinap-pakkam were the Royal Street, the Car Street and the Bazaar Street. The merchants, Brahmins, farmers, doctors and astrologers resided in separate streets. Surrounding the palace were the houses of charioteers, horse and elephant riders and soldiers who formed the body-guard of the king. Bards, minstrels and panegyrists; actors, musicians and buffoons; chank-cutters and those skilled in making flower garlands and strings of pearls, time keepers whose duty it was to cry out the number of each nâlikai or division of time, as it passed and other servants of the palace, also resided within the limits of Paddinap-pakkam. Near the beach in Maruvur-Pakkam were raised platforms and godowns and warehouses with windows shaped like the eyes of the deer, where the goods landed from ships were stored (11). Here the goods were stamped with the tiger-stamp (the emblem of the chola kings) after payment of cus-

(10) Chilap-athikaram, V. 7 to 63.

(11) Chilap-athikaram.

toms duty, and passed on to the merchants' warehouses. (12) Close by were the settlements of the Yavana merchants where many attractive articles were always exposed for sale. Here were also the quarters of foreign traders who had come from beyond the seas, and who spoke various tongues. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, tailors who worked on silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, aghil, coral, pearls, gold and precious stones, grain merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salt, butchers, blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, coppersmiths, painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, cobblers and toy-makers, had their habitation in Maruvur-Pakkam. (13)

The palace of the Chola king in Kaveripaddinam is described as a magnificent building. "Skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Marâdam, smiths from Avanti, carpenters from Yavana and the cleverest workmen in the tamil land" had combined to make the building so grand and lovely that later generations believed it to be the work of no other than Mayan the architect of the gods. The throne hall was of dazzling splendour, the walls and roof being literally covered with gold. Its roof was supported by pillars, the columns of which were made of coral and the capitals set with precious gems of various colors. It was elaborately carved and painted, and from the edges of the roof hung strings of lustrous pearls. (14) Besides the throne hall, there were various objects of interest in the palace, among which may be mentioned, a beautiful canopy of pearls sent by the king of Vajra, a hall of state furnished by the king of Magadha and an ornamental gate way presented by the king of Avanti. (15) In the park surrounding the palace were wells worked by machinery, artificial hills and waterfalls, flowery arbours, broad lakes and deep tanks, labyrinths and shady alcoves with beds all built of crystal." (16) The park was also

(12) Paddivap-palai—ll. 134—136.
(13) Chilap-athikaram.
(14) Chilap-athikaram.
Manimekhalai—XIX. 107—109.
(15) Chilap-athikaram.
(16) Manimekhalai—XIX. 102—105.

well stocked with small game such as "short-legged quails and long eared hares, leaping deer and mountain goats." (17) There were splendid temples in the city dedicated to the worship of the celestial tree Kalpaka, the celestial elephant Airâvata, Vajrâyuta (the thunderbolt of Indra the king of the Gods) Baladeva, Surya, Chandra, Siva, Subramanya Sâthavâhana, Nigrantha, Kama (god of love) and Yama (god of death). There were seven Vihâras reputed to have been built by Indra, the king of the Gods, in which dwelt no less than 300 Buddhist monks. The temple of Yama was outside the walls of the town, in the burial ground. (18) Outside the town were also two lakes called Surya-Kundam and Soma-Kundam or "the lakes of the Sun and Moon" which were held very sacred. (19) In the broad moat surrounding the fort "the waters of which were covered with beautiful flowers, the chirping of birds never ceased." (20) On the fort gates were painted the figure of the tiger, which as stated already was the ensign of the Cholas. (21)

As described by the Author of the Periplus, all the articles prepared in Egypt for the markets of Tamilakam, as well as all the produce of Tamilakam itself finally centred on the Chola coast. "Horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper was brought in ships; gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains; Sandal and Aghil came from the mountains towards the West; pearls from the Southern seas and coral from the Eastern seas. The produce of the regions watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri; articles of food from Eelam or Ceylon and the manufactures of Kalakam" (in Burmah) were brought to the markets of Kaviripaddinam. (22)

The Toringoi or Soretai who according to Ptolemy inhabited the country watered by the Kaveri were doubtless the Choliyar. Of the other towns mentioned by Ptolemy in this region "Orthoura the royal city of the Sornagos" is of course Uraiyoor or as it is more

(17) Ibid-XIX. 96—97.
(18) Chilapa-thikaram.
(19) Paddinap-palai. l. 39.
(20) Manimekhalai-V. ll. 110—112.
(21) Paddinap-palai. l. 40.
(22) Ibid ll. 185—191.

Iatour ... ... Eeathoor.
Ikarta ... ... Eekkadu.
Kandipatna ... ... Kunrapattiram.

Mélanga the royal city of Basarnagos appears to have been no other than Kânchipuram the capital of Mavilankai. Phraurion, another city of the Aruvarnoi, was most probably the same as Sopatma mentioned in the Periplus. Phrourión in Greek, signifies "a garrisoned fort". Sopatma is evidently Sopaddinam, which in Tamil means a fortified town. This was a sea-port and was commonly known to the Tamils as Eyil-paddinam, (29) which conveys the same meaning as Sopaddinam, i. e., a fortified town. In these ports were high light-houses built of brick and mortar, which exhibited blazing lights, at night, to guide ships to the ports. (30) The northern limit of Tamilakam on the east coast was at Vêrkâdu now known as Palavêrkâdu (or Pulicat).(31) Beyond this was the country of the Vadukas who spoke a language called Vaduku. The king of Erumai-Nadu, or the modern Mysore, was also called the "chief of the Vadukas." It is evident therefore that in this early period, *the people north of Tirupaty and those who resided in Mysore spoke one and the same language Vaduku*, and that *Telugu and Canarese had not become separate dialects.* In the interior below the ghats, Venkadam or the modern Tirupaty was the northern limit of the Tamil land. It is most remarkable that after the lapse of eighteen centuries during which many a kingdom rose and fell, and the Tamils, Telugus, Mahrattas, Musalmans, French and English successively rose to political power, the language boundary has remained unaltered on the eastern coast. The same cannot be said of the boundary of the Tamil land on the western coast, for it has advanced there from Badagara to Kasaragod a distance of about sixty miles. North-West of Punal-Nadu and west of Aruva-Nadu was Maladu or Malayaman Nadu. This was a territory of a chief known as Malayaman or the mountain chief. He was a feudatory of the Chola king. The capital of this

(29) Chiru-pan-arrup-padai ll. 152—153.
(30) Perum-pan-arrup-padai ll. 346—350.
(31) Old stanza quoted by Nachchinark-iniyar in the commentary to Tholkappiyam, Porul-athikaram Sutram 113. Nakkirar-Akam. 252.

province was Koval on the banks of the river Pennai. (32) This town is now called Thirukkoilur and is situated in the Tirukoilur Taluk of the modern South Arcot District. Another large town in Maladu was Mullur or the thorn-town.

West of Maladu was Seetha-Nadu or the cold region which evidently included the northern half of the modern Coimbatore District and the Southern portion of the Nilgiri District, where the climate is much cooler than in other parts of Tamilakam. Between Seetha-Nadu and Kuda-Nadu which, as I have already described exteaded along the Western coast was Kalkâ-Nâdu or the "rocky province." This part of the country is remarkable for the rocks and hills with which it abounds. It included the North-Western portion of the Travancore State, which is to this day known to the natives as Kakkanadu.

Of the sub-divisions of the several nadus no complete record is available except for Mavilankai, which I have already given above. Allusion is made, however, to Kundur Kûrram in the Chera kingdom, and Milalai Kûrram in that of the Chola, from which it will be seen that the Chera, Chola and Pandya dominions were also divided into kûrrams or districts.(1)

Having described the position and probable extent of the thirteen nadus into which Tamilakam was divided and the chief towns in the nadus; I shall now give a brief account of the different races and tribes which inhabited them. I should mention here prominently, that the ancient Tamil poems furnish little or no information regarding the following nadus:—Ven, Kuddam, Katka, Seetham and Panri, while they narrate in great detail the events which occurred in the other nadus. I am led to infer from this that the people who inhabited the five nadus mentioned above were hostile to the Tamils, and that they belonged to a distinct and inferior race. I would call the inferior race the Dravidian, because it had much in common with the other races, who spoke the Dravidian dialects such as Telugu, Canarese and Maharatta. In marked distinction from this race, were the Tamils proper who were settled

(32) Ammuvanar.—Akam. 35.
(1) Pura-nanuru. 24.

on the banks of the Vaigai, Kaviri and Periyar rivers. The Tamil poets speak of "the antient Aruvalar"(2) and "the Nagas of the ancient towns"(3) whom the Tamils conquered, thereby implying that the Aruvalar and the Nagas had occupied the country long before the arrival of the Tamils. The Pothuvar or shepherd tribes are also alluded to as an ancient people whose petty kingdoms were overthrown by Tamil invaders.

The most primitive of the races which inhabited Tamilakam appears to have been the Nagas. They were in fact not confined to the Tamil land only, but spread over nearly the whole of India, Ceylon, Java and Sumatra. They are mentioned in the Ramayana, and the Naga capital, which probably lay in the heart of the Dekkan is described in that epic as follows:—

> Near Bhogavati stands the place
> Where dwell the hosts of the serpent race,
> A broad-wayed city walled and barred
> Which watchful legions keep and guard.
> The fiercest of the serpent youth
> Each awful for his venomed tooth;
> And throned in his imperial hall
> Is Vasuki who rules them all.
> Explore the serpent city well,
> Search town and tower and citadel,
> Scan each field and wood that lies
> Around it with your watchful eyes(4)

From the Mahabharata we learn that there were Naga kingdoms between the Jumna and the Ganges about the 13th century B C. When the kings of the Lunar race of Aryas wanted to found a second capital near the spot where Delhi stands at present, they had to dislodge the Nagas who occupied it. Arjuna, the hero of the poem, in his banishment, is said to have married first Ulipi, the daughter of a Naga king, then Chitrangadai, daughter of Chitra-

(2) Paddinap-palai—275.
(3) Mani-mekalai—i. 23.
(4) Griffth's Ramayana IV. 205. Indian antiquary Vol. VIII p. 5.

vahana, the Naga king of Manipura. Parikshit, the grand-son of Arjuna was killed by Thakshaka, a Naga king, and hence Janamejaya the son of Parikshit had to wage a long and bloody war with the Nagas and killed thousands of them. They appear again in history in the 6th century B. C. when a Naga dynasty ruled Magadha; and it was during the reign of Ajatasatru, the 6th king of this race that Gautama Buddha preached his new faith which soon found favour with the Nagas. (5) The Ceylonese historical works all begin with an account of the Nagas. It appears from these works that in the 6th century B. C. there were powerful Naga kingdoms on the western coast of the island which was called Nagadwipa or Naga island on that account. The Naga capital was at Kalyani. The niece of the king of Kalyani was married to a Naga king of the Kanawaddamano mountain, which was evidently Kandamadanam, a hill near the modern Ramesvaram on the Indian coast, opposite to Kalyani. In the ancient sculptures at Amaravati and elsewhere which were executed more than eighteen hundred years ago, the human figures which are represented with serpent hoods spread wide at the back of them are Nagas. (6) Some fragments of the sculptures which were removed from the ruins at Amaravati may now be seen at the Government Museum, Madras. In these sculptures the Naga kings are distinguished by the hood of a five or seven-headed serpent at their back, Naga princesses by a three-headed serpent, and ordinary Nagas by a single-headed serpent. The artists who executed these sculptures with considerable labour and care seem to have imagined that the Nagas partook of the nature of serpents, and that their bodies were partly human and partly serpentine. The ancient Tamil poets appear to have shared this belief, for, they speak of the Nagas who were contemporary with them, as human beings, while at the same time they describe the ancient Nagas as serpents living underground. In describing the antiquity and wealth of Kaviripaddinam the Chola capital, the author of the Chilappathikaram states that it was as ancient and

(5) Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship—p. 60.
(6) Archæological survey of Southern India, Vol I. The Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta.

famous as the Metropolis of the Nagas and the Naga-nadu. (7) It appears therefore that within the recollection of the Tamil people who lived eighteen hundred years ago, there was no kingdom older than that of the Nagas. Kaviripaddinam itself is said to have been an ancient seat of the Nagas who had "curved red lips, large bright teeth, a voice like thunder, who delighted in doing mischief and were always armed with the noose." (8) Another poet describes the contest of two Naga kings for the sacred-seat of Buddha as follows:—"In the nether regions two kings who ruled the Naga country contended for the seat but neither was able to lift it off the ground; loath 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."(9) The same poet states that the island of Manippallavam where the sacred seat was placed, was situated at a distance of 30 yojanas south of Kaviripaddinam.(10) He refers also to a town in Gandhara in Northern India, which in consequence of an earthquake "sank a distance of 400 yojanas to Naga-nadu."(11) From these allusions it is evident that the Tamil poets of this period had a very hazy idea of the ancient Nagas and their country. They believed, in fact, that the Nagas inhabited Pathala or the lower world, far below the surface of the earth. Of contemporary Naga tribes and kingdoms they give a more satisfactory account. The first meeting of the Chola king Killi-Valavan and a Naga princess is thus described:—(12) "One pleasant summer day when Killi who wears the long crown studded with sparkling gems, sought the shade of a green wood, he found a lovely damsel all alone in a bower which was fragrant with sweet-scented flowers. Wondering who

(7) Chilappadikaram. i. 19 & 20. Arumpatha-urai-achiriyar, and adiyakku-Nallar the two commentators to the chilappathikaram, who were evidently not aware that there were kingdoms ruled by Nagas at this early period, interpret the expressions *Naga-nagar* and *Naga-nad*, in the text, to mean Swarga and Pathala or the world of the gods, and the world of the serpents!

(8) Mani-mekalai. i. 21—23.

(9) Mani-mekalai—VIII-54 to 61.

(10) Ibid—VI. 211—213.

(11) Ibid—IX. 12—22.

(12) Manimekalai—XXIV. 30—61.

she was, the monarch stood a while entranced, and the God of Love armed with the conquering bow, swiftly shot his flowery darts deep into the king's heart. His eyes were charmed with her beauty: with ravished ears he heard her musical voice: the perfumes of her person confounded his senses, and he who had commanded legions, now became her devoted slave. Full one month he spent with her in that grove in rapturous enjoyment. She spoke not who she was, nor whence she came, but at the end of that month, she disappeared as suddenly as she had met him at first. Yearning to meet her again, he who had smote many a rival king, now went in search of her, smitten by her matchless charms. He met a saint who could penetrate the caverns of the earth, or soar into the aërial regions, or dive into the deep ocean; and having made the usual reverence prayed to the saint to find out the hiding place of her who was dear to him as his own life. 'I know the princess' said the saint 'though I have not seen her myself, I have heard of her, listen thou O! monarch. There is a king, whose lance is ever victorious in war, and who rules Naga-nadu. His name is Valai-vanan and his wife is Vasa-Mailai: their beloved daughter is the beauteous princess Peeli-Valai. At her birth a seer had foretold that a prince of the solar race would espouse her. Her son will come to you, but thou shalt meet her no more." That the Chola king Killi-Valavan married, though for a time only, the daughter of a neighbouring Naga king appears to be a historical fact. But Cheethalai-Chaththanar, the author of the poem Mani-mekalai, who was a contemporary of Killi-Valavan has, with a poet's license, given a romantic account of the marriage, probably because he considered it degrading to a Tamil king to marry a Naga princess.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be continued)

161662

OIL-GAS FOR INDIA.

Petroleum or rock-oil, as well as the closely allied minerals called naphtha, bitumen, and asphalt, are substances which occur widely distributed in nature, and man's acquaintance with them is older than history itself. Allusions to them are found in the works of the most ancient writers. Herodotus states that a substance called pissasphaltum was obtained from the island of Zante, and was used for embalming; Plutarch mentions the burning oil at Ecbatana; while Pliny and Discorides describe the rock-oil of Agrigentum, which was used in lamps under the name of "Sicilian oil." The Eternal Fires at Sarakhaneh on the shore of the Caspian Sea have been frequented by fire-worshippers from the commencement of the Zoroastrian period, to which the date of 600 B. C. is usually assigned, and have been described by numerous travellers from the time of Marco Polo onwards. In India, petroleum appears to have attracted little attention in ancient times, although it occurs in many parts of the extra-peninsular area; but, on the other hand, the Burma deposits are said to have been known, and, to a certain extent, made use of, for over 2,000 years. In all probablity it was this Burmese oil which found its way into Southern India, where it is known as "man thilum" in Tamil and by cognate names in the other vernacular languages, all the words used signifying earth oil or earth ointment. These names, which appear to have been long in use, could scarcely have been applied to any local product, as no trace of petroleum has been discovered over the whole peninsula. The same opinion is held by a number of writers, among others Ainslie, who, in his *Materia Indica*, published seventy years ago, states that the substance known by the Tamil doctors under the the name mentioned, and employed by them in rheumatic and other affections, was obtained from Ava.

Although it is beyond question that petroleum has been used in medicine and for lubricating and illuminating purposes from a remote antiquity, until very recent times the world's production of the commodity was exceedingly small and, except perhaps in a few

localities, it was a little known and rare article. In America itself, where the largest deposits occur, a gallon of petroleum cost £4 less than a hundred years ago, and so recently as 1843 the price of the same quantity is said to have been 5/- This costliness may be attributed to the circumstance that the quantity of oil obtainable at or near the surface of the ground is usually inconsiderable, and that mechanical appliances of a description unattainable until the present century are required for tapping the subterranean reservoirs which contain it. It was only in the year 1859 that the first bore-hole was opened in the United States, while in Russia, where lies the other great centre of the mineral-oil industry, the development of the field was commenced still later. In the latter country the production of oil was on a comparatively small scale until 1875, in which year the great firm of Nobel Brothers engaged in the enterprise and commenced the systematic production, refining, and exportation of petroleum which have since attained such marvellous dimensions. They introduced improved appliances for drilling and refining as well as a complete system of pipe lines and storage tanks, combined with tank steamers, barges, and railway waggons; and applied to the production and distribution of the oil all the resources of modern science. The figures relating to the importation of Russian kerosene into this country show not only how modern is the growth of the industry, but how rapid it has been. Prior to 1886 this oil was entirely unknown in India, three years later nearly eighteen million gallons were imported, while in another three years this large quantity had more than doubled.

The keen competition which has now been going on for ten years between the two great oil-producing countries of the world for the control of the Eastern markets has resulted in a fall in prices so considerable that mineral oil is now the cheapest illuminant procurable in almost every part of India; and the consequence of this cheapening of the commodity has been that it has everywhere displaced, to a great or less extent, the vegetable oils which, from time immemorial, the people of this country have used for lighting their dwellings. This displacement of the older illuminants, which is steadily progressing, and which promises in the course of a very

few years to become complete, is effecting a revolution in the country as great, perhaps, and as beneficent, if not so obvious, as that due to railways and telegraphs. For if man's life is to be measured, not merely by its duration, but by the comforts and conveniences it provides him with and by the opportunities it affords of accomplishing useful work, it can scarcely be an exaggeration to say that cheap mineral oil has added years to the lives of a considerable portion of the inhabitants of India. Persons still quite young can remember the time when, after night-fall, the houses of all but the wealthiest classes were plunged in semi-darkness, illumined only by the glimmer of tallow candles or the feeble light of lamps burning cocoanut or some other vegetable oil. The poor possessed nothing better than a primitive receptacle for oil made of clay, with a cotton wick resting on the brim, emitting a light which barely made darkness visible. But American and Russian kerosene have produced a wonderful transformation. Out of the tins in which the oil is imported, lamps are now being manufactured in every bazaar of India, literally by the million, which, costing but an anna or two, are within the reach of the poorest classes of the population, and which, though giving a light many times more brilliant than the purchasers were previously accustomed to, can be fed at much less expense. Among richer folk, native as well as European, the change from vegetable to mineral oil is already complete, and the old-fashioned cumbrous and evil-smelling lamps which, a couple of decades back, were in general use, have practically disappeared from their houses.

An idea of the extent to which India's consumption of kerosene has increased of late years is obtained from the import returns relating to mineral oil, all but a very small fraction of which is employed for illuminating purposes. The following table shows the quantity imported at intervals of five years, commencing with 1875-76, the first year in which it was thought necessary to separate mineral oil imports from other oils in the returns:—

1875-76	621,530	gallons.
1879-80	7,888,247	„
1884-85	26,299,091	„
1889-90	53,390,000	„

Importations received a check in the following year, but it was a very temporary one from which they rapidly recovered, and since then, as the subjoined figures prove, every succeeding year has witnessed a great advance in the imports:—

1890-91	54,235,000	gallons.
1891-92	58,109,000	„
1892-93	67,086,000	„
1893-94	86,609,000	„

The effect which Russian and American competition has had on prices is shown by the fact that while the value of the oil imported in 1889-90, stated in Rx., was 2,045,243, four years later it was only 3,570,183; which shows that though the quantity had increased by some 62 per cent., its value in silver had risen by only 35 per cent. But silver itself fell considerably in the interval, so that if these values are expressed in gold, the fall in price which oil has sustained becomes much greater than that indicated.

Commenting, a few years back, upon the growth of mineral oil imports, Mr. O'Conor, from whose *Review of the Trade of British India* the figures quoted have been taken, made the following observations:—"As mineral dyes (by which no doubt synthetic or artificial dyes are meant) are fast superseding the vegetable dyes of the country, so is mineral oil fast superseding the vegetable oils, at least so far as these are used for illuminating purposes. The reason is the same in both cases. The indegenous dyes and oils are produced with labour, and are uncleanly and more or less inefficient in use. The imported dyes and oils are easy of application, cleanly and efficient in use, and give much better results. The complete supersession of the indigenious dyes and oils is a question of time only, and not a long time either, and doubtless, when the time arrives the native press will deplore the loss of two more local manufactures" Incidentally it may be remarked that the native press, in this part of India at least, has more sense than Mr. O'Conor credits it with, and is not in the least likely to verify his predictions. On another occasion he observes with much truth—"the increase of this trade in India is eminently satisfactory, for it would be difficult to overrate the civilising effect of cheap and efficient illuminants for the population. As yet, it is true, the use of this oil has hardly

gone beyond the people of the larger towns, and 67 million gallons gives an average consumption, in a population approximating 300 millions, of less than a quarter of a gallon per head of the population annually; but, as far as it has gone, the effects are excellent, and there is an indefinite opening for development. Undoubtedly, in a few years, we may very well see the trade increased tenfold, especially if the experiment of importing and transporting the oil in bulk, which is now being tried, should succeed." Of the success of the experiment there can be little doubt. Messrs. Best & Co. of Madras, who have this portion of the trade in their hands, state that storage tanks have already been erected at about twenty stations in the Presidency and the Deccan, while some twenty-five tank railway waggons, with an average capacity of ten tons, are employed to convey oil to these depôts.

Facts and figures such as those which have been mentioned suggest several interesting questions, and one of these questions—not the least important one—is whether India makes the best possible use of the enormous quantity of foreign mineral oil she consumes. Stated more explicitly, the question is whether the kerosene lamp, improvement as it is upon its predecessors, cannot itself be improved upon; whether, in fact, it offers the most advantageous method of utilizing the light-emitting power of the oil. In Europe and America, oil in the liquid state finds a very restricted use as a source of light, while, on the other hand, vast and annually increasing quantities are converted into gas for illuminating purposes. This gas is being used for all the purposes for which it has long been the custom to employ coal-gas, and in addition, has found applications for which coal-gas is unfitted.

The superiority of gaseous to solid and liquid illuminants is too obvious to need dwelling on, but it is, perhaps, not so generally understood that of all the materials which have been employed for the manufacture of illuminating gas, oil is in every respect the most suitable, and of all oils, whether of animal, vegetable, or mineral origin, the Russian kerosene, which forms so considerable a proportion of India's mineral oil imports, is one of the best—if not the very best. The question propounded really resolves itself,

therefore, into whether India would not do well to follow the example set by other countries, and manufacture into gas a larger proportion of the oil she consumes than is at present employed for that purpose. How large the proportion actually is, it is impossible to say, but it must form an insignificant fraction of the total quantity imported, as, except by the railway companies, several of which, the Madras Railway included, have adopted oil-gas for lighting their trains, the merits and advantages of this method of illumination have not yet been recognized to any large extent. But it is safe to predict that this recognition will not long be delayed; for in no part of the world, probably, is oil-gas in a better position to compete with coal-gas than in this country, where the scarcity of gas-coal and the cheapness of oil, combined with the ease and economy with which the gas is manufactured, are all circumstances telling so powerfully in its favour that they assure for it a wide field and a great future.

Gas is made from oil by the same process of destructive distillation (or heating to a high temperature in a closed vessel) to which coal is subjected in the ordinary process of gas manufacture. But a good deal more than half the weight of the coal is non-volatile, and, in consequence, the retorts in which it is heated have to be opened at intervals, the coke withdrawn, and a fresh charge of coal introduced. This involves a large amount of labour, labour which is entirely saved when oil is used, as the liquid is allowed to flow in a continuous fine stream into the hot retort; and when a suitable oil and a proper temperature are employed, practically the whole of the oil is converted into gas, leaving behind a very trifling amount of residual carbon. The coal-gas issues from the retort charged with the vapours of solid and liquid bodies which condense to form the tar and gas-liquor, as well as with various gaseous impurities which have to been removed, as far as possible, at considerable trouble and expense; whereas oil-gas, if made from a properly selected oil, yields only an inappreciable quantity of tar and no deleterious constituents from which it requires to be purified. Gas made from the ordinary varieties of coal employed for the purpose usually has an illuminating power of about 12

candles, *i. e.*, burnt at the rate of 5 cubic feet per hour in a standard burner it emits a light equal to that produced by 12 spermaceti candles, each consuming 120 grains of sperm in the hour; whilst gas made from Russian kerosene has an illuminating power five times as great, one cubic foot on being burnt giving out as much light as a five times the volume of coal gas. Owing to this greater richness the storage capacity required in the case of oil-gas is much less than with coal-gas, and smaller pipes can be used for conveying it. From these considerations it is evident that the advantages which oil possesses over coal, regarded both from the gas-maker's and the gas-consumer's standpoint, are neither few nor unimportant. The gas obtained from oil is richer and purer than that yielded by coal; oil-gas manufacture is simpler than that of coal gas, requiring no skilled labour of any sort and little even of an unskilled description; while oil-gas plant involves a much smaller capital outlay than that required for a coal-gas plant of the same dimensions, as it costs less both to purchase and to erect, and occupies a much smaller space.

It is only during the last few years that oil-gas has pushed itself to the front and attracted so large an amount of attention, but nevertheless it is by no means the novelty which some people imagine; for, as a matter of fact, it boast an antiquity greater than that of coal-gas itself, and was, in a sense, the forerunner of the better known illuminant. So long ago as the year 1820, when the manufacture of coal-gas was still in its infancy, we find oil-gas works established, not only in the Metropolis, but at Edinburgh, Dublin, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Plymouth, and other towns. The superiority of oil to coal as a source of gas was recognized from the earliest days of gas-lighting, and the use of it was abandoned for no other reason than because in those days the expensive animal and vegetable oils—the only oils available—could not compete with coal in regard to cost. If the cheap mineral oils of later times had been known, the result might have been very different. But at the time referred to, oil cost 3/- per gallon, while a more suitable material is now obtainable at about one-eighth of the price. Moreover the chemistry of the process was less understood than it

is now, the best yield was not obtained from the materials employed, and the burners used were unsuitable. When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, it is not altogether surprising that oil-gas cost the consumers 50/- per 1,000 cubic feet, and at this price was unable to compete successfully with coal-gas at 15/- or less. Nevertheless the conflict between the two rival systems of gas-lighting was a severe one while it lasted, and oil-gas did not succumb without a struggle. The highest scientific authorities of the day took part in the controversy, some being ranged on one side and some on the other. The great Parliamentary enquiry into the subject of gas-lighting, which extended over nearly the whole of 1824 and the following year, virtually settled the question in favor of coal, and oil-gas was relegated to the obscurity from which it has only recently emerged. The enquiry resulted from an application by the "London and Westminister Oil-Gas Company" for an act of Incorporation empowering it to raise a capital of £ 500,000, and to manufacture and supply oil-gas in a portion of the Metropolis lying north of the Thames. The coal-gas companies opposed the bill; and the investigation into the merits of the two systems of lighting which ensued was of the most searching character. Evidence in favor of oil-gas was given by Sir Humphrey Davy, Michael Faraday, Professor Brande, Sir William Congreve, and other scientific notabilities, while the coal gas companies had the illustrious Dalton and several other eminent men on their side. During the course of the enquiry it was proved beyond all doubt that, in every respect save one, oil-gas was superior to its rival; it had a higher illuminating power, was free from the impurities which form such an objectionable feature of coal-gas, was easier to manufacture, yielded no offensive bye-products, and, in fact, possessed every possible advantage over coal-gas except that it was three or four times as expensive. This was a fatal objection, and led to the rejection of the bill. Even while the enquiry was proceeding a number of companies found it to their advantage to abandon oil and adopt coal for the manufacture of gas; and during the Parliamentary enquiry which was held in 1827 into an application from the Edinburgh Oil-Gas Company for power to enable it to convert its work into coal-gas works it was stated that a loss of

nearly £60,000 had been incurred on the manufacture of oil-gas in a period of five years.

For nearly fifty years after these events the world heard very little about oil-gas, and coal occupied the field to the total exclusion of its former rival. And when the industry was revived, a little more than twenty years ago, it was not as a competitor with coal-gas for the ordinary purposes of house and street illumination, but to meet requirements for which both coal-gas and electricity had proved themselves more or less unsuited—such as the lighting of railway trains, buoys, beacons, and light-houses. For all these purposes, the high illuminating power, the easy compressibility, and the portability of oil-gas confer upon it advantages over other sources of light; and the first person to recognize these advantages and to profit by them was Mr. Julius Pintsch of Berlin, founder of Pintsch's Patent Lighting Company, who, in 1873, took out an English patent for lighting railway carriages with compressed oil-gas. The process had already been adopted on certain German lines, and in 1876, the Metropolitan Railway introduced it on its system. The Great Eastern Railway soon followed suit; and at the present time there is scarcely an important line in Great Britain on which the trains are not lit up by compressed oil-gas manufactured by one or other of the numerous methods in use, all of which closely resemble one another in principle and differ only in details. Still more recently this method of lighting trains was introduced into India, and has been adopted by a number of lines, among which the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, and the Bombay and Baroda are included; while only a few weeks ago the Madras Railway commenced making and compressing oil-gas by Pintsch's method, and have already adapted it to a number of their carriages. The cylinders containing the compressed gas are placed beneath the framework of the carriages, and contain enough gas to last for the run from Madras to Bombay and back. The works in which the gas is manufactured and compressed stand alongside of the line a few hundred feet from the Central Station, and those who take an interest in the subject will find them well work a visit.

Some idea of the extent to which railways have adopted this method of lighting is obtained from the fact that, so long ago as 1888,

no less than 23,499 carriages lighted on Pintsch's system were running on English and Continental lines, and since then the number has greatly increased. It is claimed for compressed oil-gas that not only does it give a better light than coal-gas, but that it actually costs less. And published figures support this contention. So great is the economy that on the Metropolitan Railway the oil-gas plant was paid for by the savings effected in the space of three years. On this line, during the three years 1882-84, when only oil-gas was employed, the cost per light per hour was 0·209*d*. with trains of fifty lights, while with coal-gas, during the three years 1873-75, the cost was 0·396*d*., or nearly twice as much. With coal-gas the lighting cost 1.5*d*. per train mile, but with oil-gas only 0·33*d* per train mile.

Another application of compressed oil-gas, to which a passing reference has already been made, is the lighting of buoys, beacons, and other coast lights Nine years ago Great Britain had 30 buoys, 4 lightships, and 8 beacons lighted by Pintsch's gas, while in the Suez Canal there were 59 buoys and 39 beacons and other lights. Night transit through the Canal was first rendered possible by this method of lighting it, and the duration of the passage thereby largely reduced.

In the foregoing remarks the uses of oil-gas in the compressed condition have been dealt with, but the purposes to which the uncompressed gas is being applied are of still greater importance. A few words may be said with reference to these applications. For years past, the continuously increasing cost of cannel coal, which yields a gas of very high quality, has driven gas-managers to seek a less expensive material for enriching their gas, so as to bring it up to the required standard of illuminating power. Many different substances have been suggested and more or less employed for the purpose, but oil is the one which promises to most successfully attain the object in view. At the Beckton works on the Thames—the largest gas-works in the world—water-gas, made by passing steam and air through red-hot coke, and consisting mainly of hydrogen, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen, is conducted, along with the vapour of oil, through masses of hot brickwork, whereby the oil

vapour is split up into highly luminiferous gaseous hydrocarbons, and a certain proportion of this rich gas is mixed with the low quality coal-gas. Gas manufactured by this and allied methods is now almost the only illuminating gas supplied in New York and many other large cities of the United States.

The employment of oil-gas for the enrichment of coal-gas, though of great importance in Europe and America, where coal-gas is manufactured on a colossal scale, has little interest in this country, where the cities lighted by gas are but two or three in number; while in this part of it, where coal-gas is unknown, they have none whatever. But, on the other hand, the applications of oil-gas as a substitute for coal-gas or as an alternative to it, have an interest it would be difficult to over-estimate. If we trouble ourselves to enquire why it is that coal-gas, which is so extensively used in many parts of the world is, in this country, such a rarity, the answer is not far to seek. The dearness of coal, the great distances over which the gas has to be conveyed—with the consequent length of mains and loss by leakage—these and other causes which co-operate to increase its cost, make it impossible, except in a very few localities, for gas to compete in price with oil as an illuminant; and the people of this country have far more regard to the cost of a commodity than to the precise amount of benefit and convenience they can extract from it. Hence it comes that coal-gas, in India, has no past, and, so far as one can see, no future. Pushing the enquiry a step further to ascertain why coal-gas is nowhere manufactured even on the smallest scale for lighting churches, barracks, clubs, public buildings, and similar places, the fact confronts us that the cost of erecting and maintaining coal-gas works of the dimensions suited to these purposes is so disproportionate to the out-put of gas, that the cost of the gas becomes prohibitive. Coal-gas manufacture is a process which can only be carried on economically on the large scale. In Europe this truth is regarded as axiomatic, and Madras itself affords an illustration of its equal applicability to this country. The gas-works in Fort St. George which supplied the European barracks were in existence for about a quarter of a century, and were removed not many years ago.

Only one hundred-and-five lights were in use, and the gas they burned was a very costly article, so costly indeed, that its manufacture had to be discontinued. In a report on the working of this factory during the year 1876-77, it was shown that the gas consumed cost Rs. 10-13 per 1,000 cubic feet for materials and wages alone. The cost of superintendence brought the price up to Rs. 15-4; and what it would have reached if a proper percentage for interest and depreciation had been added, can only be guessed—but it would, undoubtedly, have been an almost fabulous sum. These figures, of course, do not afford a fair criterion of the cost of manufacturing coal-gas in Madras, but they do show how expensive a small plant is to work, and there is, in addition, a certain amount of interest connected with them, as they are probably record prices, which have never been attained in the manufacture of coal-gas in considerable quantity and for long periods in any other locality.

Now these drawbacks accompanying the manufacture of coal-gas on the small scale, which have been a bar to the introduction of gas-lighting into this country, do not exist, or, at all events, exist to an enormously reduced extent, in the case of oil-gas. The smallest oil-gas plant can be worked almost as economically as the largest, and unless a certain limit is exceeded, the cost of the gas per thousand cubic feet is much the same whether the quantity produced be large or small; while the capital outlay involved in the purchase and erection of the plant is closely proportionate to its size and producing capacity, and is about half as large as an equivalent coal-gas plant requires. These statements, though probably not equally true for all methods of oil-gas manufacture, certainly hold good for the system to which reference is about to be made.

Of the numerous methods which have been proposed or applied of late years for manufacturing gas by the mere 'cracking' of oil—and which do not seek to obtain an increased yield of gas by the simultaneous decomposition of steam or by mixing the vapour of oil with water-gas before decomposing it or by any of the other methods which have been devised for this purpose—the only two which appear to have found a footing in India are the systems of

Pintsch and of Mansfield. The former of these, it has been already stated, is adopted by the railway companies, which require the gas under a pressure of about ten atmospheres; and as compression is a distinctive feature of this system, while for all ordinary purposes to compress the gas is not merely an unnecessary expense but is attended with a loss of illuminating power, and is, therefore, a decided drawback, no further reference need be made to it. With one exception, to which allusion will be made later on, Mansfield's system appears to have received the preference in every case where uncompressed gas is required, and installations on this system are now working in many parts of India. In Calcutta, notwithstanding the fact that coal-gas is available, they are particularly numerous, and are used not only to supply light, but for heating, driving gas-engines, and every other purpose for which gaseous fuel is employed. No stronger testimoney to the superiority of oil-gas to coal-gas in regard to both price and quality could possibly be adduced. The apparatus is working satisfactorily at the Presidency College, where it is used in the laboratories for heating and lighting purposes as well as for driving the gas-engine which works the ventilating machinery. Installations, varying in size from 20 or 30 up to 500 lights or more, have also been erected at the Agra Bacteriological Laboratory, the Hooghly Jute Mills, the office of the *Englishman* and Messrs. Thacker, Spink, & Co.'s establishment at Calcutta, the Dum Dum and Kirkee Small Arms Factories, and at many private houses, several of which are in or near Calcutta but are not confined to that city. In South India the Mansfield system is not yet so well known as it is in the north; but a large installation has just been erected at Bangalore, to supply the new Geological Laboratory and the Central College, another at the Arcot Sugar Works, and a third for the Rajah of Kallikote in the Ganjam District; while Messrs. P. Orr and Sons of Madras have been using the gas for some time, not merely for lighting their premises but for driving all their machinery through the agency of a gas-engine, for the forge and the foundry and every other purpose and process where heat is required in connection with their business.

The peculiar merits to which Mansfield's system lays claim, and which it must be admitted to possess to a greater degree than most other systems before the public, are the simplicity, portability, and cheapness of the apparatus used in manufacturing the gas, and the ease and economy with which it can be worked. The proprietors assert that with coal and kerosene at present Madras prices, their apparatus will manufacture a gas of 60 candle-power at a cost of Rs. 7 per 1,000 cubic feet, which, when reduced to the same standard of illuminating power, is about a quarter of the average price charged for coal-gas in this part of the world. It would be interesting to examine the figures and calculations on which this estimate of cost is based; but before doing so, reference may be made to some experiments on the manufacture of gas from oil conducted in Madras a number of years ago by Mr. G. H. Faulkner, an engineer of the Public Works Department. This gentleman designed the apparatus he employed, and at the present day it would not be regarded as an efficient type of oil-gas producer. The experiments were made in the Fort, prior to the erection of the gas-works, and the oil used was castor-seed oil, having a specific gravity of about 0·95 and costing Rs. 3-8 per maund or Rs. 1-5-6 per gallon. Commenced in 1860, they extended over a number of years, and in one series—the best of which there is any record—which lasted three months, the quantity of oil used was 262 gallons and of gas produced 26,992 cubic feet, which is equivalent to 103 cubic feet, per gallon. The coal used amounted to 11,754 lb., equal to nearly 4 cwt. per 1,000 cubic feet of gas. The total cost of oil and fuel was Rs. 17-11 per 1,000 cubic feet, and when the cost of establishment, which was unnecessarily large, was added, it worked out to about Rs. 26 per 1,000 cubic feet. These experiments may be compared with others made at a Government Factory in the north of India with Mansfield's apparatus, the oil employed being Russian kerosene with a specific gravity of about 8·2, and the fuel, Bengal coal costing Rs. 16 per ton. From 26 gallons of this oil 2,730 cubic feet of gas were obtained, with a consumption of 8¼ cwt. of coal, and the result of protracted working at the same factory shows that the coal consumed averages only 2½ cwt. per 1,000 cubic feet of gas produced. But the manufacture of gas was not carried on

continuously, and one-half of the fuel was consumed in heating the retorts to the temperature at which gas-making commences. With more continuous working, greater economy of fuel is possible. Making allowance for the loss resulting from intermittent working and putting the yield of gas at the lowest figure, it may be said that 10 gallons of Russian oil, costing at the present market price Rs. 3-12, and 2 cwt. of English coal, costing Rs. 2-8, will produce 1,000 cubic feet of 60 candle-power gas. Ten per cent. added to the cost of materials for interest on capital, depreciation, and repairs and renewals is a sufficiently liberal allowance, and there remains only the item of labour. This is a very trifling charge, as, with Mansfield's apparatus, no skilled labour, and, in fact, very little labour of any kind, is required. At the Government Factory alluded to, where four producers, each yielding 1,400 to 1,600 cubic feet of gas daily are at work, the whole manufacture is carried on by a man whose wages are only Rs. 9 per mensem.

These figures prove that with oil at 6 annas* a gallon and English coal at Rs. 25 the ton, the gas may be manufactured at a price not exceeding Rs. 7 per 1,000 cubic feet including all charges, which, taking its illuminating power at 60 candles and that of coal-gas at 12 candles, is equivalent to the latter illuminant at the price of Rs. 1-6-5 per 1,000 cubic feet, or about one quarter the average price Indian consumers pay for it. In localities where country coal is available at low prices the cost of the gas would be proportionately reduced, but this advantage is usually counterbalanced by dearer oil.

It was stated some distance back that refined Russian petroleum is superior to other oils as a gas-making material. This is owing to the circumstance that nearly the whole of the oil can be converted into gas containing a large precentage of luminiferous constituents, while only a very small quantity of tar is produced. Other oils yield a smaller quantity of gas of lower illuminating

* This is the price which has been ruling for some time past, but it has recently risen to 8 annas per gallon. There is every reason to expect that the increase, arising as it does from supplies being delayed owing to injury caused by floods to the Batoum-Tiflis section of the Transcaucasian Railway, is only temporary, and that, when the damage is repaired, prices will revert to their normal condition.

power, and a much greater quantity of tar. Thus, for instance, the intermediate shale oil which, on account of its cheapness, is so largely employed in England for gas-making, and which is being used by the Madras Railway, produces less than 80 cubic feet of gas per gallon, while the tar amounts to about 5 gallons per 1,000 cubic feet of gas produced. This means that about one-half of the oil is converted into tar. The gas, also, is of comparatively low illuminating power, being equal to about 50 candles before compression and less than 40 after compression.

The amount of light produced by burning equal weights of different combustibles varies very much, and even with the same combustible it depends greatly upon the circumstances under which it is burnt. There should, therefore, be nothing surprising in the fact that when the Russian kerosene, with which we are dealing, has its chemical composition completely altered by being transformed into gas, and is burnt in that condition, it emits considerately more light than when burnt in a lamp. That this is actually the case is evident from the following considerations:—One gallon of oil of 8·2 specific gravity, and weighing, therefore, 8·2 lb., will produce 100 cubic feet of gas; 5 cubic feet of this gas will produce as much light as 60 candles emit during one hour; each candle consumes 120 grains of sperm per hour, or altogether 7,200 grains of sperm; consequently, 100 cubic feet of the gas will give as much light as is produced by burning 144,000 grains or 20·7 lb. of sperm. Now as the result of experiments made by Mr, Boverton Redwood, a very high authority on all matters connected with petroleum, it was found that Russian kerosene, burnt in a lamp provided with an English wick and the best form of Hink's duplex burner, gave an average light of 18 candles and consumed 981 grains of oil per hour. This weight of oil, when burnt in a lamp, is, therefore, equivalent to 2,160 grains of sperm, and one gallon, consequently, to 18 lb. These figures, if they are to be relied upon, show that about 15 per cent., more light can be obtained from the oil by converting it into gas before burning it. They further prove that oil-gas is a more economical illuminating agent than oil itself, or at all events, than the high quality oil which the wealthier classes

chiefly use. This is owing to the circumstance that the cheapest oil imported is as suitable—indeed, more suitable—for the purpose of gas-manufacture than the most expensive, although for illuminating purposes this is certainly not the case, as countless accidents testify. For a gallon of oil burnt in the lamp described and emitting during the whole of this period an average light of 18 candles will last for 58·5 hours, while to obtain the same light from oil-gas for the same period of time 87·75 cubic feet will be consumed. This quantity of gas, at the price of Rs. 7 per 1000 cubic feet, would cost 9 annas 9 pies, whereas the gallon of oil, if of the best quality, would cost about 12 annas.

The system of oil-gas manufacture to which allusion was promised in a preceding page may now be referred to. It is that employed at Jeypore in Rajputna, and deserves notice as the works are the oldest as well as the largest in India. Established in the year 1877, they have been systematically working since 1881, and supply light to the streets, the palace, a number of public buildings, and a few private consumers; while smaller installations on the same system are said to have been erected at Gwalior and Dholepore. The report of the Jeypore Gas-Works for 1894 states that, during the year, 3,082,180 cubic feet of gas were generated, which is equal to a daily production of 8,440 cubic feet, and that the net cost of the gas was Rs. 8-10 per 1,000 cubic feet. The oil used was kerosene, which cost 10½ annas per gallon, and wood was the chief fuel used for heating the retorts. If oil were obtainable as cheaply at Jeypore as it is in Madras the cost of the gas would have been under Rs. 7 per 1,000 cubic feet, instead of exceeding that amount. The report, however, fully bears out all the statements which have been made in the preceding pages regarding the cost of oil-gas manufacture, and at the same time affords striking testimony to the enterprising and enlightened spirit with which the ruler of the Jeypore State is animated.

When the advantages in respect to comfort, convenience, and cleanliness which gas-lighting possesses over oil lamps are so apparent, when, even, as it has been my endeavour to show, in

addition to possessing all these advantages, gas, made from oil is a cheaper illuminating agent than oil itself, it is a surprising fact that in a country such as this, where there are no opposing vested interests concerned in supplying light or maintaining any particular method of illumination, the method to which it is the object if this article to draw attention has not become better known and more widely adopted. The latter result hinges, however, on the former, and if what has been written leads to a better knowledge of oil-gas and its properties, there is little doubt that its adoption on a corresponding scale will soon follow.

W. H., WILSON.

MUBTALA.

(Continued.)

Chapter VIII.

Muttaki persuades his elder nephew Syed Hazur not to deprive his sister of her inheritance.

NOW things being in this confusion with Mubtala who was there to say them nay when the brothers of his wife, Ghirat Begum, resolved to appropriate to themselves her share in her father's property. These brothers had obtained such notoriety in litigation that people hesitated to contend with them even in self-defence. Far less would Mir-Muttaki interfere in her favour foreseeing the inevitable result of such a contest where no one knew the bounds to which the brothers were prepared to go; and uncle, brother, or sister had no expectation of being spared. Muttaki's younger nephew Syed Nazir, younger than Ghirat Begum, was the most intelligent member of the family and attended to all matters of litigation. His elder brother Syed Hazur was also the eldest member of the family and managed the estate, looking after the cultivation of the lands, the collection of the rents from the ryots, and the various other duties connected with the internal management of the village. As soon as Hazur heard of his uncle's return from his pilgrimage he went down to pay his respects without expecting him to make the first call of condolence, as was customary in cases where there was a death in the family. Mir Muttaki however insisted on accompanying him on his return to Syednagar to show his sympathy and to mark his respect to the deceased. When he arrived there he missed his younger nephew Nazir who was either on purpose or by accident away from home.

Muttaki now took the opportunity to impress on Hazur the responsibility that attached to him as the eldest member of the family—a responsibility for which he was accountable before the Almighty on the Judgment Day. He explained, to him the condemnation that God has pronounced in the Koran upon those people who would have the balance lean heavier on their side in respect of *receiving* but would not care if the beam ran up on the

other side in respect of *giving*, "Pity there be on the selfish people who in respect of receiving weigh and measure correctly and in respect of giving use false weights and measures in their favour —verily, verily, they know that a great Day is coming when they shall rise from the dead to stand in the presence of the Creator of all things." To check this evil spirit and curb the selfishness of men God has made a two-fold arrangement for the government of the world—the institution of the worldly Governor and the Kingdom of God and it is the latter, the religion or *shara* "the soft still voice of conscience" which is the more powerful of the two. It is a wrong idea that the world is maintained in order by the punishment meted out by our Governors. The real criminal often escapes detection and our rules are often powerless to do full justice to the cause.

His arm is long enough and the punishment lies solely with *Him* in a lakh of cases where one falls to the lot of the ruler of the land. In his Divine Wisdom he sees fit to send forth retaliation even in this world without waiting for the trial before him on the Judgment Day. The ruination of Hazur's own city and of the family of the Syeds was evidence of this. The Syeds had at one time unjustly quarrelled with their neighbours the Gogars and the end was that though prosperous to outward appearance the canker was eating up the core of their seeming success. Muttaki continuing said that of the two duties devolving on man, duty towards his fellow men was the more important; for God in his mercy will forgive frail man in any neglect or violation of duty towards Himself; but that the duty towards our fellows was however the duty that men most ignorantly neglected. He said he thought it his duty to give him this advice by reason of his relation to Hazur and soon after took his leave of him.

Chapter IX.

The good effects of the advice of Hazur and the enmity between the brothers.

For a long while after his uncle's departure Hazur stood as one in a trance. Looking back over his life he found it a succession of deceit and falsehood and what he had considered his greatest triumphs appeared to him now mean and hollow and grossly unjust to his fellow creatures. He was thoroughly

frightened at his own enormities and in his excitement paced up and down the veranda dripping with perspiration although it was the evening of a winter day. His every act seemed to him tainted with disgrace and he thought that cunning and fraud were descending in the family from father to son.

It was only a short time since the brothers had begun to work in their father's place after his death and already many an act of tyranny and oppression could be entered against them. Many of these were beyond remedy or recompense. His sister's wrongs and the deprival of her share in her father's estate now loomed before him among the various acts of injustice and spoliation which rushed on his memory in rapid succession. Although it was his brother Nazur who plotted it, *he* as elder brother and head of the family should have stood out for her rights and protected her. This thought goaded him into action and saddling his horse on the instant he set out for the city. Travelling during the night he reached his brother's house at gray of dawn, a little while after he had retired to rest, having spent the greater portion of the night in preparing evidence by suitable tuition of witnesses and manipulation of documents, for a cause to be heard in court on the following day. His brother's call roused Nazur from his unrefreshing sleep, and he exclaimed in surprise "God bless you what is the matter, why have you come at such an early hour?" Hazur assured him there was nothing urgent and that the object of his visit might wait more leisurely consideration. They then sat down and Hazur inquired of his brother whether he had visited their uncle who had returned from his travels. Nazur replied that he was aware of his arrival but had no idea of meeting him.

Hazur.—Why.

Nazur.—I know very well that he would moot the question of sister's share and that would necessarily lead to a useless quarrel as I have no idea of surrendering it.

Hazur.—Alas, what has she done that you are so hard on poor Ghirat. Is she not our own sister? Has she not as good a claim to our father's estates as ourselves?

On hearing these words of his brother, Nazur as a practical man of the world, at once surmised the visit and persuasion

of the uncle and replied insolently "If the uncle has brought any futwas from Mecca let him hide them in his Kuduri.* He is not perhaps aware that the sheriff of Mecca has nothing to do with us here. This is the dominion of the Bahadur. English. I have laboured for years and procured such convincing proofs and authorities such as judgments of the High Court, the Privy Council, &c., that if he could compel me to pay the sister's dowry I am no true Syed but a son of the cobbler caste." Nazir convinced that Muttaki was the cause of this change of front on his brother's part further insinuated that he was a sorcerer and a hypocrite. This led to a quarrel as Hazur, in his present frame of mind was loath to see his uncle abused behind his back. Evading the grip of the law Nazir had no scruples in usurping the rights of others while Hazur was willing to sacrifice his own interest and prosperity if he could not protect them without trespassing on others' rights. To conclude the matter Nazir at length proposed that his brother should share the property with him and leave the rest alone. But this did not commend itself to Hazur as he would by that arrangement virtually gain an extra tenth share of the property properly belonging to his sister, while the other tenth was absorbed by his brother. In the end Nazir rose from his seat in great wrath and broke out vehemently "Well, try and get sister her share if you can and let her take it if she can. I know why Muttaki is so loving to her. Brother Mubtala is simple minded and uncle hopes by flattering the niece to secure his elder brother's property. Till there is a breath in my body," he continued pulling his mustache in his wrath "I shall fight and see that uncle has his reward for meddling in my affairs. He has come back from Hajj after seven years and God willing he will be in Hijrat† the remainder of his life. It is no joke to take sister's share from me." Hazur returned home dispirited with a heart full of sorrow and disappointment.

Chapter X.

Hazur rescues the sister's share from Nazur.

Now Hazur was well aware that a bundle of blank embossed stamp-papers was in the possession of Nazur. He discovered

* A work on Mohomedan Law.

† Hijrat means exile.

them after some search and found they were all bearing old dates. He took one of them and consigned the rest to flames.

On this paper he wrote the following application. "I hereby affirm that myself and Ghirat Begum are children of the same parents. Ghirat Begum's name was omitted in the puttah. All revenue transactions are now carried on under my hand and seal. I testify to the claims of Ghirat Begum and request that her name be entered in the puttah for a fifth share. He got this registered and despatched to the divisional officer. Notice was forthwith issued by the officer and work being done very summarily in that Cutchery, one-fifth was ordered to be entered in the name of the sister according to the application of the puttadar. But what was the Collector's judgment to Nazur? When the order was received his Vakil advised him that the Judgment was given *ex parte* and there was no room for appeal; To this Nazur replied that appeal being out of the question, he would, the very next day, hand over to him his father's will, and by it much could be done to bring down the glory of the puttahdar.

Nazur went home and searched for the stamp-paper bundle. He was startled on missing it and when told that certain papers were consigned to flames by the elder brother some two months ago, he felt as one thunderstruck. The further quarrels of the brothers have little to do with our narrative. Suffice it to say, that such quarrels ensued between them as were never again heard of in the town. Of course Ghirat Bagum and Muttaki were duly involved in these.

Chapter. XI.

The mischief of Hazur—Peace between the brothers.

In the beginning, Nazur insisted on merely withholding the sister's share. Now, when the stamp-papers were burnt, he was so enraged against his brother that he sent a petition to the Court offering to prove that Hazur and Ghirat were not the real son and daughter of Mir Baqir and that himself was his only child. He produced a document bearing Mir Baqir's seal, and written in a hand closely resembling his, to show that Mir Baqir was childless till Nazur was born to

him and that Hazur was only an adopted son. An anonymous petition was also received in the Government Office reporting that Mir Muttaki was a spy from the Sultan of Constantinople and that he was quietly stirring up the people to *jehad* and that a terrible mutiny was about to break out at no distant date. When the contents of the first document became known to Hazur, he took a copy of it to Muttaki, who had till then only a faint idea of the facts of the case. When Hazur produced the copy, Muttaki exclaimed "We are of God only and we return unto Him," and sat dumb-founded for a long while. Hazur broke silence and said "I have come to you now, to tell you that I have no power to contend with Nazur. If I could throw away honor, truth, religion and fear of God, I should freely enter into the lists with him; but this I am not prepared to do however he provokes me and tempts me to take steps to get him punished by the self-same laws, in the knowledge of which he so prides himself. I have a scheme in my head, which I could easily execute to frustrate him; for, however, versed in law, Nazur is still younger than myself. But, by your good advice, I have vowed to God not to sacrifice religion at the altar of worldly riches. You know Mir Ghalib; he is one of the cleverest men of this place and has lands in this very village. He is also a shining light of the bar. Sometime ago, he asked me to let him know when there was any share for sale. I now think of selling my share to him, so that he may give Nazur a crushing answer. The only impediment is the thought that I am now the ruler of this town; and this will take away all my influence; but the way in which I mean to spend life hereafter, does not, however, need any such position or influence. I want your counsel as to whether Ghirat's share might also be disposed of in a similiar way; I do not think that Nazur will give her any rest."

Muttaki.—"you understand these matters better than myself; and in regard to relationship, you are more closely related. Your deeds are honest, which is clear from the fact that without any legal pressure, you have determined to have Ghirat's share delivered to her; and further for the crime of being honest, you have got into trouble with your brotner, the first instalment of which is this application which you now show to me. God is on

the side of truth and He alone supports those on whose side truth lies; God willing, truth will at last prevail. Let Nazur enjoy his paternal birth-rights, and let him become a great man. After all, he is not a stranger. If the property did not come to two brothers and one sister, it remained with one brother only. It is a hard thing, no doubt to forego one's share, especially when it is an inheritance and is in the same village as you live in; especially, under present circumstances when abuses are heaped on your head; but you say that the retention of it is impossible without dishonesty and disgrace.

"You can consult your sister in this matter. If you ask for my opinion, I will say that you have committed an error from the very beginning. You have only done and wish to do, what all honest men in the world do; and undoubtedly no blame attaches to you in all conscience; but the fact of no blame attaching does not entitle you to any *merit*. If you had taken my counsel at the start, I would have advised you, and now give the same advice to you and Ghirat Bagum, that if possible you should withdraw altogether your claims for your shares. Is it such a precious thing after all? God has given you much. Regarding your proposal of transfer, all that I have to say is that reference will have to be finally made to you. Enquiries will be made as to whether or not, you are the son and daughter of Mir Baquir in accordance with the representation of Nazur. No doubt success will finally be on your side; but *he* will be lost to you for ever and there will be no end of quarrels and troubles. The proposal that I think of will, if God willing, in the end, neither cause you the loss of your share nor will it estrange your brother from you.

"Suppose that for a while he triumphs and takes possession of the whole property—by lying, by forging, by abusing brother and sister—and separates himself from you all; but can he for matter of that, cut himself entirely from his family and the world? The world will abuse him and shun his presence and the finger of scorn will be pointed at him. He will be a discreditable, and disreputable character. 'If any one does you evil, reward him with good, and see whether his enmity remains, or turns into fervid love.'" (Koran).

In fact, the prediction of Muttaki came to pass. The assertions of Nazur were not refuted by Hazur and Ghirat Bagum; and accordingly *an ex parte* judgment was given in Nazur's favour.

But what good was it to him? The judge the bar and the whole Court down to the *Choprassis* looked down upon him; and wherever he went he was abused. So, finally, he had to eat humble pie, and to present himself before his brother and sister with great respect and humiliation and supplicate them to take back their shares, the same two-fifths and one-fifth for which he thirsted so eagerly in the beginning.

Chapter XII.

Muttaki's endeavours to effect Mubtala's reformation.

From the foregoing narrative it is plain that all the affairs of Ghirat Begum were gradually getting into order through the good offices of Muttaki without creating unpleasantness of any kind. The salaries were recovered, the rents of the houses properly arranged for, and the share in the Zamindary rescued from the clutches of the grasping Nazur. The last and most difficult problem, to reform the habits and morals of her husband, now remained for him to solve and he proceeded to grapple it with equal caution. After the marriage of a woman her comfort, happiness, self-respect and dignity all depend on her husband. In the sunshine of his love and affection the trials and hardships of the world disappear like snow. But wanting that, her cheerless heart is heavy as lead and the costliest dress is unattractive and the daintest food loathsome. The sweetest flower loses its aroma and the henna* its lovely hue, if they are not to bring the light into his eyes. Muttaki saw all this clearly but the difficulties in his way were so numerous that he put off his attempts for a favourable opportunity. One very strong reason against any ill advised interference lay in the absence of all free and cordial intercourse between uncle and nephew. True, Mubtala was very respectful and differential to his uncle, but their friendship stopped there. There was no free and open-hearted trust in each other, that easy and untrammelled exchange of confidences which would exist with friends more equally assorted, where the goodness of the one will react on the other to any lasting benefit. Muttaki was nearly 55 years old and stood to him almost in the relation of a father and so far as Mubtala could remember he had seen his uncle only

* Henna consists of the leaves of a certain tree which is beaten into pulp and applied to the hands and feet to dye them a red colour and forms an item of a woman's toilet.

twice before now. The greatest barrier lay however in the complete estrangement between them in their habits, manners, tastes and thoughts, where the one was opposed to the other as the north to the south pole. It is no wonder then that Muttaki waited long before his opportunity came to take any steps in the direction he wished.

They met together unavoidably at meals when Mubtala was forced by his character of host to dine with his uncle. At other hours Mubtala always avoided him, keeping in the women's apartment when he was not there and quietly stepping out when he happened to go there. Gay youthful lover of pleasure that he was, he was now leading a double life. He went forth into the world donned in his silk embroidered suits, with twirled moustache and sparkling eyes proud of his own appearance and content with self and all the world. But in his uncle's presence he was the respectful youth with downcast eyes and penitent look ill at ease and calculating the earliest chance of escape. Even at meal times there was no opportunity of which Muttaki could avail. Unlike English dinners where people begin to talk and all manner of conversation ensues as soon as they take their seats, as if they ate only to talk, these sat to their almost silent meal and as soon as it was finished Mubtala would slip out. With his go-before-uncle look and dress he meekly sat before his uncle at the edge of the cloth (spread on the carpet on which the dishes were arrarged). Muttaki would on the other hand wash himself as soon as he perceived that dinner was ready and sitting on his haunches begin his meal all the while exclaiming "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate." Like a true moulvie, he perhaps thought that eating was itself devotion to God and wished therefore that none of the graces should be omitted. Eating in haste to take less, Muttaki was not more inclined to converse than Mubtala, ever ready to escape at the first opportunity. The best dinners at all events in this instance entirely failed to open their hearts towards each other. But all this while it should not be presumed that Muttaki was for once misled by his nephew's apparently contrite and respectful manner. He saw clearly between the lines that it was only the fear of offence to himself which created this restraint. His closest friend and confidant did not know Mubtala's fault as well as this shrewd moulvie, that religion had not the smallest concern with him and that he was

an ardent and devoted admirer of the goddess of beauty, which in his opinion outweighed wealth, nobility, learning and morality. With a youth of this sort Muttaki pondered long over the course he should adopt, as his success in such matters greatly depended on this rule of his, and snatching a favourable moment as Mubtala was leaving one day after dinner he beckoned him to sit and gave him a short *sermon*.

THE SERMON.

Muttaki began by inveighing against the system of education now obtaining in our schools and colleges, which he thought had mainly to do with the irreligious character of Mubtala. The system is, no doubt, the very best so far as worldly interests are concerned; but religion is clean cut out and thrown away, from its curriculum as if it were a mortified limb. He explained that religion does the same service in the world as the regulator does in the clock work; and there was no opposition, as it is often supposed, between the world and religion. Man, unlike the lower creation possesses intellect which is capable of improvement, and his intellect is better cultivated, in a particular direction, in a particular period of his life. "Religious intellect"—so to speak—should be cultivated in childhood; otherwise man loses the aptitude of retaining what is called in the Koran "the color of God." Our intellect is not given to us to serve merely our worldly wants; for these are few and far between as compared with those of some members of the lower creation. A mighty intellect such as ours is quite disproportionate to our worldly wants. It is given to us that we may discern the Creator from the creation, the immortal from the mortal, the future from the present, and understanding these to prepare ourselves for that abode, where our soul shall rest for ever in peace. In the multitude of religions there is selection and what are we to select and in what way? The main object of religion is the improvement of man and the differences in religions are brought about only through climatic changes, and national idiosyncracies. He therefore advised Mubtala to remain in his own religion and to observe its ordinances with care. Then he cautioned him against his companions, or rather hangers-on, who stuck to him like leeches, only so long as there was life-blood to suck. Selfish friendship was bad enough; but selfish friendship for the accomplishment of objectionable ends was worse.

Chapter XIII.

Effect of the Sermon on Mubtala.

When his uncle asked him to sit down to hear advice, he was naturally prepared to be obstinate but could not, out of respect, breathe a word of opposition. But after a little while he became so engrossed in the lecture that he did not perceive for sometime when his uncle had finished. When he soon after walked out of his uncle's presence the words were still ringing in his ears and he felt convinced of their justice. He had led a frivolous life of dissipation. But the pleasure he experienced in it could not so lightly be discarded. His habits had grown on him and he felt as if he were shamefully deserting his ranks. His friends, his pleasure parties and his rambles would all be lost to him for ever. Could he give these up and live? What about his gold laced hat? Should he give that up also and take a turband with a tail as his uncle did. He had never during his whole life entered a mosque and if he appeared among them now the namazis (congregation) would stare at him with wide open eyes. He would be an object of ridicule both to those whom he left and those whose ranks he sought to join. Mubtala was still wandering in these thoughts, unsettled and vainly endeavouring to make up his mind as to what to do when Muttaki on the following Friday took the matter into his own hands by inducing him to dress in a suit of plain clothes and accompanying him to the mosque. From that day forth he took him there every day for prayers and the good work thus begun would in all probability, have soon borne golden fruit but for the evil destiny of the unhappy youth which forced his uncle to take an early departure out of the town as we shall relate presently.

Chapter XIV.

The untimely departure of Muttaki.

We have already made mention of an anonymous petition being received in the office of the Deputy Commissioner of the district. The venom which Nazar had so cleverly introduced now began its course and the officer had ordered a gaurded espionage into the affairs of Muttaki which made itself felt in a most unpleasant manner. Nothing definite was observable but in some mysterious manner his sermons appeared to have attracted a larger congregation than ordinary and policemen seemed to have become specially interested. Not unoften, indirect and awkward

questions followed after sermons which apparently required immediate solution. "What is India? Is it or is not Darul-Narb" (enemy's country)? "Is it proper to take interest for money, from Hindus or Englishmen."? "Suppose the English make war on the Amir and a Mahomedan sepoy happens to serve in the regiment sent out, what should he do?' 'Is the Mahdi of Soudan the promised Mahdi?' 'Is it allowable for Indian Mussulmans to send him aid?' 'How is it regarded in our books, to eat with and dress like Englishmen and adopt their manners and social customs?' These and other questions coming thickly one on another opened the eyes of Muttaki and shrewd man as he was he guessed at once the spring whence arose all this unusual interest. He felt keenly this unjust suspicion and happening to know the kotwal of the place he requested of him a private audience as soon as Friday prayers were over. That evening the kotwal called on him and Muttaki went straight into the question without any preface. "Well, Sir, why is it that for the last few days policemen have been watching my movements and keeping me under surveillance. I cannot move about in the public streets without one of these hanging on me and at my lectures problems are put to me which are both intricate and compromising and which will require considerable time and thought to answer properly. No doubt they keep back from me the true facts but I can easily see their motive in all these. I am not an inhabitant of this place and you know why I remain here after my seven years' pilgrimage. I came to see my brother and I found he was dead and that his affairs were all in a miserable condition. I postponed my visit to Rampore which I had proposed and have now by the grace of God nearly put them to rights. I shall only want but a few months more to complete it and after that I cannot afford to stay longer even if there is no objection to do so. But under this surveillance it is impossible to live a single day and my anxiety has made me so miserable that my object in staying will be equally a failure. I cannot see of what crime I could be suspected. I have no students and I am not a religious leader of a popular throng. The Government is strong and powerful and I am but a weak and humble subject of it. Why should they honour me with such attentions? If there are any doubts or suspicions against me let them publicly call upon me and I am willing to answer any charges that may be

brought against me. But to treat me unjustly as a marked man and a doubtful character is humiliating and unbearable." The kotwal heard all this in respectful silence and replied. "Qut of respect and good will to you I may only say this, that if you intend to go to Rampore after three or four months it is better to leave this place at once." Muttaki considered for a while and made up his mind to follow this advice. Perhaps Ghirat Begum never wept so much on the death of her father as at the departure of the good uncle and even Mubtala had so far reformed that he, instead of relief, felt genuine sorrow. Muttaki had a final interview with his nephew before he left and exhorted him to keep from the ways of sin as he had done so far and advised him to apply to Syed Hazur in any difficulty as he was certain to give disinterested counsel. He also requested Mian Arif, a school fellow of Mubtala but a perfectly good mannered youth of about his own age, who had also the merit of being a learned moulvie, to see his nephew often and bring him into good ways. His was of a philosophic mind and Mubtala was strongly counselled to meet Mian Arif often and secure his friendship as such intercourse would without doubt have the best results on the mind of the young man yearning for the liberties left behind.

Chapter XV.

Mubtala's condition subsequent to the Uncle's departure.

Mubtala's present condition was like that of a patient involved in a mortal disease under the treatment of a skilful and experienced doctor. Treatment* had begun, consisting of laxatives, purgatives, refrigerants and opiates. The course of laxatives was not finished, when the doctor had given up treatment. Although Saiyid Hazur was his nephew, Mubtala was not on friendly terms with him on account of domestic differences. Mian Arif was a moulvie and a philosopher, but was not Mubtala's uncle; what regard had Mubtala for him, and what interest had he in Mubtala? Yet he came to him twice in the week on Fridays and Mondays, and spent two hours with him and Mubtala in his turn called on him on Saturdays and Tuesdays and thus they contrived to see each other pretty often in the week. The benefit that accrued to him was, that his former acquaintances had not access to him as

* This refers to the medical treatment of the Indian Hakims in a playful way.

freely as before and could not exercise their old charm, and that he kept to the course marked out for him by his uncle however, slow and listless his movements were.

Mubtala made no improvement in religion, but it was satisfactory that he did not revert to his former loose ways. In short Mubtala became, like most people a respectable domesticated gentleman without any ambition in religion.

Chapter XVI.

Mabtala involved in Love.

Mubtala's boon companions had not given him up but were only waiting their chance and after Muttaki's departure assailed him on every side. It is matter for wonder that they were quiet in the presence of Muttaki Sahib. If they had preferred their claims to him, he would have found means of disposing of them in a nice way. But after he had left instalments of debt payable to them having fallen due he had to arrange for them from the rents of houses. This led to their meeting often and in their company he gradually slipped into his old ways. The circumstances were fit enough to push Mubtala down entirely to the level of his former looseness, but the words of advice spoken by Muttaki were still fresh in his memory. Now it happened that when Mubtala's father was living a certain woman came and settled in a rented house in the neighbourhood. She was probably a flirt of Lucknow; but had given herself out to be a *Begum* (a lady).

In a few days after her settlement the people of the town began to talk of her beauty and learning. Many hesitated in accepting her as a model of beauty but no one doubted that good garment sat beautifully on her. Mubtala who greedily devoured news of this kind soon came to know all about her, but while his father was alive he did not dare to venture to cross her threshhold.

After his death however he visited her often and fancied from her polished manners and elegant speech that she was well bred and might be a begum as she pretended to be, at all events she must have moved in high circles even as an attendant in a Nawab's harem. She had very winning ways and could read the soul of those who visited her. She could dive into their hearts

and discover their secret weaknesses and so conduct herself as to satisfy the tastes of everybody. No sooner had her eyes set on Mubtala than she read him a voluptuary without a will of his own. Leaving the cushion on which she was reclining she made him a low salaam as Hindus do before the morning sun, and forced him to sit in her own place, she herself with a great show of respect taking a seat opposite to him. Mubtala tried to persuade her to sit beside him but she declined saying. "Ayaz* know thine own worth."

She said "I have heard of the splendours of Delhi and for a long time wished to visit it. If I had wings I would have flown down here at once. But when I had not the smallest expectation, an opportunity presented itself, and God has brought me down here. There is plenty of wealth in Lucknow; and the people too are jolly folk and apprize beauty highly. This is why all the beauty of the world is collected there, but to tell the real truth, I have never as yet come across a person of your surpassing beauty, Mubtala."

"You are all kindness but a good countenance is not of much value to us. It is the countenance of your sex that is so supreme that a world is mad after you. The sounds of your praises are still ringing in my ears, but no earlier opportunity was available until now for calling on you. Delhi can never surpass Lucknow in fashion or in grace, and if Lucknow is your home, what certainty is there of your staying here permanently?"

"The woman—The world is so prejudiced against us that even if we wear a garment inscribed with verses of the Koran, people do not believe in us. Whether you believe me or not, I must say that I am the daughter of a respectable father. I do not know what God has written in my fate, I am thrown in this helpless state in a foreign land; but when I left Lucknow, I left it with a resolve never to return. I abhor my present condition and prefer death to it. If any gentleman supports me I am ready to spin the thread or grind the corn or dust his slippers; but to whom can I go?"

Although Mubtala was in the very height of his wild career he had not till now entertained any idea of entering into new

* Ayaz was a slave of the Sultan Mahomed of Gazni. He was his master's favourite and rose to great dignity. But he never forgot his former position and showed his gratitude by devoted service.

matrimonial relations. But now, thanks to her honeyed words, scarcely had she ended her speech than he once for all, made up his mind to propose to her to become his wife. There were two deficiencies in her—Her face was not very beautiful, although with the aid of the toilet, she showed off fairly well; and secondly, she knew nothing of music or dancing which was to him almost a passion in those days. However, through her arts and wiles she so fascinated him in the very first interview, that often when he went to her house in the evening he did not leave her till it was very late in the night. His visits were continued till Muttaki's arrival, by which time, the begum had carved for herself a niche in the temple of his heart. But after his advent she shared the fate of his other companions and had to be content with the back shelf. Although she tried every means to induce him to pay her even flying visits, she did not succeed. He who had now given up his old bad ways would not even brook to be on saluting terms with her much less would stoop to visit her. The begum was about to submit to this desertion as decreed by fate when Muttaki suddenly retired from the scene. She was elated with joy on hearing the news; and was on the tip-toe of expectation every hour to see Mubtala in her house. Two and three days passed but he never turned up and she guessed that the uncle's lessons had taken root. But when she heard that her brethren-in-art were surrounding him under pretence of payment of their debts, she also ventured to write to him complaining of his infidelity and requesting him to come to her but for a few minutes even to formally dissever his connection. Much as he hesitated in venturing on a visit, he argued that if he did not go to her, she might come to him and thus make matters worse. With the firm resolution to stand his ground, he went to her one day, but woe betide the hour! The begum met him with a show of great ardour and affection; and her manners were so sweet and winning that Mabtala being out of the question, even Muttaki would have found it difficult to resist her. She gently reproached him for his negligence and then Mubtala ventured on his explanation relating from start to finish the whole story of Muttaki's arrival, the reformation of domestic affairs, the scandal of Nazur, Muttaki's return, the friendship with Arif and the settlement of accounts with his gay company.

Hearing the whole story with rapt attention, she said that his non-appearance for so many days had much displeased her—and that after a few words with him, she had intended to bid

good-bye to the locality. Now her mind was changed. All that she heard gave her much pleasure. She would have kissed* Muttaki Sahib's hands if she had been there. He had treated him better than a father, and if he acted up to his advice, his success here and hereafter was assured. "I felt," she said, "myself that this advice was necessary to you that expenditure of money on dancing girls, and your becoming a 'man of everywhere' is not praiseworthy." To this, Mubtala replied that the difficulty was that he had no love for his wife. Existence was therefore unsupportable.

Begum.—If you are not pleased with your wife, you can take another wife of your own choice. You are not too poor to take up the burden of managing two houses. God has not kept men under restrictions. He has allowed four wives to each man.

Mubtala.—Are you willing to become my wedded wife?

Begum.—I already told you that I do not like my present way of living, and have every wish to connect myself with some one man. If you help me, so much the better; there will be many for you to choose from, but if you marry, marry such a one that none of your desires are left unsatisfied. Better that you should before marrying try her for some days.

Mubtala.—I am tired of thinking of such measures. Uncle and Arif desire that I should dissolve and crumble away to dust in anxiety and sorrow.

Begum.—God forbid; such be the fate of your enemies! People are not born more than once and youthful days dissolve like "moving shadow."

Mubtala.—I cannot control myself. I have no affection for this wife, I must need take another. Well a week hence.

Begum.—Nay, a fortnight hence; but on the condition that you give me a decisive reply yourself in person and not go to hide yourself as before.

After these arrangements Mubtala returned home, but if the truth must be told these promises constituted their wedding ceremonial.

KHAJA KHAN SAHIB.

(To be Continued.)

* As a sign of spiritual following.

Vol. II. No. 5.

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

MAY, 1896.

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Madras:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE NATIONAL PRESS,
100, MOUNT ROAD.

1896.

Annual Subscription Including Postage... Rs. 7 | Price per Copy Rs. 2.

THE

Madras Review.

Vol. II. MAY 1896. No. 5.

THE RISE OF THE VAISHNAVITE SECTS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

OPENING a newspaper of the day edited "by educated Hindus for educated Hindus," the reader's attention is arrested by a flaming article on "Child-marriage and enforced Widow-hood." A rapid glance through the article convinces the intelligent reader that Hindu Society and religion are dead effete things incapable of assimilating new ideas or adapting themselves to changed conditions. The fierce denunciations of the "almost Chinese immobility" of conservative Hinduism, and the prophetic warnings of its impending downfall, leave no other conclusion open to the intelligent mind. The reader with this conviction strong in him turns to the next article. It is a reply, and a strongly worded one, to a Christian Missionary's attacks on Hinduism. The Missionary describes Hinduism as a creed "outworn" and assures his audience of the speedy evangelisation of all India. This arouses the ire of the Hindu journalist who assures the Christian world in a superior tone that Hinduism is a religion singularly capable of adapting itself to new conditions, and quotes from its past history to prove how at critical moments, when it seemed to have lost its hold on the popular mind, it regained all its former power by prudent changes and reforms. The history of the conflict between Hinduism and Buddhism for the supremacy of the Indian world is cited—how at the precise moment when the Buddhistic heresy seemed to have triumphed, Hinduism judiciously incorporated the leading elements of the rival creed, thus regained its lost popularity, and extirpated Buddhism so completely out of the land, that at the present day Buddhistic monuments are, when discovered, treasured as curious relics of antiquity. The intelligent reader is now sorely puzzled. How is he to reconcile between such contradictory statements as those made in con-

nection with social reform, and those in connection with the Missionary? His wonderment is only increased when he finds that the actual facts of Indian life seem to support either assertion. He attends a widow marriage party and soon discovers how fiercely orthodox Hindu opinion is opposed to such a beneficent reform, and comes to easily credit the statements about the extreme unprogressiveness of Hinduism. But he turns to a manual of Indian history and soon finds repeating to himself the Indian journalist's verdict on the singular adaptability that Hinduism has exhibited. How then is this inconsistency to be reconciled?

The solution of this puzzle lies in the peculiar constitution of the Hindu mind. Careful and accurate studies of the various races of the globe, especially of those savage races that live in stern isolation from the civilised world,—those studies that have given rise to the modern science of sociology—have taught us to discard the easy theory of the eighteenth century as to "human nature being the same all the world over." We now believe in "racial characteristics", and in such a characteristic must we find the key to the puzzle propounded above. The Hindu mind is, as a writer recently put it in the columns of a weekly review, "thoroughly penetrated and dominated by the religious spirit, the intense desire to know and act on truths which are not material." The doctrine that "all human things are vanity" has been pushed to its logical excess in Hindu India, and what in the Western world is earnestly held only by "the devout", and brought home to the minds of the many for half an hour every Sunday, is acted upon daily by all grades of Hindu Society. The Varaha Purana relates the story of a common hunter who kills a deer and who, when rebuked for his sin, replies that by killing the body he released the soul from its bondage free to be absorbed into the Eternal Soul. The story, though rather grotesque, illustrates well the trait of the Hindu mind that I have been attempting to bring out. No doubt it is not easy to detect this mental feature in the hundreds of students that crowd our colleges and the hundreds of graduates that come from our universities. They display, if anything, in a much intenser fashion that desire to "get on" which is supposed to be characteristic of the Westerns in general, and the anglo-Saxon race in particular. This is so far as superficial observation goes. Rudyard Kipling, like

the man of genius that he is, has gone deeper, and seized, and reproduced for us the real lurking trait of Hindu character in his fine story of "Sir Puren Doss, Statesman and Reformer". Puren Doss won high honours at the University, rose to be a Minister of a Native State, administered it for several years with singular ability, initiated several reforms, was knighted and made a K. C. I. E. by the Government of India, but suddenly he resigned all his honours and retired to the Himalayas to contemplate in the presence of Nature the eternal verities of the soul. Grand and sudden is the action of the racial instinct! For years it slumbers on, but suddenly some accident or other awakens it, and then the individual is precipitated out of his daily wonted life.

The contradiction is now easily explained. Social reform is advocated on the ground that it will conduce better to national progress and social well-being. But what cares the true Hindu for "national progress," or "social well-being"? To him these phrases which are the motive power of all noble work in the European world are unmeaning, if not sinful. Hence the slight acceptance that the social reform creed has found among the people. But while thus presenting an unmoved front to all attacks from the "materialistic happiness" point or view, Hinduism is singularly open to spiritual influences. Looked at in this light the "immobility," the "non-adaptability" of Hinduism are unmeaning words. Within historical times hundreds of creeds have arisen within the bosom of Hinduism and found thousands of ready and zealous adherents. A teacher reverenced for his life of purity and lofty scorn of things of the world and of the flesh propounds a new doctrine: disciples gather round him, sit at his feet, learn the new way to salvation, and then disperse to convert whole tracts to their newborn faith. The teacher dies, but his death only ensures the permenence of the infant faith. For it supplies what a creed requires, a personality that may be invested with god-like attributes. The dead teacher is deified and in a score of years marvellous legends—some of them pious frauds, but most of them almost natural outgrowths of such an earnest but credulous belief—gather round his memory. The faith meanwhile goes on increasing

making new converts. But a time comes when it ceases to make any. This is when the first generation of disciples, with their zeal, fresh from their master, disappear and leave nobody else to continue it. So long however as the faith produces men who work in the eager spirit of the first apostles, the work of proselytisation goes on. But when this is no longer the case then the professors of the faith look upon their peculiar doctrines more as some high and valued privilege which ought to be jealously monopolised, than as truth which they are bound to propagate. The sect then becomes a caste, a close corporation, a faith which men may be born in, but not admitted to.

The foregoing inquiry explains how in spite of the current opinion about the immobility of Hindu Society and Religion, change swift and sudden, is possible in India. Without this clue, much of the past religious history of the country is an unmeaning riddle. A history of the Indian people, as distinguished from a political history of India, is mainly a history of religion. And this history loses all its significance if we read it in the light of the current conceptions regarding Hinduism. But accepting the above explanation, the history of Indian religion assumes a meaning and an importance it never had before. It becomes henceforth impossible to accept the easy theory that present-day Hinduism is substantially the same as was in the days of Manu. We see it coming into contact with various creeds and find it incorporating new elements therefrom. We believe that the Hinduism under which we live and move and have our being has not been transported bodily through the ages; but bears the impress of the thought and work that countless thinkers and workers have thought and worked. Nor is this the sole truth we gain from looking at Hinduism from the point of view suggested. We can also clearly see and analyse the rise and spread of the various creeds that have contributed their elements to the Hinduism of to-day. This will assist us materially in understanding not only Hindu history but Universal history as well. The rise and spread of religions generally will be far better understood than now.

With the above explanation then in mind let us inquire into

the history of the rise and spread of the Vaishnavite sects in Southern India. Hinduism is much coloured by Vaishnavite ideas and it will be interesting to understand this factor of Hinduism.

It is a vulgar error to suppose that Ramanuja founded Vaishnavism in Southern India: Ramanuja was a mighty personality, and it was through his efforts that Vaishnavism from a small, obscure, and despised sect grew into one of the chief religions of the country. Hence people who are careless of historical accuracy hastily ascribe its origin to Ramanuja; and the existing histories unthinkingly follow them. The beginnings of Vaishnavism in the Peninsula must be traced several centuries earlier than Ramanuja, we have hardly materials to say how many. What we know of the small beginnings of Vaishnavism anterior to Ramanuja is a group of popular legends, most of them bearing on their face marks of violent improbability. These legends, whatever may be the value to be attached to them as straightforward records of facts, are however interesting as throwing light on the nature of the early Vaishnavite faith. They reveal to us the interesting fact that Vaishnavism was the popular protest against the narrow exclusiveness of Brahman religiosity. It was the revolt of the lower Dravidian population against the Aryan aristocracy of Brahmans who had denied the lower classes, religious knowledge. Under another aspect it represented the revolt of the feeling of love in religion against that of knowledge. The Brahmans had made religion synonymous with philosophy, so that the uncultured classes were practically left atheists. Against this, the popular mind rose up protesting that love of God was the one thing needed for salvation, and that intellectual culture was not essential. Under another aspect it represented the revolt of the vernacular tongue against the tyranny of a sacred classical language. The religious books and prayers of Brahmanism were in Sanskrit, and thus they remained a sealed book to the mass of the population. The sacred language of Vaishnavism was Tamil, the Vernacular of the country.

Over this early Vaishnavism with its protestant spirit of social equality, its doctrine of salvation by love, and its devotional literature clothed in the popular speech and expressing in a touching

way the thoughts that came straight from the hearts of the people, one fain would linger. Few and fragmentary as are the records of that interesting epoch, still we have enough left to see that the figures of the *Alwars* stand out prominent amidst the contemporary darkness, clothed with the illumination of a more than legendary grandeur. The Alwars were those who composed those devotional Tamil hymns that form the peculiarly sacred songs of the Vaishnavites. These songs go to make the sacred *Prabhandam* that forms so important a part of divine service amongst modern Vaishnavites. The authors of this Prabhandam or *Alwars* were, it is interesting to note, men of all castes, all of them natives of the Tamil districts. Orthodox chronology assigns to them an impossibly ancient date, the latest of them being assigned to 2700 B.C., and several of them being placed in former Yugas. There is no doubt however that this chronology is grotesquely absurd, and that the Alwars are not many centuries earlier than Ramanuja. The motive that led to the assigning of dates so ancient is plain enough. It was the desire to ascribe a high antiquity to a movement that by the side of the existing religion seemed comparatively modern. From the biographies of these Alwars it is possible to form some idea of the Vaishnavite movement in its infancy.

These biographies are mere skeleton outlines but even the bareness of the record reveals the touching accents in which the early Vaishnavite faith found expression. The stories of high-way-robbers, Pariah workers in the fields, hunters, women and such like persons whom the orthodox Hinduism had condemned to unlettered ignorance and practical atheism holding intimate personal communion with God and loving Him with a love that passeth understanding and singing His praise in songs that seem to be the simple outpourings of the heart, contrast strangely with the records of orthodox Hinduism with its harsh regulations about the lower classes and its philosophy of religion in which the love of man for his God is absent. Again and again in reading this history one thinks of the story of Him who taught his doctrine to publicans and sinners, the robber and the adulteress, and who represented God under the touching figure of a Human Father. Even the

very language of the *Prabhandam* reminds one, of the Gospel story. These early Dravidian singers conceive God as a Father. Often enough they figure Him under that most touching of human relations, a Mother. From the cold philosophy of orthodoxy, one turns with relief to the frenzied love and devotion of these sons of the people.

We have called this movement a revolt of the Dravidian people against the Aryan aristocracy. But this religious revolt is marked by a peculiarity which must be noticed if we are to understand its later history. The Dravidian protestants while protesting against Aryan exclusiveness set up for their God an Aryan God. They chose Vishnu and inscribed his name on their standards as a watch-word of defiance to the orthodox party which attached no exclusive veneration to him. It is easy to understand—and the Prabhandam sufficiently makes it clear—why Vishnu, out of the Triad should have been chosen. Siva stood alone in grand, savage isolation from human interests and sympathies, like one of Homer's gods who lay "beside their nectar careless of mankind." He was the grim God of Destruction. But Vishnu was the Preserver. The story of his human incarnations as Rama and Krishna—as related in the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagavata Purana*—was known and read by millions of the people to whom other books of the religion were jealously forbidden. Rama and Krishna as men who had lived, loved, and suffered with their brother men, won their hearts in a way which no God of philosophy could have done. For centuries the Ramayana and the Bhagavata were the sole literature in which the mass of the people found relief from the toilsome monotonous round of their daily lives. With these were associated all their romance, their loves, joys, and sorrows and all their religious consolations. The story of one of the Alwars, Kulasekhara Alwar, shows how great an influence these studies exercised. Kulasekhara was a prince of South India and his favourite reading was the Ramayana. In the course of his reading, he came to the passage in which the poet describes the conflict that was to take place between Rama, single-handed, and 14,000 demons and adds a natural fear as to the result of such an unequal encounter. Here-

upon the chieftain started up, called his vassals to arms, and began to set out in aid of the solitary Rama. So absorbed was he in the divine story, that he forgot all around him and transported himself back in imagination to the time in which Vishnu came and lived among men as Rama. And there were many like Kulasekhara.

We can now see why the Dravidian movement attached itself to Vishnu and called itself Vaishnavite. This attachment to Vishnu was fruitful in important consequences and affected the whole later history of Vaishnavism. From a very early time, long before the dawn of this movement, orthodox Hinduism had been rent into two parties, one party asserting the supremacy of Siva, the other that of Vishnu. In all the sacred writings of Hinduism we find frequent references to this quarrel. Now, one of these parties—both, we must remember, were Aryan, Brahman, and orthodox—effected a coalition with the New Dravidian party that was rising. This party was of course the party that had asserted the superiority of Vishnu to Siva. The consequence was that Vaishnavism from a heretical Dravidian revolt became an Aryan movement claiming for its leaders not only the despised Sudra and Pariah but men from the very ranks of the elect, the Brahmans. The story of Tirupan Alwar illustrates the fusion between the Dravidian party and the pro-Vishnu Aryan party. Tirupan Alwar was a Pariah serf who was so much attached to Vishnu, that the Vaishnavite God at Srirangam commanded his holy Brahman priest to bear Tirupan on his shoulders to the temple and into the very presence of the God himself. The Brahman servant of Vishnu carrying on his arms his Pariah fellow-devotee typifies the junction effected between the two parties.

Wide and far-reaching were the consequences of this union of the Dravidian and Aryan parties. The Vaishnavite movement, from a revolt of the lower classes, became a split within the high ranks of Brahmanism itself. The champions of Vishnu, so long cherishing their differences in private, seceded from their fellow-Brahmans to form a new sect with a new doctrine of their own, the doctrine of salvation by love, a doctrine we must remember, borrowed from the Dravidian Vaishnavites. The system of caste, that had so long

bound the Hindu race in chains of steel, was broken. For the first time since the days of Buddah the equality of Sudra and Brahman was admitted not only in theory but in practice. The religious privileges of Hinduism which had been denied to all but 'twice-born Aryans' by jealous legislators were now openly and solemnly granted by Brahmans to Sudras. So much influence had the new doctrine of love exercised that the whole elaborate system of caste-distinctions that had grown up in the course of centuries went down, as it were, in a night. Thus once again was proved what we have stated in the introduction to this dissertation that Hinduism is singularly open to spiritual influences, and that change, swift and sudden, is possible in India. The spirituality that lies instinctive in the depths of the Hindu mind, while it makes the Hindu follow a law which he reverences as the voice of God at the cost of all personal comfort, makes him cast off the habits of centuries, habits that seem to be almost a part of himself, when once a new doctrine appeals to him as a revelation from God. Only thus is it possible to account for the fact that the Brahman who had so long regulated his life by the strict and inquisitorial regulations of Manu admitted the Sudra Vaishnavite to complete social and religious equality. What a century of English education and English ideas has not rendered possible, the influence of a religious idea was able to accomplish nine centuries ago!

No student of the religious history of South India can visit the great temple of Vishnu at Srirangam and contemplate its associations without deep emotion. At this sacred spot for the first time in the history of the Peninsula the two great races of the land, Aryan and Dravidian, met together in kindly fellowship to worship a Common Father. Here lies the dust of all the Alwars, and a grateful posterity daily pays them almost divine honours. And as the chant of the Prabhandam rises, and a thousand Brahman lips repeat the songs of the Pariah serf and the hunting woodsman, one thinks that here indeed is a perpetual witness to the spirit of equality and fraternity.

But unfortunately for the principle of social and religious

equality, the Alwars were not followed by successors with their gift of spiritual fervour. The Alwars themselves were too much absorbed in things of the spirit to make good propagandists of a disserting faith. No amount of genuine religious emotion alone can qualify a man for the leadership of a movement. Qualities, many of which cannot be classified under the category of "saintly," are needed to guide a movement to a successful issue. Hence the Vaishnavite movement was confined chiefly to the Southern districts of South India, Madura, Tinnevelly, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, and did not extend beyond these. The result was that the doctrine of social equality made no progress outside its native tracts. With the death of the Alwars came a dark period for the infant movement. The original fervour of social and religious reform died away. Even the very songs of the Alwars came by degrees to be forgotten. For some centuries Vaishnavism had practically no history.

A few centuries more, and Vaishnavism would have vanished out of the land. But the Fates ordained a kindlier decree. Away in the north, in what is now known as the Chingleput District, is Conjevaram with a famous temple of Vishnu. Here was congregated a large body of Brahmans asserting the superiority of Vishnu to Siva. These of course had not been affected by the Vaishnavite movement in the South with its head-quarters at Srirangam. So they had not formally separated from the orthodox ranks and formed themselves into a distinct sect. From the ranks of these pro-Vishnu Brahmans was destined to spring the renovator and the greatest propagator of the Vaishnavite faith. Ramanuja, one of the great religious leaders whom Asia has produced, was born early in the eleventh century after Christ. His early education was conducted under the learned Yadava Prakasa who upheld the supremacy of Siva. This fact shows that the pro-Vishnu party had not yet seceded and formed a separate sect of their own. Young Ramanuja displayed a wonderful precocity and while his fellow-disciples faithfully followed the instruction of their master, he asserted the right to use his own independent judgment and often on points of religious controversy upheld the side of Vishnu

against his master. This enraged the Sivite teacher at first; but by degrees his rage was converted into fear. There were signs of restlessness among the pro-Vishnu party in Conjevaram. News was reaching them of a stirring character. Away in the South at Srirangam the Vaishnavite movement that seemed to be dying of inanition had received a fresh impulse from Nathamuni and Alavanthar. Nathamuni had restored the songs of the Alwars, and the chant of the Prabhandam was once more heard in the Temple at Srirangam. Alavanthar had roused the religious world in the South by his sudden renunciation of a life of royal splendour for that of a preacher of the truth. He had composed two treatises in defence of the Vaishnavite movement and his sixteen disciples were spreading his name through the Tamil country. It was through some of these disciples that the pro-Vishnu party at Conjevaram learnt for the first time of the great religious revolt and secession in the South.

The news thrilled them. The Sivite party was alarmed. Yadava Prakasa, who seems to have been the leader of the latter party at Conjevaram, was naturally quick to catch any signs of the storm that was brewing. To his jealous mind the genius of the young Ramanuja, with his Vaishnavite leanings, seemed to threaten danger. What was to be done? The Sivite was not particularly scrupulous as to his means, so he called round him his attached disciples, warned them of danger that was impending, and consulted them as to how to remove Ramanuja out of the way. A conclusion was arrived at. A pilgrimage to Benares was proposed. Yadava set out accompanied by his disciples including of course Ramanuja. The object of the journey was to murder the youthful heretic when a convenient opportunity offered. But he was warned by a fellow-student, so the intended victim fled. A legend relates how God appeared to him in the jungle and led him to Conjevaram. He now became the recognised leader of the pro-Vaishnavite party. And a timely miracle increased his fame. The king's son had been seized by a devil and Yadava was called in to exorcise it: but the devil would not acknowledge his power, and yielded only to the superior charm of Ramanuja's name. Oriental belief ascribes to

religious leaders power to cast out devils: and what the Jews believed of Christ, the Hindus believe of Ramanuja.

The news of the rising genius of Ramanuja and of his Vaishnavite leanings was carried by some disciples to Alavanthar at Srirangam. Alavanthar was now drawing towards his end. His long and useful life had been one of exciting bustle and intense happiness. He could contemplate the grave which was shortly to close over him with perfect serenity. But a distress hung heavy over his soul. The thought that the faith he had restored might sink again into oblivion oppressed him. Long and painfully did he pray for a leader. And God heard his prayer. From the lips of his disciples he heard of Ramanuja. "Verily," he thought, "God has vouchsafed him in answer to my entreaties, and in him shall all the races of this land be blessed." So, rejoicing in the prospect, Alavanthar sent one of his most devoted disciples, Perianambi, to Conjevaram to bring down Ramanuja to Srirangam. Perianambi delivered Alavanthar's commands which Ramanuja instantly obeyed. On the way to Srirangam a religious discourse went on between them, in which Ramanuja learnt in detail of the sectarian movement in the South. Then Ramanuja professed his anxiety to be formally initiated into the Vaishnavite sect according to the prescribed Vaishnavite rites then and there. So under the shade of a Vakulatree (*Mimusops Elengi*) which grows in the temple that overshadows the great lake at Madurantakam Ramanuja was "baptized."-To the historian of Vaishnavism that spot is holy ground; and as he gazes on the Vakula tree that still stands there he is transported back through eight troubled centuries to the days when Vaishnavism had its second birth.

The travellers hastened on to Srirangam. But they were not destined to meet Alayanthar on this side of the grave. As they came to the banks of the Cauvery that encircles Srirangam they saw a solemn funeral procession slowly winding down the opposite bank. Alavanthar was dead, and a long train of mourning disciples were carrying his remains to their last repose. Ramanuja hastily crossed the river to have a look at him whom he had never seen living. And there on the body of the dead master he swore to consecrate his life to the work of propagating the true faith. A touching legend relates that the dead teacher heard the oath and that his countenance wore a radiant expression.

This is a turning point in the history of Vaishnavism. The greatest mind, then existing, of the south Indian world was devoted to its cause, and henceforth it went on from success to success, conquering the prince on his throne, and the wild hunter on his rocks. The genius of Ramanuja inspired a number of able and devoted disciples who carried on the torch he had handed over. But the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja and his followers differed in one essential respect from the Vaishnavism of the Alwars. The latter had their centre at the Southern religious capital of Srirangam which was in the very midst of the Tamil Dravidian country. They had come very largely under Dravidian influence—in fact as we have seen many of them were themselves Dravidians—and broken with the older Aryan traditions. Their sacred literature was Tamil. They had done away with caste, and Brahman and Sudra met on a footing of perfect religious and social equality. Ramanuja and his followers came from the Northern religious capital of Conjevaram which was the centre of Sanskrit study. They had not at all been touched by the Southern Vaishnavite movement, in fact they only heard of it when it was revived by Nathamuni and Alavanthar. The Southerns had attached themselves to Vishnu, because he was emphatically the God of the people: Ramanuja and his followers, because Vishnu seemed to them to be emphatically the God of the Vedas. This reveals the fundamental difference between the earlier Alwar movement and the later Ramanuja movement. And this difference could not remain a mere intellectual distinction, it had enormous influence on practical questions. Dravidian converts to Vaishnavism could no more claim the same religious privileges as Brahman converts. The social equality they enjoyed in the days of the Alwars, was lost. Ramanuja could not of course deny them a measure of the spiritual benefits they had formerly enjoyed. He had to allow them the use of the sacraments just as Brahmans. But he restricted this privilege

by forbidding the usual repetition of *Mantras* while the sacraments were administered to Sudras.

Though the work of the Alwars was counteracted in this fashion, still it had made too deep an impression on Vaishnavism to be lightly effaced. The doctrine of salvation by love had become an integral feature of Vaishnavism, and it could not be set aside. So Ramanuja adopted it, but transformed it by the Aryan theory of transmigration. The Alwars had understood the doctrine of love to mean that whosoever, Brahman or Sudra, loved Vishnu, attained salvation. Ramanuja admitted this in the case of Brahmans, but modified it as regards the lower classes by saying that the loving Sudra would be born in a higher caste, and so by a series of higher births be born a Brahman, when at last as a pious Vaishnavite he would enter Heaven. The Prabhandam had attained too great a holiness as a sacred Bible of the Vaishnavites to be shaken. So it was adopted by Ramanuja.

Against all these compromises, these restrictions on the unqualified religious and social equality of the lower classes, the lives of the Alwars and the daily worship offered to them in the great Temple at Srirangam stood as a silent but effective protest. How was religious or social inequality to be defended when a Sudra and a Pariah had been raised to the semi-divine position of an Alwar? So the ingenuity of the New Vaishnavism of the North set about bringing the lives of the Alwars into harmony with their new doctrines. Tirupan Alwar was for instance a Pariah. How were the New Vaishnavites to reconcile this fact with the divine honours paid to him? One of those pious frauds common enough in religious history was committed. The human birth of Tirupan Alwar was denied. He was an angel who had incarnated himself in the form of a child in a rice-field. There he was seen by a Pariah and his wife, not ordinary Pariahs, but "very holy men born by decree of fate in such low estate," adds the Neo-Vaishnavite chronicler. These Pariahs took the little child and adopted it as their own. But when the Pariah woman tried to feed it on her milk, the child would not taste it, and so was nursed on "pure cow's milk." By inventing such palliating circumstances the New

Vaishnavite tries to tone down the ancient record into harmony with his doctrines of inequality. In spite of orthodox ingenuity the question of the treatment of the lower classes excited considerable differences of opinion, and in later times led to the split of the Vaishnavites into the two great parties of "Vadagalai" and "Thengalai," of the "Northern learning" and the "Southern learning," otherwise Sanskrit and Dravidian. But for the time being, the genius of Ramanuja kept down divisions and united the Vaishnavites into one body enthusiastic for its advancement.

Return we to our story. After celebrating Alavanthar's obsequies with due pomp and circumstance, Ramanuja returned to Conjevaram. Here his domestic life suddenly came to an end. His wife, who seems to have been a woman of common place mind and heart, naturally had no sympathy with the lofty duty that Ramanuja had imposed upon himself. And she took care to show her distaste for her husband's new views by slighting his new Vaishnavite friends. Ramanuja was not of the stuff to brook such insults. He sternly put away his wife and embraced asceticism. Disciples flocked round him. Even Yadava Prakasa, the leader of the Sivites who had entertained such bitter hostility towards him, convinced of the truth of Vaishnavism, repented, obtained Ramanuja's forgiveness, and received the Vaishnavite sacraments at his hands. He was renamed Govinda Bhattar, for converts to Vaishnavism received Vaishnavite-sounding names, just as heathen converts to Christianity get Christian names.

Alavanthar's disciples now came to Conjevaram and invited Ramanuja to transfer his 'headquarters' to Srirangam. Srirangam was the historic centre of the Vaishnavite movement, and it seemed but fitting that the new leader should take his abode in the sacred city. So Ramanuja bade farewell to the dear old town and took his departure to Srirangam, "like a bride to her husband's house," says the chronicler, "whose mind is full of joy with a touch of sorrow in it." These words stand out of the story and convey something of human interest to a narrative too often a bare chronicle of pilgrimages made and gods worshipped.

Ramanuja entered Srirangam at the head of a large party of

Vaishnavites who came out of the city to welcome their new leader with garlands and music. The triumphant entry into Srirangam is an event of historical significance. It meant that the centre of the Southern Dravidian Vaishnavism had accepted the new Vaishnavism of Ramanuja as sketched a few pages back.

Ramanuja's life was henceforth one of incessant activity. From Srirangam as centre, he made several tours of conversion and pilgrimage to all parts of India. Religious controversy on disputed points of doctrine played a chief part in these conversions. Hindus have a natural turn for metaphysical discussion and Ramanuja seems to have delighted in such debates, much in the same fashion as a true soldier loves war. And where intellectual considerations did not prove effective, he employed what to the popular mind seems proof irresistible, miracles. The conversion of a chief or king was profitable as it led to the whole conversion of his tribe or subjects. Thus Vaishnavism went on increasing.

The success that attended Ramanuja roused the jealousy of the Sivites who had now the ear of the King of the Chola country. They persuaded the latter to persecute the Vaishnavites. A document was drawn up to the effect, "There is no higher God than Siva," and every Vaishnavite was required to subscribe to it. Some out of fear did so. The Sivite counsellors wanted to make a clean sweep of the whole heresy by aiming a blow at its leader. So they sent messengers summening Ramanuja to the royal court to subscribe to the Sivite confession of faith. Ramanuja was prepared to answer the summons, but his favourite disciple Kurathalwar dissuaded him from the attempt, representing the cruel and crafty nature of the king. He proposed that Ramanuja should escape in disguise to the country west, while he himself would personate his master at the royal court. The relations of a teacher to his disciple have always been of a sacred character in Hindu India: but we question whether they ever called forth such rare devotion.

The proposal was accepted. Kurathalwar went to the court, resolutely refused to conform to Sivism, and ridiculed the document drawn up by the Sivites. The king gave orders that he shoud have his eyes put out. But before the servants could

execute the command, Kurathalwar tore out his eyes himself. Meanwhile Ramanuja was conducted by his nephews and disciples to the country lying by the Western Ghauts. Here he was entertained hospitably by a mountain tribe of hunters who had been converted to Vaishnavism by Alavanthar. They gave him and his followers fresh supplies of clothes, firewood, wild honey, and wild flour and afterwards guided the party of fugitives across the hilly country to the Hindu kingdom of Mysore.

With this opens the third chapter in the history of Ramanuja. The first period of his life was spent in studentship and preparation for his life-work. It chiefly centres round Conjevaram. The second part of his life was as supreme leader of the Vaishnavite movement. This has for its centre Srirangam. The flight from Srirangam marks its close, and the entry into Mysore naturally opens the third period of his history.

Circumstances were at this time favourable for the propagation of the true faith in Mysore. The king's daughter was "possessed," and the devil had resisted all attempts to cast it out. Ramanuja succeeded in doing so, and the king instantly became a Vaishnavite, received the Vaishnavite sacraments, and was christened "Narayana, Propagator of the faith." The subjects of course embraced the new religion. At this time there was a large colony of 12,000 Buddhists or Jains (Hindu narratives employ the two terms indiscriminately) who challenged Ramanuja to doctrinal controversy. Ramanuja won and extirpated them by crushing them through oil-pressing machines. To commemorate the conversion of Mysore to Vaishnavism Ramanuja built a great temple (now famous as Tirunarayanapuram) and set up an idol of Vishnu in it.

Some time after, news reached Mysore of the death of the Chola King. Now that the persecutor was dead, Ramanuja bade farewell to Mysore and returned to Srirangam. Here commences the fourth and last period of his life. It was chiefly spent in organising his disciples who had now grown into a numerous army of men and women. The chronicler records that they were divided into 74 apostles, 700 priests, 12,000 holy men, and a crowd of men and women who were to discharge inferior services. This

organisation was wise and timely. It not only helped smooth working for the time being but provided a safe-guard against future dangers. There was an organised body capable of continuing the movement when the leader's hand grew cold. The experience of Vaishnavism in its earlier days had shown the folly of trusting to pure spiritual impulses not embodied in a concrete form.

Then his end drew near. His last words were those of advice and consolation to his sorrowing disciples. He thought of the religion he had spread and in his mind there was a calm assurance of its future triumph. So in a crowd of loving and admiring disciples, reclining on the arms of two beloved pupils, Ramanuja passed away amidst music and the chant of the Prabhandam and the Upanishads. He had reached the patriarchal age of one hundred and twenty years (1140 A D.)

Ramanuja's excellent organisation of his followers prevented any disturbance or confusion arising after his death. The work of conversion went on busily. A period of quiet, active work though very good for a movement affords no materials for the historian. It would be a tedious operation to chronicle the list of Sivite Pundits argued out, chieftains converted, devils cast out, and pilgrimages made. Two centuries passed away in this fashion. We come now to the fifteenth century. This century is memorable in the annals of Vaishnavism. It saw the great division of Vaishnavites into the two opposed sects of Vadagalais and Thengalais. As we pointed out some pages back, this division must be traced to the fundamental differences between the Vaishnavism of the Alwars with its centre at Srirangam and that of Ramanuja and his countrymen with its early centre at Conjevaram. The Southern party was disposed to break away with Aryan traditions altogether. It had broken the fetters of caste. It had left off the study of Sanskrit altogether and attached almost exclusive veneration to the Tamil Prabhandam. It had carried the doctrine of love to such an extent that it denied the necessity of any ceremonies or rites for salvation. Looked at historically the creed of the Thengalais is nothing more than the logical development of the Vaishnavism of the Alwars. The creed of the Vadagalais of Ramanuja. These differences

which has so long been existing as mere differences of opinion now crystallised into distinct sects.

These sects arising from such deep-seated causes developed a good deal of mutual bitterness during the time of Desika. Desika the greatest name in the Vaishnavite movement after Ramanuja, was born about the year 1469 A.D. His life was one of incessant literary and converting activity. He composed several treatises both in Sanskrit and Tamil, expounding the peculiar philosophy of Vaishnavism. He is the chief authority on the Vishistadvâita or "modified dualism" interpretation of the Vedanta philosophy. The Vadagalai sect regard Desika as their great and peculiar teacher. The Thengalai leader Manavala Muni was Desika's rival and the chronicler records many controversies between them. But many of the stories relating to this period are quite untrustworthy. The Vaishnavite historians had no "historical conscience" and their accounts are purely written from the party point of view. The Vadagalai historian tells us that Manavala Muni saw in the end the error of his ways and besought Desika's forgiveness. The Thengalai scribe asserts the same of Desika. The one crams his book with a number of miracles and prodigies worked by Desika. The other is not to be beaten and repeats stories of the rival Muni quite as marvellous, and let me add quite as incredible. The one fills his book with the acts of malice and hatred which "certain Vaishnavites" (it does not require a very keen mind to see that he refers to the rival Thengalai sect) did to harm Desika and insinuates that the Muhammedan incursion, which about this time ravaged Trichinopoly and Srirangam, was a visitation from God to punish their sins. But as the Moslem invasion injured Vadagalai and Thengalai alike, and Desika himself had to flee to the country west, the rival writer has no great difficulty in turning the tables upon his adversary.

The centuries that have followed the death of Desika which took place about A. D. 1570 have been remarkable for three facts. Converts from Sivism were looked down upon by the descendants of the disciples of Ramanuja who claimed the monopoly of administering sacraments to Brahmans. Consequently the later con-

verts had to seek for a spiritual preceptor from among the followers of Ramanuja. This led to the gradual evolution of a priestly class, some ascetics, some householders, claiming lofty spiritual powers and pretending to act as intermediaries between God and man. Where these ascetics managed to secure wealthy people, a king for instance, for their disciple, they grew into spiritual potentates with broad acres and ample revenues. Such was the origin of the great *mutts* in South India.

Vaishnavism lost its vitality as a proselytising religion and showed a tendency to approach what we may call its "stationary stage". This stationary stage is not yet quite attained. Conversions from the lower castes are still common but those from the Brahmans are comparatively rare. Even when such conversions do take place the converted Brahmans are assigned only an inferior *status* among the Vaishnavites. Thus they stand between two antagonistic sects, socially following the customs of the sect they are born in, but in religion adopting some of the peculiarities of the sect they have entered. The result is after a few years, they merely cherish the memory of their conversion as an event in the history of their family, and unless they are under strong Vaishnavite influences, they succumb to the neutrality of the average Brahmans. Nay more, even among the Vaishnavites themselves the old sprit of religion has become extinct. Starting as dissenters they have now grown more uncompromisingly intolerant than the old orthodox Brahmans themselves. This only repeats the history of English Nonconformity. The present-day differences between the Vadagalais and the Thengalais are no more based on any conscious conflict of doctrine but merely on external symbols and ceremonies.

T. VIJIARAGHAVAN.

SOME ASPECTS OF 17TH CENTURY LITERATURE.

I remember complaining once to the late Master of Balliol of the difficulty of keeping abreast of the literature of the day. "Don't attempt it," he said, "never read new things as they come out: wait till they blow over." The process commends itself to one's intellect. The public and reviews in general make our selection for us—and we have the more leisure in which to read the things worth reading. The difficulty of the scheme lies however in this—how long are we to wait? Is our own age a competent judge? Not—presumably—since great men like high mountains should be viewed at a distance.

These thoughts were preamble to my choice of a subject for this paper: and I determined finally on the 17th century—partly because all pertaining to that age which is not worth our attention has long since without doubt "blown over"—and partly also because I feel we do not give sufficient attention to the literature of a century which has been in a peculiar way the Schoolmaster of what was to follow. Seventeenth century prose settled the technical form of English prose—and settled it once for all. It is only since the 16th century that English prose and poetry are of entirely distinct architecture.—that in fact any attempt has been made to build up a prose style. Examine the earlier writers in the light of this remark, and you will find it true—Latimer, Malory, Raleigh have written certainly, but their writings (so far as style goes), are translations, adaptations—and nothing more. The fact is, the language was struggling with two opposing forces—with the vernacular and with French rhetorics:—the result was vulgarity side by side with the quintessence of culture, slang and learning street repartee and elaborate classic exquisiteness. All the inelegancies in the Elizabethan and Jacobean writers may be traced to the attempt to apply the forms of a language with a grammar to one which had none. The defect is, (sometimes quaintly pleas-

ing as in '*the Anatomy of Melancholy*' it is aggravating in *Milton*. We go to *Clarendon* for the best portrait painting the language can show, to *Hobbes* for clear-cut delightful phrases which have the ring and weight and sharp outline of a bronze coin:—to *Milton* for sublimity of thought and unrivalled grandeur in expression. Yet *Clarendon* gets into hopelessly muddled sentences, which are like the Maze at Hampton Court for extrication: and *Hobbes'* base metal tumbles shamelessly resonant from the same bag which holds the true: while *Milton's* discords at the end of a glorious burst of the most exquisite harmony, look like gratuitous insults.

The fact is, none of these great Masters had really learnt to master his instrument. Their touch is uncertain, we are alternately lost in admiration and angered by puerilities. When Browne begins "now since these dead bones," we are wrapt in appreciation; when Hobbes puts his discerning finger on human vice, labelling it epigramatically as either "*An effect of power or a cause of pleasure*," we dwell on the thought with genuine pleasure. How statesman and soldier, how peasant and poet walk past us under that searching field glass—all revealed for—what they are worth. Man is as his age has made him.

Yet, turn but one page, and Browne is drivelling: while Hobbes is overdoing his cleverness in attempts at crazy antithesis. True it is that writers should be measured by their best work: but still, when the inadequacies are so very immeasurable as here, we may be forgiven for noticing them. Their excuse is one which we cannot at any rate, plead now. They had no models: and those which came from the Continent only impeded them.

What was wanted was that the language should be popularized: that men and women who walked through England in the creations of a *Clarendon* or a *Halifax* should speak English not *Latin translated*, should dress in English clothes, not in togas and draperies, upholstered to suit the English climate. And, note a further defect—acute attention to form has robbed the age of something more important. If Dryden and Tillotson are better furnished than their predecessors, they are also less original. Strange that so soon after Elizabeth, the spring should have run

dry. Another curious thing is the absence of any passion in post Restoration prose. Men, when they wished to say beautiful things, used poetry. *Temple* verging on the exquisite, pulled himself up with unnecessarily caustic satire, or with mild loquacity. *Addison* writing of Death and the tomb, is decent rather than exalted. *Dryden* turns off some of his finest passages with a too logical criticism.

It could not be helped; the transition stage of any progress is of necessity faulty; and when all is said and done, we must remember that were it not for the writers of this period perhaps English prose would be non-existant. A *Macaulay*, A *Froude*, A *Pater*, have been possible—have been landed safely on the unshifting banks of English prose, because the 17th century struggled through such very muddy waters.

I will now ask you to come back with me over the ground we have compassed, and find illustrations of our very wholesale observations. We will take at times single writers, at times single books.

Perhaps the Book which most influenced the earlier part of our period was the *Bible*. The nation had become the nation of a Book. Legends, poetry, adventure are all found here. The whole *expression* of the nation, so to speak, at this period, may be referred to its use and presence among them—whether you look at their sober drab garments, or at their dignified poetical speech. When Spenser, the musing poet, is most moved, he breaks into the very language of the Canticles. Cromwell, the practical soldier, watching the mists break over the hills of Dunbar—heralding a gold-red sunset, bursts forth into the invocation of David—"Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Like as the Sun ariseth so shalt thou drive them away." Even the common speech was purified and elevated by this quaint atmosphere in which moved men's thoughts.

The translation is dated, I think, about 1606: but the books used, Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, Geneva (Grammer's Bible), and the Bishop's Bible cover a period of 86 years i. e., nearly a century. As a result—the Bible is a *mosaic*, so far as style goes. It is not

typical of any one century, but of what is best in many successive centuries. This is why it is so curiously free from the chief defects of the age. We have no shapeless sentences, no wild extravagances of speech. In fact there is an elegance of diction and rhythm which is equal to the best of the Elizabethan work. No doubt the division into verses helped this—Take the hexameters in the Psalm for instance:—

"Why do the heathen rage etc."

From the Bible we pass to a group of *Preachers*, never greater perhaps than in this age. One wonders sometimes why Preachers of our day do not read us some of these literary productions of their great predecessors instead of lulling us asleep with monotonous cooings in indifferent English, and of obvious application. *Andrewes*, certainly, is best left alone. He is a little too learned, and as Aubrey has well said, plays with his text as an ape would with a hard nut. Doubtless his hearers breathed a sigh of regret, as they recalled a certain Scotch contemporary of Andrewes, who when he came to that which was beyond his reason said "My Friends, this is a difficult text: let us look the fact in the face—and pass on."

Donne however is excellent. *Hall* is lovable, and *Jeremy Taylor* is a citizen of the world, and of every generation of it too, despite his one fault, his Latinism. To the Latitudinarians we are indebted for many improvements. They changed the piebald character of the language, and cut off unnecessary shows of learning.

We shall take next *Essayists*. Their writings were based mostly on French models e.g. *Montaigne*. But to Montaigne we owe more than an essay. Shakespeare's *Tempest* Act II. Scene 2., is taken from him. Bacon quotes him largely, and indeed few authors were unacquainted with him. Particularly helpful was he to *Cowley*, who imitates Montaigne in his belief that "the proper study of mankind is man." But, note the corollary—*The proper man is yourself.*

Cowley forms a link between *Bacon* and *Addison* and should be read by any one studying the English Essay. *Cowley* is an epicure

in other things, besides his delightful style. His is the well-known definition of a gentleman—'The man who rationally guides pleasure' ——but he explains later that *Pleasure* consists in *liberty*, and perhaps we do not entirely disagree. Yet, liberty takes colour variously. To Cowley and Milton for instance, it meant different things, and *characteristically* different things. *Milton's* liberty was freedom of *speech*. *Cowley's* liberty was freedom of *thought* and action, i. e. freedom from the cares and duties of life.

His style is diverting—he takes a thousand liberties and manages them all. No one sentence is like another. He is like a clever showman—the lion, and the monkey dance to us at his bidding, but neither turns and rends him: and when he lifts his finger they creep obedient to their lairs and boxes, to make room for a crawly reptile or a pert fighting-cock.

Temple is to my mind nicer than Cowley—every one knows his "ancient and modern Learning"—which gave rise to Swift's *'Battle of the Books'*, and many of his sayings are familiar—e. g. "In life as in wine he that will drink it, will do good not to drink to the dregs." Then again "Life must be played with like a froward child, till it falls asleep—then the care is over."

What he says of the age is very true "Pedantry is the itch of our time. Man would rather say a witty thing than do a wise one."

Directly descended from Cowley and Temple are *Addison* and *Steele*, but they are too well known, and (I hope) loved and read to need special comment. I have also not touched on Bentley and Swift. *Swift* the fascinating, the caustic, the kindly, the tender-hearted, the delirious, the friend of women, the breaker of hearts —loved most when he wounded most—Who does not know Swift? Striding down St. James, in his threadbare garments, quarrelling with the Chairman over a penny, and throwing a pound with reckless charity into the first poor box that met his eye, wrestling in solitude with paroxysms of mad pain, or making statesmen and courtiers in crowded drawing rooms wince beneath the lash of his impartial satire. He needs no introduction—but neither does he

reveal himself to any casual acquaintance; so make friends with him—and *love him*.

Then there are others—*character writers* e. g. *Dr. J. Overbury, Earles* etc. They describe types, imaginary men—but they induced the study of real men. It is to them we owe Addison's "Sir, Roger," and Clarendon's lovely picture galleries. *Critics* also abound, Davenant, Dryden, Johnson, Cowley, Swift.....

I wonder if many people now read Burton's 'Anatomy of melancholy'. It is honeycombed with amusing and oft-heard sayings, and had a great influence on well-known writers. Milton's *Il Penseroso* gets its imagery from the Anatomy. Sterne copies largely from it, and even Byron is indebted to it. Burton was known to his friends chiefly as a conversationalist and Mathematician. But his genius was versatile—astrology was one of his favorite studies, and he foretold his own death so exactly that some suspected him of helping towards it.

Those of us who have been in the beautiful cathedral at Oxford where he is buried, will recall his epitaph. *"Known to few unknown to more"*. A writer of whom that could not have been said is *Thomas Browne*, knighted by Charles II in 1671. Most people have read his *Religio Medici*. His *Vulgar Errors* is quainter. Browne was the first to advance toleration from native good nature not from political motive. That delightful passage about the Ave Maria Bell is noteworthy, for Catholics were excluded from civil and religious recognition, and Catholic Priests were liable to be hanged. The toleration of the times was very careful to exclude Romans from any plan of salvation. Browne was an exception. His Divinity he collected from two books—God and nature. He divides his religious beliefs into two parts.—Faith and Charity. Among the objects of his faith, he includes witches. His charity is genuine though paradoxical. "I hate nothing—except the multitude." There is a kindliness in Browne's writing—a genial glow which warms our hearts; one feels when reading Browne, as if in the presence of a courtly old gentleman, of the best type.

To come now to *poetry*—There was a great desire for long stories in verse, and the century abounds in narrative and epic Poetry. e.g., Hey wood's Britannica and Warner's Albion's England the best narrative poets of the time are *Daniel* and *Drayton*.

Daniel was a Somersetshire man, and a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford. He left Oxford without a degree: was patronized by Herbert, and tutor to Lady Anne. They thought he would be laureate, and some writers affirm he was. The Queen was fond of him, and would send for him to produce Masks from time to time: but 'Rare Ben' eclipsed him at Court, and Daniel growing weary of high life, secluded himself, and turned farmer. Among his friends were Shakespear, Marlowe and Chapman. He died at Beckington near Bath in 1619.

Some of his sonnets are worth reading. Especially.

"Care-Charmer Sleep, Sonne of the sable night,
"Brother to death, in silent darkness borne:"

Etc. Etc. Etc.

It evidently gave Shelley his favorite simile. The Sonnets to Delia, are to a real lady. "Rosalind" has the oft-quoted line.

"No beast being fiercer than a jealous woman."

Octavias' epistle to Anthony is good reading.

"Hath greatnesse aught peculiar else alone
"But to stand faire and bright above the base?
"What doth divide the cottage from the Throne
"If Vice shall lay both levell with disgrace.
"For if uncleanness make them all but one
"What pricilege hath Honour by his place?
"What tho' our Sinnes go brave and better clad
"They are as those in rags, as base and bad."

The 'New woman of the 17th century was just beginning to find a voice, but her accents are gentle.

"Is there no portion left for us at all
"But sufferance, sorrow, ignorance and thrall."

* * * *

"We are inconstant, fickle, false, unkind
"And tho' our life with thousand proofs shows so

" Yet, since strength saies it, weaknesse must be so.
" You can be oneiy heard, whilst we are taught
" To hold our peace, and not to exercise
" The powers of our best parts.
* * * *
" We in this prison of ourselves confined
" Must here shut up with our own passions live:
" Oh ! if you be more strong, then be more just,
" Make not the world to doubt
" Whether in strong or weake be better trust ;
" If you will have us good, be you then good."

Drayton was of higher rank than Daniel, as a poet. Critics call his *" Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part"*, the one incomparable sonnet, the finest in the language. One must read it for one's self, at an appropriate moment. It cannot be reproduced in cold blood. But his learning is very extensive, and displays itself variously. His poetised history is perhaps the basis of the Historical Drama. The *Polyolbion* is a very quaint old book. I spent many happy hours at the British Museum reading it in an early edition. Reprints are, I fear, scarce. It is a poetical typographical delineation of England, recording not only natural scenery, but social custom, and giving most solid information upon all kinds of subjects. The antiquaries of later times—Hearne, Wood, Musgrave, quote largely from it. His fault is carrying personification too far e. g. Salisbury Plain makes a long speech. Yet one is decidedly entertained. The marriage of *the Thames* and *the Isis* is very pretty. Dame Aylesbury arranges the match, and the dower is bounteous—all the surrounding country contribute thereto, and in describing this, Drayton details delightfully, down to the smallest flotillery and the roughest bit of rock. The nymphs of wood and water attend the bride, strewing flowers and sweets in her path. " Lusty Cherwell" chaunts the marriage hymn, and the festivities include the most fascinating country dances. The debate between Apollo and the muses as to what their gift should be, is rather amusing. They are in doubt whether they should compose an ode in her praise, or make her extol their laurels; finally, in a burst

of magnanimity they bestow the gift of learning on all Oxonians! Drayton has lighter works too—of the most delicate tracery. One of the nicest of these is *" The Nymphidia"* or Court of the Fairies, and one of the wittiest, "The moon calf."

The *Metaphysical School* is very large. It comprises such names as *Donne, Cowley, Cleveland*. We have already noticed Donne and Cowley in their Prose works. Cowley's prose is however very different from his poetry. They belong in fact to different ages—his poetry to the first half of the century, his prose to the latter half. Every one knows his two lines on life—

" This only grant me that my aims may be
" Too low for learning, for contempt too high."

He was much read in his own age, though soon forgotten. Pope says in 1707—" who now reads Cowley"? Dryden tells us that he sank because he never could forego a conceit. The work he prided himself most on, is his *Davidies*—the life and troubles of David. It is the worst epic ever written. Milton makes Adam and Eve enter Paradise *via* England (as Green so truly remarks) —but Cowley takes worse liberties with the angel Gabriel, and with Satan. His odes and letters are better.

Donne is the best of the metaphysical School, but *Cleveland* is most popular. Their satire is however their highest work. Curiously enough all these Satirists go into the church. *Hall* becomes a Bishop, *Donne* dean of St. Paul's. They go into the church, and —they write sonnets on—" the fly in a lady's eye." *Wither* is classed among them. He spent a large part of his life in prison, as his sympathies were Parliamentary, and he was in danger once of execution—but *Denham* saved his life by a joke. He besought the Royalists to spare him, because he said so long as Wither was alive he himself was not the worst poet in England. You have doubtless sampled for yourselves the church poets—*Herbert, Herrick, Crashaw* etc. and the courtly Poets—e. g. *Woodeus, Rawley*.

The age abounds in translations, some very good, as *Chapman's Homer*, and Sylvester's *Du Bartus*. But the Pastorals are perhaps more interesting.

There are (1) The School of Spenser, and
(2) The School of Sydney.

Spenser's was the realistic, Sydney's the idealistic. The great work of the latter is *the Arcadia*.

Of Romances there is not much trace: what there is, is due to foreign influence, chiefly Spanish. e. g. *Don Quixote*.

French influence is later, and produces such things as "*The Illustrious Bazzar*." These were however the books of the higher classes. The people read the old romance of Chivalry in popular form, and things like "Tom Thumb" and "The history of Friar Bacon". Bunyan first wrote any fiction of value.

As to other literature—the first newspaper was printed in 1619—and related to the Thirty years' war. The oldest now in existence is I believe, the London Gazette. For the life and feelings of the people we must go to *the Ballad*. No age has produced more. Some verify the Arthurian legends, others local tradition, (e. g. Robin Hood)—A large number represent tragedies. "Babes in the wood" belongs to this period. A favorite collection is "Songs of the Road"—showing how many vagabonds there were then extant.

There are many names and some representative ones which I have, I fear, omitted—Yet this much is enough for one paper. The glance has been more cursory than I would wish. After all one can only indicate. I have tried to present a scheme of the literature of the century, noting its pleasant resting places—I fear I have done no more than suggest a very clumsy "Bradshaw"—A dry indexer, when I would fain have prepared a portfolio of sketches and portraits. Perhaps however this last is best done by each for himself.

PRESENT DISCONTENTS IN INDIA.

II.

OUR Social Discontents may be variously divided. Thus we may talk of Discontents segregate and aggregate, traditional and prejudicial, insular (or should we say in India *Peninsular*?) and imperial, masculine and feminine, active and passive (*i.e.*, of our own making, and of our hapless suffering): Discontents self-regarding and extra-regarding——and so forth to any number of pendants you please. Yet should we find ourselves in the labyrinths of cross-divisions, to seek exit where out the pages of one journal would be all too narrow; so, to curtail matters we will be content with discontents *insular* and *imperial*—taking care however to impress intending Cavilers with this fact—our terms are only "counters", requisitioned for lack of better language and serving the purpose of convenient division, not "coins" whereby we demand our thoughts shall be gauged and equated.

As to our Insular Discontents I very much fear they reduce in the main to purely domestic questions—infant marriage: feminine ignorance: widow persecution: the question of caste: the necessity for bigotry—and such like. With regard to these, I expect the one which lies at the root of all the trouble is the supposed necessity of having one's life shared by a child "just the tenth of one's age," or of the age which she should be. We have talked the question volubly for years, and after due memorializing have even managed to bask in the reflected brilliance of some legislation which the authorities were pleased to risk. Yet, how much good has been done? And what step forward have we made in reality? True it is the subject has been aired and wholesome indignation aroused in every continent: but—the children of India still marry and are given in marriage, and Indian homes are ugly when they might be beautiful, and lives are wrecked when they might be saved, and—having started with a warp, it is hard to right things later on. 'Tis the fashion among certain of our Reformers to appease their consciences, and justify their activity by

occasional violent outbursts, whether of fears or invective matters not, both come equally glibly to their natural eloquence. Our last interval has, I think, been the longest: but all things come to those who wait for them, and fortune and a judgment of the Bombay High Court have this time furnished apt parable and fruitful occasion.

The *Times of India* bearing date the 21st March reports a so-called Hindu Breach of Promise Case. The facts are simple enough. In 1888 a small child of 6½ years of age bearing the romantic name of Kamalawanthi was betrothed to a schoolboy, some nine years her senior. Both children were of well-known families of the Kapole Bania caste—the strong-minded lady indeed being the grand-daughter of Sir Manguldas Nathubai, the head of the caste. The children occasionally inspected each other, but nothing serious happened till about three years ago, when their interchange of visits came suddenly to an end: and in April active hostilities commenced backed by lawyers on either side. In January of this year came the plaintiff's manifesto —marriage within a period named, or Rs. 25,000 damages; and in this guise the unworthy war was dragged into the High Court. The girl's *unwillingness* to be bustled into a ceremony was the chief defence. She had got interested in her studies, and wanted time to pursue them: meanwhile the bridegroom might amuse himself with the presents he had been in the habit of giving her —all of which she would return. (I wonder how many girls in Bombay have bought their right to study for the entrance examination of our University at Rs. 25,000. It would not be a bad plan for the University to enrich itself by claiming a percentage on damages so recovered!) Now, if only the girl's object had been to avoid the contract, she might have done that easily and honorably by the simple quotation of "a preferable suitor." It is for this situation alone that the sages of old have made provision. They were wise in their generation: I doubt whether the reluctant bride would concede that they are so in ours. Meantime the law is clear enough. And you will make marriage contracts for your babies, you must pay the penalty for their breach as for that of any other contract. "The marriage of Hindu children is a contract made by their parents, *and the children themselves exercise no volition.*" To ask the Court therefore to deal with the question of "willingness" is to ask the Court to disregard the principles of Hindu Law.

But the Reformers are by no means content with this decision. Why did not the Judge "wrest once the law to his authority"? There is no measuring, they say, the incalculable harm done to the forward impetus on this question. Fathers will be constrained to compel their daughters to stand by their "extraneous selection": for is not the alternative *damages*, solid damages in coin of the Queen's realm? And the worst of it is that those on whom the dilemma will sit least comfortably, are the poor scapegoats the luckless Reformers. The orthodox Paterfamilias feels only righteously conventional when he walks in the marriage procession of his infant daughter, he has done what his grand-father did, what more can mortal desire of him? And, should his daughter by some Mephistophilian chance be half-witted enough to shrink from fulfilling the personal contract made for her by her aged progenitor, he will simply help to confirm his reputation for orthodox rectitude by holding her to it. But, the Reformer—the poor backbitten, misunderstood, self-sacrificing, strong-lunged Reformer—to what virtue will Mr. Justice Candy's judgment allow him an appeal? He has no vaunted orthodoxy, no Hindu rectitude in which he trusts (not, at any rate, in the market place, or on the housetops, not in printing houses, and on Social Congress Platforms): and no intrinsic veneration for the dicta of Judges even when voicing the customs of his country—what then shall he do? It really is very hard. Hitherto he could by one and the same circumstance ponder to his fossil instincts and caste prejudices as well as to his reformed and enlightened conscience. He could propitiate "mine ancients" by betrothing his daughter when she wore long clothes and baby socks, and sucked a "pacifer"—(or, to speak in the language of a familiar Hindu custom, when she was *a study in cils*—a simple unaided unaffected study): and he could avoid the unpleasant consequences of so retrograde a proceeding by suggesting to her when she was of an age to appreciate it—that she could unmake his choice if she pleased. But now that little bit of liberty has a market value: that accommodating alternative is heavily gilded.

Bother the judgment! he will have to act decisively now: to choose the rank or file, instead of as heretofore extending in comfort a conciliatory Palm each to the van and rear guard flanking either side.

Bother the judgment! He is sure it is irretrievably retrograde. He did not expect it of the Bombay High Court. 'Tis all very well for Judges to speak, who are never 'touched' by these questions: who can know nothing of the ills of a Hindu home except by hearsay. Why could not the point have been "got round?".....Somewhat such is the burden of his reflections, and he proceeds to strike all the minor chords to which his lyre is by this time so well accustomed; and he gets the nerves of his throat, and his splendid lungs into "carry"—able order for this new song of war.

And yet—my mistaken friend, should not you make joy rather than lamentation? One knows how *terribly* hard it is for those whose best feelings prompt reform, to follow the better path when their turn actually comes: how easy in this country of old customs and strong prejudices are smug subterfuges: how the moral crutches we seek for ourselves have all along been the very things which have impeded our independent progress. And should you not rather rejoice now? Shall not all true Reformers say—"Instead of hindering, this shall help us. Our crutches are broken, no matter, we are strong enough to walk without them. 'Tis fate saving us from self-deception, compelling us to honest action in spite of ourselves." And, so it is. Once more is occasion giving us a chance of justifying our grand professions. The time for concession is past. It is the dawn of unflinching action: and while we stand rubbing our eyes, and bemoaning that the dawn has dawned so unexpectedly—see! the night fast approaches with its silence, its darkness, its finality,—and all chance of work is lost to us for ever.

I am not unaware of the charges to which I expose myself. I shall be told that I am unnecessarily hard on the Social Reformer: that I am inconceivably unappreciative—but if the Social Reformer and his champions would but see it, it is because I am so appreciative of his great possibilities, of the marvels he can accomplish, that I demand great things of him. It is because I

believe he *can* act, that he *can* emancipate his country, that I ask him to convert his convictions into conduct. True "'tis a kind of good deed to *say well*," and yet, as Shakespeare proceeds to remind us these words are immeasurably removed from the real lovers of the world, the actual deeds. By *doing* and not otherwise can we teach, can we effect—any thing. Our own deeds, the deeds of our ancestors have in the past been our doomsmen, our executioners: let the deeds of Social Reformers now be our saviours, our redeemers.

But again, it will be said "it is so hard to act": Hindus, most of them, live in joint families—grandfathers, fathers, sons in the same ancestral mansion, drawing water from the same well, eating at the same common table——under such a system every single action of even the smallest member is exposed to the gaze and scrutiny of the united assembly: and has to stand or fall by the opinion of such of this assembly as are capable of making themselves most uncomfortable. These, strangely enough, happen to be in most cases, those very "down-trodden Indian women" of whom we hear so much—grown tyrannical (as most slaves do), grown also hysterical in their old age, when years have brought them the honour which Hindu Society and the accident of their sex has hitherto denied them. Unacquainted themselves with the benefits of civilization, they use their strength in denying them to others. "My grandmother, or my great aunt, or the sister of my uncle's grandfather have tended me so carefully, have lavished such affection on me, how can I now traverse their wishes?" says the Social Reformer. "I did indeed want my daughter educated, but the women of the house cried—and I gave in. I could do little else, when they threatened to drown themselves. Should I persist? After all, at present our Social Congress Platforms do something, and for the rest we can wait. Fifty years further on must bring some change. We Hindus, you see are affectionate. Affection is a virtue." But with all due deference to the Social Reformer, is this a plea fit for aught but babes—is it the argument of men with developed intellects, thinking as men?

"The woman cried, and I submitted:" 'Tis Adam's subterfuge, without the excuse of Adam's inexperience.

"The woman cried"——and if she does, and begs you to commit a crime, will you straightway go and commit it? What Reformers are doing every day with regard to the marriage of their babies and much besides—is little less than a crime, is indeed in many cases as heinous a wrong as was ever found in the sections of the Penal Code.

"The woman's tears," "Hindoo affection"—convenient outworks no doubt: yet, methinks there is something palpably puerile and feminine in their construction. We label ourselves in our very excuses with the brand of timidity and imbecility, and then mistake it for the trade-mark of virtue! If the Reformer had earlier been moved to tenderness at the sight of helplessness, had called earlier to his aid that same love of family in which he vaunts himself,—his daughters would long ago have been placed above the pity of the Western world, and the tyranny and bondage of the East.

The Reformer owns that the education of the present generation is the only way of safe-guarding future reformers against that baneful reactionary force which comes from the women's quarter of his household. But how is this education to be had if his granddame's tears are first to force him into an infant marriage, and then to prevent the attendance at school of his diminutive bride?

But I must be fair to the said Reformer: there is a consideration beyond the "tears," which also weighs something with him. "I cannot offend my caste" he says, "I should be placed without the pale of Hindu Society, and so lose my influence: besides, you do not know how isolated life would be." Yet surely the isolation might be omitted from the computation. In course of time he will have a reformed Society to console his comparative solitude: and, even if this come but slowly, have not most of the world's great Reformers faced isolation (and worse than isolation),

not only with resignation but with cheerful gladness. Is not suffering our condition of success, sorrow our evidence of future triumph? And would we place our temporary ostracism in the scale against the lives of our wives and children? Where is our boasted affection? Where our deference to weakness? If our judgment were not subservient to our fearfulness, to our inertness—we should realize that these virtues would best be justified by a more humane treatment of Indian children. Must not justice be avenged rather than a supposed and mistaken allegiance?

The other objection have been sung in varying metres from time immemorial. No doubt, in this instance it is genuine: but surely the Reformers themselves have long ago gauged its value. Is it not only a question of proportion, of comparison? Here are two evils—on the one hand rustication from the society of the orthodox, the tears and sulks of our aged kindred, and a want of appreciation among our brethren: on the other, death or unhappiness to our small children, and the deterioration of the race.

Can there possibly be any choice between the two?

All Regenerators have throughout the history of the world, known what it is to be "despised, and rejected of men": Where should we be now if they had shrunk from the ordeal? Besides, when we talk of sacrificing principle to our fancied usefulness, are we not perhaps overrating that usefulness? Are our friends so very much better for our Society? Is not the tacit revolt against our highest convictions really paralyzing, deadening (may be unobserved by us), that very usefulness and influence, which hitherto was of some value? Or, even granting the usefulness, is not life daily teaching us, individually, to be content to apparently less useful, less successful, less prosperous for a time, in order that what is best may develop for and in us afterwards to all eternity?

Think of the boon to posterity gained by one firm stand, by one brave protest made heedless of the applause or jibes of the multitude: reckless of present gain, reckless even of present suffering and agony—the *Now* against the *For ever*—where's the

comparison? After all, is not the war between *Prejudice* and *Principle*? And who counts the cost when principle is at stake? Who being worth anything, *dare* count the cost?

Shall we like the clods of earth discount life, paying in instalments—or shall we risk all, not grudging aught of the Sacrifice however distasteful, so that our end be but accomplished, the prisoners ransomed, the enthralled set at liberty?

The question must ultimately be left for solution to the Reformer alone: the fight lies with him: it, with its attendant glory is denied to us.

Yet, I leave it there with confidence. I at least shall not insult him by expecting of him, any but the highest things possible: anything short of conquest—present, conclusive. *Et Vons?*

CORNELIA SORABJI.

SITA.

OF the women of ancient India who have been immortalized by poets of Indian fame, there is none held in greater veneration than Sita. More than three thousand years have elapsed since the latest date that has been found possible to assign to the epic poem of the Ramayana and despite the number of centuries that have come and gone, of empires that rose and fell, of old social conditions that have changed yielding place to new, the name of Sita is a living power this day. From Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, there is not a single Hindu home where the story of the gentle and suffering Sita is not known. There is not a human bosom which the the story of Sita doos not thrill through and through. The splendour of her character has thrown into the shade the fame of women whose excellence she emulated, and her name is synonymous at the present day with all that is excellent in woman-kind. Enshrined in the heart of every Hindu woman within the whole length and breadth of India her name has been a living and a permanent source of moral education and elevation, and her character has been universally accepted as a model to strive after and to imitate. So much so that Taylor who knew with Shakespear that there was and could be nothing in a name christened the heroine of one of his novels 'Sita'.

The excellence of a character that has stood the malevolent influence of time and has for over three thousand years served as a faithful beacon of light to every succeeding generation and promises to do so till the end of time, is worth studying and this paper is intended to place before the public a brief sketch of that character and to examine the stability of the foundations on which the shrine of Sita has been built.

Before proceeding, we may observe that a claim to veneration or admiration, built upon some one trait of character however fine or excellent can never permanently succeed. Diana has her votaries, and Venus hers; Apollo has his worshippers and Mars, his; and

this state of things will continue as long as human nature continues to be what it is—imperfect. A Brutus whose love for a Portia was a religion to him could find nothing to admire or to love in the sensuous imagination and voluptuous beauty of a Cleopatra who lacked the moral fibre which alone could sway his heart. The stoic heroism of a Portia could never find a response in the loving heart of an Antony. The stern chastity of Isabel and her haughty dignity that had no tear to shed for an erring brother; will be admired by all who go in only for the sterner virtues. The constancy of Helena is admirable and worth emulating; but her moral theory 'that all is well that ends well,' must damage her with those whose high morality will not permit them to follow the Machiavellian rule that the end justifies the means. The living Diana with all her lovely charms must be 'but a monument' without the quick fire of youth which must give them life. Women may admire the fortitude of Hermione when condemned to a lengthened period of poignant misery and may emulate her in that portion of her character; but many may shrink from justifying, much less, from adopting her course, when after being fully convinced of, the sincere repentance of her husband for the wrong he had done, and, the saint-like sorrow he had performed, for his mistake, she still connives at or delights in augmenting his grief by a studied concealment of her being alive, although she might have done it with the best of motives. The durability of character-worship depends upon its *compositeness*. The greater the number of minor excellences that make up the total excellence, the more durable and universal will be the worship paid to it by succeeding generations. The colours of the rainbow are more charming than the colours which constitute them taken individually, and the rainbow is not only more charming, but is more universally charming than the brightest of the elementary colours of which it is composed. And sometimes the commingling and the blending of many excellences in the same individual; invests the individual with charms greater than the sum total of the beauty which every one of these, existing in isolation, could impart. It is thus that Shakespeare's Imogen

is rightly considered as the sweetest and most beautiful creation of his fancy.

Sita, we postulate, bears a more beautiful character than even Shakespeare's Imogen. She combines in herself the constancy of Helen, the fortitude of Hermione and her consciousness of invulnerable chastity attested to by her frankness, the moral and intellectual grace of Brutus' Portia, the austere dignity of Isabel, the conjugal tenderness of Imogen, and the confiding simplicity of Desdemona. And these excellent traits are blended in her character in due and graceful proportion, the conflicting excellences so acting upon each other that in every situation that trait predominates which ought to. Her character owing to this combination of excellent traits does not show any foible or weakness that is unfeminine. The one strikingly distinguishing feature in Sita's character is the moral grandeur of her conception of duty and of the relationship of husband and wife, which we shall enlarge upon as we proceed.

Rama, Sita's husband, who in Sita's opinion though not expressed in so many words 'overbuys her almost the wealth he pays,' is banished like Posthumus for no fault of his and goes to Sita to acquaint her with the tidings and to take leave of her. With Sita, unlike Imogen, the question was not one of taking leave or exchanging of baubles, for each to remember the other during the period of separation. Sita is not afflicted at all at this sentence of banishment pronounced upon her husband as Imogen was. The news was unexpected as it was but a little while ago that Rama's coronation as heirapparent was resolved upon and she was being dressed like a queen; it is not because she could not or did not feel the situation or that she was so weak that she was stunned or petrified She felt it and did she weep? She did not. Then was she like Hermione 'Not prone to weeping as our sex are'? Oh! she could weep and later on wept much. Then if she could feel and if she could weep, why did she not weep now? It is because Rama wept not at the sentence and looked quite as cheerful as if he was going to wear the crown. How then could she weep at what did not grieve, nay, at what pleased and delighted her husband? She was

his wife and was bound to share his joys and sorrows and she would not be acting wife-like if she wept for sorrow while her husband wept for joy. Like Brutus' Portia she would not be her husband "as it were in sort or limitation" Like Imogen Sita does not and could not say (voluntarily too as it would appear)

'You must begone'
And I shall here abide the hourly shot
Of angry eyes'.

Like Brutus' Portia Sita swears

'By that great vow
Which did incorporate and make us one'

and says she could not stay behind; like Lady Percy she must go with her lord; but she knows more than Lady Percy to be satisfied with the promise that she might follow next day. She would live with him wherever that may be and she says:—

'To live with you is heaven; without you, hell,'
Much like

Imogen who calls Milford *blessed* as Posthumus landed there.

In vain does Rama tell her of the terrors of the woods:—

The dreadful roar of lions from mountain caves
By noise of thundering cataracts more dread,
The ways with thorny bushes overgrown
And fordless streams by crocodiles infested.

But to Sita, resolved to go with him as became his wedded wife, there was no terror in all this and she answers Rama's objections on this score rather sarcastically.

"I know not what my father thought of you,
A woman's spirit dressed in a manly garb."

but she apparently fears that she has said more than it was permissible in a wife to say and makes amends:—

These terrors of the woods may well affright
The wife that dares the woods with poor escort;
So nobly husbanded, they daunt *me* not.

She further says that far from being terrified at these things she will find it a great pleasure to live with him in the woods.

"Think you my lord the cot with carpets spread

Will give me sweeter rest than grassy plots
Whereon with you to rest while in the woods."

Rama at last yields to her loving and dutiful importunities and in the course of being equipped for her journey to the forests, Sita is given, dresses of bark to wear, by the woman evil-eyed unto Rama, as step-dames generally are. But even this treatment—a cruel superfluity which might have been spared—does not call forth any expression of indignation or even a discontented and stifled murmur. She gracefully receives them but being unacquainted with the manner in which they were to be worn, says, with a tender simplicity,

'I know not how the sages wear this garb' and Rama goes to her help and helps her to wear it. This treatment arouses the indignation of the by-standers against the cruel woman and unbounded sympathy for herself. King Dasaratha says 'it is no portion of the covenant' and Vasishta goes further and maintains that without violating the terms of the promise, Sita need not go to the woods but may rule in the absence of her lord Rama in the woods. They are both reckoning without the host. Sita would listen to no such thing and she insists upon being like Rama 'even in the matter of his dress.' Before leaving for the woods she takes leave of her mother-in-law and being, by her, advised to treat her lord kindly, she does not resent it but only makes sweet answer in the course of which she gives us her idea of what her husband is to her.

"The Vina without its chords no music yields;
The chariot moves not without the wheels
Bereft of lord a woman knows no joy
Be she the mother of a hundred sons;
Give father, brother, son but measured love:
What woman then that will not strive to please
Her lord who gives his wife unmeasured love."

While in the woods living in a cottage with her husband she sees a deer of exquisite beauty playing before the cottage. She sets her heart on it and would request her husband to get it for her alive if possible, if not, dead. There seems to be certainly no

crime in making this apparently harmless request so easy to grant; but to Sita it appeared that she would be acting not quite as a wife to make that request. Had she a self distinguishable from her lord's to please? she says:—

'To crave a boon by selfish motives urged
Doth ill become a woman: this I own.
But this fine deer has charmed me out of wits.'

The deer (a demon in that garb) draws Rama far away in its pursuit and when the shaft is fixed on its body it utters (for it was all pre-concerted) sharp cries in the voice of Rama. Sita hears the cries and suspects like a woman and like a wife that Rama is in danger and requests his brother Lekshmana to go to his rescue. Lekshmana seems to scent the trick of the demon-deer and he hesitates to obey Sita's wishes. At the spur of a moment, Sita, the gentle, is transformed into a fury. In her anxiety for her husband's safety and with all the impulsive nature of women she like Imogen damns Lekshmana more vehemently than Imogen damned Pisanio. As Cloten and Pisanio had plotted together, in the unerring judgment of Imogen, to remove Posthumus out of their way, had this Lekshmana leagued himself with Bharata to compass Rama's death. Imogen argued well and so did Sita under the circumstances. Cloten aimed at Imogen's hand and thus to the kingdom: while Pisanio worked for pay. So in this case, Bharata already the *defacto* king would acquire the title to the kingdom by Rama's death, while Lekshmana aimed at Sita's hand. Why, asked Imogen, did Pisanio give her the poison? Why, asked Sita, did Lekshmana follow voluntarily herself and husband to the dreary woods? Both Imogen and Sita were mistaken; both were sincerely mistaken; both argued equally well under the circumstances which in both cases lied; only Sita more like a woman carries her impulsive feminine nature to the most legitimate conclusion upon the premises by revenging. But how could she? Why, she will die at once and defeat—all that she could do—the base machinations of Lekshmana.

'I die just now nor will survive my lord.'

Lekshmana could no longer hear this fury and leaves her. A

demon in the guise of a sanyasin steps in and makes love to Sita. At first she treats him respectfully as Imogen treats Iachimo, but when the demon sues for her hand, she does not call for help like Imogen but being thoroughly conscious of her invulnerable chastity, only vents her moral indignation at the profane fellow who could make such proposals unlike Imogen who argues the question calmly enough with Cloten without shewing much of moral indignation, though considerable fidelity to her lord. Imogen wedded to one,

'Who sat amongst men
Like a descended God'

sees something absurd and foolish in Cloten making proposals to her but nothing immoral in it. It is Posthumus' superior worth that fixes, so we read it, Imogen to the contract. Sita too gives a glowing account of her lord's beauty and valour such that the demon reads his inferiority in it. Like Imogen too she broadly tells him of his comparative worthlessness thus:—

What space divides the lion from the fox
The ocean from the streamlet, nectar sweet
From gruel of boiled rice, bright gold from lead,
Divides my valorous, worthy lord from you—

But with Sita this disparity only aggravates the *immorality* of the proposal.

Sita is carried away by brutal force and lodged in Lanka under the surveillance of demonesses enjoined to persuade, deceive and intimidate her into compliance with the demon's wishes. These demonesses whose horrible personal deformities hail alone frightened the most dauntless spirit into submission, approach Sita with horrid grimaces and diabolical gesticulations, din into her ears their praises of the wealth, strength and valour of the demon and the prospect of an undivided sway over his possessions and his affections. Alone, helpless, her thoughts resting on her absent lord, tormented and persecuted relentlessly by ruthless demonesses 'unknown to any touch of pity or remorse,' with two months' time granted her by the demon to wed him or Death as she may choose, with no immediate prospect of her being rescued from that mise-

rable situation, Sita does not lose heart or hope nor would she seek like some of Shakespeare's good women any compromising manœuvres even for the purpose of getting an extension of the period of grace. Firm in her chastity, resolved never to survive it and confiding in a Providence she boldly answers them :—

Your voices in this impious drift combined
Do, in my thoughts, no sin responsive raise;
No mortal woman may a demon wed;
Do join and eat me up, I am content;
But never obey your word. Whatever his plight,
By ill-luck crossed or wheedled of his crown,
My wedded lord is my sole stay, my God.
I will not touch the fiend, be it to kick
The demon with my leg.

Sita in this miserable condition continues soliloquising when she hears the praise of Rama sung there. A messenger sent by her lord in quest of her had arrived and was seated on the tree under which she sits weeping. But she thinks it all a mental hallucination and says :—

Ah do I dream? No. Occur dreams in sleep
And since I saw my lord I know no joy
And still a prey to grief have never slept;
Or it may be that ever and anon
Thinking of him, breathing his hallowed name
Still with my lips, I hear his praises sung
By every gale.

In Imogen's case, sleep could and did charge nature whereas the loving Sita had it not and cries out

'O sleep! thou too hast turned my foe'.

She first suspects that he is the persecuting demon himself in that disguise and would have nothing to do with him. But she checks her suspicion almost immediately and would postpone judgment till she has heard more from him of Rama. She then asks him to give her a description of Rama and to tell her his story, with the reason expressed in language short and sweet

'For aught of him delights my ears'.

The messenger tells Rama's story and to allay all suspicion gives her the signet ring given by Rama to be delivered to her. She is transported with joy at the sight of the ring and feels

'She clasps her husband's self in fond embrace',

Her first exuberance of joy over, she asks the messenger when she would be delivered from her miserable situation.

When will my lord, the demons all subdued,
Their king laid low, this Lanka raised to ground,
Behold me here? Tell him for me 'make haste'
Before the current year has run its course;
For with my life it ends.

Aware as she is of the power and valor of her lord, she is reasonably afraid that within two months of that date, her lord cannot have complied with her request and tells her apprehensions to the messenger. The messenger offers to take her immediately to Rama. Sita loved Rama with as much constancy as Hellena or Imogen loved their husbands. She longed to see him and would have given worlds to be able to do so. The cruel demon may not be as good as his word and may put her to death even before the year of grace should expire; she may in the meanwhile die. The remaining two months of the year of grace allowed her is certainly too short a time for Rama to bridge over the ocean and fight the battle with the demon. Success in war is doubtful and the demon may kill her before he dies or do her violence. She is aware of all this. The proposal of the messenger is easily carried into execution and she may be enfolded in the arms of her loving lord who was equally anxious to see her. Under these circumstances Hellena and Imogen would have consented and willingly, to be allowed to be carried by the messenger. Imogen did not object on Pisanio's advice if need be to exposing her cheek

'To the greedy touch
Of common-kissing Titan.'

Hellena thought no harm in asking. Diana, worthily named, to enter, nor did Diana think any harm in entering, into engagements not apparently honorable. Even Isabel of stern dignity did not scruple to permit Mariana using her name and

granting the infamous suit of Angelo. But Sita's conception of chastity was much higher than even Isabel's or Diana's. She could not touch another but her lord and she does not hesitate to allege that as a reason for her objecting to close with the messenger's proposal, although she may seem ungrateful in the eyes of the messenger in whose faithfulness alone the prospect of her deliverance lay.

'I will not touch another but my lord
While I am free.'

This reason, Sita has intelligence enough to perceive, may possibly offend the messenger. She therefore adds a second reason that it will be an indirect disparagement of her lord's heroism and valor if she follow the method of deliverance suggested.

'Should Rama kill my persecuting fiend
And all the demon crowd and lead me hence
With victory, that will be done like him.'

The messenger reaches Rama who thus apprised of the whereabouts of his missing wife reaches Lanka with all his forces and the demon whose suits hereto were cold now gives out that Rama has been killed in the field and lays the head of Rama before the weeping Sita. The resemblance was so striking that Sita is deceived into believing that Rama is really killed and thus exclaims.

'For woman to survive her lord, that is
The worst of ills.'

One of the demonesses who unlike others feels for Sita tells her that it is a deception practised by the fiend; whereupon she is not transported with joy like the ordinary run of woman-kind but stands covered with shame

'To have survived the thought her lord was dead'
—a sentiment that never appears to have caused Imogen
to blush —

The battle rages long and furiously: the demons are killed in large numbers; victory is about to crown Rama's endeavours and Sita is on the eve of her deliverance when she is taken in a chariot to witness a most trying scene—Rama stretched on the field apparently dead—This was too much to bear and Sita gives vent to loud lamentations and like Helena she looks upon herself as the sole cause of this melancholy end of Rama.

'The ocean crossed, most of the demons slain
In sight of victory, there lie you dead
And all on my account! The palmists skilled
That by you gave me children, liars proved!
Events or good or bad but wait their time:
And fate that times them all will not be ruled'.

She is now informed by her friend demoness that Rama is not dead but is only unconscious and that he will be soon well enough again. Sita returns from the battle field in suspense. Soon after, the messenger from Rama, who came to her previously, comes from the battle field and tells her of the happy news of the enemies fall, and her husband's victory. She receives this happy intelligence with the gracious silence of Virgilia when she is informed of Coriolanus' victory and says not a word even to thank the messenger or by way of congratulation to her lord. This astonishes the messenger who questions her as to the cause of her silence when informed of the greeting event. By this time the transport of joy was over and Sita says.—

In rapture steeped, I lost my speech awhile;
Nor do my thoughts suggest a token apt
To shew my gratitude to you who brought
This welcome news. Nor wealth nor heaps of gold
Nor costly gems can buy this message sweet.—

The messenger then asks Sita for permission to kill those wicked demonesses who made her misery more intolerable by constantly persecuting her in all imaginably fiendish ways. But this cruelty so needlessly harsh, Sita could not find it in her tender and virtuous heart to sanction. Some may attribute this forbearance of Sita on this occasion to a so-called forgiving temper—such as Hermione and Imogen are made out to have possessed. But on deep thought we are inclined to hold that Sita did not forgive them. Even in the case of Imogen and Hermione it is not absolutely correct to say that they forgave their lords. Posthumus,

true, was mistaken: but he was perfectly justified under the circumstances in thinking as ill of Imogen as he did. The bracelet to anybody in Posthumous position must have spoken volumes against Imogen and Posthumus could not have suspected all that Iachimo did to get all that *questionable* information about Imogen. In fact Imogen herself on the morning after Iachimo's departure on the return journey for Italy misses the bracelet and says

'I hope it is not gone to tell my lord
That I love aught but he'

What was Posthumus' crime that he should be forgiven? In the case of Hermione too there was little for her to forgive. She was perfectly chaste but in the consciousness of her envulnerable chastity, which her husband could not have shared, she was rather free with her husband's friend. He would not prolong his stay at his friend's request, but when she did so his objections apparently vanished. Add to that that Hermione left her husband to talk to his friend. Her husband observed the way in which she moved with his friend and his jealousy was roused; the very sudden disappearance of his servant and his friend confirmed his suspicions. In this judgment Leonatus was certainly mistaken and he was to some extent to thank himself for the apparent freedom with which she moved with his friend. He was not certainly as much warranted in his inferences from the circumstances as even Posthumus was from the other set of circumstances; but still Hermione gave her husband cause enough to suspect her and he had already performed a saintlike sorrow for his mistake. But Sita does not find anything in the conduct of these demonesses to forgive; their conduct is perfectly justifiable in her eyes and it is folly to resent it. They were not free agents in what they did. They were menials performing their master's bidding which it was neither safe nor politic in them to question. The reader would here find that this argument proceeded from the heart of Sita and appealed directly also to the heart of the messenger. Sita has suffered the touch of the demon and her argument in exonerating herself from all moral censure in that matter was that she was then "not mistress of herself". The messenger on a previous occasion fell into

the clutches of the demon and was saved from imminent death by the intercession of some of the demon's friends who urged that it was neither just nor honorable to kill a messenger or an ambassador who, in doing what he did, did not act of free will but only obeyed orders which he was bound implicitly to obey. To understand Sita's conduct and the reasons upon which it was based we cannot do better than translate her speech to the messenger, refusing sanction to carry out his proposal.

Who will resent the deeds of humble slaves
Not masters of themselves, who do the thing
They are bid to and cannot choose but do,
Obedient to the will of demon-lord?
Ill luck and foul deeds done in former births
Bring all this woe on me; I reap the fruits
Of deeds I did, nor could I blame these slaves.
It is high Heaven's decree that even by these
I must be teased, insulted and abused.
So viewing, seeming-weak, I bore it all;
Under the fiend's commands they used me thus;
Now stand tongue-tied as he has ceased to live!

The reader thus plainly sees the line of Sita's arguments and the most charitable view she took of the situation alleging at every step more than a woman's reason to reach up to the conclusion. Her spirit of meek resignation which held every wrong to her as a just punishment for her sins inflicted by the hand of Heaven through agents who were thoroughly innocent in themselves and only did what they did under the influence of some superior power which they had no option but to obey is more truly and gracefully expressed than Hermione's spirit in

'There is some ill planet reigns'

The last two lines of the above quotation clearly shew the more-than-average intellect that Sita possessed. Sita relies upon the fact therein contained as a conclusive proof that the slaves were not acting deliberately when they persecuted her and that in themselves they were not mischievously inclined; of course one would expect that Sita had said all that she need say on this point, but

she does not stop there and tells the messenger that even if these slaves had out of their own free-will and maliciously done what they did, it would still ill-become her or any body in her situation to sanction such revenge.

'A saying old and true, of moral worth,
Once to a tiger by a bear addrest,
I urge on you. The wise will not revenge
Though wronged, and as their virtue is their jewel
They break not through this golden rule.'

Why does Sita find it necessary to say that she quotes the saying which was addressed by a bear to a tiger? Was it not enough to express her sentiment without tracing it to them? She had good reason for doing so. She wanted to tell him that brutes knew that piece of morality and that, the most pitiless of them; and that as human beings they must know it better than brutes; again she urges a higher and a nobler reason for refusing the sanction asked for.

'Forbear from doing evil; Nor shall those
Whose sins deserve death suffer at your hands.
Forgive all wrong; for who commits no wrong?'

Portia in the Merchant of Venice says in answer to Shylock

'We do pray for mercy
And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy.'

And this sentiment Sita expressed with equal grace nearly thirty centuries before Portia. The messenger is lost in admiration of Sita's fine morality and exclaims 'O Rama's worthy wife' and requests her to convey her message to her lord, if any, by him, whereupon Sita with that sweet brevity which is hardly distinguishable from silence but which speaks volumes only says 'I wish to see my lord'. She is not prodigal of words like Imogen when she expressed her wish to see her lord at Milford Haven. Rama commands that Sita should be soon brought before him after bathing and she is taken before him, but alas! only to be treated to harsh language. Instead of sweet caresses which she hoped for, she is given harsh words by Rama who tells her that he

cannot shamelessly receive into the bosom of his honorable family a woman who had stayed so long away from her lord and lived with a fiend who had foul thoughts and power to carry out his designs. Sita is stunned by this dreadful and unjust accusation but with all the self possession of a Hermione in like circumstances and the inoffensive and noble pride of Brutus' Portia thus addresses Rama.

'Hero, my lord, these words become you not
And pain my ears to hear. I am not she
You take me for; Believe in me; I swear
By that chaste love I bear! you judge me ill
When by my sex you judge. Well have you tried
My love for you; Why then suspect me now?
If I have borne another's touch, you know
I was not mistress of myself; Therein
I had no will; the Gods were all to blame.
My heart is mine to give and that is yours.
What could I do, so powerless as I was,
With limbs whose movements stronger might obey?
If from our mutual love and friendship long
You cannot judge me true and you can doubt,
Then in that doubt I stand condemned for aye.
Swayed by your wrath, my lord, you treat me now
As would a common man a common woman.'

There is certainly discernible in these lines the spirit of Portia who exclaimed:

'Think you I am no stranger than my sex'

without the stoicism which accompanies it in

"I have made strong proof of my constancy
Giving myself a voluntary wound
Here in the thigh."

With Sita the appeal is both intellectual and sentimental, with Portia purely a matter of strong sentiment, while Hermione smarting under the unjustness of the accusation has no arguments to advance on her behalf, but appeals only to the charities of the by-standers.

Sita having thus proved in her judgment her innocence does

not sue for mercy or wait for further orders. The fact that her husband had thought her capable of infidelity was sentence enough for her and she requests Lekshmana to prepare the funeral pyre whereon she will end her miserable existence.

'Prepare the funeral pyre whereon to end
This cureless grief. By base calumny struck
I can't hold out. Plunge into fire I will
And seek that end most meet for me to do,
Published before the world and thus divorced,
By husband whom my virtue has not pleased.

She then plunges into fire and comes unscathed out of the ordeal and Rama returns home

'In joy, his glory and his queen retrieved'

The sufferings of Sita were not still at an end and in her own subsequently uttered words 'she was created but to mourn'. Sita is with child and her loving husband asks her for her wish. The simple Sita answers

'I like to see the sacred woods again'.

But Rama who has heard his subjects talk ill of him for having received Sita into his family commands Lekshmana, his Pisanio, to take Sita to the woods and leave her there to take care of herself as best she may. Sita then goes with Lekshmana and observes him, while crossing the Ganges, moody and ready to weep. The unsuspecting Sita could not understand the cause of it and attributes it to that cause which found a sympathetic response in her breast.

'Why weep you thus, arrived on Ganges' banks
A place I longed to see? Why with your cries
Infect my joyous heart? Grieve you for this—
A short twonights' divorce from Rama's side
Whereat you loved and cheerly used to wait?
I too do love my lord more than my life;
But see I weep not thus. Play not the child;
Our purpose done, we too shall soon return:
Hastens my mind alike to see my lord.'

Sita's eagerness to see her lord within two days after she had left him and that at her own request is beautifully expressed with

becoming grace. There is not the flutter, nor the crowd of thoughts nor broken sentences and parenthetical clauses all expressive of the flutter of Imogen when she expresses her eagerness to see Posthumus at Milford-Haven. There is nothing of the dramatic glitter and sentimentality observable in Sita's expression of her great love as is observable in Imogens' 'Mine is beyond beyond.' While the reader may be inclined to doubt whether Imogen did really love so well as her language indicates, there is a pleasing air of sincerity about Sita's expression of love, and her unsuspecting simplicity in attributing Lekshmana's grief to a short separation from his brother, superadds a special charm to her great love for her husband. They cross the Ganges and Lekshmana who like Pisanio could not afford to lose such bad employment when he was commanded by Rama leaves her there and tells her that he had been directed by Rama to leave her there and the reasons for Rama's command. Poor Sita is stunned and it is sometime before she recovers consciousness; but when she recovered her senses

'She never said a word against her lord
Who thus divorced her innocent of guilt
But cursed herself so doomed to cureless grief'

and thus abstained from the use of expressions arguing resentment against her lord which Imogen was not able to do when she says that Iachimo looked honester then. She could weep and she wept; whereas Hermione says. 'I am not prone to weeping as our sex are.' Lekshmana consoles her bitter grief and on his knees implores for forgiveness for his having obeyed the commands of his master, hard though they were. Sita says

'Why thus? good youth, livelong. I like thee well
That thus art lorded by your elder's will.'

Having thus not forgiven but applauded the conduct of Lekshmana she sends a message by him to her lord.

"Tell him the king thus in my words. You have
Divorced a wife once cleansed before your eyes
In blazing fire, by base calumny swayed.
Does this become your learning and your line?"

She feels that this message is not as it ought to be and therefore mends it.

'But soft it looks not like the willing deed
Of my good-natured lord. This is the course
Of sins in former births I could not stem.'

She then lovingly and pathetically remembers her lord of how she had shared his reverses to be turned out in the hour of joy.

"Regardless all of Fortune's offered hand
You left with me to woods; when you returned
And took her hand, she fed the grudge she bore
And would not brook my stay with you."

How truer, how more tender and how more appropriate to a woman in Sita's position this pleasant raillery than Imogen's

'Some jay of Italy &c.'

She then describes the present change in terms that would draw a tear even from stony hearts.

'Once by your favour I have given refuge
To sages' wives by demons fell oppressed.
How could I now, when you shine like the sun,
Seek shelter of another for myself?

Sita then asks herself if she could not die instead of being driven to that course; but then alas! she could not, not because as Imogen says,

Against self slaughter
There is a prohibition so divine
That cravens my hand,

but because of a certainly better reason.

'But why prolong this miserable life
From you eternally divorced? I shouldn't
But that I am enjoined to keep alive
Thy glowing valor swelling in my womb.'

Sita has no objection to quit her being but she abhors to add infanticide to her supposed crimes and sins. She ended her message by saying that notwithstanding she has been discarded as a wife she expects Rama to treat her kindly as one of his subjects. Lekshmana then leaves her and returns home. Sita continues in

Valmiki's house and is confined of twins who go out singing Rama's praises when they are recognized by Rama. Rama then repents, sends for Valmiki and Sita before a large gathering and desires that Sita would go through the ordeal again and clear herself in the eyes of the people. But Sita had already lived too long and the only objection she had to die earlier not existing now, she was anxious to die and so exclaimed

"If by my speech or in my thoughts or deeds
I had not swerved from chastity, O! Earth
Do split and in thy bosom let me rest."

This said, she was seen no more.

S. SITARAMA SASTRI.

TRANSVAAL AND INDIA

IF it were possible for us in India to arrive at some agreement with Englishmen on the great questions in debate concerning the Government of the country; or rather on the principles that ought to guide them, we might regard the future with equanimity and with hope. But we are confronted with the same difficulty in India which has been felt in almost every country in the world. Everybody will acknowledge that the sovereign has certain duties. The most despotic of rulers will readily concede that he is bound by what may be loosely called laws towards his subjects. The duties of kings are laid down in the old Hindu Sastras with a comprehensiveness which leave very little to be desired. The Oligarchies of ancient Rome and of Venice acknowledged their responsibility for good government and their duties to the masses with the same readiness with which the ruling classes of England, express their willingness to ameliorate the conditions of the poorer classes in England. Except perhaps in England, however, it has been left to the superior and governing classes to define their own duties as well as the obligations of the lower classes.

But to the lower classes the position taken by the apologists of the superior classes has always appeared unsatisfactory and generally the problem has been solved by civil wars. There are, however, signs that by constitutional agitation, reforms, that in the older days were attainable only by revolutions, could now be achieved by more peaceful means. India itself is a striking example and the reforms that have been introduced acquire a remarkable significance as an indication of what is possible by persistent and constitutional agitation. In carrying on this agitation, nothing is more instructive as a lesson to ourselves and to our rulers than their conduct in those days when laboring under disabilities, but unfortunately the memories of those days are easily forgotten. A Puritan clamouring for liberty and toleration has been known, when in power, to be more intolerant towards

other sects than his own oppressors. It is far more useful therefore to recall to the mind of our rulers how their own race, living under laws far more favorable than our own in India, are contemporaneously with ourselves claiming privileges, far higher than ever claimed by us. Transvaal is a Boer Republic, where the majority of the Europeans, the Uitlanders, have no franchise or share in the government of the country. Their grievances have been held to justify strong remonstrances from such men as Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain. They have evoked great sympathy in England and have been regarded potent enough to palliate the armed raid of Dr Jameson into Transvaal. Nowhere else in the world are English-men—for the great majority of Uitlanders are Englishmen—forced to beg concessions from a superior race. They have always formed the governing body and it has been their pride to point out to races subject to them the conditions under which alone the franchise could be granted and they could be allowed to take part in the government of the country. Transvaal is, we believe, the one place in the world, where the governing body is of a different race, and the majority of the ruled, are Englishmen who have no voice in the Government. It is instructive, therefore, to note under what conditions they consider that the franchise ought to be bestowed on them and compare such conditions with those that exist in other countries where the Englishmen themselves form the dominant race and other races have to crave of them the indulgence, which they now pray, may be conceded to them in Transvaal.

The Uitlanders say that they are the vast majority in the state, owning more than half the land and taken in the aggregate, nine-tenth of the property and yet in all matters affecting their properties, lives, or liberties they have no voice as they are denied the right to vote for election to the First Volskraad. They protest against any taxation without representation. And they maintain that taxes which in their view are most inequitable are imposed. They condemn a legislature which is elected only by a minority, one-third of the people. And they assume, as not requiring any argument to prove the same, that when such minority is composed of a different

race, speaking a different language, with different pursuits and traditions from the majority, government by such minority stands self-condemned.

Turning to the executive government they complain that the power of the executive is absolute, with no responsibility to the people: that all legislation is initiated by the executive.

With reference to the Courts which in the absence of representation in the Councils is the sole guardian of their rights, it is alleged that attempts are being constantly made to reduce them to a position subordinate to the Executive. The Uitlanders plead they have not got the right of being tried by a jury of their own countrymen, and that there is no chance of receiving even-handed justice in a trial before a Jury of burghers. As to Railways, it is a grievance that it is entirely in the hands of a corporation domeciled in Holland. The governing race is alleged to show a determination to retain all power in their own hands and to spend money on fortifications intended to terrorize the Uitlanders.

We believe we have fairly stated their grievances. Let us compare their position with ours. If in Transvaal they form a majority, being apparently double in numbers to the governing races, in India they form only an infinitismal portion of the population. If in Transvaal they own nine-tenths of the property, in India the majority of the Indians own almost the entire property. The difference between an Uitlander and a Boer is certainly not so wide as between an Englishman and an Indian. One would think, therefore, that the claims of the Indians for representation in the government of the Indian Empire are irresistible but yet what do we find now?

In Transvaal they have at least an independent legislative council able to make its own laws and enforce them. In India we have really no such legislative council. In the Volskraad there are some members who are able and willing to help the Uitlanders, and if these Uitlanders succeed in persuading the free and independent members generally of the justice of their claim there is nothing to prevent the Volskraad from doing them justice. But

in India there is no council, free and independent, to be persuaded. So that while the Uitlanders complain of non-representation in the free council of the Republic, we have to complain that there is no free council at all for the framing of the laws and to superintend the administration of such laws.

The councils that exist in India are a mere mockery intended to shield the executive and to invest with an appearance of deliberation and fairness all their high handed acts of tyranny. They can only register the verdicts of the executive and the non-officials are appointed to congratulate the officials on the consummate ability, wisdom and tact which, in the opinion of the latter, they always display. There is of course no representation as the members that sit in the legislative councils are not members really elected by independent voters, nor are these sham councils in any way useful for effective impartial legislation or control. The Budget is not submitted to them for their approval. And they have no control over the spending departments—which so far as the councils are concerned—are free to do what they like. As the executive in India has such entire control over the legislative councils it is needless to state, that the laws, passed by such councils can scarcely be relied on, to safe-guard the natural liberties of the people against the executive. Where the laws are not impartial, the Judges can do little. Yet in India we know that attempts are persistently being made to bring the High Courts into subordination to the executive. As to the masses they are ground down in India by judicial tyranny. The tax-gathering collector and not the administrator of justice is the representative of the Queen. The magistrates depend for their promotion on the Revenue officials. And the entire administration of justice is subordinated to the prompt collection of an oppressive Revenue and to the maintenance of the prestige of the superior race. The Police are notoriously inefficient. From the highest to the lowest, oppression descends through all the classes of society. Yet an Englishman in India if asked to apply a remedy by admitting the Indians to a share in the Government will regard such demand as absurd and beyond the pale of practical politics. The great moral force of England be-

hind the Uitlanders, the great physical force of England to support the Anglo-Indians makes all the difference.

In Transvaal they plead that they have not the right to be tried by a Jury of their own countrymen and that a Jury of burghers will never mete out justice to them. In India it has been long recognized that trial by an English Jury where the accused is an Englishman is a farce. The result is that the English soldier may commit any brutality with practical impunity. Well might an uncharitable Turk say in reply to Canon Mac Coll that it is not in Turkey alone that the members of the ruling race are free to commit certain offences with impunity and that there is one law for the ruling race and another for the ruled.

As in Transvaal, the Railways in India are generally in the hands of companies in England and are worked, not with a view to India's benefit and profits but as an investment for the Englishman and for the Englishman's profits. Above all, the money raised in India is not spent in India; crores and crores of Rupees are for one reason or another poured into England and the life blood of India is being slowly but surely drained on account of a want of any effective check by Indians over the expenditure. Far greater reason exists in India than in Transvaal why the great majority of the people of the country ought to be allowed a voice in the councils of the nation.

We have assumed throughout that the Transvaal Uitlanders' complaint is true that they have no effective voice in legislation. Let us examine this statement a little closely.

The Parliament of Transvaal consist of two chambers:—the first Volskraad, and the second Volskraad. The members of the first Volskraad, the President of the Republic, and the Commandant General are to be chosen by those who had the franchise previous to the year 1899 and their children, who can claim the franchise upon the attainment of the age of sixteen. Before 1890 those alone had the franchise who were burghers and to be a burgher one must have been born within the Republic and attained the age of eighteen. Persons not born within the Republic could till then but not subsequently obtain burgher rights by a residence of 5 years and taking the oath of allegiance.

Kâli, and slaughtered buffaloes at her shrine, to secure her favor in their plundering raids(5). Before starting on their expeditions they usually consulted omens in the chirping and flight of birds(6). Their descendants are now known by the appropriate title of kallar or "thieves." Dhirataran Murti-Eyinar the great chief of Viramangalam referred to in the plates of Jatila-varman, a Pandyan King of the twelfth century A.D. appears to have belonged to this tribe(7).

The Oliyar were another tribe of the Nagas who, it is said, were conquered by Karikâl-Chola(8). Nothing else of their history is known. But we find them in power as late as the eleventh century A. D. from an inscription at Mâmalai-puram(9). This inscription is dated in the 9th year of the reign of the Chola King Koppara-Kêsari-Varmman *alias* Udaiyâr-Srî-Râjendra Dêva who defeated Ahawa-Malla, the western Chalukya King (1040—1069 A.D.) at the battle of Koppa. It is the copy of a deed by which a piece of land was granted to the Varâha-Swâmi temple at Mâmalai-puram, and which was signed by the following Nagas, amongst other high officers of the Chola-King:—

Olinâgan Mâdaiyan Alagiya Chola
Amurnâddu Mûvênda Vêlan
Olinâgan Chandra Sekaran
Olinâgan Nârâyanan
Indüpuravan Sanga-Nâgan
Uchan-Kilavan Muguli Nâgan.

It appears from this deed that there were, besides the Olinagas, other tribes of the same race, such as Sanga Nagas and Muguli Nagas, in the eleventh century A. D.

Aruvalar was a local name of the Naga tribes who inhabited Aruva-Nadu and Aruva-Vadathalai. The Oviyar were a family of the Aruvalar tribe who ruled at Eyil-Paddinam, and were Kings of Mâvilankai about the middle of the second century A. D.,

(5.) Chilapp-athikâram—XII.
(6.) Ibid, XII—120 to 128.
(7.) Indian Antiquary Vol. XXII, p. 57 and ll.
(8.) Paddinap-pâlai—line 274.
(9.) Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol XIII, part II, article IV.

when there was a temporary decline of the power of the Cholas and of other Tamil Kings. They are described by a Tamil poet as "Chivalrous and intrepid warriors, fierce as tigers on the battle field."(10). The Oviyar were most probably the Basore Nagas alluded to by Ptolemy as Kings of Melangae.(11) It appears from Ptolemy that at Uraiyur the Chola capital also, the Cholas were displaced by the Sôre Nagas who were evidently the descendants of Chola and Naga families who had intermarried. (12) About this period the Nagas appear to have risen to power even in Ceylon, judging from the names of the following Kings of the country as given in the Mahâwanso:—(13)

	A. D.
Mahalamana or Mallaga Naga	125
Kuhana or Chanda Naga	173
Kudanama or Kuda Naga	183
Kuda Sirina or Sri Naga	184

The Parathavar were a Naga tribe who occupied the sea coast and maintained themselves by fishing or by sea faring. They dived for pearls or for conch shells, and knew the charm to keep off sharks from that part of the sea, where they dived. They were most powerful in the country around Korkai in Then-pandinad; "well fed on fish and flesh and armed with bows, their hordes terrified their enemies by their dashing valour." (14).

The Nagas, as a race, were not a literary people, and during the period they held power there was hardly any Tamil literature. They were, however, skilled in many arts and excelled especially in weaving. The Nagas of the Kalinga country were so famous in the art of weaving that the word Kalingam in Tamil has come to signify a cloth. At the period which I describe, the Nagas inhabiting the Eastern Coast in the Pandyan territory were great weavers, and exported a large quantity of cloths and muslins. The fine muslins manufactured by the Nagas were highly prized by the Tamils and fetched fabulous prices in foreign countries (15).

(10.) Chiru-pânârrup—padai. ll. 121-122.
(11.) McCrindles' Ptolemy, p. 185.
(12.) Ibid, p. 184.
(13.)
(14.) Mathuraik-kânchi, ll. 140 to 144.
(15.) "To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalon. In this single place are obtained the pearls collected near the island of Epiodôras. From it are exported the muslins called *ebargareitides*."
McCrindles Periplus Maris Erythræi, p : 140.

Tamil poets allude to a famous chieftain Ay who offered to the image of Siva, one of these priceless muslins which had been presented to him by Nila-Naga.(16)

The oldest of the pure Tamil tribes who invaded Southern India and conquered the Nagas appears to have been the Mârar, and the chief of this tribe was ever afterwards known as Palayan or "the ancient," being the most ancient, of the Tamil settlers in the Southern part of India.(17) The capital of the Palayan Mâran was Mohoor, the exact site of which I am unable to ascertain. It was somewhere close to the Pothiya Hill near Cape Comorin.(18) The Pandyan King claimed to be a Maran and "Minavar Kon" or the King of the Minavar. These names Mâran and Minavan appear to have some affinity to the names Mrânmar and Mîns, borne by the tribes which conquered Burmah before the first century A. D. In the accounts of Burmah written in Pali, the country is known as Maramma-desa.(19)

The next tribe of Tamil invaders was the Thirayer or "Sea Kings." They were a great seafaring race, whose home appears to have been Lower Bengal and who travelled by sea to Burmah, Cochin China, Ceylon and Southern India. A King of this tribe named Thirayan who reigned at Kanchi, the modern Kanchi-puram, contemporary with Karikal-Chola, claimed to be a descendant of the god Vishnu, whose bed is on the ocean, according to Hindu Mythology.(20) It was on this account perhaps that the Chola Kings who belonged to this tribe, boasted of being descendants of the solar race. The oldest of the Chola Kings mentioned in the

(16.) Chiru-pânarrup-padai ll. 96—99.
(17.) Mathuraik-kânchi, l. 508.
(18.) Mâmulanar-akam., Stanza, 250.
(19.) "Sir Arthur Phayre derives Mrânmâ from Brahma (see page 2 of his *History of Burma*). The exact derivation and meaning of the designation by which the Burmans are known have not yet been settled. The term Mrânmâ is not met with in Burmese history till the first Century A. D. In *Marco Polos'* travels, Burma is referred to as the Kingdom of Mien. The Burmans are known among the Chinese as the Mien, and among the Shâns as the Mân, the same appellation by which the Moggols are known among the Chinese. In the accounts of Burma written in Pali, the country is known as Mârammadêsa. If Sir Arthur Phayre's derivation is correct, it is difficult to justify the action of the learned priests of the 14th and 15th Centuries, in making use of the barbarous appellation Maramma in lithic inscriptions as well as in literary works, while they had the familiar term Brahmâ for their national designation." Taw Sein Ko-in the Indian Antiquary Vol XXII, p. 8.
(20.) Perum-pânârrup-padai ll. 29—37.

Tamil poems of the first century A. D. is Muchukunta. He is said to have saved Amaravati the capital of Indra when it was besieged by the Asuras, and that in gratitude for the service, Indra sent five giants who killed the Nagas of Kaviri-paddinam and enabled the Chola King to take possession of that town.(21) This legend seems to indicate that Muchukunta was the first Chola King who conquered the Nagas. The name of the Thiraiyar in Sanskrit was Sâgarakula. The ancient Pallava Kings belonged to the Sagarakula, but the later Pallavas styled themsleves Bhâradvâjâs.(22) Families of the Thirayar tribe who lived in Thondai-Mandalam (the modern Chingleput and North Arcot Districts) were known by the following names, as late as the sixteenth century A. D :—(23)

Pangala Thirayar—Thirayar of Bengal.
China Thiraiyar—Thirayar of China, this was most probably Cochin China.
Kâdara Thirayar—Thirayar of Kadaram, that is, Burmah.
Singala Thirayar—Thirayar of Ceylon.
Pallava Thirayar—Thirayar of Pallavam.

Another tribe of the Tamils was Vânavar or "Celestials." They were evidently natives of a mountainous region in the North of Bengal, and when they settled in Southern India, they chose for their residence the hilly tracts such as the Kolli-hills (in the Salem District) the Western Ghats, and the Nilgiris. The Chera Kings belonged to this tribe and called themselves Vânavar or Celestials. They claimed affinity with the Vânavar inhabiting the Himalayas,(24) and expressive of their origin they adopted the titles of Vânavarmman or Imaya-Varmman.(25) Besides the Chera Kings, other mountain Chiefs such as Nannan, lord of Muthiram(26) and Alumbil-Vel(27) called themselves Vana-

(21.) Chilapp-athikâram, V. ll. 95 to 97 and VI. ll. 14 to 17. Mani-makhalai I. ll. 19 to 24.

(22.) Epigraphia Indica part I. p 2 and ll.

(23.) Thondai-mandala-paddayam.

(24.) Chilapp-athikâram XXV. ll. 1 to 3.

(25.) Pathirrup-paththu : Stanzas 11 to 20 are in praise of Nedun-cheral-athan *alias* Imaya-varmman, I. Stanzas 31 to 40 are addressed to Kalankaik-kanni-Nâr-Mudich-Chêral *alias* Vâna-varmman I. Stanzas 41 to 50 refer to Chenk-kudduvan Imaya varmman II. Stanzas 51 to 60 allude to Nâdu-Kôdpadu-Chêral-âthan *alias* Vana-varmman II.

(26.) Malai-padu-kudâm, l. 164. The Commentator Nachchinârk-iniyar misreads the expression Vâna-viral-vêl as Mâna-viral-vêl.

(27.) Mathuraik-kânchi ll. 344—345.

Viral-Vel or Chiefs of the Vanavas. One of the Chera Kings called Chenkudduvan, who was contemporary with Gajabaahu of Ceylon (113 to 125 A. D.) is said to have been on intimate terms of friendship with the Kannar princes of Bengal, and with their assistance he attacked the Aryas on the Northern banks of the Ganges.(28) These Kannar are described as one hundred in number. They were doubtless the Karnas, who ruled Magadha during the first and second centuries of the Christian era. There were seven Kings of the Karna Dynasty who governed the Gangetic provinces. They were lords of the Three Kalingas, and their dominion extended from the modern Telugu country on the one side, to Arakan on the other side of the Bay of Bengal.(29)

Mr. Fergusson, the great writer on Architecture having observed the striking similarity of the style of Architecture prevailing in South Canara and Malabar to that of Nepal, wrote as follows :—"The feature, however, which presents the greatest resemblance to the Northern styles is the reverse slope of the eaves above the verandah. I am not aware of its existence anywhere else South of Nepal, and it is so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than reinvented. I cannot offer even a plausible conjecture, how or at what time, a connection existed between Nepal and Thibet and Canara, but I cannot doubt that such was the case." "In fact there are no two tribes in India, except the Nayars (of Malabar) and Newass (of Nepal) who have the same strange notions as to female chastity, and that

(28.) Chilapp-athikâram XXVI. ll. 148-149 and ll. 176—178.

(29.) "Soodruka is known in the native annals as Karna Dêva or Malia Karna. A plate has recently been dug up at Benares, on which is inscribed a grant of land made by their monarch who is styled the Lord of the three Kalingas. If this be not an oriental exaggeration, it would go to show that the great Karna of Magadha had extended his dominions as far as the coast of Telinga on the one side and of Arracan on the other side of the Bay, and to the sea coast of Bengal : for this is the locality of the three Kalingas as explained by historians. After a reign of eighteen years he was succeeded by his brother. Six monarchs in succession filled the throne after the founder, who all assumed the same patronymic, and were remembered as the seven Karnas : but we have nothing but this naked fact for our guidance, except the great veneration in which the name of Karna is traditionally held, not only in India, but throughout the Eastern Archipelago. This would almost justify the supposition that the Karnas, possessing the three divisions of the sea coast, had created a navy, and made their power felt in the islands of the East. In common speech, the natives are accustomed, when anxious to pay the highest compliment to a liberal man to compare him to Karna : and we incline to the belief that on such occasions they allude to the more modern Karna of Magadha, rather than to the antiquated hero of that name mentioned in the Mahâbhârat."

coupled with the architecture and other peculiarities, seems to point to a similarity of race, which is both curious and interesting; but how and when the connection took place I must leave it to others to determine. I do not think there is any thing in the likeness of the names, but I do place faith in the similarity of their architecture combined with that of their manners and customs" (Mr. Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture p. 270 and 305). The similarity of races, which Mr. Fergusson's professional instinct told him must be a fact, is fully borne out by the direct testimony of ancient Tamil poets. *The connection between Nepal and Malabar had broken off probably more than two thousand years ago. It is truly marvellous, therefore that traces of this connection still linger in the language, the customs, and the style of Architecture of the latter country, after the lapse of twenty centuries!*

The three Tamil tribes Meenavar, Thirayar and Vanavar founded respectively the Tamil Kingdoms subsequently known as the Pandya, Chola and Chera Kingdoms.(30) From the edicts of the great Magadha Emperor Asoka, which were engraved in the latter half of the 3rd Century B.C., we learn that the three Tamil kingdoms were in existence in his time and were not subject to his authority.(31).

The latest of the immigrants into the Tamil country were the Kosar. It is said that they attacked Mohoor the Capital of Palayan-Maran and as they were repulsed there, the "Vamba-Moriyar" or the illegitimate Mauriyas came to their assistance; and drove in their handsome chariots on the Pothiya hill.(32) It appears therefore that the immigration of the Kosar took place in the 3rd or 2nd Century B.C., when the illegitimate Mauriyas were on the

"These Andhra kings appear to have maintained towards the close of their dynasty a constant intercourse with China: and we find the Chinese Government on one occasion sending an army to assist in putting down a rebellion in India"-Marshman's History of India p. 63 and ll. Dr Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan p. 25-30. The Puranic authors have however tried to conceal this fact by asserting that the Pandya, Cholo and Chera were descendants of an Aryan king. "The *Harivamsa* and *Agni Purana* make Pandya, Chola, Kerala and Kola great grandsons of Dushyanta of the line of Puru, and founders of the regal dynasties named after them. The descendants of Dushyanta however as specified in the *Vishnu Purana* do not include these personages, and their insertion seems to have been the work of the more recent authorities. The *Harivamsa* with no little inconsistency places the Pandyas and Cholas amongst the Kshatriya tribes degraded by Sagara. The *Padma Purana* has a similar addition to the list of those tribes in the Râmâyana" Prof. H. H. Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Pandyan Kingdom. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. III, Art. IX p. 199.

(31.) Indian Antiquary. Vol. XX. p: 242.

(32.) Mâmûlanâr-Akam. 250.

Magadha throne. The Kosar are said to have come from four different towns and they spoke four different dialects.(33) They were a very warlike people and were remarkable for their regard for truth.(34) In the first Century A.D., they were the Masters of the Konga country (the Modern Coimbatore District)(35) while in the Pandyan country they were the most honored of the subjects of the Pandya, inferior in rank only to Palayan-Maran.(36) They invaded Then-Pandi and the Chola territory also, but were repulsed by the Kings Thithiyan.(37) and Killi.(38)

As the Tamil immigrants came into Southern India at distant intervals of time and in separate tribes, and were fewer in number than the aboriginal Nagas or Dravidians, they had to adopt the ancient Dravidian language, and in course of time, they modified and refined it into the language now known as Tamil. The peculiar letter Rzha (ழ) found in the Tamil alphabet which does not occur in the other Dravidian or Sanskrit languages, was doubtless brought in by the Tamil immigrants. This letter, I understand, occurs only in some of the Thibetian languages. It indicates most clearly that the primitive home of the Tamil immigrants must have been in the Thibetian plateau. That they were not of Aryan descent is proved not only by the continued antagonism they displayed towards the Aryans, but also by ancient Sanscrit works in which the Tamils or Dravidas are spoken of as an alien people.(39) That the Tamils had attained a high degree of civilization before the advent of the Aryans is established indisputably by the fact that the pure Tamil language is so copious and exact that it can do well without borrowing Sanscrit words. In fact, in the ancient Tamil classical works, the terms relating to Music, Grammar, Astronomy and even abstract Philosophy are of pure Tamil origin; and they indicate most clearly that those sciences were cultivated by the Tamils long

(33.) Mathuraik-Kânchi. ll. 508 & 509.

(34.) Old stanza quoted by Nachchinârk-iniyar in his commentary to the Tholkapiyam Porul-athikâram, Mr. Thamotharam Pillai's edition, p. 329.

(35.) Chilapp-athikâram Urai-peru-kaddurai.

(36.) Mathuraik-kânchi. ll. 772-774.

(37.) Paranar-Akam. 195.

(38.) Nakkirar-Akam. 204.

(39.) Haughton's translation of Manava Dharma Sastra.

Chap X, V. 43. The following races of Kshatriyas by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brahmans have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes.

Chap. X. V. 44. Paundracas, Codras, and Dravidas: Cambojas, Yavans and Sakos: Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Deradas and chasas.

before the arrival of the Brahmins or other Aryan immigrants. The Tamils obtained a knowledge of these sciences most probably from China, through Bengal or Burmah, with both of which countries they had direct and constant intercourse. The Tamil language, unlike other Dravidian dialects, abounds in words with nasal letters such as nga, nja and nna: and this peculiarity is remarkable in ancient Tamil works, and in modern Malayalam. This is further evidence of the affinity of the Tamils and the Burmese and Chinese, the latter of whom call themselves "Celestials" like the ancient Cheras who were known as Vanavar or "Celestials"—

The modern Malayalam preserves, I believe, that form of language which was spoken by the early Tamil immigrants, sometime after they had settled in Southern India. They had then learnt to use Dravidian words, but were not familiar with the personal signs of verbs. In this condition, the Malayalam of today resembles the Mongolian, the Manchu, and other primitive tongues of High Asia.

The early Tamil poets believed in the tradition that Agastya lead the first colony of the Aryas to the Pothya hills near Cape Comorin. How much of historical truth there is in this tradition it is difficult to determine; but the tradition seems to rest entirely on the Ramayana, in which epic Agastya is represented as inviting Rama to overcome Ravana the King of Ceylon. In the same poem Panchavati which was situated on the banks of the Godaveri near the modern Nasik is said to have been two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.(40) It follows therefore that during the time of Valmiki, Agastyas' hermitage was believed to be near the modern Nasik. Danda-karanya, the modern Maharatta country is described as a forest infested by wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brahmins, while the country South of the river Kaviri is designated Janasthân, or a region inhabited by civilized people. In the passage describing the despatch of monkey soldiers in search of Sita, they are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras, the Pandyas, the Cholas and the Keralas in the South, and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pandyas adorned with gold and jewels.(41) These descriptions in the Ramayana go to show that during Valmiki's time, the Aryas had some knowledge of the Tamil people and

(40.) Ramayana. III. 13, 13. Bombay Edition.
(41.) Ramayana.

This franchise could also be acquired by those who during a period of ten years were qualified to be chosen as members of the second Volskraad and after a resolution to that effect has been passed by the first Volskraad.

For the second Volskraad besides those entitled to vote for the first Volskraad a white male person coming from elsewhere could obtain the right to vote after a residence of 2 years if he conforms to the laws and takes the oath of allegiance to the Republic, renouncing the allegiance to the sovereign to whom till then he was subject.

The second chamber can legislate on the following:—

(1) The mines, postal, telegraphic and telephonic departments.
(2) The making and maintenance of wagon and postal roads.
(3) The protection of inventions, patterns, trade marks and author's rights.
(4) The working and maintenance of Forests and Salt pans.
(5) Company and Insolvency laws.
(6) Civil and Criminal Procedure.
(7) Such other matters as the first chamber may entrust it with.

All the laws passed by the first chamber have the force of law and cannot be vetoed by the second except those, that trench upon the above subjects.

The complaint is that no child born in Transvaal has, of right, the franchise unless his father was a burgher or became naturalised under the rules above referred to, that no advantage of any value is derived by being able to vote for election to the 2nd chamber, and that the chances of obtaining the right to vote for election to the first chamber are very remote.

Johannesberg is a mining town, and the second Volskraad have the right of legislation with reference to mines. It almost takes our breath away to see that the concession to legislate on the matters above referred to, are considered of no advantage. If the people of India had power to legislate on the Criminal Procedure laws, the hateful distinction between the laws applicable to Europeans and those to

natives would be swept away in a moment. If the Indians had a voice in the legislation concerning Forests and Salt, is it to be supposed for a moment that the statute book would have been disfigured by the existing laws. In fact President Kruger has only to inform the English Uitlanders that he proposes to follow the beneficient Government of England in India. Then nothing more will be heard of the Uitlander claim.

Mr. Balfour said something of the character of the Uitlanders which rendered it desirable that the franchise claimed should be conferred on them. The Boers were under the English dominion. Hating England's rule they emigrated northwards and settled in Transvaal, whither they were followed by the English Government. A revolt and the recognition of their independence was the result. They attempted to live peaceably with their English neighbours and the naturalization laws of 1884 passed by them were mild. In 1890 the second Volskraad was created to bring the original burghers and Uitlanders together as a step towards the fusion of the two Volskraads, even after the chief of the Republic was deliberately insulted when he visited Johanessburgh by hauling down the Republican flag. But the English attitude continued hostile. There were strong indications to show that if the franchise were bestowed on the Uitlanders, it would be used by the majority of them who were Englishmen against the Republic and that the Republic will be merged in the surrounding English countries. The Uitlanders will not take the oath of allegiance to the Republic. They will not take up arms against the foes of the Republic. They have been guilty of inviting armed intervention. Is it a wonder then, that they are denied the right of franchise?

But what about India's past and present. Whatever an Englishman who knows not of India's past might say, it was India's sons under the guidance of English statesmen and generals that created the Indian Empire—as to her loyalty, it would be an insult to discuss that question. Thus we find all along that the attitude of Englishmen as regarded the mutual relations that ought to subsist between the rulers and the ruled, affords a strange contrast in the two continents of Asia and Africa. What little they grudge so much to

give away as rulers in India, they indignantly demand as the ruled, in the other. In Transvaal they ask for concessions which even in spite of strong grounds they superciliously deny to us in India; and strange to say they have the sympathetic conscience of influential England to back them up in their demands, which we practically have not. Curiously enough, they maintain that one set of political principles should guide them as a ruling race and a diametrically opposite set should govern them when under a foreign domination.

Finally, we have only to ask Englishmen to bear in mind when considering India's claims, that the President of the Union, Mr. Charles Leonard on behalf of the Uitlanders, claimed with the approval and sympathy of the English race, 'representation' as one of the elementary rights of citizenship.

THE TAMILS.: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(*Continued.*)

THE Tamil poets of the first century A. D. mention several tribes of the Nagas, such as the Maravar, Eyinar, Oliyar, Oviyar, Aruvâlar and Parathavar. Of these, the Maravar appear to have been the most powerful and warlike tribe, and most hostile to the Tamils. "Of strong limbs and hardy frames" says a poet "and fierce looking as tigers, wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood thirsty Maravar, armed with the bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and helpless travellers, from whom they can rob nothing, only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims."(1) They were so numerous especially on the East Coast, between the Kaviri and Vaigai rivers, where they are still to be found in large numbers, that they successfully resisted the armies of the Tamil Kings. "The wrathful and furious Maravar" says the Poet quoted above "; whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings, and the stirring sound of whose double headed drums, compel even Kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly."(2) Their prowess in battle was so much valued by the Tamil Kings that they were enlisted largely into the Tamil armies. A Marava chieftain named Nalai-kilavan Nagan served the Pandya as a Minister and Commander in his army.(3) Another Marava, Piddank-korran, chieftain of a mountain called Kuthiraimalai, was in the service of the Chera King.(4)

The Eyinar or Vedar were the most lawless of the Naga tribes. Cattle lifting and pillage and murder appear to have been the sole business of their life. They worshipped the dread goddess

(1.) Kalith-thokai, IV—1 to 5.
(2.) Ibid, XV—1 to 7.
(3.) Vada-nedun-thaththanâr—Puram Stanza 179.
(4.) Karuvûr Kanthap-pillai Châththânâr Puram St. 168.

considered them as a civilized nation, and that they knew the Pandyan Capital to be a very wealthy city. Another Sanscrit author, Katyayana who wrote his aphorisms called Varthikas to explain and supplement the grammatical Sutras of Panini, and who is popularly known to have lived during the time of the Nandas in the first half of the fourth Century B. C., allûdes to the Pandyas and Cholas and says that one sprung from an individual of the tribes of the Pandus or the Kings of their country should be called a Pandya"(42).

It is beyond doubt therefore that long before the fourth Century B. C. the Pandyan Kingdom in the South of India had come into existence. But of the founder of the Southern Pandyan Kingdom nothing definite is known. According to the Mahabharata current in South India, Arjuna is said to have married Chitrangada, the daughter of Malaya-dhvaja King of Pandya. But as the section containing this account is not to be found in copies of the poem which are current in Northern India, it is doubtless an interpolation.(43). From other accounts however it appears that the founder of the Southern Pandyan Kingdom was a princess. Megasthenes who resided as an ambassador of Seleukus in the Court of Chandra-gupta at Pataliputra, has the following account of the origin of the Pandyas. "Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into three

(42.) Vârtika on Panini. IV. 1—168.

(43.) "The traditions of the South however make Malaya Dhvaja, a more important character and consider him as the father of Chitrângadâ, the wife of Arjuna. This opinion is grounded on a section of the Sabha Parvan of the Mahâbharat, where Sahâdeva, whilst performing his military career in the Dekkan is described as having an interview with her father Malaya Dhvaja, king of Pandya. This section is however perhaps peculiar to the copies of the Mahâbhârat current in the peninsula, as it has no place in a fine copy in the Devanagiri character in my possession. In the first chapter too, it is there said that the father of Chitrângada is Chitravâhana, king of Manipur, to which Arjuna comes on leaving Kalinga. The Telugu translation of the Adi-Parvan agrees in the names of the parties but places Manipur South of the Kaveri. How far therefore it is safe to identify Malayadhvaja with Chitravâhana and Manipur with Madura, must depend upon the verification of the authenticity of different copies of the Mahâbhârat. The result of a careful collection of seven copies at Benares, examined by Captain Fell, at my request, may be regarded as fatal to the identification, not one of them containing the section in question or the name of Malaya Dhvaja. The Bhâgavat calls the bride of Arjuna, Ulipi, the daughter of the serpent king of Manipura Prof. H. H. Wilson. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. III. Article IX. p. 199.

hundred and sixty-five villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the Queen might always have the assistance of the men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments."(44) Pliny gives a similar account, "next come the Pandœ 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"(45). Ancient Tamil poems seem to support this tradition because they refer to a woman as the founder of the Pandyan Dynasty. (46) She appears to have been subsequently worshipped as a goddess in Madura. In the Chilappathikaram she is spoken of as Mathurapathi or "Queen of Madura" and she is described as dressed half in the attire of a warrior and half in that of a princess.(47) The Manimekhalai gives her proper name as Sindha-Devi. (48)Taking together the tradition as reported by Magasthenes and Pliny and the allusions in the ancient Tamil works it appears that the princess Sindha-Devi who belonged to the race of the Pandus, then reigning at Mathura on the banks of the Jumna, led a colony of the Aryas and founded Dakshina-Mathura on the banks of the Vaigai. Like Dido, who fled from Phœneicia and founded Carthage, it is most probable that the princess Sindha-Devi was driven by some domestic affliction to settle in a distant land. The later traditionary accounts speak of this princess as a woman born with three breasts. It is quite possible that owing to this personal deformity she was obliged to seek a husband in a foreign country. She appears to have married a king of the Marar or Manavar tribe, which was already settled in the Tamil country, and hence her descendants assumed the titles of Pandyan, Maran Minavar.

After the Pandyn princess who founded Dakshina Mathura no Arya leader appears to have successfully invaded the Tamil country. The few Aryas who accompanied the Pandyan princess appear to

(44.) McCrindle's Ancient India. p : 158.
(45.) Pliny's Hist. Nat. VI. 21., McCrindle's Ancient India. p. 147.
(46.) Chilapp-athikaram. XXIII. ll : 11 to 13.
(47.) Ibid. XXIII ll. 5 to 10.
(48.) Manimekhalai. XIV. ll. 11 and 17 to 19.

have merged in the Tamil people by inter-marriages with them. The Pandyan Kings of the first and second century A.D. considered themselves as Tamils, and not Aryas, although they claimed descent from the Pandus. Not only the Pandyas, but also the Cholas and Cheras of this period considered themselves as rivals to the Aryas. Reference is made to frequent collisions between the Tamil kings and Aryas, in which the latter were defeated. One of the Pandyan kings had the title Ariyappadai, Kadantah-Nedunj Chelayan which meant that he had defeated an Aryan army.(49) A Chola king is said to have routed the Aryas in a battle at Vallam (near the modern Tanjore.) (50) The Chera king Chenkuddam defeated the Aryas on the northern bank of the Ganges, with the assistance of the Karnas, princes of Magadha (51) Although the Aryas did not settle in the Tamil country by force of arms, many Brahmin families appear to have come in, as peaceful settlers. There was a large colony of them around the Pothya hill, where they believed, the Vedic sage Agastya had resided. They did not mix freely with the natives of the soil but lived apart in gramums or villages, and in large towns, they resided together in separate streets. At Madura, Thankâl(52) and Vayanankôdu(53) in the Pandyan kingdom, at Vanji, Poraiyur (54) Erakam (55). and Mankodu(56) in the Chera country, and at Kavirippaddinam, Mulloon(57) Avinankudi(58) and Chenkanam (59) in the territory of the Chola king, they resided in large numbers. They claimed to be of several gotras or clans all of which traced their descent from two patriarchs reputed to be the sons of no less a personage than Brahma the creator himself. (60) Brahmans of the

(49.) Chilapp-athikaram. XXIII. p : 449 of Mr Saminathier's edition.
(50.) Akam. 335.
(51.) Chilapp-athikâram XXVI. ll. 147 to 154 and ll. 176 to 178.
(52.) Chilapp-athikaram XXIII, ll. 74-75.
(53.) Mani-mêkhalai XIII, l. 15.
(54.) Chilapp-athikaram.
(55.) Tiru-murukattup-padai, ll. 177-189.
(56.) Chillapp-athikaram XI. l. 53.
(57.) Chiru-pânârrup-padai, ll. 187-188.
(58.) Tiru-murukâttup-padai, l. 176.
(59.) Chilapp-athikaram, XI. l. II.
(60.) Tiru-murukâttup-padai, l. 178. The Commentator Nachchinârk-iniyâr misinterprets the meaning, which is plain—see Mani-mêkhalai, XIII. 93 to 97.

ancient family of Kapiyas are specially alluded to as residing in the Chera dominions.(61) The Brahmins as a rule never allowed dogs or fowls to enter their houses. They reared cows for the sake of their milk, parrots to amuse their women and children and mangoose to kill the serpents which might intrude into their houses or gardens.(62) Their chief employment was to keep up the triple sacred fires in their homes, to perform yogas or sacrifices and to chant Vedic hymns. To the other castes they posed as "heaven compellers." They engaged as teachers occasionally. Some of them were Tamil poets. Frequently they started on pilgrimage when they went round the Pothia Hill, bathed in the sea at Cape Comorin and at the mouth of the Kaviri, and travelled to the banks of the Ganges. On these occasions, they wore leathern sandals to protect their feet; and carried an umbrella to save themselves from sun and rain, a water-pot suspended by a string and three staves tied together. It is interesting to note that elephant drivers spoke to the animals in Ariyan. The Dravidians used to catch wild elephants in pitfalls dug in the woods: but the Aryas introduced the ingenious method of decoying wild elephants, by tame female elephants. As astrologers they had rivals amongst the Dravidians. The Brahmins were called in Tamil Pârppâr or "Seers" and the Dravidian astrologers were called Arivar or "Sages."(63) These sages like the Brahmins pretended to read the future by consulting the positions of the heavenly bodies and fixed auspicious times for celebrating marriages or other important domestic and public ceremonies.

The Ayar or the shepherd race was distinct from the other races abovementioned. They were called the Pothuvar or Commons apparently because they professed friendship to the Nagas and Tamils alike. Originally they appear to have had their own petty Kings, in the Chola country, but Karikal-Chola is said to have exterminated their line of Kings. (64) The Ayar in the Pandyan dominion had a tradition that they came into the Tamil

(61.) Chilapp-athikaram, XXX. 83.
(62.) Perum-pânârrup-padai, ll. 299-300.
(63.) Tholkâppiyam. Porul-athikâram-Sutras 193-503-510. Kalith-thokai stanza 39. l. 11.
(64.) Paddinap-pâlai l. 281.

land, along with the founder of the Pandyan family.(65) They worshipped ordinarily the Yakshas.(66) Their favorite deity was however their national hero Krishna whose laisons with shepherd girls and feats celebrated in the Mahabharata formed the theme of their festive songs. The shepherd lads and lasses who resided in Madura are represented as personating in their dances Krishna and his brother Bala-Rama, Asokai the mother of Krishna and the shepherdess, Pinnay. (67) They were familiar with all the legends regarding the boyish freaks of Krishna who stole the butter churned by the shepherdesses and concealed their cloths while they bathed and sported in the Jumna. They had a peculiar custom among them of selecting husbands for their girls from the victors of a bull-fight. (68) A large area of ground was enclosed with palisades and strong fences. Into the enclosure were brought ferocious bulls with sharpened horns. On a spacious loft, overlooking the enclosure, were assembled the shepherd girls whom they intended to give away in marriage. The shepherd youths prepared for the fight, first pray to their gods whose images are placed under old banian or peepul trees or at watering places. Then they deck themselves with garlands made of the bright red flowers of the kânthal and the purple flowers of the kâya. At a signal given by the beating of drums the youths leap into the enclosure and try to seize the bulls, which, frightened by the noise of the drum, are now ready to charge any one who approaches them. Each youth approaches a bull which he chooses to capture. But the bulls rush furiously at them with tails raised, heads bent down and horns levelled at their assailants. Some of the youths face the bulls boldly and seize their horns. Some jump aside and take hold of their tails. The more wary young men skillfully avoid the horns and clasping the neck cling to the animals till they force them to fall on the ground. Many a luckless youth is now thrown down. Some escape without a scratch, while others are trampled upon or gored by the bulls. Some though wounded and bleeding again spring on the bulls. A few who succeed in capturing the animals are declared the victors of that day's fight. The elders then announce that the bull fight is over. The wounded are

(65.) Kalith-thokai, stanza 104. ll. 4 to 6.
(66.) Chilapp-athikâram, XV. l. 116.
(67.) Ibid, XVII.
(68.) Kalith-thokai, stanzas 101, and ll.

carried out of the enclosure and attended to immediately; while the victors and the brides-elect repair to an adjoining grove, and there forming into groups, dance joyously before preparing for their marriage.

Of the foreign nations who visited the Tamil land, I should mention first the Yavanas. The word Yavana is derived from the Greek *Iaones*, which is the name of the Greek nation in their own language. In the old Sanscrit epic poetry, the word Yavana is invariably used to denote the Greeks.(69) Similarly in ancient Tamil poems also the name Yavana appears to have been applied exclusively to the Greeks and Romans. Yavana ships regularly called at the port of Muchiri, the modern Cranganore, on the Malabar Coast, as may be seen from the following description of Muchiri by a Tamil poet. "The thriving town of Muchiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which flows through the dominions of Cherala, and return laden with pepper."(70) The Poet Nakkirar addresses the Pandyan Prince Nan-maran in the following words:—"O mara, whose sword is ever victorious! Spend thou thy days in peace and joy, drinking daily out of golden cups, presented by thy handmaids, the cool and fragrant wine brought by the Yavanas in their good ships."(71) The Yavanas alluded to by these poets were undoubtedly the Egyptian Greeks, because as stated in the Periplus, it was Greek merchants from Egypt who brought wine, brass, lead, glass, etc., for sale to Muchiri (Muziris) and Vaikkarai (Bakare) and who purchased from these ports pepper, betel, ivory, pearls, etc.(72) The Greeks sailed from Egypt in the month of July and arrived at Muchiri in about forty days. They stayed on the Malabar coast for about three months and commenced their return voyage from Muchiri in December or January.(73) During their sojourn in Malabar, they would have naturally imparted much of their civilization to the Tamils. As the Indian seas were infested

(69.) Weber's History of Indian Literature, p : 220.

(70.) Akam, 148.

(71.) Puram, 56. The old commentator of the Purânânûru interprets the words *Yavanar nan kalam thantha* to mean "brought by Yavanas in bottles." The Hon : P. Coomara Swamy of Colombo, has pointed out that the word *kalam* may mean bottles or ships. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol XIII, No. 45.

(72.) Ante Vol I. p : 320.

(73.) Ante Vol I. p : 318 and 319.

by pirates, the Greek merchants brought with them cohorts of archers on board their ships. Egypt being at this period subject to Rome, the archers who accompanied the Greek merchants must have been Roman soldiers. The superior arms and discipline of the Roman soldiers could not have failed to inspire in the Tamils a desire to become better acquainted with the Romans and to share their civilization. The Pandyan King was the first to realise the benefits of an alliance with the Romans. He sent two embassies to Augustus Cæsar, desiring to become his friend and ally. One of these reached Augustus when he was at Terracona in the eighteenth year after the death of Julius Cæsar (B. C. 26) and another six years afterwards (B. C. 20) when that Prince was at Samos. Roman soldiers were enlisted in the service of the Pandyas and other Tamil Kings. During the reign of the Pandya Aryap-padai-thantha-Nedung-cheliyan, Roman soldiers were employed to guard the gates of the forts of Madura.(74) A poet of this period describes a Tamil King's tent on a battle field as follows:—"In a tent with double walls of canvas firmly held by iron chains, guarded by powerful Yavanas whose stern looks strike terror into every beholder, and whose long and loose coats are fastened at the waist by means of belts; while dumb Mlêchas clad in complete armour who could express themselves only by gestures kept close watch throughout the night in the outer chamber, constantly moving round *the* inner apartment which was lighted by a handsome lamp."(75) It is evident from this description that Yavana and other Mlêchas or foreigners, were employed as bodyguards by ancient Tamil Kings. Yavana vases and Yavana lamps with the figure of a swan on the top of each,(76) or lamps in the shape of a female statue in a standing posture, holding with both hands the receptacle for oil and wick, appear to have been in common use in the Tamil country.(77) There was a colony of Yavana merchants at Kavirip-paddinam which was the great emporium of trade on the Eastern Coast.(78) The Roman trade with the Tamil land and other parts of India was carried on, on such a large scale that Pliny states that there was no year

(74.) Chilapp-athikaram, XIV. ll. 66-67.

(75.) Mullaip-pâddu, ll. 59-66.

(76.) Perum-pânârrup-padai, ll. 316-317.

(77.) Nedu-nal-vâdai, l. 101.

(78.) Chilapp-athikaram, V. I. 10.

in which India did not drain the Roman Empire of at least fifty-five millions of sesterces (£986,979) sending in return wares which was sold for a hundred times their original value. (79) That Roman gold poured largely into the Tamil country at this period is attested to by the numerous Roman coins, dating from the reign of Augustus to that of Zeno (B. C. 27 to A. D. 491) which have been found buried in different parts of the Tamil land. According to the Pentingerian Tables, which are believed to have been constructed about 226 A. D. the Romans even at that date, are said to have laid a force of two cohorts (840 to 1200 men) at Muchiri to protect their trade, and they had also erected a temple to Augustus at the same place. (80) The long residence of the Romans in Malabar must have led to intermarriages between them and the natives of the soil. Allusion is made to a Yavanika King of Kerala in an old inscription at Tirumalai near Polur in the North Arcot District. (81) The inscription records the repair of two images which had been originally placed on the Tirumalai hill by "the illustrious and pious King of Kerala called Yavanika." The name of the King is rendered in Tamil into Yelini "the Lord of the race of the Kings of Vanji which resembles very closely Ionès the name of the Greeks in their own language. It is most probable that this King was the descendant of some Greek or Roman who had married in the royal family of the Cheras.

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be continued.)

(79.) Ante Vol I. p : 318.
(80.) Malabar Manual, Vol I. p : 199.
(81.) Dr. Hultzschs' South Indian Inscription. Vol I. p : 166.

TRIAL BY JURY.

I regret that the public has not accorded to the recent amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code the same unqualified approval as it has done to the Legal Practitioner's Act, passed into an act the other day. That disapproval is based on the apprehension that the change of phraseology introduced in the early part of section 307, would in some way lead to greatly increase the cases of reference. All I have to say is that it ought not to lead to any such result and that the apprehension is unfounded. To me the two sets of words,—the replaced and the replacing words—mean exactly the same and are perfectly interchangeable. It may be asked, why then make the alteration? I myself asked this of others and of myself? And the answer is that the words "so completely" have received varying interpretations at the hands of the several High Courts and this must be remedied. It is also answered that somehow or other the existing words are taken to act as a deterrent *unduly* on some Sessions-Judges, notwithstanding that these latter are *clearly of opinion* that for the ends of justice the case must be referred to the High Court. I cannot see how this could be. Granted, that the Judge is clearly of opinion that the ends of justice call for a reference, he must, *ipso facto completely* differ from the jury. If there are persons who see a distinction between the two cases, it can only be a *subjective* and *not* an *objective* error. If such a *subjective* error does exist however, and if it defeats the object which the Legislature had in view when it passed the Act of 1882, it is indeed necessary to remove that error, so far as it is in the way of that object being carried out. The jury commission has thought that this change in the wording would remove doubts and define the powers. That recommendation has been accepted. But the object and the limitations of 1882 are still rigidly adhered to. From them there has not been the least deviation. If any body thinks that, by the altered phraseology the Legislature intended to enlarge the existing powers of reference, correctly interpreted. I am bound to say that I, for one, do not take that view. Nothing

could be more thorough than the deliberations and discussions which took place in 1882, and it would be a thousand pities that there should be any departure, even to the extent of a hair's breadth, from the conclusions then arrived at, as regards the powers of reference or interference by the High Courts. After all, it is not in the *wording* of the section that the real protection against a too frequent interference with the verdict of a jury should lie, if such an interference should take place at all. I look most hopefully to the consciousness, on the part of the Sessions Judges themselves, of the extreme difficulty they ought to feel to satisfy their own conscience, in setting up their view of the evidence in a case against the view taken of such evidence by the jury. Sessions Judges, the bulk of whom are foreigners, must know well enough that they have necessarily to depend on their own knowledge of the Vernaculars or on the interpretation of the evidence into English as it is given. Without in the least meaning any offence, and after making the amplest allowance for their industry to master them, the knowledge of most European officials of the languages of the country is, at its best, imperfect and inadequate. It cannot even come up to the knowledge of English, claimed by the natives —a claim which is denounced by men, to the manner born, as being below par even in the best of cases.

The transient hesitation, the coughing, the taking more time than is necessary before giving the answer, the gestures, looks, furtive or side glances and even the tone of voice and the very twang—all these small minutiæ, as the straw shows how the wind blows, show the bent and the bias of the native witness which natives alone could know best. All these make a strong and serviceable impression on the jury and determine the trustworthiness or otherwise of a witness or witnesses, while they must be wholly lost to the Judge, who must needs be busy taking down the evidence. Even where the Judges do not rely on their own knowledge of the Vernaculars but depend on interpretation of the evidence, the risk is no less. Even for the most highly-qualified men, the task of impromptu-interpretation, with exactitude, is extremely difficult. They, too often, interpret the words, not the

spirit of an answer. The interpreted language, cannot obviously carry with it the several betrayals of hesitancy, bias and partiality I have detailed above. In both cases, i.e., whether he depends on his knowledge of the Vernaculars or on interpretation, the Judge has to take down the evidence in his own hand and therefore he is, for the most part, a mere amanuensis. Judges, with strong judicial instincts and fully and painfully alive to all these draw-backs have been known, even in the Highest Courts in the land to my own personal knowledge, to agree, with the legislated majority of the jury, even after having strongly summed up for a contrary verdict. Judges, who calmly and dispassionately weigh all these features of their situation, will always be above taking any advantage of the powers of reference; for, of one thing their conscience must loudly tell them, viz. that the Judges of the High Court would even be worse than they themselves, by reason of being obviously at a greater disadvantage. This, by itself, ought to be enough to repress the propensity to multiply references to the High Courts. Add to this that it is a notorious fact that even two Judges often take quite opposite views of the self-same evidence. I would fain give not a few striking instances of this; but I take it that instances are superfluous on a matter of such notoriety, and it may not be out of place here to note the fact, patent to the suitor and the non-suitor alike, that the alien constituents of our governing body have barring some very few exceptions, betrayed the helpless weakness of being gulfed by mere appearances on the part of designing and self-interested Indians, who are seen through and through by the people at large but who contrive, without much trouble, to insinuate themselves into the good graces, if not also into the affections, of their foreign masters and patrons, into whose eyes they manage to throw dust, as is the common saying. Notwithstanding all these reasons for pausing, there will always be some few impulsive and self-opinionated men who will have a contempt for the verdicts of juries, and indulge in the freak of references to the High Court. They are liable easily and insensibly to bring themselves to take, of the evidence, the view, which would come up to the mark according to the

letter of the law. A few instances of corrections and snubs by the High Court would curb the wayward impulses of such men. A great many of the cases, in which the High Courts, with a proper and deep sense of responsibility in the exercise of their revisional function, felt called upon to interfere, would be found, on a careful examination, to be cases in which the jury erred owing to the Judges' imperfect, defective or unskilful charge to them.

For these several reasons, the public may well rely (1) on the High Courts setting the example and teaching the lesson, necessary to keep down any vexatious proneness to multiply references (2) on the judicially minded Sessions Judges to calmly take into account their own short-comings and acquiesce in the verdict of the jury, as of men far fitter to judge of witnesses, coming from their own fellow-countrymen (3) on the few exceptions becoming soon tired of their game or being taught against it and settling down to a contented acceptance of the situation. Personally, I am quite opposed to the system of references altogether. I am not at all sure that where the High Court does interfere, the result is necessarily an advancement of justice. To me it seems to be a matter to be deplored that this provision ever crept into the Indian Statute Book. In 1861 when the question received its first and earnest consideration, the conclusions arrived at were all that a sympathetic heart and an unprejudiced intellect could lay down. Those conclusions are embodied in these terms :—

"In order to constitute a legal verdict, the jurors were to be unanimous, or, if the jury consisted of five persons, a majority of four, if of seven, a majority of six was necessary. In the event of a majority of a smaller number, the jury was to be discharged and a new trial was to take place, and if, on such new trial, a verdict by a legal majority was not obtained, the accused person was to be acquitted (Section 351). The verdict of the jury was final, except on point of law, that is, on misdirection established on the part of the Sessions Judge."

It is a matter for deep regret that this position came to be departed from.

It is perhaps well to point out before I close that the change was due to a foregone conclusion and to two radical errors on the part of a Law member. To his mind, quite made up against jury-system *per se*, nothing would commend itself as a satisfactory result. Then he fancied (1) that there was nothing in this country similar to a man being tried by his peers, whereon to engraft the jury-system (2) that there were no tribunals in the country to whose decisions a finality attached as would attach to the verdict of the jury. In this view, he regarded the jury-system as wholly foreign to India. On both these points, the law-member of the day, I grieve to say, was sadly mistaken. The formula—if I may so call it—which has been immemorially on the lips of a Hindu culprit is that he would abide by what four men would decide; and this ready manner of meting out justice has sent both parties, quite contented and does so even now. Out of this arose the system of Panchayats, to the verdicts of which finality attached as a matter of course. Out of the same contented acquiescence in the verdict of the four emanated also the system of arbitration, to the decisions of which finality attached and to which, even to this day, every man, with a just claim, is only too ready to submit. This faith in the verdict of the four is the indigenous stock on which the jury-system was engrafted, and I, for one, complain that it has not been allowed sufficient time to sturdy itself and become naturalised, in all the artificial constraints under the laws of evidence, procedure and so forth. I earnestly hope however that the change recently made will have the effect of leaving the system untouched for at least a generation, and I am confident that, if its natural development is not meddled with in the meanwhile, the conditions would so mend as to justify a re-enactment of the law as laid down in 1862.

I have a word more to say.

There is a tendency in some quarters to make a distinction between an unanimous verdict of the jury and the verdict of a majority of them, to base an argument thereon to the prejudice of the latter. I am unable to realise the force of that argument as attenuating the conclusive character of the verdict of the ma-

jority. To my mind, it implies quite the reverse. If it implies anything, it implies that even when the verdict is only of the majority, it is considered as enough. The acceptance of the verdict to the majority as being enough, to all intents and purposes, is rather a compliment and is proof of absolute faith in the reliability of the opinion of the majority. The necessity to hold the verdict of the majority as sufficing is—not to indicate any diminished faith in the jury-system—but to absolve dessentient minorities from being co-erced into forced acquiescence with the rest, by being locked up for the purpose.

P. ANANDA CHARLU.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDAS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE land of Bharatavarsha is honored and distinguished with the epithet of "*Vedic India.*" This honor and distinction, no doubt, India worthily deserves as the birth-place of the Vedas, but the early history of the people who played such a great and important part in the production of such mighty works is still involved in much obscurity.

The branch of the human family that entered India is termed *Indo-Aryan* by the Oriental Scholars of the day; but they have not as yet been able to trace, to a satisfactory conclusion, the original abode, and final disperson or migration of the *primitive stock* of the Aryan race. They have yet a mighty work before them demanding all their attention, energy and labour in carrying out their researches for the discovery of the exact spot from which the *original stock* sprang, branched and ramified, and spread over the surface of this terrestrial globe.

Professor Max Müller's theory pointing to Central Asia as the original abode of the Aryan race was hitherto believed reliable, but this theory or belief is being assailed, since of late, by other researchers who seem to command a good many disciples. The followers of this opposite school point to the soil of Europe as the probable cradle of the Aryan race, but they are unable to point out the exact spot being divided in opinion.

Now let us see what could be learnt from the Ancient Literature of the Hindus.

The Sanskrit Literature bequeathed to us by our Ancestors points to Mount Meru as the original abode but its geographical position yet remains undiscovered and undecided. Whether it is real or a myth, it remains a question to be settled by future explorers, but from the description given of it in the Hindu writings, Mount Meru appears to occupy a central position in the earth as its axis. It is on this Mount Meru that Twashtar is said to have had his City of Light (*Tejovartipuram*) which also goes by

the short designation of *Tejovarti* (the residence of light). It is also on the neighbourhood of this Mount the much speculated upon *Sweta-bhumi* on *Sweta-dwipam* (white island) is said to exist. Any how for our purpose we find the early batch or batches of settlers on the soil of Kashmir and about its neighbourhood. The word Kashmir is a contraction of the term *Prakasa-timiram* signifying "Expulsion of darkness." Thus we have a moral to learn that the progenitors of our race had descended from the region of light to expel the darkness of this land.

PRE-VEDIC PERIOD.

There had been several migrations before Twashtar had himself joined the parties. The route which each party took is not clearly traceable, but such as can be traced is given here to the best of my recollection.

From the *Twashta-Charitram* we learn that our first parents after leaving *Tejovartipuram* alighted first at *Indra-Krichram*.*

From here their progeny both colored and white, short and of stalwart stature, and born of long and massive lips migrated, and spread over the surface of the globe, and by their permanent settlement in various climes and countries, and by the difference of speech, now constitute all the nations of the world. It is one of the branch of this family we find occupying the soil of Kashmir, and there about as already stated.

After this we find a party entering India by crossing the *Sindhu* (Indus). Another party after entering the land of the five rivers (Panjab) following the course of its tributaries; another party founding their settlements on the banks of the Ganges, while another occupying the land between the Yamuna and Ganges. Some settling at Nepaul which is called after the hermitage of a Rishi named Nepala, while Maya had his settlement on the Himalayas, some taking the course of the Brahmaputra. Then we gradually trace other settlements and hermitages between the limits of the Himalayas and the Vindhya Mountains. These migratory bodies appear not to have been known under any particular designation when entering India. For instance a party that resided at a place called Puri in the north of the Himalayas,

* This word Indra-Krichram became altered in course of time to Indra-krus, and then into Indukush.

was known as Pouras. The same party, after some time, on arriving at a place called *Brahma-kapalam* on the banks of the Ganges was designated *Paurusheyas*. Similarly the party that entered *Kurukshetram* was called *Kurus* and when the same party reached *Panchala* the immigrants were named *Kuru-panchalas*. It is only after the immigrants had settled themselves from a half nomadic and pastoral life and entered upon agricultural pursuits they began to bear the designation of *Aryas* and the land occupied by them between the limits of the Himalayas, and Vindhyas styled *Arya-Varta*. The land between the Ganges and Yamuna was named *Aditiksnetram* and that portion between the Ganges and Himalayas *Ditikshetram*.

After a long residence on the banks of the Ganges some parties crossed the Vindhyas and entered the South about the beginning of *Kaliyuga*. The families that settled permanently to the North of the Vindhya Mountains were called *Uttaras* or Northerners and those to the South of that range *Dakshinas* or Southerners.

The party of immigrants that entered India had to lead a partly nomadic and pastoral life till they found convenient settlements suitable to their cattle and themselves. In the *Hindu* of the 6th February 1896, I contributed an article on the "Early Aryans on the banks of the Jumna," a narrative illustrating the mode of life led by them as gleaned from the *Mayacharitra*. In that article it is shewn that the early Aryans had to subsist on the products of the forest, and the milk of their cows, and to rely upon the barks of the trees, and the hides of animals for their clothing. Again in the *Hindu* of the 20th February 1896, I contributed another article on the "Origin of Agriculture in India." The discovery of this most useful art brought about, in a manner, the *Worship of the Elements*. The clearing of the earth of its vegetable covering by setting fire to the forest probably commenced with a prayer, may be looked upon in the light of *Fire-Worship*, the preparation of the soil for cultivation in the light of *Earth-Worship*, the irrigation of the field as *Water-Worship*, fencing the field with a hedge, *Air-Worship*, and putting up a Watch-shed in the centre of the field *Sky-Worship*. From the commencement of agricultural pursuits we come to what may be properly designated as its sequel,

THE VEDIC PERIOD.

Has already hinted the pursuits of agriculture entered upon by the ancient Aryans led to the development of Vedic ceremonies and offerings. The root of the word *Arya* (*ar* to plough) is in itself evident that the immigrants became agriculturists. As these people possessed a certain amount of *Divine Truth* before their entry into India, they appear to have utilized this *divine knowledge* (*Gnánópadésam*) for we find them worshipping the True God by meditation alone under the trees of forests and groves. When they found it necessary to clear the land of its vegetable covering wherein even the animate beings are lodged, they commenced their operations with prayers making the fire and other elements of nature as well as the other physical phenomena as the *media* for conveying their petition to the *Great Author of the Universe.* This is well exemplified in the hymns of the Rig Veda addressed to Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuna, &c. Again the presence of a great many words for the implements of agriculture, and the praises and sing-sorgs of the early Aryans teem with allusions to the plough, cattle, and clearly point to the incidents connected with agricultural operations as the inspiring cause of the development of the Vedic lore. The following hymns of the Rig Veda (V. 57, 4 and 6) will further clear all doubts.

4. "Let the oxen work merrily ; let the men work merrily ; let the plough move on merrily ; ply the goad merrily."

6. "Oh Fortunate Furrow proceed onwards, we pray unto thee ; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop."

It is narrated in the *Mayacharitra* that Maya Brahma, on descending from the Himalayas first came on a piece of land lying close to the source of the *Brahmaputra.* This portion of the land was first called *Mayasramam* which he afterwards designated *Bhusthan* as it was the first piece of land he halted on. The land extending from the *Brahmaputra* on the east to the *Ganges* on the west was known as *Dévabhúmi* or the land of the celestials, where the descendants of *Sanaka* and *Sanátana* or in other words, the descendants of Manu and Maya lived. It was while dwelling in this portion of the *Dévabhúmi*, the several *Yágams* or sacrifices were performed with their respective hymns sang on the occasions. These various performances were turned into *Mantras*, then into the forms of *Vakyas* and then again into *Sutras* which by the

use of *Pranava* (the Mystic Syllable A+U+M pronounced Om) as the basis, the whole finally developed into the Vedic form and were brought into veneration as will be learnt from the following quotation from the Maya-charitra :—

Kriyá Sarvam Chará púrvam
Mantra rupéna vyáhritat
Tanmantram sùtra rúpábhyam
Ávi santu mahártatah
Tat sútra pranava yógam cha
Véda rùpa samabhavét
Lokeh Sarvatra pújyártham
Práyuchchhandi sadá bhudaih.

The *Mulamantram* OM KARARAM, known as Pranava, forms the basis of the Vedas. Thus A is shewn to be the *Janmasthánam* or the birthplace of the Rig-Veda. The letter *U* as the *Athisthánam* or the chief place of the Yajur, and *M* as the *Utpattisthánam* or the cause of the birth of Sáma-Veda.

Now as to the authorship of these Vedas.

RIG-VEDA.

It is related in the *Twashtacharitra* that the performances of Manu were many and substantial. They were of the Rik-form which afterwards became venerated as the Veda. The following quotation will speak for itself :—

Manunà krita kàryàni
Sarvatà bahudà srutah
Anéka Rik-rúpàni
Paschàt Vèda prajáyaté.

The metals discovered by Manu are many and of various kinds. Among them he found the Iron more useful and essential than the rest and became a worker in Iron.

Manunà krita lohánàm
Sankhyá bhèdo anékasah
Tèshàm atyánta sáyatvàt
Manóbhu Ayakàrakah.

YAJUR-VEDA.

The deeds of Maya were many and they were said to be of sacrificial nature which formed the Yajur, and these performances assumed the venerated form of Veda.

Mayéna krita kàryáni
Yajushirite uchyate
Tatra tatra prayôgam
Véda rúpéna pujyaté

The Rig-Veda is in the form of Praises (Sákshirúpam). The Yajur in the form of sacrifices. The well known Vedas in the world are two. The Sáma and Atharvana are considered as Sákhás or branches.

SAMA-VEDA.

Twashta prajjapati is all knowing. He is the author of Sáma Veda and the Vrat. The Sáma Veda has 1,000 branches revealing the divine knowledge.

Twashtá prajáyate Véda
Sáma-Vedo krito Vrát
Tasyá sákha sahasram vai
Santi bráhmârtha gócharam.

Again it will be learnt from the following quotation that Rig Veda belongs to Manu's family; Yajur to Maya's; Sáma Veda to Twashtá's; Atharvana Veda to Silpis; Pranava to Visvagnas, declaring these Pancha Védis to be Brahmanas

Rig-Védam Manuschaiva
YajurVédam Mayastatha
Twashtánám Sámavédam cha
Atharvaná Silpikastatha
Visvagna Pranava Védam cha
Pancha Védantu Brahmanah

From the following quotation will be learnt the profession followed by each of these Pancha Brahmans in addition to their respective Vedas :—

Aya Manurikjátam
Mayá dháru yajustatha
Támram Twashtára jásámau
Sila Silpi Atharvanah
Visvagna Swarpaka Pranavam
Pancha Brahmana Vidiyate,

i. e.

Manu is a worker in Iron and Rig-Védi,
Maya is a worker in Wood and Yajur Védi;
Twashtá is a worker in Copper and Sáma-Védi,
Silpi is a worker in Stone and Atharvana-Védi,
And these are known as Panchabrahmans.

Now with reference to the authorship of the different *Swaras* or airs used in chanting the Hymns of the Védas, we learn from the following quotation that the Udátta is by Manu, Anudátta by Maya, *Swarita* by Twashtar and *Prachaya* by Visvagna.

Udáttam Sarva Védyantam
Manuváchárya nirmitam
Anudáttam Mayamproktam
Swaritam Twashtakam tatha
Prachaya Visvakarmam cha
Chatur Védasya Sádhakam
(*Mulasthambam* Chap. 23-31.)

The Rig-Veda has four *Swaras*, the Yajur three; the Sama seven, and the Atharvana two. Thus *Manuganam* formed the *Rig-Vedis*, *Mayaganam Yajur-Védis* and *Twashtaganam Sama-Vedis*. *Saudanta-ganam* and *Ribhu-ganam* who were the pupils of Twashtar flourished in the time of their Preceptor (See *Yajur*, 4th Kandam, 2nd Anuváka).

The descendants of Saudanva-ganam are reported to have resided about Sindhu, Kerala, Kuru, Pálika, and the descendants of Ribhuganam located themselves in Magadha, Patala, Kashmir, on both sides of the banks of the Ganges up to Práyaga. *Dhanvantri*, the Prince of Physicians, known as Ayur-Véda Rishi belongs to the Saudanva-ganam.

The Vedic matters originally uttered in pieces by the devout Védic Aryans fell into disuse. In order to preserve them Rávana collected some and even made a Bhashyam or commentary. Brihaspati is also said to have done the same. These Vedic matters again became neglected. The portions commencing from the creation to the time of the last compiler was called Púrva Védas or Ancient Vedas which were collected by several compilers or *Vyásas* and lost sight of till *Krishna Dwaipáyana Vyása* or as he is commonly called *Véda Vyása* who is said to be the twenty-eighth compiler of the Védas entered upon the work of collecting and arranging the *Vedic Mantras* uttered by the *Paurusheyas* as much as he obtained and classified the Lymnal portion into *Rik*, the sacrificial portion into *Yajur*, the chanting portion into *Sáma* and the sloka portion into *Atharvana* thus constituting the four Vedas as now known.

Srishtyádi sarva devátma
Védobahuvo Srutah
Vyaséna prokta rúpáni
Véda Chatwaraka bhuvi. *i.e.*,

From the time of creation to the time of Vyasa, there were it is said, many Vedas, all of divine form which were told by Vyàsa in the form of four Vedas to the world. *(Brahmóttarakhandam.)*

As for the sacrifice or *Yagams*, Maya himself performed the sacrifice known as *Visvajig* and the family of *Sánaka* and *Sanátana* formulated the ritual for performing sacrificial ceremonies. At the Yagams four priests are required to conduct the ceremonies *viz.*, 1 *Adhvarhu*, a *Yajur-Vedi* representing *Maya* as the Sacrificial priest; 2 *Hótar*, a *Rig-Vedi* representing *Manu* as the Chanting priest; 3 *Udgatri*, a *Sama-Vedi* representing *Twashtar* as the singing priest and 4 *Brahmana*, a *Atharvana-Védi* representing *Silpi*, as the superintending priest. From these it will be seen that the Védas are the sole productions of the ancient Masonic Brahmans. Their descendants were further distinguished by the epithet Paurusheyas to mark the line of direct descent and they were again the forefathers of Kammalas.

The following Sanskrit quotations will further clear the doubt.

Akára Véda gnánam cha
Chákáro Sastra kóvida
Rikáro Silpa vignánam
Achári tryakshara Samhuta.

A stands for knowledge of Védás,
Cha stands for learned in sástras,
Ri stands for knowledge in Architecture,

These three (knowledges) conjointly possessed by one will alone entitle him to the title of *Achari* or priest.

Akàro Agamakhyásé,
Chàkaro Sastrakóvida
Rikáro devatótpatti
Achari tu tryaksharam.

This expresses the same sentiments as the above quotation, only substituting *Agamam* for Veda and the maker of deified Idols for architecture *(Silpa Sastram)*.

"Kasyapassilpat Kasyapách-chilpah Kasyapah" *(Brihadarnyaka Upanishat Chap: 8.3)* Signifying; From Silpam (Masonry) arose kasyapa, and from kasya rose Silpam.

"Visvarupo Vai Twashtah, purohito dévanàm àsit" *i.e.*, Visvarupo (the son of Twashtar, the first artificer in metals) was the priest of the Dévas. (*Yajur-Veda*, Ashtaka II. Prasna 5).

Again, *Gayatri*, the sacred mantram uttered by every Brahmin is the daughter of the *Sánkhyáyana* Rishi who again is the son of Sanàtana or Maya, the carpenter.

Further, a reference to *Kulapradarsanam* and *Gòtrakándam* will satisfy the curious and *Véda-pramányam* will fully testify that the Védas are the sole productions and property of the ancient Vedic or Masonic Brahmans, and not of the descendants of the post Vedic Rishis who are distinguished with the epithet of *Arsheyas*, whose descendants again have come to occupy the position of the Brahmins of the present day. (See *Vajrasuchi.*)

The parties who were authors of the Vedic performances, it must be noted, made their appearance later into India than the general mass of Aryans, particularly Twashtar. From what could be learnt from the *Twashta-Charitra*, he appears to have been acquainted with astronomy, the changes of seasons and the useful arts requisite for civilisation along with a certain amount of divine knowledge. After his arrival in the Himalayas, Twashtra established holy shrines and sacred lakes. *Mahishvati-puram* on that holy mountain, descended from it, and took the course of the Ganges, establishing several hermitages, and initiating his disciples with the mysteries of *Pranavamantram*. The most important part that Twashta did was the training of the *Kulini Rishi* in all the four Vedas. The residence of the Kulini Rishi was then called *Gnanasthanam*, the land of knowledge which afterwards became known as the *Mulasthanam*,* After this Twashta took his route to Kashmir,† and thence into Afghanistan, establishing the hermitages of *Kanda Rishi*, and *Kapila Rishi*. These places are now known as Kandhar, and Cabul. It is very likely that the Indo-Iranians who lived together as brothers with the Indo-Aryans left them,

* The descendants of this Kulini Rishi are now known as the Kulin Brahmans of Bengal.

† The land of Kasmir was also known as Brahma-varta, but, that term became restricted to the land which lies between two divine rivers Sarasvati, and Drisadvati, where alone, according to the Institutes of Manu, the ancient and genuine Brahmans dwelt.

and Twashtar might have joined them, became their spiritual guide and leader, finally arriving at Iran in Persia, the word Aryan evidently having been changed into Iran. The late Mr. Kunte in his work on the *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization* points out that Zoraster or Zorathustra is Twashtar, and the Parsees or Indo-Iranians were necessitated to separate themselves from the Indo-Aryans on finding them departing from the primitive form of worship, and going in for animal sacrifice which they considered sinful. About the same time some Indo-Aryans also separated and founded the *Ahimsa* system of Buddhism.

Now we come to the

POST VEDIC PERIOD.

Commencing from the time the last Vyása or Veda Vyasa arranged, and compiled the now known four Vedas.

Vyasa is further reported to have arranged the Rik into twenty Sákhas or branches; Yajur into one hundred, and Sama into one thousand Sàkhas. According to the *Brahmottarkhandan*, *Purva-pranava-Vedam* which originally had one thousand Sákahs was reduced to five hundred and by its final neglect the followers of that Véda became Rakshasas.

MANTRAS, BRAHMANAS, AND UPINASHADS.

Twashtènòdita púrvam
Védabhàgah Samadgramah
Trividhá púja rúpabhyam
Mantropanishad Brahmanah
Yindrayarka rudráya
Varunágni haré sthavam
Brahmana mantra máhutah
Kriya Brahmanah námáni
Gnánabhágani tatwáni
Upanishadwi uchyaté,

i.e., Twashta divided the Vedic portions into three venerated parts, viz., Mantras, Brahmanas, and Upanishads, relating to Indra, Surya, Rudra, Varuna, Agni, and others. Mantras are praises offered to the gods and Brahma. Brahmanas relate to sacrifices, and Upanishads to philosophical speculations.

The light thrown by Twashtar on speculative philosophy was by *Dattatreya* formulated and founded into the system of Upanishads. This sage had his hermitage, as stated in the second part of *Sánandópakhyánam*, on the banks of *Kuchasthali* in the neighbourhood of Mithila near the Nárada-tirtham.

In the *Panchabrahma Upásana vidhi* we learn that the parts played by Manu became *Saivaism*; of Maya *Vaishnavism*; of Twashtar *Sákteyam*; of Silpi *Chárvákam*; of Visvagna *Kápálikam*; of Visvakarma *Buddhism*.

The post-vedic age is further characterized by the development of Itihasas, Puranas, Sastras, complicated ceremonies, and rituals, encouraging the worship of the mythic deities and thus finally developing into the present form of Idolatry. Above all caste institution which has played and is still playing a deplorable part in keeping the people of India as a disunited nation, and at enmity with one another, and thus cutting off all chance of brotherly love, and union with the result that India will ever be under protecting influence of other generous nations.

CONCLUSION.

We learn from the close study of the Vedas that the branch of the human family which entered India for the purpose of colonization possessed a certain amount of the true knowledge of God. In addition to this the parties who took the leading part were artificers and acquainted with general science. These parties may in a manner be said to have possessed the knowledge of the useful arts and science, or in other words both operative and speculative masonry were cultivated by them. There are traces in the Vedas that they were acquainted with and invented machines for aerial navigation. This will lead one to enquire whence did this body of masons came.

Moses was a great leader of the Israelites. He was a great mason, and Tubal Cain was the first artificer in metals. Similarly we find Twashtar occupying the same position among the Indo-Aryans. Just as the children of Lamech discovered the useful arts among the Hebrews we have here the children of Visvakarma doing the same. The Hindu writings relating to the Ancient Masons of India contain sentiments like those of Mosaic Cosmogony. The creation of the world being completed in six days, occurs in *Brahmottarakhandam* and the *Twashtacharitra* gives even the particulars of the creation like the Book of Genesis though varying a little

as to the details. The common origin of all nations also agrees with the Old Testament. Many of the mystic letters and syllables which are in use among the mystic bodies are also of Hebrew origin. The common basis of Hinduism agrees with those of Judaism, the sacrificial portion more so. In fact the whole Veda is Freemasonry abounding in symbolical expressions and allegorical allusions. The Great Author of the Universe himself is styled Visvakarma or the Great Architect of the Universe. The Yagams or sacrifices have a reference to the vicarious sacrifice of a Saviour in the person of *Prajapati*. With reference to this, the late Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjee said that the "Vedas foreshew the Epiphany of CHRIST. The Vedas shed a peculiar light upon that dispensation of Providence which brought Eastern sages to worship CHRIST long before the Westerns had even heard of him."

When the children of Israel began to build the Tower of Babel they must have advanced in masonry. It is probable that the people who entered India may well have come from the same locality, when it pleased the Almighty to disperse His people. It is better for us to acquiesce in this belief than to be carrying on our speculations far and wide without coming to a decision. The extensive researches carried on by the learned bodies by the aid and light of science, of Anthropology, Philology, Palæontology, Craniology, Geology, and other allied sciences are only assisting them in the building up of a literary tower of Babel as there is no likelihood of any one of them bringing to light the subject of the original abode of the Aryan race and its migrations, to a satisfactory conclusion. It may not be surprising to the world to learn or discover that the Hindu Triad is no other than three venerated human beings whom the priesthood had led their followers to believe as Deities worthy of their adoration, and worship; I mean Adam as Siva, Noah as Vishnu, and Abraham as Brahma. Perhaps this allusion may not be welcome to some, and I am certain that *Truth* will prevail in the end, and will conclude it with the following parlance in Sanskrit:—

"Satyaméva Jayaté Nánrinam" *i.e.*, Truth alone conquers, not untruth.

S. PULNEY ANDY, M D.

THE PULAYAS OF TRAVANCORE.

TO the student of Anthropology and Ethnology, India presents a field of unique interest. Types of all the main races into which mankind is divided, and living examples of the various stages through which man has progressed from savagery to civilization may here be met with. The work of classifying the various races, and of framing consistent theories about their origin and antiquity has only been begun. Even the less ambitious task of investigating into the customs and institutions of the more backward of these races has by no means adequately been attempted. A conviction that this latter work,—which should form the basis of scientific classification—ought to be undertaken by the educated natives of the soil has induced me to put to shape a few facts with regard to the customs and observances of a certain outcaste and aboriginal people living in Malabar and Travancore, called the *Pulayas*.

For the truth of these facts I am entirely responsible. Mr. *S. Mateer* in his '*Native Life in Travancore*' has a Chapter on *the Pulayars*. (1) But he treats of the *Southern Pulayars* and there is very little similarity between their customs and the customs of the subtribe about whom I have been able to gather information. Besides Mr. Mateer's account, and about four pages in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts, Vol. V*, a very short notice in 'The *Land* of the *Perumals*' by *Francis Day*, F.L.S., and two articles in the "*Church Missionary Intelligencer*," I do not know that anything has yet been written about them. My remarks have reference only to the *Kanna Pulayas*, and are entirely based on original investigation.

The Pulayas (2) are a degraded and outcaste people peculiar to the Western Coast and unknown in the British provinces to the east. They live in marshy fields and in hilly places all over the Malayalam Country. Until liberated in 1854 they were in Travancore slaves of the soil. Even at the present day the majority of

(1) Chap. III. pp. 33–59.

(2) Pulayan=Corrupted or polluted from Pula=ceremonial corruption.

them are in a condition little removed from slavery. "Their customs and usages" writes Mr. Mateer, "are full of the deepest interest to the ethnologist, while their social condition calls for the profoundest sympathy of the philanthropist."

The Pulayas are one of the several outcaste peoples of Malabar. They are quite distinct from the others. The Pariahs, for example are quite distinct. They are strong and well developed and their women are good looking. They eat carrion, practice polyandry, have the *Makkathayam* (descent through sons) form of inheritance, regard themselves as outcaste Brahmins, and speak a vulgar tongue which is distinct from the ordinary Malayalam. All these points distinguish them from the Pulayas. Similar points of distinction may be marked between the various outcaste peoples. The Pulayan claims to be superior to the Pariah. According to strict orthodoxy he has to bathe five times and let blood in order to be cleansed of the pollution of touching a Pariah. It is the greatest insult to call him a Pariah's son, and adultery with a Pariah is the most heinous crime in the Pulaya Code.

The Pulayan claims also to be the lord of the other outcastes. Some colour is given to the claim by the fact that it used to be the custom for the other outcaste people to give presents to the chiefs of the Pulayas when they got married. I may observe in passing that the greater enslavement of the Pulayas may perhaps point to their original superiority over the others. It is the higher race, or the race that offers most resistance that will be most completely subdued. If my surmise is correct the present weak and puny form of the Pulaya can directly be referred to their enslavement for centuries. Once they might have been a manlier race than the Pariahs, who even now have a moral dread of them. (1)

Leaving guesses aside, I proceed to observe that in the absence of data with regard to these other tribes, it is impossible to formulate any theory of their mutual relation. All of them evidently belong to the same main race and are distinctly marked off from the higher castes by their present position, and by ethnologic differences. Possibly the Pulaya may once have lorded it in some way over the other outcastes.

(1) The Pariahs are many of them robbers by profession and their name is proverbial for obstinate endurance and unrelenting hardness of nature. Yet very curiously they are mortally afraid of the Pulaya. The stoutest house-breaker among them will flee for his life if he sees even a Pulaya boy. This seems to show that they were originally subject to the Pulayas in some way.

The question of the origin of these races is still undecided. The Pulayas are regarded by some as descendants of Dravidian immigrants, and by others, of still older inhabitants. The *Rev. R. Collins*, formerly Principal of the Kottayam College, says:—"They no doubt belong by almost pure descent to the Turanian race that peopled India before the Aryan invasion. I have observed that some casts of races of the Himalaya tribes which are in the Madras Museum exhibit exactly similar features to those of many of the Travancore slaves". But *Monier Williams* says, "if the term Turanians is to embrace races so widely separated by custom and language as the Dravidian and various hill-tribes of India, the sooner it is expelled from the vocabulary of philologists and ethnologists, the better." *Bishop Caldwell* is probably right when he regards the Pulayas, as representatives of the same class as the Pariahs and Pallairs of Tinnevelly. "I consider the black, low caste races of southern India not Turanians or immigrants of any sort, but aborigines like the Negroid aborigines of the eastern Islands and Australia".

This view will probably be established when accurate ethnological measurements are taken. In the absence of such data, I can only state my own adherence to this view, based on personal observation of the Pulaya features. The type seems to be the *Negroid*, as embracing the Kaffir, the Andamanese, and, the Papuan. There is distinctly noticeable the *short stature*, the *low forehead*, the *high cheek bones*, the *large mouth, the broad nose* and the *large lips* of the Negroid type. Regular features are sometimes met with and occasionally the colour is *brown* rather than black. But this is probably due to intermixture. The women show the distinct negro type. The hair, however is not woolly. The women of the *Thunda Palayas* have frizzled hair. These are now the most degraded of the Pulayas and are perhaps the purest.

The Pulayas, according to their own story, were originally the guardians of learning. (1) Learning used to be sown in that

fields like rice by the God of learning and the Pulayas had been set to keep watch. But one night, as they slept, the Brahmins came and stole away the growing corn. For this negligence in duty, the deity cursed them to become the slaves of the Brahmins. It is interesting to notice that other outcaste peoples have also traditions showing that they were originally lords of the soil. This persistent tradition may point to a historical fact, that these outcastes were once independent before being enslaved by the later Dravidians. The other tradition already referred to, that God first created a Pariah woman, the ancestress of all outcastes, also ignores the higher castes. The Pulayas have no tradition of any migration into the country.

All these facts taken together—the present social position, the traditions, and the racial features,—seem conclusively to prove that the Pulayas and the other outcastes are quite distinct from the Dravidians and that they are aborigines who have been enslaved by the later Dravidian conquerors.

Sub-divisions.

The Pulayas are divided into a number of sub-tribes, each complete within itself. The sub-tribes do not inter-dine or intermarry. Each regards itself as superior to the others. A member of one sub-tribe is even polluted by the touch of another tribesman.

I have been able to get the names of *six* of these sub-tribes, descended from the six children of the Pariah ancestress. They include all the Pulayas of Travancore and Cochin. It is possible that there may be other tribes in Malabar. The divisions are:—

I. *Kanna Pulayas.*—about whom I mean to write. They do not eat or intermarry with other Pulayas. They live to the South of Alleppey and to the North of Quilon. (2)

II. *Kanakka Pulayas.*—found in Cochin and to the North of *Kodungallur*. Their occupation is palm-climbing and work in rice

(1) The word translated 'learning' may also mean every good thing.

(2) Mr. W.J. Richards C. M. S. wrongly calls them a sub-division of the Thanda Pulayas.

fields. They are polluted by the touch of other Pulayas. (1).

III. *Vettu Pulayas.*—found in Alleppey, Manganam, Punnapra, Kallur, Edapally and other places.

IV. *Vettu Pulayas.*—also called Thanda Pulayas and Kuzhi (cane) Pulayas, found to the North of Alleppey and South of Vaykam. Divisions II, III, and IV, have the Kudumi, or tuft of hair.

V. *Mettha Pulayas.*—in Mattakara (hence the name), Panamattam, Elikkalam, and surrounding places—a small but distinct sub-tribe.

VI. *Eastern Pulayas*, also called *Cow Pulayans* and *Buffalo Pulayans*, because, they eat carrion—unlike the other Pulayas. They are found in the eastern and hilly parts of Travancore and are experts in hill cultivation. Their women like the women of the Thanda Pulayas wear the leaves of trees for clothes. They are regarded as inferior to the other Pulayas. An eastern in addressing a western has to call him *Thevadi Pulayan*, (contracted for thevar adi=God's servant) or atchan (=father, lord.) It is possible that the Easterns have been driven to the hills by the later westerns. (2)

In passing let me observe that the prevalence of caste feeling among these degraded people shews that the caste system is not a Brahmin institution as is sometimes supposed. The soil of India seems to be exceedingly favourable to the growth of the system. Brahmins can have exercised no perceptible influence on these "polluted" people, conquest and race difference seem to be two potent influences towards caste formation.

(1) There is a caste called Kanakkans in the same parts, who live by boating and fishing—entirely distinct.

(2) Mr. Mateer refers to a tradition that the Western Pulavas were the slaves of the *Pandus*, and the Easterns of the *Aurus*, in the great war of the Mahabharata, and that to this is to be ascribed the greater degradation of the latter. This is probably a borrowed idea.

Mr. Mateer speaks only of the Thanda Pulayas, and the Eastern Pulayas and the Western Pulayas. He refers also to a small sub-caste near Trevandram, called *Ina Pulayas*.

The Mackenzie MSS., speaks of the Pulayans as divided into *Valluvans* and *Kuruppas* and that the chiefman of the Valluvans settles all disputes in the whole class. This is an evident confusion. See note on *officials*.

The *Kanna Pulayas.*

The Kanna Pulayas, like the others, are divided into a number of *illams*, or houses or families. Each illam is a division of the tribe, the step, according to Sir Henry Maine, next advanced from the joint-family. There is no joint ownership of property and no common meal. There is a vestige of common worship. Each illam has a place of worship of its own, distinct from that of the territorial unit. The members of the same illam, though now scattered all over the country, still regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor and as relatives. Intermarriage between members of the same illam is strictly forbidden as also the ceremonial friendship. Adultery becomes a more heinous crime if committed by the same illamite. There is a proverb which says that to a Pulaya all the older women of his own illam are mothers and the younger ones, sisters. This is an illustration of the blood-tie outlasting the social tie. For all social purposes, a particular territorial division or *Kara* is now the unit, but the idea of the old family-tie still lasts on.

It should be noticed that the Pulaya illam is not exactly a development of Maine's Patriarchal Family. The Pulayas follow the *Marumakkathayam* or Female Line of succession, like the Nayars, Chogans, and several other castes in Travancore. The individual who is looked upon as the common ancestor, therefore, is not Maine's great-great-grand-father, who, had he lived, would have managed the family affairs, but the great-great-grand-uncle, who corresponds to the *Karanavan* of the Nayar *Tarawād*. This fact may vitiate Maine's theory that the sub-tribe is always a development of the Patriarchal Family. (1)

The Kanna Pulayas, according to their own account, are divided into *twelve* such illams. The number of twelve is perhaps only a round number, for I have been able to get the names of *seventeen* different illams.

(1) *Illam* is also the name of a Namburi house. Here it means a joint-family proper. The name is also given as a title of distinction to Sudras. Some other lowcaste peoples have also illams; e. g., the fisherman caste is called the four-illamites. The Chogans likewise have illams.

There seems to have been a distinct gradation in the illams. At present the *Velli* illam is regarded as the highest. Its members have the privilege of marrying on a brass plate and the chief or Vallon is ordinarily selected from this illam. The *Parathi* illam is the lowest and its members have to marry on a plantain leaf. The other illamites marry on planks. The gradation is observed also in the use of different kinds of brass lamps for marriage (1)

GOVERNMENT.

We will next notice the form of Government or constitution which obtains among these people. The Pulaya institutions seem to prove that at the time when they were enslaved by the Dravidians, they had already attained to the first few steps of a common life. They seem to have had a *king* or kings, *chiefs* under him, and a tolerably complete village organization with a *headman*, an *accountant*, *two elders* and a *constable*. These together formed a *Council of elders* which exercised considerable jurisdiction. The Council and the officials have lasted on to the present day. Less than a generation ago the Council exercised jurisdiction in cases of adultery, abduction, ill treatment of wives and other social offences. It has considerable powers even at the present day. There are descendants of the old kings still living.

This organization seems to be entirely *indigenous*. It is on the face of it improbable that slaves bound to the soil and hardworked, should graft an *alien* constitution on their society. In historic times, at any rate, the gap between the masters and the slaves has been too wide to allow of any borrowing. There is, besides, no village organization corresponding to that of the Pulayas among the Dravidians of the western Coast at the present day. It is still more unlikely that the Pulayas should have developed this constitution after the period of their enslavement. The hard and thought-killing drudgery of their lives forbids such a supposition.

Hence it seems that I may safely refer this constitution to a pre-Dravidian age of political and social independence.

I must observe in passing, that it is no credit to the Dravidian masters that they should have allowed this considerable amount of

(1) Mr. Mateer gives *three* illam names, Brahmakotta, Velli, and Pallikutachan.

social independence. This tolerance ought properly to be ascribed to their supreme contempt for the social customs of their slaves. They could easily enforce obedience; and they regarded it to be beneath their dignity to enquire into the social habits of their serfs.

I shall premise also that the organization to be described does not exist in its entirety at the present day. The Sircar Court, based on the model of the British, the Police Constable, and lastly the Christian Missionary and Clergyman are now slowly usurping a jurisdiction once exercised by the Head-man and his subordinates.

The King.

The Pulayas of Travancore, (1) though now under the jurisdiction of the native Government, acknowledge as their titular lord, a Pulaya King called *Aykara Yajamanen* or *Aykara Tamara*. Yejamanen means lord and is the title applied to the village Headman. Hence the words mean the Lord of all the Karas, the Kara being the present social unit of the Pulayas. (2) *Tamara* is probably from *Tamar*, ownership and the title may imply that the King is feudal owner or lord of all the land. He lives in *Thaykatuchēri* in the north of Travancore. He claims to be descended from men who once had been Kings of all the land. The extent of country to the north of Alleppey south of Arukutti, west of Vaykam backwater, and east of the sea is said to have been his private property. Besides the income from these lands, which must have been lost soon after the conquest, he used to get a very trifling revenue from his own people, from the surrounding countries over which his ancestors once exercised jurisdiction. This is said to have been a *Sixtieth* part of the income, or according to another account, a *Kararaṛam* of ½ a chukrum or 1 ch. from each Pulaya hut. (1 ch=$\frac{2}{5}$r. of a Rupee.) This was undoubtedly a remnant of his once much larger revenue. He used also to get 48 chs. for each Pulaya marriage, besides very considerable

(1) The Pulayas of Cochin have a chief called *Alancheri Kaccappa*.

(2) A *Kara* is the smallest political subdivision of the country. It roughly corresponds to the extent of territory whose revenue is collected by the *Kaṛaippady* (= Monthly stipendary) who is under a *Pravarthiar*, or subordinate revenue officer. It is to the Pulaya the unit of society. It should be noticed that on the western coast there is little trace of the mark system. There is no common ownership and the communal feeling has no reference to Kinship at all, but only to membership in a common *Kara* or territorial unit.

The Kara is the present social unit of the Pulayas and seems to have superseded the original village. At any rate the Kara organization has very great similarity to the village organization as found in other parts of India. It seems impossible to find out the causes that led to the change. Possibly the Dravidian conquest may have been one of the main causes.

The Kara Constitution.

The office-bearers of a Kara are called *stanikal*, which word means the holders of delegated authority. According to some there are *eight* such officers, and according to others, *ten*. The more important are the *Vallon*, the *Kuruppa*, two *Kaikarans*, the *Vatikkaran*, the *Komarattan*, and the *Shanti*. There are besides, the *Edapakal*, the *Nattil stani*, and the *Desavazhi*, whose functions do not seem to be very clear.

The Vallons. The word seems to be a corruption of *valiyavan* which means, a great man. There can be little doubt that he was originally appointed by the Pulaya King. After the conquest he has been appointed by the Dravidian Rajahs. The richest man of a Kara gave a present to the Rajah and was then appointed Vallon by him. But the inveterate practice was for the nephew to succeed the uncle, unless the family became extinct or decayed. The Vallon family is regarded as the purest in the *Velli illam* which is again the highest of all illams. Even on the extinction of the old family the Vallon is ordinarily appointed from the *Velli illam*. The act of the Rajah seems to be one of mere confirmation.

The Vallon, on appointment, becomes entitled to *five privileges*. (1)

(1) The long umbrella—a circular and slightly concave umbrella made of palm-leaves and raised on a very long bamboo handle. The length of the handle bears a direct ratio to the dignity of the bearer.

Mr. Mateer's theory, p. 35 that the Pulaya Headman was appointed by the Travancore Government and thereby got special privileges in the Kara, seems a reversion of the natural order due to his want of information about the scope of a Vallon's jurisdiction.

(1) There are such privileges for most offices and castes. Cf. the 64 privileges for the Syrian Christians.

(2) The dignity of holding the umbrella with five colours —practically realised by hanging inside the long umbrella bits of cloth of five different colours.

(3) The bracelet of honour.

(4) The box for keeping betel leaves &c.

(5) A long ear-ring made of Gold.

The other Pulayas may not use any of these things.

He shews his credentials to the Village chiefs of the Chogan (1) Caste, and they call together the Pulayas of the Kara and make the announcement. The Vallon inaugarates his regime with a feast. In case the Vallon family has become extinct or decayed, and there is no other man in the Kara rich enough to pay the Rajah's Fees, the above mentioned Chogan chiefs, the *Thandan* and the *Kanakan* (lit. the holder of the staff and the keeper of accounts) or the headman and the accountant, appoint the worthiest Pulayan as the Vallon. (2) It seems, however, that a man so appointed does not obtain as much authority as the King—appointed ones. He is known as the Vallon of *three* families or houses. As already remarked the Vallon has to organize slave labour in making roads, digging canals &c.

So much with regard to his external relations. Internally, he as President of the Council of Elders is the supreme judge and Law Giver, or to speak more accurately, the depositary and declarer of custom. His verdict is binding in charges of adultery, wife stealing &c. His presence and sanction is required for marriage, burial, the entering into friendship, and, in fine, all social acts. He has customary fees. He is responsible for the discipline and good behaviour of his people, and is the judicial and social head of the society which he rules. The Pulayan calls him lord, and has to do him obeisance.

(2) The *Kuruppa*. Next in dignity to the Vallon is the Kuruppa, (a corruption of Kurippan, one who makes notes or writes)

(1) The Chogans correspond to the Tiyans of North Malabar—the highest of the low castes.

(2) The Chogans may perhaps have been the first conquerors of the Pulayas, or the Choga chiefs, being themselves appointed by the Rajah may be mediators between the sanctity of the Rajahs and the pollution of the Pulaya.

or accountant. He is also appointed by the Rajah. He is the second in office and helps the Vallon in the exercise of authority. In the trial of offences, he takes the chief part in sifting evidence. He declares on the *facts* of the case. The Vallon, who generally sits by in solemn silence, then gives judgment, which is not an arbitrary doom, but simply the declaration of the customary penalty for the proved fault.

(3.) *The Kaikkarans* (1) (the handmen.) Two are elected from each Kara. These are elected in a popular assembly. There is no strict voting. The office is ordinarily heriditary; or the Vallon and Kuruppa make the appointment, which is confirmed by the people. They are regarded as representing the people. They keep the other officers in keeping discipline, are invited to marriages &c., and get the customary shares. In trials they help the Kuruppa in investigating into the facts of the case.

(4.) *The Vadikkaran*. (the rod-holder.) He is the constable who brings parties to a suit, keeps order and inflicts punishment.

(5.) *The Komarattan* or Devil exorciser. These six constitute the *Council*.

(6.) The other Stanikal is the *Shanti* or priest who attends to the temple and feeds the Gods, the *Nattilstani* who is chosen from among the people and whose permission, (got by paying a fee of 4 chs.) is necessary for a Pulayan of another Kara to marry into the Kara, the *Desavazhi*, who settles some disputes and the *Edapakal*, who is supposed to know the ins and outs of the people and who helps the Council.

This organization seems to be tolerably complete. No doubt the Council once exercised a much larger authority.

Summing up, we see in the Kara constitution, a tolerably complete village organization, but with a territorial basis. No such organization, exists among the higher castes. This fact has not been sufficiently well explained. Nothing is yet known with regard to the organization of the other outcaste peoples.

(1) The Kaikkaran is a social functionary in nearly all castes. He is usually elected in some rough popular way. When the English Parish system was introduced among the Syrian Christians, the Kaikaran was easily made to correspond to the church warden. There are Kaikarans to Hindu temples who keep accounts of the temple incomes.

The jurisdiction of the Council will be treated of when I come to speak of Divorce &c.

I shall now give a detailed account of some of the Pulaya customs. I shall begin with a description of some ceremonies before marriage, then describe in detail the marriage customs, next in speaking of the state after marriage, describe the *Pulaya Court of judicature* and lastly, treat of the rites of death. It will not now be possible to discriminate between indigenous and borrowed customs. Some more important points of correspondence between Pulaya and high caste usages will be noticed. But it will be futile to argue that similarity necessarily implies borrowing.

The Ceremonial Entering into Friendship.

The most important ceremony after a child is born is the ceremonial entrance into friendship, the binding of the tie which unites man with man until Death. It gave me pleasure to find that the ceremonial friendship, instances of which are to be met with among many races, exists among these degraded people even now. The Christian master never dreams that among his serfs is a custom which sheds a world of light on the verse in his Bible which says 'that there is a friend which sticketh closer than a brother.' Here is some small shred of evidence for the primitive identity of the human race, and here is morality, yet entirely distinct from the Family Tie. There is real affection in the relation and the tie is dissolvable only with death.

A Pulaya can have only a single Friend and he should be a member of a different *illam*, as all illamites are held to be relatives. A man loses his title, if he marries into the family of his friend.

A Pulaya boy, when he is between ten and fifteen years of age contracts a voluntary friendship with some other boy of the same age and locality, and when the friendship has ripened, the parents are informed of it. If the boy is not socially inclined, his father selects a friend for him from a family of his own standing, or if practicable, of a higher standing. (1) The father may, of course,

(1) A friend is selected from a richer family to be of greater service to the son. To this custom we may probably ascribe a Malayalam proverb which says that "a wife should be selected from a family of lower standing (because the price will be less) and a friend from one of higher standing."

occasional offerings, e. g. when paddy was sown and reaped. All these incomes he used to get very long after the Dravidian conquest,—to some extent, even within living memory. The present representative has private lands of his own, and gets a portion of the emoluments of such of the head-men as live in his immediate vicinity. He gets presents from all Pulaya Visitors.

These Kings are said to have been independent until the time of *Cheraman Perumal*. The Perumal is said to have presented the conquered Pulaya King with a *lace cap*, probably as a sign of feudal lordship. This cap is still preserved and entitles the wearer, says the Pulayas, to respect from every one. The insignia of royalty, some of them preserved to the present day, are a gold handled sword, a lace cap, (other than the presented one), a silver plated rod of office, a shield of leopard's skin, a lance, bows and arrows, the long umbrella, the chain lamp and the bracelet of honor. Members of the royal family have the privilege of marrying beneath the shield. Succession is through nephews, but the sons have a share to the ancestral property. The king lives in a big house, and not in a hut like other Pulayas. A Pulaya, fishing-basket placed in front of the gate, keeps off the unwary wayfarer from mistaking the house for a casteman's. The royal family is still held in high honor. The members, male and female, strictly abstain from doing any kind of manual labour—what is really remarkable in a slave caste. All Pulayas and Pariahs have to do obeisance before the King, and to speak with mouth covered, has power to excommunicate and to absolve. His doom, none but he may reverse. He has a *Minister* called *Ponnilattu vallon* who lives near to the king and whose badges of office are a gold knife and style, the short umbrella and a rod of office, all presents from the King. He, like his master, has very little real power.

The Vallon of each Kara is now virtually independent. But the Tamara seems once to have exercised considerable jurisdiction.

Under the King there are two *Chiefs* one for the north called *Tatteri Aechen* (=father or master of Tatteri) and one for the south called *Mannattu Koyil Vallon* (=King Vallon of Mannattu). Under them again are, or were, *Head Vallons*, for each piece of

territory once ruled by the several Rajahs of Travancore before the union of the Kingdoms under the present dynasty. Lowest in the scale of chiefs, but now exercising most real jurisdiction are the *Vallons* or *Head-men of each Kara*. The king and the chiefs are hereditary; though perhaps a new claimant might have got a formal recognition from the neighbouring Rajah. The Head Vallon for each sub-Kingdom, and the Vallons for the several Karas were appointed by the Rajahs, though the man selected was ordinarily the heir of the previous Vallon. The Dravidian Rajahs appointed them to exercise jurisdiction over the Pulayas. They were also to be responsible for slave labour when wanted for state purposes. When a road was to be made or a canal dug the Vallon had to do it with Pulaya labour.

The present status of the Vallon as the social and judicial head and a vital part of the Pulaya constitution, seems to show that he is an indigenous 'institution.' The Rajahs must simply have adapted for their needs what had previously existed. The PulayaKing must once have been in the place of the Rajah as the political, not less than the social head of the Pulayas and of the Vallons.

Neither the chiefs nor the head Vallons have any authority now except in the Karas where they dwell. The *Vallon of each Kara is practically independent.*(1)

(1) Other low-caste peoples besides the Pulayas have also chiefs or Kings. The Hill Arians have their King, the Chogan has his Thandan, and the fisherman Arayan his Aravar. The Aravar still exercises very considerable authority over the fisherman caste. It is exceedingly rare for any fisherman to go out of the Aravars' jurisdiction to the weal courts. His decisions are always enforced.

It is curious that Mr. Mateer does not know anything of the Tamara or Pulaya King. His information about the Northern Pulayas seems to have been very scanty. He says p. 34 that the Pulayas of Trevandram are accustomed to boast of having once had a chieftain or King who resided in a fort not far off. But instead of trying to find out something more definite about this King, as one would have expected him to do, he simply explains it away.

After writing the above I have received some further information with regard to these other officials. The *Desavazhi* (lit. ruler of a country) is what I have called the Head Vallon, whose jurisdiction extends or extended over the territory once ruled by the several Rajahs. The office is always hereditory; the act of the Rajah is therefore one of mere confirmation. The *Nattil Stani* is not found in all Karas, and where found is subordinate to the Vallon. The *Edapakal* is entirely a social functionary, who manages the marriage feasts, without disputes and brawls, and pacifies such ruptures as not infrequently arise. He is found only in the Northern parts. I may here mention that the Vallon does not attend marriages, as a rule. When he sits, all others have to stand. Hence he prefers not to attend, and gets his share before hand.

overrule the will of the boy. The two parents agree among themselves to meet in the house of either of them for the purpose of solemnizing the friendship. On the fixed day, the Vallon and some other officials and thirty two men of the Kara, go with the parent-guest to the house of the parent-host. The latter takes them first to the *toddy shop* (1) and then back to his house. The parents walk with their arms over each other's shoulder. The guests are feasted in the regular Pulaya fashion. Both for the dinner and the preliminary refreshments the parents have to eat from the same dish. After the feast is over the host asks "I ask of my lords (i. e. Vallon &c.) and others assembled whether I may be permitted to buy friendship by paying money." When they say, 'yes', he gives 120 chs. to the other parent and declares that he has got a friend for his son. The two boys then clasp hands, and they are thenceforth never to quarrel. The parent guest has some other day to become host and go through identically the same forms.

The friend is now regarded as a member of the family. In theory all that the two friends possess are to be enjoyed in common. The friend comes in and goes out as he pleases. There is no important thing done without consulting him. He is an important factor in all ceremonies, especially in marriage. I suspect also, that the friend has some claim over a man's wives. In theory the two friends have but one life. The place he fills in marriage will be described later on. The Vallon gets a consideration for his presence.

Marriage.

It is difficult to get at a clear and consistent account of the marriage customs. Even two Pulayas from the same place give inconsistent accounts. What follows, is an attempt at a detailed description.

(1) The Pulaya, when he goes to the toddy-shop takes prepared rice, fish and meat with him. The toddy-shop of the chogan is to him nothing more than a cheap Restaurant. When starving and weary, toddy becomes a necessity to the over worked labourer, though its after-effects may be evil. It is just as correct to call them drunkards because they drink toddy so often, as many ill informed people do, as to call Dr. Johnson a drunkard because he took dozens of cups of tea at a sitting. On feasts, some of them get drunk, but very seldom with their ordinary daily drink.

It is an essential rule that a girl should be married before she attains puberty. If she attains puberty before marriage, she is regarded as having become polluted. She is stigmatized as "a woman whose age has become known." Her parents and owner, i. e., uncle, lose their claims over her. They formally drive her out of the house as impure and proceed to purify the place by sprinkling cowdung water or spreading sand. She becomes the property of the Vallon. He may either give her in marriage to his own sons or sell her for a 'reasonable' price.— (1) preferably to the father or uncle, or the slave-master. If no one buys her, she is to be sold beyond Cochin, that is, sent out of the country.

This custom is exceedingly interesting. The woman does not become outcaste. When any one buys her, even beyond Cochin, her shame is covered. Even the Vallon's sons may marry her. The custom seems to be a relic of the old world tribal organization, and illustrates a number of principles which must then have been vaguely held. The woman is never free, but always the property of some one, of the uncle, *before* marriage, and of the husband who *buys* her, *after* marriage. As a child the guardian ought to own her, and as a woman, the husband. The tribe has not completely divested itself of all authority over her. It has only delegated her bringing up to her guardian. If she becomes a woman while still under her guardian, he thereby loses his hold on her. And she has no other owner. Therefore she reverts back to the tribe. The Vallon, who represents the tribe, takes her. He may dispose of her as he pleases. When sold again, she becomes some one's property or is married and her shame is covered. This explanation makes the woman a mere chattel. But so she is.

It will be seen that the act of marriage is nothing more than a *buying* of the daughter for a price which custom has fixed.

There is some inconsistency between the account furnished by different people with regard to the preliminary ceremonies before marriage; there is probably a variety of names used for the same ceremony.

(1) A *reasonable price is a price that four people fix upon* even as high sometimes as 35 Rs.—a relic of the old world custom price.

The first observance before marriage seems to be what is called *seeing the woman*. This ought theoretically to be four years before marriage. The husband-to-be, his friend, father and maternal uncle (called guardian or owner) go to the girl's house to see her for themselves and be satisfied. (1) Then, for *four* years annually, at the *onam* (2) festival, the male party have to keep up their claim on the girl by giving *presents* (3) to her guardians. The offering is taken to her hut at even time by the boy and his friend. The mother feeds them sumptuously that night and the next morning and then sends them home with a few *necessaries* (4) specially made for them with her own hands. If there is room for fear that the girl may attain puberty before marriage, the observances for the four years are rolled into one; the boy and friend bring four times the customary present, stay for eight meals, and get four times the number of baskets.

The next observance seems to be what is known as the *Kuri Manjadi* or marriage arrangement. The boy, his friend, brother-in-law, father and guardian go to the girl's house and make arrangements about fixing the day and hour of marriage. Now too, they give *presents*, (5) are feasted and in some cases sent home with rice and curry-stuff. This seems to be the more important ceremony and is probably the betrothal. They have a number of curious names for this ceremony, or perhaps for the previous one. e. g, *Mekkanam Iduka*, which probably means taking possession of the person by giving a due or rent, (the same word is used for buying lands of *jenmies*); *Parallu Erika* (throw stones), probably a 'decayed metaphor', a relic of some old world *Symbolic* action.

(1) There is probably a seeing of the woman or girl by the guardians themselves previous to this. (Mateer p. 45)

(2) *Onam* in August, the time when people think of the past golden age of under *mahabali*. He comes to visit the earth and every one feasts and rejoices, to make him think that the world is still happy.

(3) 4 parahs of rice and 40 cocoanuts; a *parah* is 10 measures.

(4) *Necessaries*. 2 *Puttils*, a big mat-like basket used as mattress and blanket in one, for putting things in, as a head-cover &c; and 2 *Vattis*, or smaller baskets made of grass.

(5) *Presents*. 21 chs. and a cloth to the parents and 32 chs. to the guardian; or 41 chs. to the parents and 31 chs. to the guardian.

whereby it was made *visible* that possession was taken; *Mundu Veyka* (put or give clothes), corresponding to the Dravidian custom of giving clothes to indicate the taking possession of a woman—as among the Nayars at the present day.

There is still another observance which does not seem to be as universal as the two previous ones, namely that the boy and friend should give 32 chs. to the girl four weeks before marriage, in theory; for defraying the expenses of her oil-bath, for the four weeks that intervene between the betrothal and the marriage. It is possible that this is a variant of the first or the second custom treated of.

Then follows the important custom of fixing on the auspicious hour for marriage, known as the *Muhurtam* ceremony. This is perhaps borrowed from the Dravidians, as it does not obtain among the Eastern Pulayas, as the officiating astrologer is not a Pulaya but the astrologer for the high castes, and probably also because the friend, who is entirely indigenous, has no part in the ceremony.

The two parties to the marriage, the governing body and men of the Kara all assemble in the house of the girl. The *Kanyan* (1) or Hindu astrologer officiates. He is seated, and in front of him on a plantain leaf is placed by the guardian, some paddy, tobacco and betel leaves. He puts a portion of the paddy in a corner of the leaf, divides it into *twelve* portions, and says that it stands for the Zodiac. He asks the guardian to name a figure, finds its twelfth part, and by comparing the two quotients, finds out in which sign of the Zodiac the Sun is standing, and therefore what day and what hour will be auspicious for marriage. Next by comparing the dates of birth of the two parties to the marriage, he sees whether there is affinity between their nativities. If there is not, some brother of the bridegroom-elect will be found to possess the affinity and he marries the girl and gives her to the real husband. This is conformable

(1) The *Kanyan's* place in the caste system is unique. He is regarded as extremely low caste, perhaps as the lowest, but as astrologer and medicine man, he has access to Nayar houses. He makes his astrological calculations with the abacus. He follows the primeval custom of *all members of the family having one wife in common*. It is just possible that investigations may show that the Kanyan is also a *negroid*, who has been adopted into the Dravidian system for his utility.

to the practice of the Chogans &c. Next it is necessary to find out whether the God or Goddess of the Kara (*Mulajanmam*) lit. original ancestry—hence, ancestral (God) is propitious. He puts some more paddy in another corner, divines, and of course finds that the deity is angry. "Why," asks the guardian, and some reason is given. For example., "The last man dead in your family did not make the promised offering, or killed a cow or bullock and his spirit (*Charus* lit. dead person) is kept under restraint. You may deliver him by offering a Gold thread to the deity." The male guardian is then similarly admonished. Lastly, he puts some paddy as *avasanam* or final test and says he sees another restraint still. "What can it be" asks the two guardians in one breath. "The question or veto of the Southern God (lit. Great father of the Southern country temple)," replies the astrologer, so and so has not given the *Pandalattam* (1) promised for evil done on an enemy by the 'diety' and his spirit is restrained". All these "Spirits in travail" have to be delivered and set up as house-hold deities before the marriage can take place. The astrologer gets for his trouble all the paddy, betel leaves and tobacco which had been placed on the leaf, besides a few chukrums. (2)

In these observances, the first and second seem to be indigenous. There is probably admixture in the third, although the indigenous element is seen in the spirit deliveries.

(1) *Pandalattam*. As much rice, *aval* and *vara* or fried rice as can be made out of 12 parahs of paddy, fowls, toddy and spirit are taken to the priest of the temple. He lights torches and wicks, spreads a number of leaves before the diety and places the offerings thereon. After sometime he gets the inspiration (*velipatu*) of the deity, indicated by violent gestures &c. He is then asked whether the ghost is under simple restraint or is shut up in the pit—a severe form of restraint. If the former, the customary offering delivers it. If the latter, 10 chs. in addition are given to the priest for the purpose of closing and opening the holy place. The priest takes some rice and flowers in a leaf, goes inside the temple, throws up the rice and flowers (as an offering to the diety), looks weirdly round for some seconds and then suddenly folding and tying up the leaf, gives it to the devptee with the assurance that the spirit is therein enshrined. It is then enshrined as a house-hold deity.

(2) The astrologer fixes likewise the time for erecting the marriage Pandal—when a pillar has to be fixed and the time for boiling paddy—when three measures of paddy are boiled (preparatory to removing the husk.)

It should be noticed that the puberty rule is so strict, that even now everything becomes null and void, should the girl attain puberty.

Now the marriage day approaches and preparations are busily going on in the girl's house, where the marriage is to be celebrated. On the evening previous to the marriage, the bridegroom's friend and his guardian and about twelve other men of the Kara are invited to *the house of the boy*. There some interesting ceremonies are gone through, which befit the boy and friend to enter on the married estate. In the first place, the two guardians take some water in two brass vessels, put fifty one pieces of plantain leaves therein, and taking out one piece at a time, rub each his own boy's body with it, from head to sole. The boys stand facing each other. This is known as *Kudumbi Polutu Tirka* (1) and probably symbolises the washing away of the young people's crudenesses and foibles of youth, before admitting them to the dignity of manhood. The next ceremony is called *Mayyi Kura Tirka*, which probably means wiping off the deficiencies of the body. The guardians take fire and the husks of rice in the outer shell of a cocoanut, and when it begins to smoke, turns it *seven* times simultaneously round the waist of the boys and then themselves go round them once. This certainly symbolises the purification of the body, perhaps of the loins. The modern Pulaya knows the meaning of neither the words nor the acts. But the explanation here offered seems to be very adequate.

It is very interesting that we have in these customs a symbolic illustration of the *purification* by *fire and water*, so often referred to in the Bible. It is possible that some custom similar to this lies at the basis of that metaphor. At all events, fire and water are regarded as emblems of purification among many peoples.

(1) *Polutu* is a slang word for the hair on the head of a child when it is born (Gundert,) *Kudumbi* means the tuft of hair and may mean the head or *Polutu* may mean a deficiency. It is only after the polutu is removed that the tuft is allowed to grow among high caste people. So also the face and body are shaved for the first time before marriage. The head of the Pulaya boy is also clean shaved before marriage. This ceremony therefore probably symbolises the cleaning or purifying of the *head*, and may originally have been confined to that member only. So contrasted with *Mayyi* or body.

After the friends have been purified by fire and water they are in fit condition to become bridegrooms. They are accordingly dressed with a clean white cloth, a black handkerchief is tied round the waist, and a knife, the emblem of manhood, stuck in. (1) The forehead and breast are painted with wetted flour. (2) The guardians then whisper in the ears of the boys *seven* times the word *shshama*, which ordinarily means forbearance and forgiveness. This is called the ear-incantation, possibly intended originally to impress on the aspirant for manhood the necessity for forbearance, which is certainly one of the chief qualities that ought to distinguish a man from a boy. The black handkerchief and the paint are removed only on the fourth day of Bath. Till then the boy and friend enjoy the *bride-groom estate*, (3) and may not do any sort of work. Now follows the feast and the subscription. All invited are to contribute except the lords or officials. The relatives contribute from 34 to 120 chs. and friends from 10 to 32 chs.

(1) The knife and style are stuck in at marriages among high caste also. The knife is for preparing the *ola*, or palm leaf and the style for writing on it. By wearing the two it is intended to shew that the wearer has become a graduate in learning or simply has become a man. The school boys who use the style may not wear it.

(2) Among high castes the body is similarly covered with an odoriferous mixture of sandal wood, rose water &c.

(3) Among Syrian Christians, the bridegroom estate is for 40 days. The bridegroom need not stand when an elder comes, what on other occasions is very contumacious. It is probable that the *thozhna* or bridegroom's man among other people is a remnant of the *friend*.

Note.

This system of contribution explains how it is possible that these poor slaves whose pittance is so miserable are sometimes able to spend even as high a sum as 50 or 100 Rs. on a marriage. A similar custom obtains among Chogans, Paravans and other low-caste peoples. To give *money* is thought unbecoming among high castes. But the *materials* for the feast, such as curry stuffs &c., ornaments for the bride and bridegroom are supplied in a similar way. Among the less civilized of the Syrian Christians, it is still regarded as an insult on a relative if the invitation to marriage does not contain a Postcript requesting him to bring some supplies.

This custom is evidently a relic of the old Family System. Originally, of course, all expenses were met from the Common Fund. But after the families have been separated, the marriage ceremony revives the old tie and the relatives willingly contribute to the expenses of one of their number. The fact that the men of the Kara, who are not relatives contribute less shews that the Kara organization is later in point of time than the family organization.

In this connection I shall notice another social custom, which also seems to be a relic of the old Family System. While despotism is the rule in all *political relations*, there seems to be an element of *Democracy*, or rather of the equality of the several members of a Family, in certain Social relations, among Pulayas and high castes

After the ceremonies in the bridegroom's house are over, the male party go to the house of the bride, usually before *dawn* (1) and with music, songs and the beating of drums. The boy and friend are dressed with two clothes tied round the waist, one over the other with a small knife and style stuck in. There will be some sort of head-dress and one or two shoulder-clothes. By the time that they reach the bride's house she will have gone round the marriage Pandal seven times, with seven married women holding lamps going in front of her. Now she is found seated inside the Pandal. In front of her, in a brass plate, is placed three measures of rice and on it a lamp (2) and a cocoanut; when the bridegroom arrives he also makes seven rounds and then seat him down outside the Pandal and a functionary called the *Kudummi chumki* (probably means the man who washes or prepares the hair) breaks it open and sprinkles the contents with some fresh water added, on the head of the man and the bride three times. He gets the rice and cocoanut for his pains. This is probably some sort of purification.

Next they go to bathe in some neighbouring pool or stream, first the man, and next the bride; when they have gone out the bride's mother spreads a mat specially made by her for the occasion in the middle of the Pandal. On it she places three measures of rice and some minute particles of gold, (3) over it is put according to the importance of the *illam*, a big brass plate, a plank covered with white and black cloth, (4) a simple plank, or lastly a plantain-leaf. The bridegroom now returns from the bath, and after mak-

alike. In marriages &c. for doing anything formal or important, permission is asked not of the Social head, or of the oldest present, but of *all*. In some cases unruly youngsters by their dissent and non-compliance can prolong a ceremony for a considerable time. This seems to be a relic of the old Family Life where the concerns of each were the concerns of all. It accordingly shows that Maine is right when he says that the old Patriarch was not a King ruling over subjects, but simply the first among equals, the representative of the Family. While *politically* he has grown into a despot, *socially* remnants of the old equality still remain.

(1) Mateer says in the evening.

(2) The lamp used should have three wicks, two wicks, one wick or be the ordinary lamp according to the importance of the illam—lent by the master.

(3) Hence marriage is called "*marrying with rice and gold*."

(4) *White cloth and a black blanket*—is a sign of honour. In a high caste feast a white cloth and a blanket will be spread over the mat on which the oldest and most respectable are to sit.

ing seven rounds, enters and stands on the plank. The bride soon follows and makes three rounds, when four women hold a canopy of cloth over her head and seven Virgins go in front of her (1). The first foremost virgin holds a lamp in one hand and a plate with rice and leaves in the other. Her circuit over, the bride enters in and stands beside her man. Four persons raise them up, with the plank, in their hands and set them down. The man faces to the east and the woman to the west. According to another account the friend is also raised, and he stands *behind* the bride, facing west. The girl's guardian puts the wedding 'neck-lace'—a gold bead on a string—on the head of his ward, and then hands it over to the boy.

Now the drummers begin to drum and the *komn attan* and others sing the song for blessing the neck-lace. When they sing "O Sun God, who rises in the east, bless this neck-lace and this string," the bridegroom holds the string with his two hands and raises it a little and when, in the same words, they ask a blessing of the Moon God who sets in the west, the earth Goddess who is below, and the God of Thunder who is above, he turns the neck-lace to the west, lowers it, and holds it high above his head. Next he makes a circle with it and then straitens it again, when different virtues from above are supposed to descend on it. Repeating the ceremonial words of rejection and so rejecting, one by one, the neck-laces or virtues of death, quarrel, blackness, stagnancy, and blood, he jumps and catches hold of the necklace when the *diamond virtue* descends on it, and immediately transfers it to the neck of his bride. That is, he puts the string on her neck, and makes one woof with it. Then, he leisurely goes behind and hardens the knot, or the friend, who is standing behind, does it for him.

The religious part of the ceremoney is over. The husband is raised up in the arms of his brother-in-law or friend, and the wife in the arms of her guardian and taken inside the house.

(1) According to another account she is carried round the Pandal seven times by her sister's husband, called for the nonce, the *carrier*. If this exists, it is probably a later adaptation from a similar Dravidian custom.

When the marriage ceremony is going on or just after it, four sisters of the bridegroom come to the door with music and songs. Tkey are received with presents by their husbands and taken inside the house. They eat rice all together out of the very pot in which it was boiled.

When the husband and wife have come back to the Pandal the wife's sister and husband spread seven measures and a half, of boiled rice and curry on leaves before them. The friend gives seven big mouthfuls out of it, first to the wife and then to the man. What remains is eaten by seven Bachelors who are styled the young men who came to see the marriage, (probably) in the place of the unmarried. They sit on one leg, stretch out the other, and shout aloud *Kurioyiye*, when eating.

Next the guests are fed and the last item is the subscription. A piece of silk, (any red cloth) a white cloth, a plank or a brass plate according to the importance of the illam is placed before the husband, on which these assembled, put their subscription—the relatives of the bride from 16 to 64 chs. and the men of the Kara 4 chs. each. A younger sister of the bride may not contribute more than an elder sister. The amount is distributed among those who took part in the ceremonies. (1).

The marriage ceremonies are now over. Before proceeding let me refer to one or two striking points. In all the ceremonies it is the guardian or mother's brother that takes the leading part. The guardian of the husband arranges the marriage, purifies the boy, and, in fact, is the leading figure. The marriage is purely a purchase. Even the girl's fellow-labourers get a compensation for their losing her. The girl's guardian gets the lion's share of

(1) *Shares.* I have two accounts, which do not entirely tally.

To the *parents* 'for the *girls neck and hair*,' i.e. for buying them, 135 measures of rice and two pieces of cloth, as ordinary share 64 (51) chs. to the *guardian*, 64 (41), 'thread money' to do. 32, for 'gold on head,' i.e., putting the necklace on the bride's head to do. 21, lamp money to do 1; to the *son of the guardian* 32; to the *carrier* 32; *brother-in-law and wife.* 32; *uncle and aunt* 32.

To the *Vallon* 42 (29); to the *Kaikkars* 4; *Vadikaran* 2; to the bride's *fellow labourers* in the field, 32.

In some case *four* Pulayas from a neighbouring Kara will have been invited to *witness* to the act of marriage, in case the vallon and others be bribed to hide the truth, if a dispute should arise. These get 4 chs. each.

the purchase money, but all who take part in the ceremonies are rewarded. The parents are not forgotten. Both have an equal share, for '*the girls neck and hair*' which seems to show that they are not yet owners of the girl, but simply those from whom her existence is derived. The *mother's* position is important. It is she that suppplies the husband elect and friend with baskets and she has first to be paid and pacified before the purchasing party is allowed even to enter the Pandal. (1. *a.*) A few other acts of the mother will be noticed further on, all showing that she has some sort of claim over the girl. The marriage ceremony itself is simple, but sublime. This is the only occasion in which the sun and moon are worshipped. The fact that this worship enters into the marriage ceremony, and that the Thanda Pulayas still retain it seems to shew that it is indigenous. But I cannot explain how it can have been lost among the Kanna Pulayas.

What is certainly most interesting in these ceremonies is the part taken by the friend. From first to last, he has a part and an equal part in every ceremony except in the *Muhurtam*, which, as I said, is probably borrowed. Up to the time that he hardens the knot of the *tali* string from behind, he seems to be regarded as on a par with the bridegroom.

But to resume. The bride is now taken to her husband's house. The girl's parents visit her with rice and sweetmeats the next morning, and get a consideration, (1) in return. On the fourth day, which is called the Bath day, [although now there is no bath,] they come again, accompanied by the wife's guardian and four other men of the kara. Again they get a present, (2) on the seventh day the husband and wife, with the friend, return to the wife's house. There the *tali* is formally removed from her neck. It is untied, held circular, straitened, and then put by the friend standing by on the right. Her mother immediately bedecks her ears and neck. (3) The next morning she

(*a*) When the male party enters the Pandal the girl's mother will be standing with one foot on the mat above-mentioned and lamp in hand, and the guardian has to give her 16 chs. and tobacco, when she takes off her foot and they may enter.

(1) 16 chs. and toddy.

(2) 32 chs.

(3) The *ornaments* are not costly. In the neck, two or three necklaces of beads and in the ear, iron and brass rings and bracelets.

presents her son-in-law and friend with the *necessaries* (1) of life and sends them home with her daughter.

The first public act of the wedded couple is to worship at the kara temple. This is called worshipping the ancestry or ancestral God.

The wife is sent home to her guardian prior to menstruation. On the first menstruation, her people are once again remunerated (2) On the seventh day there is a ceremony called *Therundu Kuli* or menstruation Bath. The husband goes to her house with his friend, the Vallon, some men of the kara and seven women. He formally pours oil on the head of his wife and of fourteen other women. They bathe, and coming back eat rice prepared from seven measures. The rice is spread on a mat, and they are to sit on one leg and stretch out the other while eating. The wife's parents get more presents (3) now she gets a betel-basket and a head basket from her mother.

This observance shows the *strength of Communal feelings*. It also brings out prominently and repulsively the *purchase-and-sale view* of marriage.

In the *Seventh month of Pregnancy*, there is a very interesting ceremony known as *Puli Kuti*, or tamarind-juice drinking. (4) The chief actor is the *Velattan* or Devil Exorciser. These Exorcisers seem to have borrowed a great deal of their phraseology, mode of Incantations, and worship of malignant deities from their high-caste masters. It is thus difficult to say what is indigenous and what not.

The wife will have returned to her people. The Velattan erects in the yard a tent-like structure, two cubits long, broad, and high, and covers it with plantain backs and tender cocoanut leaves. An Arecapalm flower is fixed at the apex. A cocoanut palm flower (after it has turned to fruit, but before bursting) is cut out, and

(1) The *necessaries* are 12 measures of paddy, one big basket, one mattress, one basket for receiving wages, one waist basket, one betel-basket and one head-basket.

(2) 30 measures of rice, 30 cocoanuts and some tobacco.

(3) 7½ measures of rice, *aval* and *Vara* 7½ casks of toddy, and 7 cocoanuts.

(4) Mr. Mateer gives an account, which is entirely different.

covered up with a piece of cloth, the cut part being exposed. The Exorciser then seats the woman in front of the tent with the flower in her lap. It symbolises the yet unborn child, or children, or perhaps the womb. Spoonfuls (1) of cocoanut juice are poured over the cut by those assembled, in this order.—, the husband, the friend, the parents, the vallon, the guardian, the brothers and sisters, and then others present. This is called giving 'meat and milk.' The velattan then breaks open the *chotta* or flower, and by looking at the fruits inside prophesies about the issues of her womb. If there are fruits at the end nearest the stem, the first child will live, if the number of fruits is even, there will be twins, if any fruit is not well formed some child will die, and so on.

Next the velattan's assistant raises up the tent in his hands, and the Exorciser repeats some incantation where by he attracts the goddess Kali on the tent and the chotta. When the deity has come, he fans the woman with the flower and she throws up rice and flowers on it. He now repeats another long incantation. It seems to be a prayer to Kali that she may be pleased to drive *kala* or Death out of the hair, the eyes, the nose, the lips, the teeth, the shoulders, the breasts, the legs and the feet of the devotee. As he sings the people shout in chorus, *ayyapoh, iyyapoh*. The tent called the *Garbha bali* or Pregnancy-offering is now taken up and placed in the corner of the compound reserved for gods.

The remaining forms are gone through by the devotee herself she pours into twenty one leaf spoons placed in front of the tent, a mixture formed of Cows milk Cocoanut juice flower and turmeric powder. Then she walks round the tent seven times, and, with a palm flower sprinkles the same mixture on it. Next she throws into the tent handfuls of rice and paddy, after revolving each handful thrice round her head; and then covers of the offering with a piece of cloth. She now returns and her husband puts into her mouth seven globules of prepared tamarind. According to another account the husband and wife are both made to drink the tamarind juice, which is also poured over the stomach of the wife. The

(1) Spoon made of a jack-tree leaf.

Exorciser now rubs her body with Phlomis petals and paddy and thereby finds out whether she is possessed or not. If she is, the devil is driven out in the ordinary fashion, (1)

In these observances the curious symbolic acts indicate an infant stage of the human mind. There are similar customs among other castes. The tamarind juice is supposed to have some medicinal effect.

All through pregnancy no *knife* (2) should touch the husband's head or beard. When a child is born the mother is removed to a shed outside the hut. On the seventh day she is purified. The midwife draws on the ground with flour seven lines, a span distant from each other, and spreads over them aloe leaves torn into shreds. Then with burning wicks in hand, she, and the mother go seven times backwards and forwards over the lines, and the mother is purified. For these seven days the father may not eat anything made of rice. He manages to live on toddy, meat, and other things.

Rites of Death.

When a person has died, the *Komarattan* is invited. He makes an offering in the usual way (3) to the Goddess of *Kodungallur*, who presides over cholera, small-pox &c., and is regarded as the great ancestral Goddess of the Pulayas. He invokes her help in words which seem to mean, "mother!, the dead body which originally belongs to you, have we taken out with us. Guard that other evil spirits may not approach us. When we hide this corpse in the earth, likewise, do thou protect us, O mother!" When the prayer is over, the relatives, one by one, bring a piece of new cloth with rice and paddy bound in its four corners, for putting over the

(1) The exorciser gets 12½ measures of paddy, the tent, the two pieces of cloth and 2 chs. each for his two acts. The Vallen gets 4 chs. and the men of the Kara 2 chs.

(2) The Pulayas have no barbers and no knives. They shave each other with bits of sharp glass.

(3) He takes with him as much rice, *aval* and *Vara* as can be made out of a measure and a half of paddy, 1 measure of toddy, 1 cocoanut, a piece of tobacco, and 51 pieces of plantain leaves. He puts his *Takil* or Kettledrum on the north entrance to the room fixes a torch and 5 burning wicks around it, and 5 of the leave-pieces on it. He places a little of all the materials on the leaves and sprinkles toddy on them. Then beating his drum, sings.

dead body. They take hold of one end and get the exorciser and two other men of the Kara to take hold of the other ends. Then with formal permission from the vallon, they put the cloth over the corpse, beat their breasts and cry aloud *Ayah* three times and retire. This is evidently giving food and raiment to the dead.

Next the exorciser cuts out a Cocoanutpalm leaf and makes a leafy coin with it. Two men of the Kara, two relatives or illamites, a son and a nephew, or six altogether take up the coffin in their hands, and entering in, place the body in it, with permission from the lord. Thus taking it out, they stand, three on either side, with heads drooping and touching each other. The exorciser sprinkles water from a pot on their heads and over the corpse. Then they put down the corpse and do a sort of *penance* (1) twenty-one times.

Next the procession to the burial ground. The exorciser walks in front, holding a lofty palm-leaf umbrella stuck on the top of a big bamboo of eighteen joints. It is hung with rags of different colours, and small leaf-baskets containing different products of rice and paddy, toddy-Sprinkled.

After the burial ground is reached, the priest,—if so we may style him—removes a few spadefuls of earth and then a grave is dug. The body is let in and covered up with earth and the coffin is cut up and spread around the grave. The priest places twenty one small leaf spoons on it above where the breast would be, and fixes a double-branched twig in the centre. Then he cuts a cocoanut open, and sprinkles the water in the spoons in the direction of the twig, which seems to symbolise the dead man's mouth. Such of his relatives and friends as were not able to give him *Kunchee* before death do the same thing, saying as they do so, before my father,(or my uncle &c) I did not give you kunchee, now do you drink my kunchee, O Father!" The six coffin-bearers again do twenty-one penances, standing on either side of the grave. The priest then puts a cut cocoanut at the post of the grave and an

(1) *Penance, etham.* The hands are crossed and hold the ear, the feet placed wide apart and then the elbows made to touch the ground—a method of punishing School boys.

uncut one at the head, the first for the dead man to drink as soon as he gets up, and the second leisurely.

Then all go home and are refreshed with toddy and aval, called charcoal or 'bained toddy. Those who took part in the ceremonies of course get their customary remuneration. (1)

The relatives of the dead person have then to undertake either the ceremony of *Bath after Death pollution*, on the *seventh Day oil Bath* ceremony: or if they are rich, both of them. Either the son or the nephew is appointed master of the ceremonies. For seven days no member of the family uses oil for bath. The devotee erects a *mandapam*—earth raised up to resemble a mound on the south side of the house. which is the place for worship.

For seven days, morning and evening, he sprinkles cocoanut water seven times over the mound, and makes twenty-one *ethams*. On the eighth evening his friends, relatives, the Vallon and the exorciser are called together. The exorciser by turning round his conchshell finds out the *position* of the ghost or spirit, that is, whether it has come and taken its abode in the mound, or is kept under restraint by some deity. Should the latter be the case the ceremony of deliverance has to be performed. The spirit is then set up as a household deity and worshipped.

I shall now give a brief description of the *huts, food,* and *occupation* of the Pulayas. I can not make this part of my essay other than dry.

The *Huts* are not different from the dwelling places of the poorest among other castes. The pillars are made of the aloe, and the different parts of the cocoanut palm serve for many things besides. The roof is thatched with palmleaves, hay or grass. There is only one room, and the walls are made of mud, palmleaves or reeds. The door is low and made of a single palm-leaf or of reeds, cooking is done inside the hut in winter and outside in summer. The

(1) *Shares* for the *exorciser* for invoking the guide of the Goddess, 12 measures of rice, in a winning basket: for holding the pot from wh the coffin-bearers were sprinkled with water 1 ch: for fining the twig, 1 ch. and a price of cloth. For the *grave-diggers* 4 chs; for the *vallon*, 4 chs; for the two men of the Kara, 4 chs.

utensils are simple, but shew *variety*. (1) There is a separate basket for each distinct function. These are all made and kept by the women and handed over to the lord whenever he wants them either at home, or in the field. Negligence is punished by thrashing.

Food. Rice Vegetables, fish and flesh and any amount of toddy. When rice is half boiled the fish and vegetables are put in, and the mixture eaten. The Pulayan does not drink *Kunchee* or eat cold rice. When he is keeping watch in the fields, the wife would get up in the night, catch fish and gather vegetables, and bring him hot rice and curry in the field. If she fails to catch fish, she takes the hot rice and curry powder with her, she catches fish on the way and puts it inside the rice in the basket; and the Pulayan eats the ready prepared meal with relish. If there is not time to make the powder, her tooth may serve as a temporary mortar. The man has claim to rice put in the curry powder among others, the privilege of the wife. The husband eats from the rice basket and the wife from the pot itself.

Should the Pulayan sleep in some other hut and come back in the morning, his wife does not even touch the remains of what he has eaten for a whole day because she suspects that he has been unfaithful to the marriagetie. It is the privilege of the wife to eat the remains of what the husband has eaten. It is very wrong for wives to laugh and jibe with other men, or to take betel-leaves or toddy from them. I may mention here that the younger brother or nephew marries the wife of a deceased elder brother or uncle.

(1) *Utensils*. 1 wooden mortar, 2 pestles, 1 earth pot, 2 pans, 2 winnowing fans, a fish-basket for each wife, a cocoanut shell to serve for salt-seller, a large bag; two kinds of sickles and a bag for them; a coir net-work for keeping pans; a basket for keeping clothes and rags; a wooden comb two mats, a *Puttil* or lay basket each for man and wives and small ones for the children, 2 big baskets, 2 small baskets, wages baskets, betel baskets, a basket for keeping fish and other accompaniments to toddy, a sowing basket, a measuring basket, a basket for giving seed to wild ducks, (after the sowing is over some seed and earth are thrown in the four corners of the field with the words, let wild ducks and hawks be out and the goddess of prosperity in); a rice-basket-the Pulays's plate--, small mats for children, a basket each for keeping powdered bran. a basket for keeping the small quantity of rice for the children's tiffin when parents are wealthy and a number of other baskets.

Occupation. Some few have small pieces of land of their own which they cultivate. But the overwhelming majority are day-labourers, practically, though not in theory, slaves to the soil.

Work in the fields begins about the middle of june. The head serf or slave plants an aloe in a corner of the field and work begins. The men got a measure and a half of paddy and the women one measure per day. A measure of paddy costs from 6 to 10 pies. For about ten days they gather materials for the dykes, and then till about the middle of July they are employed in making the dykes. This is in the *Puncha* fields which are practically always under water. But there are two other sorts, the *Mundakan*, in a high level which is never under water, and the *Virippa* which is immersed in water in the rainy season. In August and September they work in these two kinds of fields. In October the Mundaka fields are sown. In November and December the *Puncha* is prepared by pumping water out and then sown. The women do the weeding, standing in mud, waist deep. In January the growing stalks are transplanted. In February and March the high level fields are reaped; in March and April, the Puncha. There will be no work for two or three months.

Until harvest they live from day to day. When they get some savings in harvest they manage to devise various ways of wasting it. Now is the time for making offerings to their gods and to the Hindu deities, for celebrating marriages, friendships, &c., for going to law about 'woman quarrels', for calling in the exorciser, and for social feasts and dances. Thus all too soon the Pulayan's savings are exhausted, and then, till the monsoon is over, he is at a hard pinch where in that to satisfy his hunger. The wife goes out and kneeling in water, gathers in her basket, any grains that may still be lying. She also catches fish and makes baskets, mats &c., for sale.

Harvest. There are some curious customs connected with harvest which may be mentioned. The head serf asks the master whether he may not 'catch' reaping, and their bowing to the east puts the sickle to the stalks. The first sheaf is reserved for the god of the master, and the second for the Gods of the serf.

Threshing. The head takes a few stalks of corn from the god's sheaf and sprinkles toddy on them. Another Pulayan does the same thing for the sheaves of the various reapers, saying, as he does so "Come, threshed corn, increase." This is called *filling the threshing floor or feeding the spirit of the threshing floor.* Each man threshes his own sheaves. When it is over, the head serf puts his master's God's sheaf in the centre of the floor, and his own outside, in order that the two deities may look kindly on. The *measuring* is done by the head serf, who has the privilege of doing it seated. He has two helpers. He says 'come, paddy, increase, increase,' and then counts, 'God, paddy one,' 'paddy two,' and so on until he comes to the 'full measure ten.' The eleventh is the share of the reaper. Out of this a handful is taken and kept in a special basket. Half of what is thus obtained falls to the head serf, his two helpers, and the watchers. The other half is given away in charity to all and sundry who flock to the threshing place. Yet it is not altogether charity. It is not regarded as degrading to the receiver and the poorer men of the neighbourhood think that they have a *claim* to this share—perhaps due to a dim recollection of the old tribal ownership (1).

Social Condition.

Before Travancore came under English protection the lot of the Pulaya was barely endurable. Even as late as 1850 a Missionary writes to the '*Church Missionary Intelligences*,' "Their persons are at the disposal of their masters. They are bought and sold like cattle. Their owners had formerly the power to flog them, and enchain them, and in some cases maim and even kill them. Now these things are not sanctioned by law, but they have no means of obtaining legal redress against their masters. Their pay varies from *one pie and a half to seven pies*, paid in corn. They

(1) The *shares* after harvest of a hundred parah field may be given, the head serf and the watchman get 10 sheaves each, the latter under these heads, for his hut, 3, for his watch-hut 2, for watching 5, besides 2 for his god and spirits. The owner of the plough-buffalo gets a big sheaf; also the chogan who supplied the workers with toddy; the various smiths get a small sheaf each; the measurer gets 10 measures of paddy and the two basket men,' a basketful each. The gleaned sheaves are distributed among the male workers and the unripe stalk sheaves among the female workers.

are sold in low countries for 6 Rs. a head, but in *Mallapalli* and in high lying parts, for 18 Rs. and more."

Long after slavery was abolished in England it existed in this outlying dependency. It was only in 1853 that a tardy recognition of their liberty was obtained from an unwilling Government. But the Royal Proclamation was not effective. The Pulayan could not approach a Law Court and the executers of justice were high caste Hindus, ill-educated. A second Proclamation of liberty was needed in 1854 and a circular order in 1858.

After the second Proclamation the condition of the Pulayas has been slowly improving. Mission work began among them in 1851, with the usual difficulties. The owners felt that education meant freedom, and tried to crush it. But the work prospered. Even as late as 1862 Mr. Baker refers to horrible cruelties practised on them. In 1870 Mr. Maddox writes that they got the right to use the public roads and to approach the courts, and that the slavish language was not required by Government. But even in 1882 these privileges were not practically realized.

Present condition. Their present condition is not uniform. In Missionary centres and in places where the fountains of justice are not currupt they enjoy considerable liberty as against their masters. But in other places the Proclamations are by no means fully operative. The great majority of them are still owned by masters, practically, though not in theory, as bound to the soil. Their long subjection has had such an influence on their character, that an enancipated man generally wanders restless until he finds another Master. Except in towns they are still made to run away at the approach of a highcaste man.

Physique, Habits &c.

In physique the Pulaya is much inferior to the Pariah, who eats carrion. But he is tough and enduring. The *Stature* and *features* have already been described.

His *habits* are not cleanly. He is his own washerman and baber and wears the same cloth until it falls off in shreds. He has a strong stench and his clothes are often covered with vermin.

Here, as elsewhere, Missionary influence has been a purifying and an elevating force.

Intelligence. His intelligence is not of a high order. Boys learn rapidly at school, but development stops very soon. It should be said, however, that those who work among them are divided on this point. There are some who hold that they are equal to the Syrian Christians, while one clergyman who has had a great deal to do with them has been heard jocularly to express grave doubt as to whether the Pulayan has a soul at all. There is not enough material to draw conclusions from. This education has hitherto been exceedingly elementary. One or two only have been better educated. There is a Pulaya clergyman in Malabar, and a Pulaya woman is an efficient lady doctor in a Dufferin Hospital. Very recently a few Pulaya boys have been taught carpentry and their Superintendent bears testimony to their manual dexterity. We may therefore waive pronouncing a decided opinion.

Character. About their character something more definite may be said. Like all low and slavish people, they live under the dominion of custom and impulse. They do not forecast the distant future, or make provision even for the near future. But these things are excusable in a race which has been in slavery for centuries as also slavish and cowardly habits. But they are regarded as more gentle and docile than the hard hearted Pariah. They are also faithful to their Masters. They are not robbers, but petty larceny is common, and is not regarded as very wrong. The Pulaya serf claims and speaks of his Master's property as his own. The Census report of 1875 bears remarkable testimony to their character as an extremely useful and hardworking race and as sometimes distinguished by a rare character for truth and honour which their superiors in the caste scale might well emulate.

They are exceedingly grateful for small acts of kindness done to them. They are very obedient to authority, and very ready to bring offerings— often considerable offerings— to churches and priests. They deserve to be educated and taken care of.

Means of Amelioration. It does not fall within the scope of this paper to suggest means of ameliorating the condition of the Pulayas. The scheme, already noted, of teaching them the industrial arts seems to be a step in the right direction. The same thing cannot be said of the attempts made to give a higher education to some few of them. So sudden a rise will only make the head dizzy and can have little or no influence on the 'immersed' multitude. All schemes should be as comprehensive as possible and should aim at a slow but steady advance. The Pulayan should be tought to respect himself. Steps should be taken to make him practically realize his freedom, that is, in his present condition, to make him really a free labourer. What has already been done in elementary education should be steadily continued and made more thorough and efficient. Generations hence, perhaps, but still in the end, the Pulayan may then be expected to take his place among the other communities of India.

MUBTALA.

(Continued.)

Chapter XVII.

Discussion on Plurality of Wives.

Some days after the incidents recorded in the previous chapter had occurred, Arif calling as usual to see Mubtala, found him thoughtful and preoccupied. This rather surprised him and he inquired to know if he had got into any difficulty and whether he could be of any use. This was the opportunity that Mubtala wished for and he at once replied that he contemplated taking a second wife.

Arif was quite startled. "What, another wedding? Is it true?"

Mubtala—Yes, certainly, am I not a man after all to enjoy joys and sorrows as others? My days are numbered and my youth is fast ebbing away, and I propose to fill with pleasure and comfort the little of it that is still left to me. Man is not born again and he must make the most of his opportunities and live a life of enjoyment.

Arif—You are quite right and all the world would agree with you. Their aim has also been to improve their comforts, but the point is whether the comfort you aim at is at all really such and whether it was properly gained.

Mubtala—I have thought over it and settled it to my satisfaction.

Arif—I am afraid you are not right. We are but patients in the hands of the Law-giver who is our doctor. We should faithfully carry out his prescriptions or we would be killed by our own hands.

Mubtala.—Depend on it that I have thought of another wedding only according to law. Did I not say that my wedding was to be lawful. It is another thing, if I had thought of taking a fifth wife or having a mistress.

Arif.—Will you tell me your opinion regarding plurality of wives.

Mubtala.—I am not fit to sit at your feet amongst your students. How could I explain my decision to you? The law as to plurality

of wives is based on that well-known verse of the Koran, namely: "If you are afraid that you will not do justice to fatherless children, you can marry of the women, two, three and four according to your desire."

Arif.—But in a prior portion it is also stated: "If you are afraid that justice will not be dealt out to all of them, marry only one wife."

Again in the same *Sura* it is also stated: "With all your desire, you will not be able to deal out justice amongst the women. So do not be on one side only and leave the other hanging unsupported."

Now reading the two commandments together, viz. marry one wife if you cannot do justice; and as it is impossible for you to do justice to all, the only inference possible seems to be as has been pointed out by a recent author on the subject that you may marry but one wife.

Mubtala.—It is only such commentaries of the Koran that have created all these religious differences. The prophet and his companions, their companions and many religious men as well, have enjoyed, the privilege of marrying more than one wife although they should be allowed to know the Koran better than any of us. They understood the spirit of the religion far better than we do and this inference never suggested itself to them that plurality of Nikahs was prohibited by law. The "justice" referred to in the second verse quoted by you—is *absolute* or *real* justice which it is not possible for man to do. Hence it is said "administration of real justice is impossible for you but do not go to the other extreme to attach yourself to one woman and leave the other hanging in the air." It is plain, that besides *absolute* justice, there is common justice also, which is of a lower kind and which demands that man should not shut himself up with the favoured one to the neglect of the others but should take care of the others also. If my uncle had been here, he would also have helped me in the subject. I investigated the problem with Moulvi Muhammad Faki and have kept carefully the reply for his perusal.

As I understand it, justice in the verse "If you are afraid &c."

refers to "common justice." And hence the verse means "If you are afraid that you will not be able to deal out even common justice you should attach yourself wholly to one woman." Of course if it is absolute justice that is referred to in that passage, I admit that your point is gained. But if God had intended to prohibit plurality of wives, why should he have used this way of logic at all? A distinct commandment against it would have been more appropriate rather than say "have one wife if you cannot do real justice, and real justice is not within possibility."

Arif— No doubt, Moulvi Muhammad Faki has investigated this point very minutely, and you have understood him correctly. But the reference to the Prophet is not correct. These verses refer to his followers and with regard to himself, there is a distinct verse in the *Sura of Akbrah*.

"Oh Prophet—we have made all your marriages legal for which you have given away the Mahar."

There was no restriction to four wives on the Prophet; and God did not impose absolute justice on him, although he fully dealt out justice amongst his wives. There is also the verse in the same *sura* which says: "Separate yourself from any of your wives as you like, give preference to any of them as you like, and call back those separated from you, again, as you like. There is no sin on you." Similarly the Prophet was allowed to marry without the Mahar. These things fall within the mysteries of Prophetship. When a point is distinctly made out in the "Book of God", we have no necessity to go for testimony to the doings and sayings of any "elder." Secondly, these are all personal affairs. Unless we are minutely acquainted with the conditions, necessities and temperaments of men, we cannot express any opinion good or bad. Further when they enjoyed this liberty they did not hinder the liberties of their women. Their *Nikah* was not an engagement for life, like ours, a little unpleasantness; and the man and woman resorted to divorce and separation! Their mahars were also small, no blemish attached to separation; no scandal arose on remarriage. Their liberty was therefore justifiable. Can we follow in their line when our wives are immured for life within the four walls of the

zenana without a shadow of liberty, where their lives are little better than those of slaves. But apart from this, do we not find that even they were not free from the domestic unpleasantness which arises through plurality of *Nikahs*.

Mubtala—what happiness have I enjoyed in life till now?

Arif—If so, you wish to foment a scalded person; you will only add to your misery.

Mubtala—we shall think of evils when they come. Why take thought of the future and sully the present.

Arif—I have then only to say that you are doing harm to yourself. It is a pity that I am not able to do more on account of Muttaki Sahib.

Chapter XVIII.

Mubtala's second wife Hariyali, introduced into his household.

The idea of this second marriage had taken such a firm hold on Mubtala that he was "like one possessed" in those days. As soon as Arif had turned his back on him, he went straight to the Begum, where he got himself worse entangled in the net prepared for him by the artful woman. It was her wish, that he should take her under his protection and maintain her without entering into any legal relationship; but this, Mubtala was unwilling to accede to. The good advice of Muttaki and Arif had so far prevailed that he considered any such arrangement without Nikah was sinful. He accordingly sent for two of the students, who were receiving instruction in a mosque in the neighbourhood, and ordered them to prepare for the service of Nikah. The Mahar was still a matter of difficulty, Mubtala insisting on the *Shara Mahar*, while the Begum would not agree to less than the Mahar of Ghirat Begum. For, was she not to be a wedded wife even like her? The discussion was waxing high when the Moulvi Sahib who had come to perform the service interfered and proposed to them to meet half way and agree on the *Mahari Misil*. Mubtala almost submitted but the Begum would have none of this for obvious reasons. Where was the *Mahari*

* Mahari Misil is the Mahar of the grand-mother and paternal aunts of the bride.

Misil for her, whose grand-mother and aunts were but professional hirelings and never dreamed of nikahs? At last, making a virtue of necessity she submitted to the Mahar-shara observing that a wife should form her house in the husband's affection and that one who got ascendency through the *Mahar* was not worthy of her position. What "a magic-reading" were those, words, for no sooner were they uttered, than doubts and fears assailed Mubtala from all sides. The first disclosure that the Begum made to him after the *Nikah* was to the effect that the house in which she lived was, as he knew, a rented one, and that all the furniture and articles with her, even her Jewels and clothes, were not her own. They belonged to her aunt who was then staying with her. The aunt insisted that she should enter into no legal bonds; and as the Begum had disregarded her wishes, she would not, for anything consent to stay with her any longer. "Take me along with you any where" said she "and I am ready to come—you will no doubt, make me many garments and precious jewels; but for the present you will have to give a suit of clothes of your own, as the one I have on, is not mine. If you wish to have me stay here for three or four days longer, go and take permission of my aunt, as for my part I am ashamed to appear before her.

Mubtala was in a great hurry for the *Nikah*, but the fool had never taken a moment's thought as to where he would lodge his new wife and how he would manage the second house. Now that he learnt the Begum had come on his hands without any possessions, he felt annoyed; and did not find the same warmth for her, which he used to shew in former visits. Delicacy and shame forbad his openly admitting to the Begum his inability to support a second household and he arose to his feet intimating that he would come for her and that she should be prepared to accompany him when he returned. As long as he was with her, he could hit upon no plans for her accommodation but on emerging from the house, the idea struck him, that he could leave her with Ghirat Begum herself. The matter could not be kept secret very long and what did it matter if the truth came out a day earlier so long as she had inevitably to know it. With these thoughts, he was wending his way home,

when suddenly he came upon two women of his house-hold, one the maid-servant, and the other the wet-nurse, who carried his infant daughter in her arms. When he met them thus his fears took a new direction and he anticipated that perhaps news of his Nikah had got wind and reached the ears of Ghirat Begum, and that she had immediately left for her brother's house with these women following her with his child. To his anxious inquiries the servant said that the child was very ill and that for the last ten days the fever had been continuous and the child had not opened her eyes since last night. The evil eye was so severe that time that the child had not taken the breast since the afternoon. Mubtala was friend with a doctor and he took the child to him. The doctor said that the fever was very high, but there was no cause for fear as the child was only teething. He lanced the gums, and prescribed some mixture to be given every two hours. The child began to recover and all returned home pleased and happy. When they approached the house, Mubtala took the child from the nurse and contrary to his habit entered with it in his arms. His son now three and a half years old had such a lovely face that the passers-by would not go their way without kissing him and he spoke sweet little words like the *Mina* of Bengal. But he had no attractions for Mubtala who scarcely ever troubled himself about either of his children. He never used to take them in his arms or fondle them nor did he show them any sign of affection. The unusual sight of Mubtala carrying the child in his arms astonished the mother and her joy knew no bounds; She ran up to receive the child, remarking that she was sent to be breathed on by the Shah Sahib, and he should not have brought her back; to which Mubtala replied—"Do you know that she is only cutting her teeth. When I took her to the doctor he lanced the gums and wanted to give a mixture for fever. Send him a bottle, and God willing, fever will abate to-night; the teeth have already appeared."

Ghirat Begum—Ha! cut open the Gum!

Mubtala—Oh! There is nothing to fear. Ask the nurse—the child was not even aware of the pricking, and took milk immediately.

Ghirat Begum, opening and examining the child's mouth, called out "Batool! Batool!" The child recognizing the mother's voice opened its eyes and smiled—"The difficulty with little children" said she "is that they cannot let us know their pain and how can we know it? People thought it was the evil-eye. If there was an elderly person in the house, she would have known all these. When children become ill, I get fluttered. It is now evening and no preparations have been made for meals. The time for mutton is past. May I make egg-curry?"

Mubtala—Make whatever you like, but for God's sake employ a skilful woman.

Ghirat Begum.—There is a scarcity of servants in the town. Those who are fit, employ themselves in making lace or sewing clothes. Those who do not like labour, put on * *burka* and go a begging from door to door.

Mubtala.—In my opinion, you do not require a servant so much as a stewardess, who should take care of your house and children.

Ghirat Begum.—Cannot you look out for such a woman yourself.

Mubtala.—Would you employ her, if I bring her? What pay would you give her?

Ghirat Begum.—Undoubtedly, I shall employ her and give her Rs. 5, with meals and clothes.

Mubtala.—Well, this will suffice. But you should be courteous to her. A woman of Lucknow, through some mishap has settled down here. If you give her a suit of your old clothes, I shall give it to her and bring her here.

Receiving the clothes he hastened back to the Begum and explained to her the ruse by which he proposed to introduce her into his house, "I know her well enough" said he. "She is deficient not only in looks but also in the head. You could easily judge of the latter by her trusting to me to bring in a *woman*. As to her face, you will very soon see for yourself how plain it is. You will have

* A sheet of cloth covering the whole body and the face but with small apertures for the eyes to look through.

to put up with menial service in the beginning for a few days. But in course of time things will come round and you will soon find yourself the head of the house. She should play second fiddle or return to her own people."

Thus putting on Ghirat Begum's old suit, Hariyali (for that was her name) went to his house, but reserved and stooping, like a gentle lady. Mubtala had not courage enough to introduce her to his wife, but called out at the door. "Lo, Madam, here is the stewardess" and went to his rooms.

Although she came like a servant, she went and sat down abashed and stooping like a bride; which drew the attention of the women to her, the more so that she tried to hide herself. It being night, Ghirat Begum called for light to see her face and lo! to her astonishment, it was a young woman that she discovered, with face tinselled, hair plaited and interlaced with silver strings, with black in the eyes, and the blue * *missi* on the lips, relieved with the redness of the betel-leaf. Her clothes were also well perfumed. As soon as she looked into her face, she fell back, with a cry and exclaimed. "Oh what sort of a maid servant is this! She is some wretched dancing-girl." An uproar being raised, the women of the neighbouring houses came in. Some pulled away her sheet, some plucked her hair, and the children would have pinched her muscles, if she had remained a little longer there. But a kind-hearted lady led her by the hand to the door saying "Gentle lady-bride, take the way that you have come by. The lady of this house is too good-natured, other ladies would have cut off your nose and hair." Mubtala overheard all this, sometimes frowning, sometimes smiling, and said when the Begum came out "Why did you show so much reserve? If you had gone forward straight no body would have noticed you. However stay here, and I shall go and play them a trick. Beware how you do your work and betray my connexion with you." Saying this, he entered the house alone and enquired after the child's health. The nurse replied that she was better; the mixture given had caused profuse perspiration and her

* Missi is a powder which applied to the teeth and lips render them blue-black. It is included in the toilet of the Moslem women in the East.

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All contributions, books for review, &c., should be addressed to the EDITOR, Egmore, Madras.

All remittances and communications about Advertisements should be forwarded to the PUBLISHERS, Mount Road, Madras.

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SRINIVASA, VARADACHARI & CO.,
Publishers, "The Madras Review."
No. 4, Mount Road, Madras.

Vol. II. No. 6.

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

AUGUST, 1896.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS, 1 - SEP. 96

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Madras:

PRINTED AT THE VYJAYANTI PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE,
AND
PUBLISHED BY SRINIVASA VARADACHARI & CO., MOUNT ROAD.

1896.

Editorial Office, Egmore, Madras.

Annual Subscription with Postage Rs. 7.

Price per Copy Rupees 2.

THE

MADRAS REVIEW.

Vol. II. AUGUST 1896. No. 6.

CONCENTRATION IN FOREIGN POLITICS.

As we have now come to a parting of the ways it may be advisable to reconsider, what Foreign Policy may best benefit England. The first thing then to be considered is are we strong enough to stand by ourselves and are we ready to make the sacrifices such isolation requires? Probably both these questions can be answered in the affirmative; but while any doubt remains it is not advisable to run the exceeding great risk demanded by such a policy which entails the ill-will and dislike of the rest of Europe. Sentiment should be the last thing to enter into the choice of a national line of policy. Nothing should be considered but the ultimate good of England. It is vain to seek to please all parties, as we have hitherto been doing, with the natural result of displeasing all. Europe is divided into two great parties, represented by Germany on the one side and France on the other. Hitherto we have been urged to throw in our lot with the Germans as our kinsmen and friends, and against France as our hereditary enemy. The recent troubles in the Transvaal have shown us how much value to attach to the friendship, the one sided frindship of our cousins-German. I will endevour to show

in these pages that the ultimate interest of England is not to be found in a policy of isolation, nor in an alliance with the central European Powers, but rather in an alliance with France and Russia, even though such a policy requires a breaking with all the traditions of perhaps the most glorious pages of our past history.

To begin with there are only three powers in the world which can injure England in the event of war, the United States, France, and Russia. A war with the United States would mean, even if successful, such a loss of wealth, strength, and power, as to imperil our position as a great European Power. Defeat would entail the loss of Canada and all our other American possessions, to say the least. No matter what the provocation, a war with the United States should be avoided at any sacrifice of pride and prestige. We have only two possessions on the American mainland, Guiana and Honduras, neither of them worth the price of a rupture. To settle the Venezuelan dispute we might offer to sell Guiana and Honduras to the United States. I do not mention Canada, as it is to all intents and purposes, a self-governing Republic, with whom Newfoundland will coalesce sooner or later. We have no right to expose the Canadians to all the horrors of an invasion, over a boundary dispute with Venezuela or Honduras, with which they have no concern. Even our West Indian Islands are, nowadays, of no very great importance, and retained principally for the benefit of a few thousand Negroes. The results of a war between England single-handed and France and Russia, in alliance, would be nearly as disastrous, successful or the reverse, as with the United States. The one country in the world, which has every thing to lose, and nothing to gain from even the most successful great war, is England. The Central European powers, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary, are perhaps the two countries from which the least harm can come, even in the event of war, to English interests. If what I have stated is true then the ultimate good of England is to be sought by coming to a thorough, complete, and radical understanding with France and Russia. This can only be done by a policy of give and take, and a re-arrangement of mutual interests, now, of a somewhat conflicting nature.

The great mistake England made in the past has been the bolstering up of the Turkish Empire. The recent Armenian

massacres have pretty well convinced the whole British Nation of the folly of such a policy. We are never again likely to fight Russia for any Turkish interest whatever; not even Constantinople, which is more the concern of Austria, than of ourselves. The cause of our present weakness, which more or less ties our hands at every little crisis, is our presence in the Mediterranean Sea. Malta, Cyprus, and Egypt are a source of weakness, and not of strength. However strong our Mediterranean Fleet, our merchant-men can never use this route in time of war. Keeping a powerful fleet in this inland sea is like fighting with one hand tied behind our back; for the ships and garrisons locked up therein would be of very much more use to us elsewhere. By making over Malta to Italy, we would enable that country to rid itself of the Papal Question by setting up the Pope in Malta as an independent prince; thus bringing about a solution of the Roman Question that would be gratifying to all Europe. Cyprus by rights should fall to Greece. Gibraltar could be exchanged with Spain for the Canary Islands, which would be of very much more use to us in connection with the Cape Route, the only route to the East, that we could use in time of war. England can never be free, strong, and independent while she has Mediterranean interests that embroil us with France, whose dream is to convert this inland sea into a French Lake.

Let us then come to terms with France by gratifying her ambition to have her colonial possessions all near home in a ring fence. Let us tell her, "we will offer no objections to your taking Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, and Morocco, and their African Hinterland; we offer no objection to your acquiring all Northern and Central Africa, and all our colonies and protectorates therein, in exchange for concessions and Trade facilities elswhere; your Southern African boundary shall begin at Cape Elba on the Red Sea, thence southwards to the Upper Bend of the Nile, below Latitude 20° North at Abbu Hammed, keeping on southward to the West of the mile, with the left bank as boundary, till the Bahrel Ghazal is reached at Longitude 30° East. From this place, a little to the South West of the intersection of Longitude 30° East by Latitude 10° North, to the North Eastern corner of the Congo Free State; we will offer no objection to your possessing the whole of the Congo Free State by purchase, or otherwise; by this arrangement the

Mediterranean will become a French Lake, and all Northern and Central Africa a French Colony at your own door; in return we shall ask you for certain trade facilities, and to make over to us your African possessions near Perim, Madagascar, New Caledonia and Hebrides; and all your possessions in Indo China, *viz.*, Cambodia, Anam, Siam, Tongking, and Chinese Shan States." It will be objected that we are offering France much that does not belong to us. This is true, but then, but for our opposition, they would long ago have become French. Our policy towards France in the past has been very much that of the dog in the manger, and hence accountable for much of our unpopularity with the French.

As regards Russia a similar policy might be pursued. We should tell her, "we will raise no objection to your taking all Turkey in Asia, except Syria, which would go to France, and Southern and Central Arabia, which would come to us; you may also take Constantinople itself without any objection from us; neither do we object to your taking all Persia, except Persian Seistan, which we require to round off our Indian boundaries; all to the north of the Hindu Khush, you may have, including Afghan Turkestan and Herat, which by right is Persian; Tibet comes into our sphere of influence, but all Chinese possessions North and East of the Gobi Desert are yours; you are also welcome to Manchuria and Corea; in return you must allow us to retain the Western Provinces of China, Yunnan, Sechnen and Kansee, up to the Great Wall, which have a Mahomedan population; your sphere of influence lies North of the Great Wall, ours lies South. By this arrangement we divide Asia between us."

I have said before, it would be advisable for us to rid ourselves of all our American possessions, even of the Falkland Islands, to say nothing of the West India Islands. As the United States have shown no alacrity to purchase the Danish West India Islands, probably they would not care to purchase any of our American possessions. Sooner than keep them, it might be advisable to exchange them with the Germans for their possessions in Africa and Australia. As regards the Portuguese possessions in Africa, probably some day they would come into the market, and we might acquire them by purchase. Italy will have some day to rid herself of her African possessions to escape bankruptcy. We might then

either buy them, or acquire them in exchange for Malta. Canada is to all intents and purposes an Independent republic; if she ever wants to become one in name as well as reality, we should never stand in her way. If we communicated this resolve to the United States it might save some future unpleasantness. Even if Canada wished to become part of the United States, we ought to offer no objection to her so doing. As I said before we have no right to expose Canada to the horrors of a war with the United States for mere sentimental reasons.

It will be objected that all countries coming under the influence of France and Russia would be closed to our trade. That is true as things are at present; but if we can come to terms with France and Russia with regard to territorial spheres of influence, we can also come to an arrangement for mutually facilitating each other's trade. Of course it will become an affair of give and take, and we may have to somewhat modify our present free trade policy. When we enter into alliance with these two powers we shall find them anxious to cement the alliance by mutual trade facilities, and other reciprocities.

The population of England requires large colonial and other possessions for trade purposes. What we have at present we hold with difficulty, because we are not on good terms with France and Russia. Once we are in a firm and lasting alliance with these two powers, we could easily manage our possessions, even if increased threefold. By coming to terms with France and Russia we divide with them Asia and Africa. Could we by any other arrangement get such vast possessions for our trade? Between the three of us we could throw open the whole of China to our trade, each on equal terms with the others. It will be long before Russia can compete with us as a manufacturing nation, and meanwhile she will remain one of our best customers. Under the rule of Russia, the population of Asia, especially of the provinces now depopulated under Turkish misrule, will largely increase. The crying want of England is sound investment for her surplus capital. That Russia can provide us with in Asia. In firm alliance with France and Russia, we divide the Eastern Hemisphere between us and dominate it. We can prevent any future war and can compel the civilization of the now savage countries of the world. Such an alliance must make for

peace and progress. In a similar manner the United States could impose peace and good government on the Western Hemisphere. In course of time the smaller States of Europe would gravitate towards us. Probably Italy would join us from the first, followed later by Austro-Hungary. Germany would become isolated in Europe, and would be compelled to come to a fair and mutually-satisfactory settlement with France and ourselves. After this, the disarmament of Europe would commence, and the heavy burden of militarism oppress the world no more, paving the way to an industrial millennium. For once impose civilization and education on the whole world, and the millennium must come in the self-interest of all.

Kulu-Kangra-Panjab. A. BANON.

FIVE YEARS' MUNICIPAL WORK
IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

IF there is one branch of administration, in which Lord Wenlock's Government stands forth more conspicuously than others, it is that relating to sanitation. The period of last five years has been one of unprecedented effort and activity in sanitary work. During Lord Wenlock's term of office municipal work has made a vast stride in comparison with any previous administration.

The most significant progress is that noticed in water-supply works. They stand as permanent landmarks of Lord Wenlock's regime in this Presidency. It is true that circumstances had placed with Lord Wenlock's Government the requisite and proper machinery for the execution of such works. But the establishment of an executive agency was not in itself the panecea necessary to stimulate sanitary progress. The chief stumbling block in the way of sanitary advancement in this country is want of funds, and, when Government had smoothed the way in this direction by liberal contributions and loans on easy terms, there yet remained two other obstacles to overcome.

The first of these two obstacles was the want of perception, on the part of the people, of the benefits accruing from a public water-supply. "What was good for our forefathers is good enough for us," is a conviction that still remains unshaken in the hearts of the Indians, notwithstanding the partial spread of education in this country. The uneducated Indian considers it a hardship to have his taxes enhanced for works the utility of which he does not see and which he does not require. How deep prejudice is against all reforms that touch the purse of the people, is illustrated by a very wide spread movement, in one of the wealthiest and prominent towns of Southern India, to resist the introduction of a water-supply.

In some instances this prejudice was partially uprooted under the advice of the more intelligent members of the community.

There yet remained another fence to cross. The municipalities required an assurance that the works would prove a success. There are so many elements of doubts and uncertainty to provide against in designing water-supply works, that in regard to the majority of the schemes the engineer is diffident of predicting an unqualified success. For three reasons surface sources cannot be utilised to any great extent in Southern India. There are the precariousness of rainfall, the absence of perennially flowing rivers or streams, and the flat nature of the country which affords few facilities for the construction of reservoirs of sufficient depth and capacity. To shew how far the precariousness of rainfall surrounds the question of water-supply with uncertainty, it suffices to say, that while in England about 180 days supply is the maximum storage considered necessary, in this country it is a generally accepted rule that reservoirs for water-supply to towns shall be capable of holding a two years' supply with object of securing a sufficient supply in years of copious rainfall so that it may compensate for deficient supply in dry years. The absence of rivers constantly charged with water deprives the Southern Presidency of a source of supply which is available to towns in Northern India. Northern India is traversed by the Indus and the Brahmaputra, which are fed by the eternal snows of the Himalayas, and never run dry. Almost every town of importance in Northern India is situate on one of these rivers or their affluents, and a sure and never failing supply is available. The only two rivers in this Presidency, that have water running throughout the year, are the Kistna and the Godavary. These two rivers serve, however, only a remote and small limb of the Presidency. The rivers crossing the major and more important portions of the territory run dry except for three or four months of the year. Of the nine schemes completed or in progress in this part of India, only three have surface sources; the remaining six depend upon underground supplies. Though the latter supply is often the only one available in the majority of towns, no more dependence can be placed on this source than on surface sources. The impossibility of a proper examination of an underground source renders an accurate computation of the water available difficult. The test usually made in this connection can scarcely ever be sufficiently

extended to assure that absolute degree of certainty which is desirable. Even though a large number of borings, may have revealed the direction and general nature of the subterranean flow, nothing short of prolonged pumping under actual conditions in the schemes can furnish a safe basis for an estimate of capacity. With so many elements of uncertainty hemming the question of sources of water-supply in this Presidency, it is not altogether unexpected, that there should be a case or two where somewhat unsatisfactory results have been indicated, although perhaps no actual failure can be shown.

The benefits accruing from public water-supplies are so palpable, that prejudice and opposition give way easily once the works are established. The works already constructed have gone far to fortify other municipalities with confidence as to their practicability and utility. One town's enterprise in the matter of water-supply has stimulated action in other towns. Indeed some of the municipalities are now moving in the matter on their own initiative. This is a very hopeful sign, and there is but little doubt, that the work, which Government has realised within the past five years with an infinite amount of trouble, will progress apace in future years.

Progress has also been manifested in every other object of municipal administration.

The town of Srivilliputtur was constituted a municipality on the 1st of October 1894, thus raising the number of municipalities administered under the District Municipal Act to 56.

The average incidence of municipal taxation per head of the population advanced from as. 11-7 to as. 13-10. The ordinary revenue rose from Rs. 16·7 lakhs in 1890-91 to Rs. 21·6 lakhs in 1894-1895. The accession of Rs. 4·9 lakhs to the ordinary revenue of municipalities is due to natural expansion, to the addition of a new municipality, to the introduction of water tax in towns where water works have been constructed, to the revision of taxes, and to greater energy displayed in their collection. The special receipts such as loans and grants from Government, which formed the most substantial addition to the total receipts under income, were Rs. 5·4 lakhs in 1894-95, while they were only 1·6 lakhs in 1890-91. The total

receipts of 1894-95 exceeded those of 1890-91 by 8·7 lakhs. During the five years ending 31st. March 1896, municipalities obtained loans to the extent of Rs. 9·2 lakhs and grants to the extent of Rs. 19·4 lakhs, while the respective figures for the preceding five years were Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs 4·3 lakhs. The whole sum of Rs. 28·6 lakhs, representing grants and loans, was utilised in the construction of drainage and water works. The policy of Government has been to help municipalities with a moiety of the cost of the water-supply and drainage works they are willing to undertake, and advance the balance as loan repayable in 30 years with interest at 4¼ per cent. The credit of mofussil municipalities is not high, and even the most flourishing amongst them could not have hoped to raise money in the open market on terms nearly as favourable as those offered by Government. Notwithstanding the inducement of a grant equal to half the cost of the works, the facilities for obtaining loans, and the very favourable terms on which these loans can be obtained, several municipalities have found it impossible to so husband their resources as to enable them to pay the interest and sinking fund on even a moiety of the cost of the works. This matter engaged the attention of Lord Wenlock's Government. The means devised for overcoming the difficulty will be noticed under the head of legislation.

The outlay on Municipal Public Works amounted to Rs. 4·6 lakhs in 1890-91 and 10·7 lakhs in 1894-95. The aggregate increase was contributed by increases under all heads of expenditure, but the most noticeable increase was in works of permanent utility such as drainage and water supply. During the period of five years terminating with 1895-96, the expenditure on drainage and water-supply works was 20 lakhs against 4·1 lakhs during the previous five years. The only work of note, executed during the five years ending with 1890-91, was the water-supply of Cuddapah. The succeeding five years have seen the completion of drainage works at Kumbakonam, Coonoor and Ootacamund (Kandal) and water-supply works at Ootacamund (south supply), Madura, Tanjore, and Adoni. In addition to the above, water works were under progress in Trichinopoly, Dindigul, Kurnool, and

Conjeeveram—the first named on the verge of completion at the end of 1895-96. The design and execution of all the above works is due to the Sanitary Engineer's Department of which Mr. J. A. Jones, Mem. Inst. C. E., is the chief.

The total expenditure on roads in 1894-95 was Rs. 2·3 lakhs against 2·6 lakhs in 1890-91. The average expenditure for the five years ending 31st. March 1891 was 2·5 lakhs as compared with 2·4 lakhs, the average of five years succeeding the above date. The total length of roads maintained by the several municipalities was, in 1894-95, 1375 miles, of which 880 were metalled and 495 unmetalled. The corresponding numbers for 1890-91 were 1232, 744 and 488.

The increase in expenditure on roads during the past five years is so meagre, that it does not indicate any improvement in the condition of roads, if indeed it does not shew a retrogression, considering that the length of roads has increased in greater proportion than the expenditure. During the past five years less money has been expended on roads, on an average per mile, than during the period of five years immediately preceding. The obvious conclusion is that roads do not receive the same attention and repairs they did some years ago. The price of both materials and labour has advanced much during recent years, and it is not apparent that there has been any change in the system of road-making such as has reduced the cost thereof while maintaining their efficiency. While the expenditure on every other object of municipal administration has gone up, the expenditure on roads alone has stood level.

Government has recently directed its attention to the deteriorated condition into which Local Fund roads had drifted, and has taken steps to secure such allotments as will prevent them from falling into disrepair and maintain them in a state which their importance demands, by prescribing that in future Local Fund Budgets a sum equal to one half the estimated income from land cess plus the anticipated net receipts from tolls shall be allotted to communications. The same causes, which have led to the neglect and deterioration of Local Fund roads, have apparently been at work in connection with municipal roads. The control of municipal budgets rests with Government. The

Director of Public Instruction, the Surgeon-General and the Sanitary Commissioner, are the advisers of Government in matters pertaining to education, medical services, and sanitation. These officers have a voice in the framing of municipal budgets. Unfortunately public works and roads are not under the guardianship of any officer, who is specially constituted an adviser of Government in this particular branch of municipal work. To satisfy the importunate demands of representatives of education, medical services, and sanitation, money is often alloted for these which of right should be devoted to roads.

The minimum expenditure on municipal roads as prescribed by Government is 50 per cent of the tolls levied. In 1894-95 the expenditure in fourteen towns fell below even this inadequate amount. In 1894-95 the expenditure on roads was 2·6 lakhs, while the amount realised as vehicle tax and tolls amounted to 5·1 lakhs. The expenditure was about 50 per cent of an income, the whole of which might legitimately be expended on roads. It would be advantageous to increase the prescribed minimum expenditure to 75 per cent of the total income from the tax on vehicles and tolls. It is true that municipal roads are not of as great an importance as district roads in the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of the country. District roads are of national importance. The importance of municipal roads is local. Yet bad roads contribute much to the wear and tear of vehicles, and they create more dust, which is adverse to the health of the people. At any rate, improvement in municipal roads must proceed equally with improvement in other municipal work.

The expenditure on education rose from 2·5 lakhs to 3·3 lakhs. At the close of 1894-95 there were 317 municipal schools and colleges, against 231 at the end of 1890-91. The number of pupils attending rose from 12,361 to 20,411. While there were 801 aided schools with 44,006 pupils in 1890-91, there were 820 schools with 49,416 pupils in 1894-95. The improvement in aided schools has not kept pace with that of municipal schools. The paucity of private enterprise in educational operations is rather an unsatisfactory feature of the educational system of this country. Maintenance of schools or aiding private shools is not an obligation imposed by any Act of Parliament on English Municipalities. The provision

for education deprives our municipalities of a large sum of money, which would otherwise be expended on objects conducing to the preservation of health and life, wherein lie the chief object and aim of municipal institutions. In India, where people sadly lack the spirit of self-help, aid to private enterprise in education may to some extent be necessary. But a municipality will have done its duty, if it restricts itself to giving aid to primary education.

The outlay on medical services and sanitation increased from Rs. 6·4 lakhs to Rs. 7·6 lakhs. During 1890-91 the number of patients treated in the various hospitals was 18,028 as in-patients and 817,432 as out-patients. In 1894-95 the numbers that resorted to the hospitals were 22,019 as in-patients and 1,134,232 as out-patients. 95,828 persons were vaccinated in 1894-95 at an average cost per operation of as. 4-2. against 64,087 persons in 1890-91 at an average cost of as. 4-5. The outlay on conservancy increased from Rs. 4·2 lakhs to Rs. 4·8 lakhs.

Minor sanitary works received great impetus by the establishment of a Sanitary Board composed of the Chief Engineer, Public Works Department, the Sanitary Commissioner, and the Sanitary Engineer. The beneficial result of the work of the Sanitary Board has been succintly described by the "*Madras Mail*" in one of its leaders as follows. "The labours of the Sanitary Board are already bearing fruit. Mere enclosures with no internal arrangement other than a sprinkling of sand on a bare floor, which had hitherto served as an apology for latrines, are being gradually replaced by iron structures designed on correct principles. Slaughtering sheds, which might have been well characterised as torturing sheds for sheep and cattle, are disappearing to make room for properly designed abattoirs, where slaughtering may be carried on with a minimum of cruelty and maximum of cleanliness. Wherever new hospitals are being erected they are designed under the guidance and instruction of the Sanitary Board and, as far as funds permit, on the most modern and scientific principles. Improvements are also being introduced in conservancy plant. In fact hardly a new work is erected or new plant bought that does not give an indication of the guiding hand of the Sanitary Board."

Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel King, the present Sanitary Commissioner, has, in the past three years during which he has

held office, made great efforts for resisting epidemics. Through his initiative in the early part of 1895 Government appointed a Committee, consisting of himself, the Hon'ble Mr. Crole, and Surgeon-General Sibthorpe, to draw up a set of rules for working a scheme for combating cholera in municipalities. The following remarks of the "*Hindu*," in one of its leading articles, on the rules elaborated by the Committee are worth quoting. "The rules are not pretentious of much elaborateness or perfection. The task the Committee had before it was to devise a scheme in which efficiency would be combined with economy—a task more difficult and perplexing than the evolution of a perfect and elaborate scheme in which cost is a secondary consideration. It would be over-sanguine to expect that the scheme as promulgated now would combat cholera successfully, especially in towns which do not possess a water-supply. The investigations of Dr. Simpson in India and eminent sanitarians in Europe lead to the conviction that the most potent medium of the spread of cholera is water. No town, however perfect may be its other arrangements for combating cholera, can boast of immunity from the disease as long as it does not possess a pure and uncontaminable water-supply. The introduction of a proper water-supply in a town is more than half the battle against cholera. The present scheme will form a powerful auxiliary in repulsing the inroad of cholera in a town with a protected supply of water, but in the absence of the latter other preventive measures may often avail very little. At no distant date several of the towns in this Presidency will have public water-supplies, and, in the meantime, though we cannot expect that the precautionary measures now laid down will unaided by a good supply of water combat cholera, they may at least be the means of mitigating the ravages of this dire disease. A real beginning has, however, been made and let us trust that the beginning so made will be followed up with system and energy, and that when the aid of water-supplies comes in, it may secure for this part of India that comparative immunity from cholera which more sanitarily advanced countries now enjoy."

Another measure, which the Sanitary Commissioner was instrumental in introducing, was in respect to the organisation of the staff dealing with conservancy and general sanitation. In

most municipalities the idea prevails, that any man with a little knowledge of English is fitted to undertake the duties of a Sanitary Inspector. The belief, that such idea prevails, is warranted, judging by the standard of the so called Sanitary Inspectors usually employed. The duty of a Sanitary Inspector, as usually comprehended in most towns, is the collection and removal of garbage. If this was all, a higher standard of efficiency in Sanitary Inspectors may not be demanded; but, in equal importance to surface cleansing, stand prevention of disease and suppression of nuisances injurious to health. "No man, who has not a technical knowledge of Sanitary Science, is competent to discharge the full duties that fall within the sphere of a Sanitary Inspector's work. In a recent Resolution of the Government of India on the reorganisation of the Sanitary Department, the employment of men, qualified by instruction in Sanitary Science, for the supervision of general sanitary operations has been prominently urged. Before the above Resolution was issued the Government of Madras, acting on the recommendation of the Sanitary Commissioner in which he was supported by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras and the Director of Public Instruction, sanctioned the formation of a class for technical instruction in sanitation. This class was opened early in 1895. A large number of pupils, many of whom were Sanitary Inspectors sent by various municipalities, attended the class. Certificates of qualification are given to successful candidates. It is, therefore, hoped that in a year or two every municipality in this Presidency will have a Sanitary Inspector with a fair technical knowledge of the science of general conservancy and the prevention of epidemics. In this matter Madras takes the lead of other Presidencies.

The endeavour made to further the system of private scavenging has been attended with considerable amount of success. The number of houses served increased from 18,489 to 36,257, within the past five years. Much of this progress is due to Government having in a vigourously written order called the attention of municipalities to the sanitary and financial advantages of private scavenging.

Municipal legislation received a great deal of attention from Lord Wenlock's Government. A bill for the amendment of the

District Municipal Act of 1884 was initiated in 1894. This bill has been on the anvil for the past two years; and, though it had not left the hands of the Government before Lord Wenlock relinquished his appointment, it had been quite formed and shaped and needed but the finishing touches. The long period during which the bill has occupied the attention of Government is indicative of the caution and mature thought bestowed on it, for, it involves significant alterations in relation to taxation and the executive agency of municipalities.

A very important measure, which the bill includes, is the power conferred on the municipalities to appoint paid Secretaries to help Chairmen in their work. Notwithstanding repeated warnings and admonitions from Government, some municipalities had so long continued in their career of mismanagement that the matter at last forced itself upon Government, and when the turn for the election of a new Chairman appeared Government, in some cases, took the opportunity to appoint a paid Chairman. There were very cogent reasons for this action on the part of Government. It was not possible in many cases to find for the office of Chairman a non-official gentleman, who would gratuitously give sufficient time to the affairs of a municipality to enable him to keep its administration up to the standard required. That class of educated men of independent means in England, from which the Mayors, Aldermen and Councillors are drawn, does not exist in this country. Mr. Chamberlain writing on municipal work in England once said that a conscientious member of the Council in an English town devotes a day or two every week to his public work. The Mayor, who enters thoroughly into the spirit of his work, is as fully occupied as any of the paid officials of the Council, and can attend to no other work during his term of office. There are very few Chairmen of municipalities in this counry, who can be credited with devoting so much of their time to municipal work. There are one or two noteworthy instances of Chairmen, who give their best energy and time to Municipal work. But such instances are exceptions and not the rule, and they only serve to bring into more vivid contrast the method in which many other Chairmen work. A very large number of Chairmen belong to the class of Vakils and Lawyers. In saying so no disparagement is implied of

this class of men as to their suitability for such appointments. Considering the inferior quality of Municipal subordinates with whom they have to deal with, and drawbacks, inherent in the people and the country to municipal progress, the work done by some of the Chairmen reflects great credit on them. The lions share of this credit is due, as it happens, to members of the profession of law. A man who follows the vocation of law cannot, however, be expected to entirely sacrifice his private interests for the benefit of a municipality, however much he may be actuated by a public spirit. Generally, the men who secure the position of Chairmen are those on the highest rung of the professional ladder, and therefore over head and ears in their work. It is natural that they cannot devote the time necessary, or even as much as they themselves would desire, to municipal work.

The time was thus imminent when some change in the municipal machinery became imperative. But the conversion of honorary appointments, like those of Chairmen, into remunerative ones was neither a change altogether desirable, nor a policy in sustenance of the progressive movement of Local Self Government. When people strive for such appointments as the Chairmanship of a municipality merely for the honor of it, there is a healthy emulation amongst the candidates which it is desirable to foster. The adoption of any measure, which would curtail the usefulness of voluntary co-operation in municipal Government, is not desirable. Yet the impression grew daily more strong, that some improvement in the Municipal work of several of the towns was necessary. In this dilemma the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao came to the rescue with his proposal to appoint paid Secretaries to help Chairmen in the discharge of their duties.

The new bill does not define the qualifications required of the Secretary, but what is apparently contemplated is a Secretary with qualifications that will fit him for the duties of a revenue officer of a municipality. It is, however, a matter for consideration whether the efficiency of municipal staff will not be raised higher by appointing an engineer officer as secretary. Some municipalities in other Provinces have secretaries, and they are mostly engineers.

Valuation of buildings is the most important and often vexatious duty devolving on the officer assessing taxes, and nobody,

can do this as correctly and expeditiously as an Engineer. Indeed it may be suspected, and not without reason, that the miserably poor increase, that has resulted from the revision of taxes in some municipalities, is mainly attributable to incompetency on the part of the assessing officer to value buildings at their real worth. An intelligent Engineer will very soon learn the work required of a revenue officer, and perhaps by nature of his early training as an Engineer he may eventually make a better revenue officer than a man who is not an Engineer. Moreover, most Councillors are qualified to lend a helping hand in municipal matters pertaining to revenue; but where municipalities need most help at the present juncture is in the control, execution, and maintenance of their public works.

In the earlier stage of municipal government its work comprised little more than the collection of taxes and repairs of roads—matters of mere routine administration. But municipalities are now awakening to the multifarious obligations imposed upon them by modern Sanitary Science in view of the preservation of the health of the people under their jurisdiction. Some of the towns now possess water-suppy works, and more hope to get them in the near future. The Sanitary Board has stimulated the municipalities with the desire of possessing better structures, than they have at present, for latrines, slaughter-houses, hospitals, &c. All these works, both in their construction and working, require the intelligence of better men than are avialable to the municipalities now.

In that comprehensive Resolution of the Government of Lord Dufferin dated 27th, July 1888, which within a period of a few years was destined to achieve in sanitation the far reaching results that are visible now in all the Provinces of India, it is stated that the main obstacles, which have hitherto impeded sanitary improvement in India, lay in the ignorance of the masses and their dislike to any change of custom, in the want of efficient executive agencies, and last though not least in the want of funds. The process for the removal of the first obstacle must be slow, for, the only means of awakening the conscience of the country to the benefits of sanitation is the education of the masses. "In considering therefore," continues the Resolution alluded to above, "the measures most calculated to promote the cause of Sanitary

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reform in India, attention should in the first place be devoted to the question of executive agencies and to the question of funds." Effect was given to this Resolution in this Presidency by the appointment in 1890 of a Sanitary Engineer, and by the encouragement of grants and loans to municipalities on favourable terms. The beneficial result of this is patent to every body, who has watched the progress of sanitation in this Presidency during the past five years. The appointment of the Sanitary Engineer was the first step towards the formation of a system of complete executive agency necessary for the control of sanitary works. The time has now arrived for a more extended application of the principle enunciated by Lord Dufferin's Government. It is not in the nature of things that the Sanitary Engineer, even with the expansion of his department, could control the design, execution, and maintenance of every sanitary work in the Presidency. The design of major works, and the instruction and guidance of municipalities in regard to the design of minor works, falls within the legitimate duties of the Sanitary Engineer's Department. There is also much to be said in support of the execution of major works being entrusted to the Sanitary Engineer. But an all embracing scheme for the design, execution and maintenance of all works, major and minor, by the Sanitary Engineer's Department, is beyond the range of practical 'politics'. There should be a seperate and each municipality should have an independent engineer for the maintenance of major works and the design and execution of minor works,

The difficulty experienced by municipalities in financing drainage and water-supply schemes, even with the help of a grant to the extent of half the cost and the balance at a low rate of interest, has already been noticed. A careful consideration of all the circumstances brought Government to the conclusion, that the only course open to secure to municipalites an income sufficiently large to put them in possession of water-supply and drainage works, without crippling their resources for ordinary current operations, was the enhancement of taxes. It cannot be said that municipalities are deriving the full possible amount of income with the present limit of taxation. The unsatisfactory features of the operations of collecting taxes and means for their removal have

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been already indicated. These are an amplified executive agency under the Chaiman, and professional aid in the valuatlon of buildings. The appointment of a Secretary, who shall also be an engineer, would to a great extent conduce to the elimination of the defects existing in the assessment and collection of taxes. But the limits, within which an expansion of revenue is possible under the present rate of taxation, are narrow, and even with an income improved under better modes of collection it is unlikely that many municipalities would be able to afford the cost of drainage and water-supply works. In consideration of these circumstances provision has been made in the amended District Municipal Act now before Government to increase building and water taxes to ten and six and half per cent, from their present limits of seven and a half and four per cent. The unpopularity of the proposal to increase the tax on buldings has already displayed itself. An English newspaper has also raised its voice against the increase of the building tax; so that the usual bugbear of native apathy to sanitation cannot well be imputed to the unpopularity evidenced against the increase of this tax. There is much force in the argument, that, if more money is required for the avowed purpose of water-supply and drainage works, both the principles of equity and popular feeling demand that the money should be raised by a special tax on those works. People will submit to an increse of five per cent in water tax more cheerfully than they would submit to an increase of 2 per cent in house tax. In respect of water tax they have a direct return of the value of the taxes in the shape of a boon, which even the most illiterate tax-payer appreciates. The tax on houses is already high—at least nominally.

It may be that more money is required for other purpose than the construction of water works, and hence the proposed increase in house tax. If this surmise is correct, the increase proposed in water and drainage tax is inadequate. In the opinion of those qualified to speak on the subject, the maximum tax should be fixed at ten per cent. An increase both in house and water taxes will press heavily on the majority of the inhabitants. It will be more acceptable to them, if house tax is allowed to remain at its present limit, and the water and drainage tax increased to the extent of the proper requirements. Other objects of municipal administration

may be left to progress as best as they could without any enhancement of taxes on their account, at least for some years to come.

All administrative officers, who have studied the subject of sanitation in India, have recognised the necessity of *festina lente*. Sanitary reforms in this country must advance with a measured and slow step, which is only another way of saying that municipal taxation must increase cautiously and in small instalments. Our first need in sanitation in this country is a good water-supply. Bad odours, stagnant sewage, inadequately housed hospitals and schools, all put together are not responsible for more of the ills the flesh is heir to than is bad water. It is not implied that attention should be devoted to water-supplies to the exclusion of all other sanitary works. We must do our best to keep abreast of the times in sanitary matters, but it must be with a due regard to our means. Sanitation must go hand in hand with improvement in the agricultural and manufacturing industries of the country, which latter is admittedly very slow. The two great factors which swell the death roll of this country are fever and famine, and one is as assuredly due to want of proper clothing as the other is due to want of food. The cause, that underlies both these evils, is beyond the reach of any Sanitary Commissioner,—it is the general poverty of the people. To demand that sanitation in India should be furthered to the extent prevailing in the West, while works and institutions for the promotion of agricultural and industrial pursuits are languishing for want of funds, is, to say the least, to put the cart before the horse.

In looking back over the history of municipal work during the past five years one is compelled to admit that great improvement has been effected in sanitation. What has been achieved already opens up a long vista of future possibilities. Sanitation is still in its infancy in this country, and if properly tended and cared for, as in a child, each succeeding year must reveal some perceptible growth and improvement over the past.

HORMUSJI NOWROJI.

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE HINDUS

THE UPANISHADS.

THE causes of the greatness of England have been summed up by some in three words—Christianity, Commerce and Conquest. St. Paul's Cathedral, the Bank of England and the British Parliament may be said to be emblems of the three great causes. The British people are really proud of these. In India, we have the Himalayas, the Ganges and the Upanishads. All the protecting might of Bharata or India is in the Himalayas, which are not merely mountains covered with forests, but the abodes of great men, who have attained by penance the power of higher beings and stand in the position of arbiters of men's destinies. The Ganges is the emblem of sanctity in our country. The Upanishads contain all that is spiritually great in us—not as understood by ourselves, but as understood by those great minds that revealed them to the world and worked its salvation long long ago. Hence it is that every Bharata has good reason to be proud of his country, as the land of the Upanishads. This pride is wholesome. No one can find fault with us for it. Through us the whole population of the world is entitled to feel proud of our country as that region in the mundane sphere inhabited by it, which is radiant with that spiritual light which has lent its power directly and indirectly to the elucidation of the spiritual truths that have formed the birth right of mankind from time immemorial.

Let us go to the next Upanishad—The Kenopanishad. "Kena" means "By whom." Mark the sequence here. The Easavasya said "the whole universe is pervaded by the devine spirit"—*i. e.*, God. The man of many doubts, who can never bring himself to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being that cannot account for his own existence smiles at the dictum. The "Kena" appropriately asks—"Well, if there is not a First Cause, whose supreme authority is obeyed by all nature, then I want you to tell me by whom this

mind of ours works, by whom our life subsists, by whom our senses go the round of their innumerable functions." The man of many doubts has no answer to this, because he knows of none himself.

The Upanishad is divided into four parts or Khandas. Each is a gem in itself. The first part has such beautiful rays of spiritual light as these:—Parabrahmam or the Supreme Spirit is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, speech of speech, life of life, the eye of the eye. The eye does not go there, nor speach, nor mind. It is other than the known and the unknown. It is that which does not see with eyes, but by the aid of which all eyes see. The second part among other things says—"It is unknown to those that know and known to those that do not know." The third part in substance says—"The Gods became proud of their greatness attributing all their success and dignity to their own power. A great being appeared before them, of whom they knew not the nature or character. They said to the god of fire—'ascertain what this being is.' The god of fire approached the being. He said—'who are you?' The god of fire said—'I am the god of fire, I can burn anything and everything.' The being said 'here is a piece of dried grass, burn it.' The god of fire tried his best to burn it, but he could not. Then the god of wind played the same part, and with no better result. Then the god Indra was appealed to by the celestials. He came forward. A luminous female form in the skies told him—'Oh Indra it is the Supreme Being himself that has come in that shape.' Indra found out the truth of the saying and warned the celestials against taking to themselves the credit of their greatness, while the whole of it proceeded from the Supreme Being. The latter part of the foregoing parable is contained in the fourth part. Thus the great truths contained in this Upanishad are (1) That the Universe has a great first cause (2) that that great first cause is the immediate origin of all sentient action, so to speak (3) that the members who form that grand society known as creation are apt to forget this often and give themselves credit for things which do not belong to them (4) that this foible must be carefully guarded against (5) that the so called knowledge or wisdom of the celestials and *a fortiori* of the human race cannot bring with its scope the true nature or character of the Supreme Being. That all these truths are confirmed by the words of the wise in other countries goes without saying.

There are some weak points about the Savants of the West in this connection which need a word of comment. Many of them, especially among the missionary bodies, have perused the Upanishads and characterized them as obscure, unmeaning and delusive. This is more the result of the incapacity, of those who have said so, to comprehend plain spiritual truths than any obscurity about those truths themselves. It is within the knowledge of those who have paid any attention to the writings of Christian missionaries of importance in this country, that one of them commenting on the Bhagavat Gita in substance observed—"If Krishna, when he said 'no man kills, no man is killed' had the Penal Code in the country, he must certainly have seen that he was very nearly bringing himself within its purview." There is practical wisdom, as it is called, in these words of the great missionary. But the spiritual value of it is less than naught. What Vasudeva said had nothing to do with murder. He was not wielding the assassin's knife, but the surgeon's lancet when he said so. The surgeon and the assassin may very often come near each other, in the matter of expelling life from the body; but the moral character of the function of each has a speciality of its own which is recognized all the world over. Similarly the spiritual essentiality of the saying of Vasudeva has a dignity of its own which the missionary gentleman could not recognize. This is no cause for regret; for other gentlemen of his gild have recognized it and more than atoned for his want of keenness of perception in the matter.

To come back to our subject. The next Upanishad is the Kathopanishad. It is divided into eight parts each called a '*Valli*.' The most prominent feature of the Upanishad is the philosophical myth of Nachiketa? Men's metaphors are the fathers of their myths. Divine wisdom is death's property. How can we illustrate this better than by the story of Nachiketa? There was a great king who had a son named Nachiketa. The king performed a sacrifice at which the officiating priests got all his property in the shape of gifts. The son asked his father—"Unto whom do you give me?" The father said "Unto death do I give thee!" Off went the son to the mansion of Death and laid himself down in the portal opposite his garden. Death came out some time after and seeing the young man there enquired what he wanted. There was

some conversation between them and eventually it was agreed that Nachiketa was to ask three boons and Death was to grant them. The three boons were propounded. But they related to nothing that was worldly. The first was—a pacified will with a good mind and freedom from passion. The second rose higher in the spiritual scale, the third still higher. Death was perplexed. He offered the most tempting among the pleasures of this world—fair women, chariots, music, long life, empire, gold and gems without measure; but Nachiketa cared not for them. Death was compelled to reveal to the youth the great spiritual supreme essence of the Universe.

There is a remarkable passage in this context towards the end of the second which illustrates what is known as the doctrine of grace. Rendred into English—it would read thus—"The Supreme Being is attainable only by him whom he elects; it is to him that the atman discloses his personality." Volumes nay, libraries have been written on the meaning of this text with that ardour which invariably inflames the minds of good men, when they have come across a holy truth. But in spite of all that, the chief characteristic of holiness—simplicity—adorns the text and any one and every one can see the meaning of it when once he reads it.

Another passage of great significance is at the beginning of the fourth *Valli*. It reads thus in English—"The creator has created our senses with a downward course. Therefore beings see with a downward aim and not within where the atman is. Some brave and wise man with the desire of knowing the internal supreme spirit turns his eye within with the object of gaining immortality." This passage contains the simplest yet sublimest truth—*viz*—that our senses are ever bent on worldly objects and that it is by persistent effort that they are brought to perceive anything internally.

There are certain truths known in the East whose very existence is not known in the West. Wherefrom does man derive his consciousness?—from Vignan. What is this Vignan?—there is no answer to this in the West. We have the Panchakosas—Annam, Prana, Mana, Vignanam, Ananda. The Vignanam herein mentioned is the Vignanam from which Manas with its main manifestation—consciousness—arises. This consciousness is again contra-distinguished from sleep, which absorbs consciousness and products a state

which in the English language has an expression to denote it, in the words—"Blissful ignorance." Consciousness and sleep are both phenomena to which *manas* is subject. Beyond these phenomena is Vignanam. Vignanam is again subject to Ananda. This great truth is referred to in the words of the fourth verse of the fourth *Valli*. The fifth Valli contains these noble words:—"This supreme spirit that is vigilant among the sleeping creating again and again at will is the great light, it is the Atman, it is immortality." The sixth Valli begins with the grand image—"This eternal Paramatman is (like) an aswatha or peepul tree with upward roots and downward branches; he is the great light, he is Brahmam, he is immortality itself." Many have been tempted to call the image herein a quibble. But it contains one of the greatest truths of Aryavarta in it. Those who know it, know it: those who do not, will know it, if they should only seek for its meaning. Those who regard the whole matter with that smile, which is begotten by a deep concern for the good things of this world as compared with, what they choose to call, the airings of philosophic brains that have done no substantial good to the world, may certainly please themselves, but the image of the topsy-tury peepul with its roots spreading in the heavens will ever command the highest respect of the Brahmavadins.

The next Upanishad of importance is the Prasnopanishad. It is the fourth in which we have been considering the Upanishads. It is divided into six parts each being designated a Prasna or chapter of queries. Bharadwaja and other sages went to Pippalada. He told them—"Stay here a year engaged in penance, religious study, with faith in the Supreme Being; ask questions as you please; if we know, we shall answer them all." One of the sages asked—"Sire, whence do these people originate?" Pippalada in substance replied—"The Lord of hosts desirous of creating people created them, by first creating couples. The whole universe is made up of beings so created with material and spiritual forms making up the sum-total of the Vaisvanara or Infinite form of the Paramatman."

Another sage in substance asked—"Sire, in whom do the gods arise and uphold their existence? Who surpasses them all?" Pippalada in substance replied—"The Paramatman is *akasa* from him

comes Prana; air, fire, water, earth, speech, mind and ear said to the Prana that their own intrinsic energy kept them up. Prana said—'I have distributed myself into five elementary forms and I uphold the universe.' They confided in this speech. He got up. They all got up with him. He stopped. They all stopped. 'Just as the bees rise up with the sovereign-bee and stop with him, even so speech, mind, ear gladly follow him. All the powers of nature work at his bidding. Like the radii of a circle in its centre, the whole universe with its multifarious shapes is set in the Prana—Paramatman."

Another sage in substance asked—"Whence comes this Prana or main principle of existence? How does Prana get into bodies? How does it distribute itself into so many forms and pervade bodies?" Pippalada replied in substance—"This Prana proceeds from the Paramatman. When the desire of existence arises Prana gets into bodies. Just as a king establishes each Governor in his province, the chief Prana establishes the other pranas separately in their places. According to this distribution, apana governs the anus and genital system; prana himself governs the eye, ear, face or mouth and the nose; samana governs the centre; he is called samana or equal-distributor, because he takes equally to all parts of the body the food that is taken in. In the heart, which has such a complicated nervous system, the vyana moves; above all moves Udana."

Another sage in substance asked—"In the Purusha, or animate being, which principles sleep? which remain vigilant? wherein are dreams seen? where does perfect happiness inhere? wherein does the whole universe find its haven?" Pippalada in substance replied—"Just as the rays of the sun go together into his orb at setting and appear again severally when he rises, even so in the mind of the Paramatman the whole of the Purusha disappears and reappears when he so gets absorbed in the atman, he hears not, sees not, smells not, tastes not, touches not, speaks not, takes not, gives not, nor feels pleasure. He is said to sleep. The Pranas are vigilant in him."

Another sage in substance asked about the Pranava in relation to animate beings and Pippalada replied in substance that the

Pranava was symbolical of the Paramatman and that the Vedas and other repositories of wisdom proceeded from it.

Thus five parts of the Upanishad have been referred to. The sixth and the last contains one saying which may be remembered by all lovers of truth. "Samoolova ēsha parisushyate Yonrutamabhivadati." *i.e.*, "He who tells an untruth will perish with his root." In the same catechistic style the sublime truth of the absorption of the created in the creator is substantially illustrated in these words—"Just as the rivers marching towards the ocean reach it and get absorbed into it, their names and forms disappearing in the name and form of the ocean even so the many principles that make up the animate existence of beings get absorbed in the Paramatman." Thus it will be seen that six sages have referred to six great questions—*viz*—(1) Whence this animate existence? (2) How does Prana govern the system? (3) What is Prana or the main principle of life? (4) How do these principles appear and disappear and in whom? (5) What is the Pranava and its scope? (6) What is the character of the final absorption in the Paramatman? These questions are answered in the simplest possible language.

A word of comment here. The Brahmavadins do not pretend to discover anything new. All the Upanishads may be perused and no where a trace of that feeling found, which exhilarates the mind of a discoverer in the sphere of electricity or geography or mechanics or botany or astronomy. The Brahmavadin takes it for granted, not as a hypothesis that is conceded, but as an axiomatic truth, as evident and simple as the fact that they live and move, that there is a Supreme Being who governs the Universe after having brought it into existence. After having felt this great truth, he discusses the method by which this great self existent can be perceived, the true character and scope of this perception and the results that flow as a matter of course, from it. It is, as it were, a mere ratification in thought and word, what has been perceived as an incontrovertible doctrine of innate faith and feeling. Where, Kant, in his analysis of the human mind takes up fact after fact and principle after principle and builds up his fabric of ratiocination, he is like a man, who endeavours to give you an idea of a mountain by examining each component part of it, or of the ocean by examining drop after drop in its immense expanse. But the Brahmavadin says such a task is

neither practicable nor useful. The more we keep into the domain of nature, spiritual or material, the greater becomes the area that presents itself for examination; neither in the world of mind nor of matter can man hope to accomplish anything like a perfect scrutiny; neither time nor space nor instruments warrant it. Such an examination may help in the matter of creating those one thousand and one intermediate utilities, so to speak, which are needed for the progress of man in this world; but in the matter of attaining that final beatitude, which as a matter of eventual necessity, stares every one in the face, when the time of his departure from the arena of existence has come, its value is very little, if not nil. Therefore, take a view of the universe in such style as will lead you up over the infinite chaos of intermediate causes to the final cause and put your boat into its haven.

All knowledge concerned with the material world is simply useful for the material world. True Adhyatma or spiritual wisdom is that which shews the Paramatman not as something that is far away in some place of perfect comfort and happiness and governs this universe by some mysterious process of telephonic and telegraphic communication which goes beyond the ken of man, but as the akas or all pervading spirit in which we exist." This word Akas, as viewed by the Brahmavadins has a meaning peculiarly its own. There is the material Akas visible to the eye in which the whole material world is deposited. Just as material objects rest and move in this Akas this Akas itself has an Ayatanam or abode for itself in the Parama Vyoma or spiritual Akas or Chidakasa as it has been called. A word more in elucidation of this. "Earth is contained in water, water in fire, fire in air or atmosphere, atmosphere in Akas, Akas in the Atman," says the Upanishad. What is the meaning of this?—The Atman is the ayatanam or space (not material or visible, but purely spiritual and conceivable—or rather inconceivable) in which the Akas itself is enshrined. The Atman is the Paramakas. "Take a horse, a pig, a mountain, a river, an ocean and a kingdom and put them in your left hand," says the Brahmavadin, "take justice, wisdom, righteousness, truth, valour and mercy and put them in your right hand. The first list of material objects have for their ayatanam the akas or space that is visible. The second category has its existence some where

What is this? That is the mind. Now this mind-world and that matter-world do not exist apart. They co-exist in a higher world of higher kind of space—that is the Chidakas of the Paramatman."

Thus the Brahmavadin takes things, not by dribs and drabs, for the purpose of his ratiocination, but in the gross and founds his arguments. He does not care to say, "Let the intelligent study mathematics, philosophy, history, ethics and religion and grow wiser;" but he says, "Let the intelligent ask themselves the question—what is it that stands bearing these worlds? and follow up the curiosity created thereby till the logical conclusion is reached." This great query has been denoted by many names; among them Brahmajignasa is a prominent denomination. The word literally means the desire to know the Paramatman. It is counted the most powerful of all desires.

An earthquake has no regard for the demarcated rights of men in real property; it splits in its own way and partitions as it likes; even so, when Brahmajignasa rises with its wonted vehemence, wife, children, wealth, power, friends, relations, nay kingdoms and empires count for naught. The history of mundane existance is replete with anecdotes of men and women, small and great, who 'chucking out this world like a used-up sponge,' have gone to the woods to meditate on the Paramatman and qualify themselves for the higher pleasures of this world. The result of this Brahmajignasa is known as Brahmavidya or Brahmagnanam. This knowledge of the true character of the Paramatman, in the holy land of Aryavarta, has been viewed as old as the oldest Siberian fossil and as new as the rose just blown. The Brahmavadin is the person, who discourses about the Paramatman after having acquired Brahmavidya.

The Veda, which is the most modest of all the scriptures extant on this globe, never arrogates to itself the merit of having made any patent discovery about the Paramatman. It does not even say, that the Paramatman is like this or like that in shape, or spirit or power; it simply confines itself to saying—"Brahmavadino vadanti &c., &c., &c.,"—*i.e.*, "The Brahmavadins say so and so. There is a sublime truth enshrined in these words. No amount of book-learing can serve the purpose of a man who wishes to realize the importance of a great truth, as a course of deep meditation about it; no amount of meditation can be of real use, if the facts and principles grasped in the course of that meditation are not sanctioned as right and genuine by those who had gone through such a course before. For this purpose attendence on such men becomes necessary. Such men discourse about the method of knowing the Paramatman and the true character of the knowledge so gained together with the results that flow from it. Hence the discourses of such men attain paramount importance to those who have Brahmajignasa. Hence it is that the Veda puts such men on a pedestal of their own and enhances the value of their functions by ascribing to them everything it says. Hence it is, that in Aryavarta, as well as in other parts of the world, where true religion and philosophy have held their own against fanaticism and false views of life here and hereafter, such great regard has been paid to the Guru or Acharya, for he is pre-eminently the Brahmavadin for the man that seeks his help in the solution of that problem of problems—the relation of the Atman to the Paramatman.

One great truth that has prevailed with ever-increasing force on earth, owing to incessant illustration and elucidation, is that all good ideas start very well, but as they advance, get more and more rusty, if not effete. There is nothing extaordinary in this. The material world illustrates the truth all the same. The dagger well polished yesterday has its own complement of rust this day, howsoever small it may be in quantity. Day after day it increases, if some counteracting agency keep it not away from the instrument. How many are the creeds that started as bright as the morning star and were eventually thrown by mankind into the lumber room of oblivion like a piece of charcoal. To take concrete facts. Is Christianity, or Mahomedanism, or Buddism or any other "ism" of the world as pure and simple this day as it was while starting? Error accumulates in course of time, excellence deteriorates, faiths become "fads," saints become ritualists, day becomes night, and life becomes death.

This common taint of this earth has also affected the Guru or Acharya class in our country. They, at least most of them, are no longer Brahmavadins, or Vedantins properly so called. The invariable transition of piety into pelf has happened in their case.

Faith has diluted itself into fees. Mutts are built by holy men perhaps with the object of spreading Brahmavidya; but the Matadhipaties soon lapse into excellent landed proprietors with more knowledge of the civil and criminal law of the country than of the Brahmasutra or of the Gita. "That Matadhipati is greater than this, because he has a much larger estate" is a proposition which has passed into a matter of common bearing among mutt-disciples. Instead of the Paramatman being the final arbiter of the wisdom of the Matadhipaties, the Privy Council has prescribed their summum bonum. By many of them, who have been persistent adherents of litigation and finally profited by its vicissitudes, the Privy Council has been viewed as a greater benefactor than the Paramatman. Many a guru, while pretending to muter his prayers, has conned over the aspects of his cases in the courts and preferred the charms of litigation to the rare truths contained in the Gnana-vasishtam. Many are the Acharyas that have preferred the company of legal advisers to that of their tonsured or matted-hair-adorned confreres.

But the world knows its ways and it know their ways. Such men have been valued at their worth. They have been left to their machinations and moneyed magnificence. Poor men, whose own wealth is the sanctity of their hearts have been installed in the position of Guru under the appellation "Sadacharya" as opposed to the pretentious bombasts-vendors known as priests. Go into any district of India you please; the truth of this will be as patent as the station-house-officer's lodge, or the Railway company's premises. On one side will be seen a mutt with its fat priest sporting with cards, or dice or chewing betel and nut, or gossipping with the local legal celebrity and on the other side a quiet unpretending personage seated on a pial or in a veranda or in a grove and discoursing on the great truths of the Upanishads to an attentive audience composed of people, high and low, in the locality. This is the Sadacharya who is master of the reverential hearts in the place, and that is merely the Acharya who is master of the mutt-funds and properties.

Every event on earth has its own literature. Many are the treatises in our country which have been composed by the learned to elucidate the difference between the two kinds of Acharyas and

expose the vices of the pelf-ordained-priest. Notably Sivavakier in the Tamil country and Vemana in the Telugu country may be cited. In other provinces of India also, the spurious commodity known as Guru-for-gain has been most incisively written against and talked against. Over and above this, drastic efforts have been made to get rid of the class altogether. But if they have been rooted out in one quarter, they spring up like the phœnix in another—because in no veil can man act the part of "The evil one" so successfully as in a veil of sanctity. The Holy man or the man that puts himself forward as holy is generally viewed with favor by the world as some sort of isthmus that connects the two great continents, viz, "the here and" "the hereafter." Pretenders are seldom found out before they have benefited by their fraud. Under such circumstances the harm that accrues to the public becomes all the same.

Now to go back to the Brahmavadin. Our country is the land of the Brahmavadins. Among them stand forth prominently the Maharshies, who have from time to time contributed to the Upanishadic literature of Aryavarta and shone forth the revered lights of that great antiquity, which more than any other country of the world, has adorned our land. The great characteristic of the Brahmavadins was their internal peacefulness. The next quality of importance was the exactness of the information they possessed about the "ayana" or method of attaining eternal beatitude. The third great point about them was their humility. "The haughty man leads his horse towards hell" said the Brahmavadins. The more they knew, the greater was their humility. The ethical code of the Brahmavadins was infinitely high and unartistic. They were devoted students of nature and laid down nothing as doctrine that was not in strict conformity with nature and her ways. A great deal, that has been considered otherwise in their dissertations, will be found to be in conformity with the character claimed for the same, when careful scrutiny is instituted into their objects and reasons. Many have been accustomed to talk of them as visionaries and do-nothing-doctrinares. In the vocabulary of some, Brahmavadin means simply a dogmatist. But all these are due to that tendency in man to depreciate anything and everything that goes beyond his ordinary powers of comprehension. "Never dig the

foundation of your house without yourself being present throughout the proceeding" said a Brahmavadin, with that insight into matters mundane which Brahmavadins have possessed. "Bosh" said a keen-witted man of the world. But the keen-witted man, when he dug the earth for laying the foundation of his house, remembered the Brahmavadin's advice and stood by while the crow-bar and the pick-axe were plied by the workmen. Bang! went the crow-bar. The keen-witted man said to the men "stop the work for the day and begone." Off went the workmen; down went the keen-witted man and he exhumed from the bowels of the earth a treasure-trove. "Ah what nice men these Brahmavadins are! Their dogmas are certainly well-founded on effective truths past, present and to-come! Come it has, to me, in a most agreeable fashion—the soundness of the Brahmavadin's advice!" "This little anecdote must illustrate how what is apparently a dogma and nothing more has a jewel of effective truth imbedded in the rubbish of its verbiage especially in the case of a Brahmavadin. People have therefore thought that anything and everything that proceeds from the lips of a Brahmavadin ought to have its own weight hidden in the words, if the same is not patent. Hence that universal reverence for the word of the holy, howsoever it may be altered and whatsoever meaning it may convey. "Transgress not the word of the Brahmavadins"—contains a mandatory force in it which is well-known to the denizens of Aryavarta.

The eminence of the Brahmavadin may be further illustrated from what the Veda says about him. The Brahmavadin is the Acharya properly so called. The Veda says, as we all know, (1) Matru devo Bhava (2) Pitru Devo Bhava (3) Acharya Devo Bhava.—*i.e.*, Regard your mother as a god, your father as a god and your preceptor as a god. A nice little gloss has been put over these words by a very eminent ascetic in the Himalayas. The mother brings you into existence, the father guards you and provides you with the means of continuing the existence by giving you food, raiment, education, &c. and the acharya, properly so called, helps you in getting into that state of eternal felicity which is the fittest object of attainment for every rational being. Hence father and mother are mundane divinities, so to speak, and the acharya is a divinity of divinities.

In the Ramayana we have a beautiful anecdote which illustrates this point. The ascetics of the Dandaka forest sorely afflicted by the cruelties of the Rakshasas complained to Rama. He said in substance—"I shall destroy the Rakshasas, peace be unto you all." Seeta, his consort, with that judicial mind, which characterizes her sex on such occasions conned over the matter and gave her husband this query—"My lord, the Rakshasas have done you no harm (as a matter of fact they had done him none till then). You do not know what they have to say in the matter. Without hearing the other side, how can you pronounce this sentence of death against the whole race. It seems as though justice has been wounded in a vital part." Rama replied—"Your words are certainly well-grounded if any other was concerned in the matter. The ascetics here are Brahmavadins. They have represented the cruelties of the Rakshasas and invoked condign punishment of the offenders. 'Rishayassatya-vachasah'—*i.e.*, Rishis or Brahmavadins speak the truth. I need not examine the matter further. I am justified in taking it for granted that all that they say is well-founded in truth and that there is nothing in it or in relation to it that is otherwise." Seeta saw the force of the special pleading and allowed the matter to go over the shoulders of other talk, as the colloquial saying puts it.

We have a pathetic anecdote in the Tamil country which shews what great regard has been entertained by the world for the Brahmavadin. A Brahmavadin presented himself before a pious man and said—"I want a meal." "You shall have it sire, but what shall be the dish?" "O," said the Brahmavadin, "I want a child, male and first born better, to be cooked for my meal." Off did the devotee go, cut his child cook him and serve him saying—"I am happy sire that the child, which is my own, is my first born and a male!" Then smiled the Brahmavadin as never Brahmavadin smiled before. All the light of dawn, minus the orb of the sun, was reflected in it. Soon the sun of grace appeared in that countenance and the son of the devotee got out of the dish and sat on the lap of his father as if he had just returned from the play-ground. The father shut his eyes and kissed the boy; The Brahmavadin was gone, when he opened his eyes and long was the lamentation in which he indulged that the great master had disappeared.

But the story is none the less a gem to those who wish to see

the ways of God to men. The Brahmavadin in this case, as the story goes, was the Paramatman. He demonstrated by the aid of the parable the power of the most high, the force of piety and resignation, and the reward due to that high faith which springs up in exalted minds by their own intrinsic power. This story goes a foot in advance of the story which relates how Abraham effected the immolation of his child on the altar of god. In the Hebrew story, the Bahkta or devotee knew that it was god who enjoined the deed and had therefore every confidence in its termination to the satisfaction of all concerned. In the Indian story, this element is absent. The Bhakta heard a Brahmavadin make the request and it was at once complied with.

There is hardly a mendicant in the Tamil country who cannot sing the pathetic ballad known as "Seralankadai" which relates the incidents detailed above. Many are the tears shed over it, by mothers suddenly overcome by the words of the ballad.

There is a clever little comment put on one incident in the story. The father shuts his eyes in ecstasy to kiss his boy, thereby evincing how much he was really concerned about him; had he not been so eager about his progeny, the Brahamavadin, who was the Paramâtman himself in disguise, would have forthwith transported him to worlds of infinite bliss. This of course is meant to shew that no attachment, however little or indifferent, to the objects of this life can qualify us for the joys of the world above.

One more anecdote and we have done with the greatness of the Brahmavadins. There is a tradition among the people of this country, that the Brahmavadin may be anything and every thing in life. Vema was a poet and a Brahmavadin. He travelled much for his own pleasure and for instructing those that sought his aid in understanding Upanishadic truths. For some time he had a follower who always kept to him. He was a servitor of the Sam Weller type, with plenty of good humour, an excellent appetite and that masterful capacity which some possess to hold their own, in a war of words, against the other sex. Vema and his follower went into the domicile of a peasant and sought shelter for the night. The night was stormy and it poured and poured till the country around looked like a veritable ocean. The peasant, who had been out, returned shivering with the plough on his shoulders and the

goad in his hand. The follower of Vema was swallowing his rice out of a huge dish. The peasant's wife was keeping up a war of words with him and passing a thousand and one remarks with respect to each particular attitude assumed by him while eating. The peasant recognised the follower of Vema as a Brahmavadin; both recognized Vema as a Brahmavadin; all three recognised the wife of the peasant as a Brahmavadin. The story says that this recognition was by means of mysterious signs prevalent in the face of Brahmavadins and which are known to Brahmavadins. The Veda speaks of the same when it tells us of the Brahmavarchas or divine light that pervades the countenance of the Brahmavid, who, for the matter of that, is the Brahmavadin himself. In this story we see that the Brahmavadin was a peasant woman, a follower of a Brahmavadin without being known to him as such all the time he followed, a Brahmavadin properly so called by the people and a poor peasant, who eked out his subsistence by "knocking his knuckles over his arid fields."

This tradition and the principle recognized by it, that Brahmavadins may be any body and every body are responsible mainly for that indiscriminate charity, as it has been called, which prevails in this country. "Dont draw a difference between holy and unholy people; because among the seemingly unholy there may be many that are holy"—is the text that governs their system of feeding all people without distinction and clothing all people without any regard to the cost of the raiment in each case.

This feeling of a Brahmavadin being represented by each individual is approved by the wise in our land for more reasons than one. Good is always difficult to do. Evil is the easiest thing possible. Doing good is like going up a steep rock; doing evil is going down a powerful current. The magnifying of good has simply the effect of getting a small portion of it actually done. If all are taken as Brahmavadins, some at least may reap the benefits of charity in conformity with the maxim, "where much is enjoined, but little is accomplished."

That all are entitled to equal charity and beneficence is further maintained by the Vedantic maxim—"Atmavatsarvo bhootani yahpasyati sasamyamee" *i. e.*, He is a (true) sage who looks at all creation like himself. If every one is to be regarded like self, what

distinction can be made between man and man when charity comes on the scene and gives this feeling a decided pointedness.

Now to the Upanishads again. The next Upanishad is the Moondakopanishad. This is an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda. Moondaka means (1) a barber (2) the trunk of a tree (3) the head. In this last sense, the word is of neuter gender. We may take either the second or the third as the sense of the word in the name here. The Upanishad is divided into three moondakas, and it begins in these terms:—"Brahma the first of the gods came into existence as the creator of the Universe and the guardian of the world. He revealed into his first born son Atharva the divine lore which is the basis of all knowledge." This Brahmavidya was transmitted in hereditary succession to Angiras. Him approached, with the following query, a sage named Mahasalah:—"Who is he, by knowing whom all this (universe) is known?" He replied:—"There are two kinds of knowledge specified by the Brahmavids: one named para and the other apara. Apara is Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda, Atharvaveda, Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakaranam, Niruktam, Chandus, Jyotisham. Para is that by the aid of which the indestructible Supreme Spirit is attained."

Then follows this beautiful passage:—"than whom there is nothing more eminent nor less eminent, than whom there is nothing less nor greater (in bulk) there is one who is established in the heavens like a tree; by that Purusha all this (universe) is filled. Just as a spider manifests and absorbs its web, just as trees and plants grow on earth, just as hair grows on the body of animate beings, even so out of the indestructible Supreme Spirit all the universe springs." Thus this Atharva Upanishad begins with some of the most sublime Upanishadic truths. The Images used may appear to be common and self evident; but they contain a significance of their own and are highly useful to moomookshoos.

P. V. RAMASWAMI RAJU.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

BESIDES the Romans, the Jews appear to have visited the Western Coast in the early centuries of the Christian Era. They have a tradition that a large number of their nation came and settled in Malabar soon after the destruction of their temple at Jerusalem, which event took place in A. D. 68. There is no allusion however to the Jews in ancient Tamil literature. But the fact that they were settled in the Western Coast during the second century is established beyond a doubt by the ancient deeds engraved in copper, still in possession of the Jews and Syrian Christians of Malabar. (1) These deeds are written in ancient Tamil and in the archaic character known as Vaṭṭeluttu or "round letters." They have excited much interest, not only because of their antiquity, but because of the curious fact that by them the ancient Chera Kings conferred on the Jewish and Christian Colonies, certain privileges which those Colonies still possess to some extent. They have been more than once translated, and there has been much diversity of opinion regarding the dates assigned to them. The earliest of the deeds is dated in the 36th year opposite to the 2nd year, during the reign of Sri-Bhaskara Ravi-Varman. The expression "36th year opposite to the 2nd year" has been variously interpreted. One scholar understood the 2nd year, to refer to the Cycle of Parasu Rama, another took the 36th year to refer to the 60th year Cycle of Brihaspati. (2) Neither of these Cycles are however applicable to

(1) Deeds No. 1, 2 and 3 translations of which are given in Logan's Malabar Manual Vol. II. pp: 115 to 122.

(2) "The words irandam-andaikk-edirmuppatt-aram-andu were translated by Mr. Whish "the thirty sixth year of the second cycle (of Parasurama) = 139 B. C.; and by Sir Walter Elliot 'the thirty sixth year opposed to or in contradistinction to the second which would be the third cycle (of Parasurama) = 861 A. D. Dr. Burnell suggested that the first andu might refer to the year of the reign, and the second to that of the King's age, while Dr. Caldwell took the second *aadu* for the year of the reign, and the first for the year of the 60 year cycle of Brihaspati." Dr. Hultzsch in the Indian Antiquary Vol. XX p: 288. Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that the first year indicated the date of the King's appointment as *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent; and the second the year of his reign.

all the deeds whose dates are given in double years. From the researches made by the Portuguese Missionary Beschi, who resided in Madura for forty years, it appears that the Cycle then used in Southern India was the (3) Grahapparivirthi Cycle of 90 years. The Epock of this Cycle occurs on the expiration of the 3078th year of the Kaliyuga, in 24 B. C. The years follow the ordinary Solar or Siderial reckoning. The concurrent Christian year for any year reckoned by the Cycle may readily be found by multiplying the number of the Cycle by 90 and adding the year and subtracting 24. Thus the 36th year of the 2nd Cycle is equal to $2 \times 90 + 36 - 24$ or 192 A. D. The deed of the Chera King Bhaskara-Ravi-Varman, which is dated in a year equivalent to 192 A. D, appears to be therefore the oldest of the copper plate inscriptions preserved in Southern India, and as such, it deserves to be carefully studied. To those students of history who place more faith in inscriptions than in ancient literature, this deed affords the most satisfactory evidence of the civilization of the Tamil in the second century A. D. The language of the deed being very old and obscure Tamil, and some of terms used being obsolete, it is difficult to render it correctly into English, but I give below a translation of it conveying the meanings of the deed as close to the original as I can render it.

(3) "Grahapparivirtthi cycle of ninety years. The Southern inhabitants of the peninsula of India use a cycle of ninety years, which is little known, according to Warren in the Karnatak. This cycle was analysed by the Portugese missionary Beschi, while resident for 40 years in Madura. The native astronomers there say it is constructed of the sum of the products in days of revolutions of Mars, 22 of Mercury, 11 of Jupiter, 5 of Venus, 29 of Saturn and one of the sun." "The epoch of this cycle occurs on the expiration of the 3078th year of the Kaliyug in 24 B. C. The years follow the solar or sidereal reckoning. The concurrent cycle and year for any European year may readily be found by adding 24 and dividing by 90: thus 1830 A. D. $= \frac{1830+24}{90} =$ 20 cycles and 54 years."—Prinsep's Indian antiquities by Thomas Vol. II. p: 158.

The Grahapparivirthi cycle is applicable to every deed or inscription in the Tamil country, whose date is given in double years. The inscription of the Kerala King Rama (Malabar Manual Vol. II. p: 122.) found at Tiruvannur, near Calicut, is dated in the fourth year opposed to the fourth year. The corresponding date in the Christian Era is $4 \times 90 + 4 - 24$ or A. D. 340. The Tiruppuvanam grant of Kulasekharadeva is dated in the 12th year opposite to the thirteenth year, which is equivalent to $13 \times 90 + 12 - 24$ or A. D. 1158. Kulasekharadeva was contemporary with Parakrama Bahu I of Ceylon (A. D. 1146-1179). Mahawanso—Chapter 76-77.

"Health and prosperity!

The grant vouchsafed by the King of Kings His Majesty Sri-Bhaskara-Iravi-Varmmar, during his reign—may it last for many hundred thousand years! (4)—in the 36th year against the 2nd year (Cycle), when he tarried at Muyirik, Kodu.

We have given to Joseph Rabban the principality of Anjuvannam, the (right to levy) tribute in money and in kind, (5) the revenue of Anjuvannam, the light by day, the spreading cloth, the palanquin, the umbrella, the *Vaduca* drum, the trumpet, the sandals for the feet, ornamental arches, awnings and presents carried on poles balanced on the shoulders, along with the 72 privileges of a nobleman.

We have exempted him from paying the land tax and water rate; and we have enacted with this copper deed that when the other inhabitants pay taxes to the Palace he shall not have to pay, when they receive (presents) he shall also receive.

Given to Joseph Rabban Lord of Anjuvannam and to his posterity, sons and daughters and nephews and sons-in-law as a heriditary grant. Prosperity!

Thus do I know Gôvardhana Mârthândan,
Lord of Vênâdu.
Thus do I know Kotai Sri-Kandan,
Lord of Vênavali.
Thus do I know Mâna Vêpala Mâna Viyan,
Lord of Erâla-Nâdu.
Thus do I know Rayâran Châttan,
Lord of Valluvanâdu.
Thus do I know Kothai-Ravi,
Lord of Nedum-Purayur,

(4) The words, *pala-nurayirattandu-chenkkol-nadatti-ala-ninra*, mean literally "wielding the sceptre for many hundred thousand years":—but in the deed they should I think be interpreted as conveying a blessing.

(5) The words *pidiyalum payanattalum* have been translated by Dr. Gundert as "going with elephants and other conveyances." Madras Journal Lit. sc, XIII part I p: 137. But the correct meaning appears to be "in money and in kind." *Pidi* means "ready cash" as well as a "female elephant"—*Payanam* or *Pasanam* means "a share."—The word *Iduvadi* is translated by Dr. Gundert as "the gateway with arches." But it is not used in this sense in any ancient work. The correct meaning appears to be "sandals" or "shoes."

Thus do I know Mûrkhaṅ Châttan,
Commander of the Eastern Army.
Kandan of Great Thalacheri Kilway,
the Mountain Splitter.
The writing of Kelappa."

From this deed we learn that about the close of the 2nd century; the Tamil Settlements on the Malabar Coast extended beyond Thalaicheri (modern Tellicherry) in the north, and up to the foot of the ghauts in the east. The Chera Kingdom was divided into six or more provinces, the rulers of which aspired to the diginity of kings, and the Chera Monarch assumed the title of King of Kings or Emperor. The chieftains of the Provinces formed a sort of council to the King, and it was with their assent that any grant was made, or privileges conferred under royal sanction. It appears that a land tax and water cess were levied by the king throughout his dominions except in those parts where the land holders had been specially exempted. Tribute from local Chiefs to the Lord of each province was paid in money or in kind. It is curious to note that foreigners could use sandals or umbrellas or ride in palanquins, only with the permission of the King. Noblemen prided themselves on special privileges such as the cloth spread on the ground for them to walk upon, ornamental arches and awnings to be erected on the roads on which they travel, and the flourish of trumpets and drums to announce their arrival and departure. There were no less than seventy two rights claimed by great land-holders, but the nature of these rights does not appear from the deed.

Another deed issued during the reign of the same King Bhâskara-Iravi-Varmman records an endowment made to the Vishnu temple at Tirunelli (in the Wynâd) by Porai Kilân or the Lord of Porayûr Nâdu. (6). The endowment was placed under the control of the "five hundred" of Poraiyûr. The five hundred were doubtless an assembly of the heads of 500 families of the Nâdu. It appears therefore that in this ancient period, although the Kings had apparently unlimited power over the lives and properties of their

(6) An excellent facsimile and translation of this deed have been published by Dr. Hultzch.—Indian Antiquary.

subjects, *much of the local administration remained in the hands of the people themselves. (7)*

Of the personal history of the Kings who ruled the Chera, Chola, and Pandiya dominions, only fragmentary notices appear in the ancient poems which have survived to this day. The same King is sometimes mentioned in these poems under different titles; and different Kings of one dynasty appear to have borne the same name. To collect these detached notices and weave a connected history out of them is not an easy task: and as I attempt this for the first time, it is quite possible that further researches may show that some of my statements are not correct. I shall confine myself in the following account to the history of the Tamil Kings whose reigns cover the period from A. D. 50 to A. D. 150. I take this opportunity to translate many of the relics of ancient Tamil poetry, of historical interest, which will give the reader a more correct and vivid idea of the customs, manners and beliefs of the people, than what any description of them in my own words can possibly convey.

As mentioned by me already, the allusion in the Chilappathikaram to the fact that Chenkudduva Chera *alias* Imaya Varmman was contemporary with Gajabâhu of Ceylon and the Karnas of Magadha, forms an important land mark in the history of Tamil literature. It is stated in the same poem that Chenkudduvan was over 50 years of age when he invited Gajabahu to attend the consecration of a temple to Kannaki at his capital Vanji. (8) Gajabahu

(7) "The six hundred were the supervisors and protectors of the Nad"—Malabar Manual Vol. I. p: 267. Another deed mentions the 600 of Ramavala Nadu.—Malabar Manual Vol. II. 122. These village republics continued in existence till the English annexed Malabar. "The Nad or country was a congeries of *taras* or village republics, and the Kuttam or assembly of the Nad or county was a representative body of immense power which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Raja, and punished his ministers when they did "unwarrantable acts." These are the very words used by the Honorable Company's representative at Calicut when asked to explain the origin of certain civil commotions which had taken place there in 1746. His report deserves to be quoted in full, for it gives a vivid insight into the state of things as it then existed. "These Nayars," he wrote "being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the King's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." Malabar Manual. Vol. I. p: 89.—

(8) Chilapp-athikaram. XXVIII—129-130.

was King of Ceylon from A. D. 113 to A. D. 125. Supposing that Gajabahu visited the Chêra capital in the last year of his reign, Chenkuddavan who was then 50 years of age should have been born about A. D. 75. His mother was the daughter of Karikal Chola. The date of birth of the latter should therefore be fixed at least 40 years, earlier than that of his grandson Chenkudduvan. It may be safely assumed that Karikâl Chola was born about A. D. 35. It is said that Karikal ascended the throne when he was quite a youth and that he ruled the Chola Kingdom for an unusually long period. The period of his reign may therefore be fixed about A. D. 55 to A. D. 95.

Karikal was the son of the Chola Prince Uruvap-Pahrêr-Ilayon or Ilanj-chêd-chenni. (9) His father had died before he was born, and rival claimants seized the Chola throne, and conspired to cause his death by fire. He escaped however, but his feet were scorched and blackened, and henceforth he was known as Karikâl or "Black foot." (10) His uncle Pidarth-Thalayân assisted him in regaining the throne of his ancestors. (11) Brought up in adversity, he had early learned lessons of wisdom, and proved to be one of the wisest and most powerful of the Kings of his period. An ancedote of his youth is recorded which shows his ready wit and independence of mind. In those days the King was also the supreme judge in all Civil and Criminal cases. An intricate case had come up to Karikal for decision. His aged ministers appeared anxious about the result. The youthful King understood the meaning of their looks. He retired at once into his private apartments, and there tied, false grey heir on his head, and appeared back in Court, in the disguise of an old man. Resuming his seat on the throne he examined the parties so skilfully that from their own answers he was able to pronounce a correct judgement, which elicited the applause of his grey headed ministers. (12)

Karikal was a great warrior. In his first battle on the plain of Venni, he defeated the combined armies of the Pandya and Chera. The Chera King Athan I. who commanded his own forces,

(9) Porunar-arrup-padi-130.
(10) Third stanza, at the end of Porunar-arrup-padi.
(11) Palamoli.
(12) Palamoli—21, Mauimekhalai—IV. 106-107.

was wounded on the back. As this was considered in those days an indelible mark of cowardice, the valiant Chera unable to bear the disgrace, sought a voluntary death. The bard Karunkkulal-Athanâr who was with the Chera army at the engagement, mourns over the defeat of his King, and describes the gloom of his sorrowing subjects, in the following verse. (13)

"The drum no longer thunders. The lute has forgotten its music. The large milk pans now lie empty. None tastes the honey collected by the busy bees. The farmers no longer plough their fields. And there is no more festive gatherings on village lawns. Like the sun who sets behind the hills, when the full moon rises in all its splendour, our valiant King wounded on the back by a rival Monarch, has laid aside his sword in disgrace (and seeks death by starvation) alas! How sad and cheerless are these days."

Another bard Vennil-Kuyathiyar who was with the Chola King appears to have been also struck with the unlukcy fate of the Chera and addressed Karikal as follows. (14) "Oh! descendant of that warrior who sailing on the wide ocean compelled the winds to fill the sails of his ships. Oh! Karikal Valava. Lord of mighty elephants! Who hast displayed thy valour in this battle. Is not he, even nobler than thee, who ashamed of the wound on his back, starves, to gain a glorious death?"

Karikal defeated a confederacy of nine princes in another battle. (15) He rooted out the line of Shepherd Kings, and brought under his sway all the tribes of the Oli-Nagas and Aru-Valar. (16) He subdued the Kurumbar a nomadic tribe. (17) His kingdom extended beyond Kanchipuram, which town he enlarged and beautified. He is said to have been in terms of friendship with the Kings of Avanthi, Vajra and Magadha. (18) Later poets in their dreamy eulogies of this great King credit him with the feat of having carried his arms up to the golden Meru, and planted his tiger standard on the summit of that mountain, which is spoken of in Indian

(13) Puranr—65.
(14) Ibid-66.
(15) Akam—124—Paranar.
(16) Paddinap-palai ll. 274-275.
(17) Akam—140-Narkirar.
(18) Chilapp-athikaram-V. ll. 99-104.

legends as the centre of the Earth. (19) The periodical freshes in the Kaviri river used to inundate a great portion of the Chola country ; and so frequently did this happen, that it was known as the Punal-Nadu or the "land of floods." Karikal who had defeated his enemies and consolidated his empire, now turned his attention to the improvement of his dominions. He formed the grand plan of controlling the frequent floods which wrought much damage in Punâl-Nadu. He commenced at once to raise high banks along both sides of the Kaviri and constructed, sluices and canals to distribute and regulate the water supply. (20) The irrigation of the countries watered by the Kaviri was improved to such an extent that it was a common saying that every grain sown there yielded a thousand fold. Karikal's sagacious mind was not slow to discover that the position of his capital at Uraiyur, so far from the Sea Coast, was disadvantageous to commerce. He therefore fortified Kavirip-paddinam the grand emporium of trade at the mouth of the Kaviri, and made it his capital. (21) The impetus given to commerce and agriculture by his wise measures speedily bore fruit, and his country became so wealthy and prosperous that his grateful subjects ever afterwards called him "Karikal-Peruvalathan" or "Karikal the great Chola."

Karikal was also known by the name Perum-Thiru-Mavalavan. (22) Towards the close of his reign, the Pandiyan King Velliampalathu-Thunjia-Peru-Valuthi appears to have gone on a visit to Karikal. When the two monarchs were seated together, the poet Kâri-Kannan of Kaviripaddinam addressed them as follows ;—(23)

"Thou art the Lord of the Kaviri whose floods carry fertility (to many a land)! This King is the lion of the warlike race of the Panchavas, who, not disheartened by the death of his elders, valiantly protects his good subjects, like the long shoots of the shady baniyan tree, which strike root in the ground and keep the tree alive although the parent trunk is withered ; and who though young has speedily scattered his enemies like the thunder bolt which

(19) Kalingattup-parani.
(20) Chilapp-athikaram—X. ll. 108-111.
(21) Paddinap-palai-ll. 285-288.
(22) Ibid, l. 299—the second stanza at the end of Porunar-arrup-padai.
(23) Puram-Stanza 58.

smites whole broods of serpents. Thou art the warrior of Uranthai, where charity abides! This King unlike other monarchs, whose realms can boast of only well watered fields and plentiful harvests, is Lord of the sandal trees of the hills, the pearls of the sea and the three thundering drums, and rules with mercy the city of Kudal, which is the seat of Tamil learning. Majestic like the two gods, one of whom, fair in complexion bears the flag of the Palmyra (Baladêva) and the other of dark hue, whose weapon is a wheel (Vishnu). You both are now terrible to your enemies. Is there anything more pleasant than the friendship of two great Kings like you. Pray, listen to my words. May you be famous for ever! Each of you is powerful enough to contend with the other. But if you do not break your friendship, you will not fail to conquer the whole of this sea girt earth. Therefore be good, be just to each other, and as your ancestors did, listen not to the evil counsels of those who wish to divide you. Let your friendship last for ever, as warm as it is this day. May your lances be victorious on every battle field! May the flags of the striped tiger and of the fish wave on the top of every mountain in your enemies lands!"

His generous nature and munificence to the poets who visited his court are well depicted in the poem Porunar-ârruppadai which was composed by Mudath-Thâmâk-Kanniyar, about the close of the King's reign. (24) The poem is written as if it is addressed by the author to another poet whom he advises to visit Karikal, describing to him all the kindness with which Karikal received the author. It is very interesting, as it brings out clearly the cordiality with which Tamil Kings treated poets in this ancient period. I give below a translation of the poem omitting such parts as are not interesting to the general readers :—(25)

"Oh! Minstrel! Ever ready to quit the town thou visitest as soon as the festival held in it is over! When thy amiable wife graceful as the peahen ; her hair dark and glossy ; her forehead bright as the crescent moon ; her eyes gentle and melting under brows arched like the death dealing bow ; her lips red like the petals of the Havam flower ; her voice sweet as

(24) Porunar-arrup-padai.
(25) I have followed to a great extent the translation given by the Hon: P. Comaraswamy J. R. A. S. Ceylone Branch Vol. XIII. No. 45.

music; her teeth brilliant like rows of pearls; and ears heavy with jewels and hanging like the loops of scissors used in trimming the hair; her neck slightly bent with modesty; her slender fingers fair as the *Kanthal* which blooms on the tops of lofty mountains * * * * when thy wife played on the yal with the fingers now softly touching, now deftly gliding over and anon rapidly striking its chords and sweetly sang a hymn, then didst thou devoutly sprinkle water and offer thy prayers to the Gods of the forest, for a safe passage through the woods where wild elephants roam and where leafless trees afford little or no shade to the travellers weary and foot sore. Blessed be thou chief of minstrels! Thy good luck has brought thee hither, and saved thee the trouble of wandering into inhospitable regions. May thy life be prosperous! Master of the seven strings of the lute! If thy desire be that thyself and thy family should get rid of poverty which has oppressed thee sorely hitherto, rise up without delay.

"Like a hungry bird seeking a tree laden with ripe fruits, I went one early morning to the gates of a King's palace, and without waiting to ask the permission of the gate keepers I entered the palace. Though faint and weary with my journey, I felt at once relieved and filled with joy. I drew near to the Monarch and began a song, sounding a small drum which I carried in my hand. He addressed me at once as one who had long known me and spoke so kindly, that begging at his gate was, I felt no disgrace. He caused me to be seated in his presence and looked at me so benignly that my frame thrilled with unspeakable pleasure.

"My patched clothes wet with sweat, in which nits and lice held sway he caused to be removed and clad me in fine flowered muslins. His smiling hand maids adorned with jewels poured out in golden cups intoxicating wine, and I drank until I forgot my sorrows and fatigue; and laid me down to rest a while. When I awoke I felt no inconvience except what was caused by excess of drink. Indeed I felt so happy that I could not believe the change and thought I was in a dream. But I was soon satisfied that it was reality.

"Hearing my pupils singing his praises he sent for us, and as we drew near and saluted him in the mode usual on such occasions, he made us eat of the flesh of goat spitted and roasted, till we could

eat no more. Then sweetmeats of various forms were set before us, and as we feasted, beautiful dancing girls with lutes in their hands sang and danced to us. Several days having passed in feasting and drinking he desired that we should eat of rice, and a feast of rice boiled in milk and other sweet preparations was spread before us, and we ate until we were full unto the throat. We spent our days in this manner till, like the plough share which hath often furrowed hard soil, our teeth became blunt and food and wine were no more welcome. Then, one day, said I gently, Oh! King who leveth tribute from all thy enemies, give me leave to go back to my native village. Looking at me as if he was displeased, he said, "art thou then departing from us so soon." He then presented to me elephants male and female, and their calves shambling in gait, and I received what I thought proper, and departed bidding farewell to poverty for ever.

"The generous donor was the son of Uravap-pahrêr-Ilayôn who wields the ever victorious spear, terrible in his anger, like Muruga the God of war; who was born entitled to Kingship even from his mother's womb, who has compelled his enemies to serve him, and has spread distress in the countries of those Kings who did not seek his friendship—as the sun rising from the ocean increases in brightness and splendour, so from his youth, ever growing in strength and valour, he now, mighty as Yama, the God of death, bears on his shoulders the weight of a matchless empire. Like a young lion which in its first chase kills a mighty elephant, so in the first battle, on the field of Venpil, he smote the Pandya and Chera Kings. He is the great King called Karikal Valavan who wears the bright garlands of *atti* flowers.

"If approaching the great King thou worship his feet, he would look on thee tenderly as a cow watching its new born calf, and before he listens to thy song, he will clothe thee with silk, and give thee to drink of wine in cups of gold. He will feast thee all the days of thy stay, and when thou departest he will tie golden lotus flowers on the knot of hair on thy head, and to thy wife he will present neck laces of gold and pearl. He will give thee a chariot whose top is made of ivory, drawn by four milk-white steeds with flowing manes coloured red, and many elephants and well watered villages he will give thee. If thou handest over to thy followers the presents

thou hast received, and hasteneth thy departure, he will, reflecting that nothing in this world lasteth long, unwillingly part with thee, and graciously go forward seven paces with thee, and ask thee to mount thy chariot and then bid thee farewell.

"Such is the king who has long reigned over the Chola Kingdom: who even when young dispensed justice to the satisfaction of the old: whose long and blameless reign full of love and mercy to his subjects is renowned throughout the world. May he live for ever!"

The foot of Karikâl-lord of the land of floods, where honey bees form their hives on stalks of corn—which was raised to step on the three worlds, has measured only this earth: for, alas! it was scorched by fire."

Verses addressed to him by the poets Uraiyur—Maruthuvan Thamotharanar and Konaddu—Erichchalur—Madalan—Mathuraik—Kumaran also are found in the collection of ancient poems known as Pura-nânûru. (26)

Karikâl Chola's daughter Nar-Sônâi was married to the Chêra King Athan II. and became the mother of Chenkudduva Chêra and of Ilankô-adikal, the author of the Chilâppathikâram. (27) The poet Karunk-kulal-âthanâr who was present at the death of Karikâl gives expression to his grief in the following stanza:—

"He who stormed his enemies' forts dauntlessly; who feasted his minstrels and their families and treated them to endless draughts of toddy; who guided by priests learned in their duties, and attended by his noble and virtuous queens, performed sacrifices according to Vedic rites, in sacred spots which were walled round, and in the midst of which stood the tall sacrificial pillars which were crowded by vultures: He, the great and wise king is alas! no more. Poor indeed is this world which has lost him. Like the branches of the *vengai* tree, which stand bare, when their bright foliage has been cut down by shepherds to feed their cattle in the hot season, are his fair queens, who have cast off their jewels." (28) Karikâl died at a place called Kurâppalli and was therefore known as Kurâppalli Thunjchiya-Perup-thiru-mâ Valâvan. (29)

(26) Puram 60 and 197.
(27) Chilapp-athikaram XXX. 173 to 183.
(28) Puram 224. (29) Puram 197.

Karikâl was succeeded by Chedchenni Nalank-killi about A. D 95. He was an amiable and accomplished prince and was therefore called Nalankkilli, or "the good Killi." His predecessor having left the kingdom in a most prosperous condition, Nalankkilli had only to maintain it in peace and good order, but he was anxious to invade neighbouring kingdoms and extend his own dominion. The poet Kovur-Kilar addressed him as follows when he was encamped with his army on one of his expeditions:—(30)

"As true wealth and happiness follow in the wake of virtue, the umbrellas of thy two rivals (the Pandia and Chera) follow thine, which is resplendent like the full moon. Ambitious of fame thou wouldst stay no where but in thy camp. Thy elephants whose tusks are blunt with battering the walls of thy enemies' forts, chafe at being idle and are restless. Thy soldiers who wear the warriors' anklets are eager to march, though they have to cross wide forests to reach thy enemies' lands. Thy war steeds, starting from the eastern sea stay not till the waves of the western ocean wash their hoofs, and northern kings, trembling with the fear that thou mayest march against them, watch (their frontiers) with sleepless eyes."

His frequent absence from his capital appears to have weakened his authority over the younger members of the royal family; and Nedunkilli, a Chola prince, was induced to revolt against him. He took possession of the capital, Uraiyur; but the king, hearing of this rebellion, hastened to Uraiyur and laid seige to the fort. During the seige, a minstrel Kanthathan, entered Uraiyur, and Nedunkilli suspecting him to be a spy, was about to seize and kill him, when the poet, Kovur-kilar pleaded for the minstrel and saved his life. The stanza addressed by him to Nedunkilli on the occasion is as follows:—(31)

"They fly like birds and cross many a forest in search of patrons and sing their praises as best their tongue can speak them: pleased with what they get, they feast with all their train; eat without saving, give without stinting and pine only for honor:—the minstrel race who live on what others willingly give them. Do these

(30) Puram 31.
(31) Kovur-Kilar, Puram, 47.

ever think of doing evil to others? No! Exulting in their triumphs over rival bards, while their rivals' faces are cast down, they walk proudly, as they have for their patrons great kings of this earth like thyself."

From Uraiyur, the rebel prince fled to Avur, another fortified town in the Chola kingdom. Nalankilli pursued him thither and beseiged Avur. The seige continued so long that the inhabitants were reduced to starvation. The miseries endured by the people and the army in Avur are described in the following stanza :—(32)

"The male Elephants that have not been led along with their females to bathe in the lakes outside the fort, nor fed with balls of rice mixed with butter, chafe at the posts to which they are chained, and rolling on the ground trumpet loud as thunder. Children cry for want of milk, women tie their hair without flowers, people weep and wail for want of water to drink. To stay here any longer is, alas! Disastrous! Thou master of fleet steeds! If thou wouldst be just, open the gates and give up the fort to thy King, if bent on war, lead out thy soldiers and fight the enemy. Doing neither, to close the strong gates of the fort and to shut ourselves within these high walls is shameful indeed."

The poet rebuked Nedunkilli for not obeying the King and succeeded eventually in reconciling the rebel prince and the King. One of the stanzas uttered by him is as follows :—(33)

"He does not wear the white flowers of the palmyra. He does not wear the garland of the dark Margosa. You wear a wreath of the Ar, and so does he who wages war with you. If one of you loses the battle, it is your royal race that loses. It is not possible that both of you can win. A war between you is ruinous to your ancient house. Alas! how cruel is this evil war which makes your enemies rejoice."

It was the custom in this period for each King and his generals to wear on the battle field garlands of a particular kind of flower, to distinguish his party from that of his enemy. The Pandya wore the flowers of the Margosa, the Chera those of the Palmyra, and the Chola the flowers of the Ar. In the stanza translated

(32) Ibid, Puram, 44.
(33). Ibid, Puram, 45.

above, the poet says, that it is not the Pandya or the Chera that fights with the Chola, but a prince of the Chola family, as both wore the garlands of the Ar.

Distracted by civil wars, the Chola Kingdom was not very prosperous during the reign of Nalankilli. He was wanting in some of the qualities necessary for a successful ruler. If he was good, he was also proud of the resources of his Kingdom and boastful as may be seen from the following stanza composed by himself :—(34)

"If gently approaching my feet, one prays for a favor, I shall grant him even my ancient Kingdom, nay, I shall risk my life for his sake. If slighting the strength of the mighty, any one is so senseless as to oppose my will, he, like the fool who stumbles on a sleeping tiger, cannot escape with his life. If I do not attack such men, and destroy them, as a huge elephant tramples under its feet a tender sprout of the bamboo, may I delight in the embraces of harlots with flowing hair, whom the good even shun."

He is said to have captured seven fortified towns in the Pandyan Kingdom. There is no other record of his having added any territory to his dominions. He appears to have died after a short and troubled reign. The following stanza, in which the poet Muthukannan Chathan exorted him to be gracious to those who visit his court is interesting :—(35)

"Mark those born in the noblest families, faultless as the lotus flower, with a hundred petals, who have ruled this earth. Few of them are famous in song or story. But many have dropped unhonored like the dry leaves of the lotus. The great, whose deeds are the theme of poets' songs, move on aerial chariots, we are told, in the other world. Oh! my sire, Ched-Chenni-Nalankilli! that everything decays and everything grows; that everything dies and everything is born, even the ignorant in this world may learn from the Moon, which visible to all (waxeth and waneth by turns.) Therefore be gracious to all who seek thy favour, whether they be strong or weak. May thy enemies be those ungracious wretches who never help others but live for themselves."

(34) Puram, 73.
(35) Ibid, 27.

On the death of Nalank-killi, Killi-Valavan succeeded to the Chola throne. His right to succession was however disputed by other princes of the Chola family. No less than nine of the princes revolted and sought to divide the kingdom. But Killi-Valavan's cousin, Chenkadduva-Chera promptly came to his assistance, defeated the confederate princes at Nêrivâyil, and established Killi-Valavan's authority. (36) Killi-Valavan then attacked Malayamân, the chief of Malâdu. This chief had evidently assisted the Chola princes who rebelled against the king, and the latter therefore resolved to crush his power. He defeated and slew Malayamân, and seized his sons, who were of tender age, and intended to throw them under the feet of elephants to be trampled to death. The poet Kovûr-kilar interceded on their behalf, and addressed the king as follows :—(37).

"Thou art the descendant of him who saved the pigeon and others from distress. These young boys are the children of one whose tribe is famous for its patronage of the learned. Afraid of the ferocious elephant, they have shed tears and are now gazing in fright at thy Royal Court. Having listened to my words, thou mayest do whatever thou thinkest proper."

Killi-Valavan invaded the Pandyan territory and advanced up to Madura, but was defeated under the walls of that town by Palayan Maran, the Commander of the Pandyan army. (38) After the death of his cousin Chenkuttuva Chera, the Chola King marched into the Kongu country which formed part of the Chera dominions. The resistance offered by the Chera forces was so weak, that the Chola King led his army to the gates of Vanji, the Chera capital, without any difficulty. The Chera King was afraid to venture out of the fort, and Killi-Valavan destroyed therefore the buildings, fields and gardens outside the walls of the town. I translate below some of the Verses addressed to the King by the bards who accompanied his army :—

"Like a thunderbolt which scorches and burns up the trees on a mountain, underneath which lies concealed in a cave, a venomous five-headed serpent, thou descendant of Semban, who once generously saved a pigeon! Lord of the victorious lance and gallant army! while he the master of many elephants holds the fort, the walls of which are impregnable as if made of brass, in the deep and broad moats surrounding which are deadly crocodiles—thou destroyest all that is good outside the fort."(39)

(36) Chilapp-athikaram XXVII-ll. 118 to 123.
(37) Puram, 46.
(38) Akam, 345 Narkirar.

"Thou descendant of him who to save a pigeon had himself weighed on a pair of scales made of ivory, no act of charity can increase thy fame. When we think of thy illustrious forefathers, one of whom stormed the wondrous castles which hung in air, no victory can add to thy prowess. As thy courts of law at Uraiyur ever decide impartially, no act of justice on thy part can enhance thy merits. Thou Valava, lord of the fleet war steeds, who wearest garlands of the Ar, whose powerful arms are as strong as iron in smiting thy enemies, how shall I sing of thy might, when thou dost beseige Vanji to conquer the Vânavan, lord of the handsome high chariot, who has set his flag of the bow on the lofty Imaya mountains whith yield gold." (40)

"Whether thou killest or sayest, thou knowest best what thou shouldst do. But it is shameful that thou shouldst with (thine army and) drums decked with garlands wage war with a King who has (like a coward) shut himself up in his capital, while the sound of the felling of trees—with the long handled axe whose edge is sharpened by the blacksmith's file, on the sandy banks of the Porunai, where young girls wearing bracelets and sounding ankle-rings used to play with *Kalarchi* nuts of golden colour—echoes in his palace within the fortified walls."(41).

Killi-Valavan first married Peelivalai, the daughter of the Naga King, Valaivânan whose territory lay on the Western Coast of Ceylon. (42) Subsequently he took for his consort Sithathakai, the daughter of a King (probably of Mahishamandalam, or the modern Mysore) who claimed to be descended from Mahabali, the mythical King to conquer whom the god Vishnu is said to have been born as a Brahmin dwarf. (43) By Sithathakai, he had a son named Udaya-Kumâra who grew up to be a handsome and promising

(39) Puram, 37.
(40) Ibid, 39.
(41) Ibid, 36.
(42) Mani-mekalai XXIV. l. 54 to 57.
(43) Ibid, XIX. l. 51–55.

youth but was murdered one night accidentally. (44) The King then appears to have sent for his other son born by the Naga Princess. She sent her son in a merchant vessel which sailed from Manip-pallavam to Kâvirippaddinam. On the way, in a dark and stormy night, the passengers landed on an island and there they left the prince in the dark, and sailed again when the weather cleared. Finding afterwards that the prince was missing, they searched throughout the island and the neighbouring coasts, but without success. The sad news of the loss of the prince reached Killi-Valavan just about the time that the festival of Indra was to commence. The King neglected to perform the festival and went in search of his son. A sea wave rushed over Kâvirippaddinam and destroyed the town. It was believed by the superstitious people of that age that Manimekhala or the goddess of the ocean sent the wave to punish the people for their having not performed the festival of Indra, the King of the gods. (45) Killi-Vallavan died shortly afterwards at a place called Kula-murram. One of the poets present at his death expressed his feelings as follows :—(46)

"The messengar of death, who took the life of Valavan, lord of the strong chariots and conquering legions, would not have escaped the King's wrath, if he had come like one commanding or ready to seize the King. No, he should have come begging for the life of the King with raised hands like a bard singing his praises."

Killi-Valavan was succeeded by another Killi who was known as Rajasûyam-Vêdda-Peru-Nar-Killi. He performed a magnificent sacrifice known as Rajasûyam, and invited to the grand ceremony the neighbouring Kings, Ugrap-peru-Valuthi and the Chera King Ma-Veñ-Ko or the Fair Prince. The poetess Avvaiyâr who was present att he ceremony addressed as follows the three Kings who were seated together :—(47)

"Ye Monarchs! lords of the bannered chariots and white umbrellas, may you ever, as you have done to-day, shower into the outstretched hands of Brahmins golden flowers with water : drink of the sweet liquor which your servant maids glittering with jewels

(44) Ibid, XX. l. 107.
(45) Ibid, XXV. l. 196.
(46) Puram, 226.
(47) Ibid, 367.

hand to you in golden cups, and bestow costly gifts on the poets who sing your praises. Only the good deeds that you do now will help you when you depart this life. You three seated together in royal state are now like the three sacred fires which the twice-born preserve day and night, with ceaseless vigilance. May you be blessed with health ! May you live for many many days as countless as the stars in the sky and the rain drops in heavy showers!"

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued)

PRESENT DISCONTENTS IN INDIA.

III.

AND it came to pass that the child grew, and was admitted to the select vituperations of her mother-in-law, and the care of a masculine appetite.

This is the history of the life of an average Hindu girl after (sometimes, I am told alas! before) the age of ten years. Her chance of education—in our common acceptation of the word—then, has lain between the period at which she can speak, and this moment. It is provided for her at the Village or Municipal School—Reading and writing in the Vernacular: the learning by rote of numerous arithmetical tables: sometimes, a smattering of the Geography of the Zillah in which she lives. That is the sum of it. The pedagogue is as often as not a man, and more often than not, a man wholly untrained for his office. The monotonous drone of the fractional table is as easy to him as—snoring: and on hot afternoons he manages to accomplish both these nasal feats without any detriment to his indispensable siesta. His conception of duty is limited to his acquaintance with the Educational Inspector, *i. e.* his registers etc. must be duly marked up. Wisdom, as codified in the Government schedule, must be justified of the children under his care. That is all. To this end therefore he plies them night and morning with the dull regularity of the Vernacular series, and by the time of his reckoning he has indeed made them so clever that they can read with their books closed, and tucked safely under their arms—when once they have had a judicious start.

Do not laugh at the simple-hearted gentleman: he lives up to his lights. Is it his fault if they are dim? Not generally, I am sure. Moreover the system is that to which the renowned University of Bombay has given its imprimatur—the enlightened and intellectual system of *Cram*. All educationalists in the Presidency, (and I greatly fear in any Indian Presidency) if they would be successful must, as our University is at present advised, submit thus to be Poulterers to the downy appetites of the rising age.

And behold the beauty and symmetry of the system in our annual tests. When the dear wee featherd tribe is ready for the feast the Board of august Market-Testers admits it to their walled enclosure: there, (after all the confidential arrangements concerning this responsible clique, have been duly completed), may be seen one of the most marvellous of the mechanical inventions of the day. Each Examiner or set of Examiners sits before his or their private cage, penny in hand, all ready. One, two, three—chink! in it goes,—how well it fits the slot! why, naturally; the slot was cut to fit just that very coin, and no other. And hark! there go the sweet birdies cackling all in perfect unison, just the very same cackle—note by note from the very same "music score" (Did not one of the Testers himself prepare that very score, and would it not have been shameful and disrespectful to sing any other?) Besides, the machine would not work if the birds were not shut in at their individual right rotundity, trained to emit the expected note. The point is, you see, not whether the bird is healthy, but whether he has been filled to the prescribed curves. The Poulterer knew that, clever man!—so he was careful to stuff them well. What was the prescription? Sage onions and breadcrumbs in such and such proportions?—No matter, the point is, it *was* a prescription, and he would have deviated therefrom at his peril.

Poor bird! Stuffing is *good* for you, you know. You may not realize it now, but you will when you have arrived at the age and discretion of those handlers of the test penny. One advantage too will be that you can all your life remember that you are just such a stuffed bird as your wonderful Tester wished: You can never be anything else, you know: *never!* the stuffing exhausts all your vitality and avidity: that is the special beauty of it. Be grateful. And now you are ready for market, and can preen your feathers, and put your yellow (or is it *green?*) beak in the air, and sniff at those silly little gostlings who refused to be stuffed the Poulterer's way, and would cackle out of tune (out of *your* tune, you know): and instead of taking their daily allowance of sage and onions and (what was it?) bread-crumbs—in the decent orthodox quantities from the regulation Poulterer's hand, at the appointed moments, would wander off to peck their own food, and to cackle of a digestion. Silly things! They have their deserts.

But to return—we left the Poulterer with the baby gostlings. *They* never have a chance of going up to market—to the big market where sit the Testers, with their pennies, behind the patent cages. Indeed people all over the world are asking just now—is it wise to send them to the Poulterer's at all. Yes! that is the question which every community in India has to fight out for itself: the question at the basis of many others. What Education should we give our girls? What Education can we safely give them? What Education should we in justice give them? The query comes in various shapes to every one interested in India. And it is a peculiarly difficult one to solve in this land of anomalies. To begin with—let us glance briefly at that which is now within the reach of a girl in India. There is *imprimis*—that village or municipal school with its stern prosaics, its inadequate equipments, giving the child no scope for developing any faculties, having for aim nothing beyond the examination schedule.

With the well-to-do peasant or poor tradesman class, this is the limit of a girl's school education. She can read small words, can write a little; and she knows enough arithmetic to appreciate the number of annas and pies in a Rupee, and the accuracy of her morning bazaar: but even the daily newspaper is beyond her talents, and her only literature remains, as it has hitherto been, *the Vernacular Series Nos. 1. 2. 3*—with most, even that is forgotten after the irksome period of unintelligent school life is over. Yet there is something her home does for the Indian girl which is more to the purpose. She is taught to cook and to do house work: to purchase with most profit, and spend with least waste. For, indeed, the mother-in-law has an educational value, for which she seldom gets any credit.

Practically this is perhaps, all that is needed for the working-classes; yet it seems a pity that the schooling the child gets should not be on principles not so entirely useless, and that no attempts are made to discover her particular talent. For, there are moments even in an Indian working woman's life, which might, without detriment to her manual or household work, be devoted to the improvement of her mind:—times which she spends in gossip and loud-voiced wrangling round the village well: and sometimes alas! even less innocently. If the Patron saint of the lower regions finds

damaging occupation for idle hands, what must he not prepare for vacant minds? While the wider range of opportunity must help the process considerably, I should think.

But the trouble varies directly as the rank of the girl. Take even our great metropolis where efforts have now for many years been made to improve both primary and secondary education. In the Infant Schools, they have perhaps introduced a little natural history, and some object lessons of sorts—but the teachers are wholly untrained, and the children are still *instructed* not *educated*. Moreover, the vernacular series is unworthy the department. One compares it with the charming Infant readers in use in English schools—and one wonders why the Indian gentlemen, who sacrifice their spare moments to what they consider the good of the country, do not begin nearer home, and devote them to the welfare of the Indian nursery. The pretty stories out of the Ramayana and Mahabaratha, or our wealth of unexplored Indian folklore might be introduced with great effect, in easy and simple language: and with a school of art in Bombay, there should be many to help with advice and designs about suitable illustrations.

It is of course a difficult question how far the Kindergarten system can be introduced in any but private schools—since apparatus and appliances are so expensive when ordered (as they must be) from England: but there is no reason why some of our enterprising educationalists should not originate an Indian Kindergarten using the materials to be had in the country; and, at any rate Fröebel's *principle* and methods could easily be employed to brighten the lives of Indian children. The fact is, a regular Training college is very badly needed: and till that need is supplied, it is hopeless to expect much improvement. Some are born to teach, others have teaching thrust upon them: the majority of Indian School Masters and Mistresses belong to the latter category: having no special instinct or love for the profession, they teach—to live. I have not forgotten that there are two Training Colleges, one at Poona, one at Ahmedabad: these send out every year about six or seven Teachers qualified to conduct Government Village Schools: but their knowledge is necessarily as limited as their number.

Of what we might call Middle or High Schools, as distinguished from Infant Schools, there are many in the capitals and large

towns. Most of these are either Anglo-Vernacular or purely English-Teaching, and a large proportion are managed by private individuals, or Boards and Societies (missionary and otherwise). The children who attend these Schools are largely, Parsee and Anglo Indian.—Hindu girls having long ere this settled to the duties of womanhood. The difficulty as to training is very generally felt here.—Enthusiasm and drudgery cannot atone for efficiency—alas!—and the result is seen in the average Bombay School girl. In one way the schedules are a terrible handicap—so much History and Geography and Mathematics, so much reading and writing to prepare against the coming of the annual visitor—but after all one *must* have some plan of work, and the Government Schedules are as diverse and systematic as one could wish them: add to which one is, occasionally, even in India, blessed with a Government Inspector who (as in our central Division, here) makes more point of quality, than quantity. In the *nine* years (or in Anglo-Vernacular Schools seven years) which are the span of a girl's school life, she is helped to a decent acquaintance with the three *Rs*, she has moreover been introduced to deeper studies and there is every chance of finding the one thing for which she may have a special aptitude. The fault lies in the *method* employed by teachers for imparting instruction, and moreover in the fact that they do not trouble to go outside the schedules.

How few girls, English or Indian, brought up in India, know how to write a decent letter, or even answer a note correctly: while as for conversation—there is no examination in that, so the art may not appear in the school time-table.

Every girl, whatever her eventual destiny in life I mean, whether she maintain herself by marriage *i. e.*, by the labour of her husband, or by her own independent exertions, or whether indeed she is simply an employer of labour spending the fortune at her disposal.—every girl, I say, should be a creditable member of society—a pleasant companion. To this end she should be instructed (if instinct has not availed her) in the manners and obligations of society: she should know what is or what is not polite and *comme il faut*, what is and what is not "bad form:" she should moreover be able to meet the requirements of life in the way of correspondence—whether business or social:—she should be able to take an intelligent

interest in what is happening in the world around her: and to talk something other than "*chiffons*" or the prospects of the next Examination.

How are these things taught you will say? *Qui Sait?* They should be *in the air* of every good school: but it seems to me it would not be a bad plan to allot, say a few minutes a day, or even but a half hour a week to *conversation*: when the children might feel at liberty to discuss with their Teachers just anything they listed: the topics of the day, or their favorite books and games.

In India, one has to supplement home influences and duties, so very much more extensively than in England. I am sure the benefit of this would be seen in better written essays—so that, even from an examination point of view the plan would be worth a trial.

Talking of method—I visited not long ago a Guzerathi and English teaching school in Bombay. One class was being taught Euclid, *i. e.*, the Teacher had a book in her hand, and was standing by listlessly, round-shouldered and inert,—comparing with the text, the proposition which the child was saying to her by rote. The figure had been drawn beforehand: the child constructed nothing, as she spoke, and the Teacher had not even re-lettered the figure, to test how far any other faculty but the memory, was working. The highest class was reading *Milton's Paradise Lost*, they had twenty minutes for the lesson: in this time they had read through 100 lines!—explanations included. The Teacher justified this by assuring me that the book had copious notes, which she made the girls commit to memory. The whole thing was of course preposterous. In the first place none of the girls could read aloud with any facility or intelligence, and the twenty minutes might with advantage have been spent over teaching them to enunciate clearly, and accurately.

This brings me to another generalization—*every girl should be able to read aloud, without detriment to the author she dares to attack.* It is an indispensable acquisition, whether for the amusement of the domestic drawing room, or the invalid chamber. The class to which I refer was a class preparing for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University. The *extremity* of school life is the "Poulterer's" chief *opportunity*. The number of cram books annually multiplied for this examination is appalling. The student thinks

for himself at his peril: the examination system, as I have suggested above—is so degraded, that your best chance of passing lies in copious cramming.

After the process has done its work, the girl goes home to bask in the halo of an introduction to the University, and to vaunt her superiorities (?) over girls who have not answered a paper of Matriculation questions: to resent any invitation to domestic work: and generally, to yawn through life with a discontent and slovenliness born of a system which works wholesale, putting brand new patches on to old garments. The product is something which is neither East nor West, and which appeals to neither. Watch the girl for instance, in her home—the girl, who unlike the Hindu has had the opportunity of spending 9 years or more in a school. She is very little use at anything. She cannot, for instance, entertain sufficiently her mother's visitors. These perhaps, speak the vernacular—and the vernacular she has learnt to despise: what she once spoke was an unlovely *patois*, but even that she has neglected. On the other hand, she does not know or think enough to be companionable to her Father. For the domestic duties in which girls of her mother's generation excelled, she had naturally no time while cramming in school: and, she is too untrained and slothful herself to care to attempt teaching her younger brothers and sisters. So she lounges through existence—a curious admixture of ignorance and vanity. She thinks about her clothes, perhaps: but not successfully even so: for, she is often dressed most garishly, and almost always most unsuitably; e. g., she will think there is nothing inadequate in walking out on a rainy day, in French satin shoes with high heels, and coloured stockings—attired, moreover in an evening bodice with low neck, and sleeves not reaching below her elbow. Well may orthodox old ladies ask if this travesty of Western fashions is education!—and well may we wonder how far education (as at present provided) is safe not only for Parsee girls, but for any Indian girl. Sometimes, a little "fancy" work, or the occassional strumming of dance music in execrable time, will vary the occupations of the "educated" Parsee School girl: and one or two go to the University, acquiring after a further application of the "Poulterer" system, the right to put a letter or so after their names: but these last are so few in number that it would not perhaps be fair to discuss them.

To resume—Hindu girls as a rule (we omit the Poona High School, which is exceptional) have not the chance of more than a very primary education, and even this is not given with anything like the facility and success possible in England. Parsee girls are more fortunate: in some cases the period in which they may learn at school or college, extends to their 18th or 21st birthdays. Here the fault is however, that the system of education is so deplorable, that at the end of that time they are not good at anything: they are not social nor scholastic nor domestic successes? they are not always even good little girls whom their Parents are glad to have at home, once more at leisure from their books, to brighten the house, and grease the wheels of the domestic arrangements.

Where does the fault lie? and if this is the education which awaits Indian girls, should we whine so about the fact that Hindu girls have not similar opportunities?

It is always easier to cavil than to suggest: to break down than to construct. We must discriminate: the system has been bad hitherto; but that is no reason for condemning education as education. The fact is they are our standards, our ideals which are at fault. After all, examinations are only means to an end: why do we conspire to exalt them above every other imaginable circumstance of life. I speak as one to whom examinations have been particularly kind—but as one who growing older, finds that the category of "things which matter," in that process of *character making* (which after all is the essential meaning of our life here) varies greatly as one's acquaintance advances with that which is best and least fleeting.

As Browning reminds us, we are worth to the Potter who shaped us much which the world's coarse thumb and finger has entirely failed to plumb. And it is to secure their standing the great tests of life—its sorrows and joys, its obstacles and intricacies—that we would have the education of our girls tend. ....Most of us have our ideals: and most of us feel 'tis safest to keep these to ourselves, as something too sacred for common speech. Yet, I do not see, why we should not have a working model for the use of any average Indian household. If we were agreed as to what we wanted, the united strength of our wishes would perhaps generate just such healthy, refined, educated, delightful Indian girls, as we want to

see. The model Indian girl starts of course with an educated mother, (although this item alas! must wait a generation or so for realization.) —who instructs her even in the nursery, developing her powers of observation, and guiding her awakening instincts to right exercise. When the child is old enough for a Kindergarten (and if the mother can spare no time herself)—the child should be sent to school. Every large town should have its Kindergarten or Infant School, and failing such I do not see why the most intelligent mother should not undertake to teach her neighbour's children with her own. Children are always better learning in groups. This much is however possible in India, the village and Municipal Schools should be improved, and learning made more lovable to the children. Every one knows well enough what is wanted: an acquaintance with birds and animals, their habits and ways: with the common things around us—(there is a whole new world to which the child wants an introduction): healthful exercising and such like.

Moreover, the vernacular series should be better, rewritten and illustrated.

In Middle and High Schools while following the schedule, the Teachers will be careful not to sacrifice the child's power of thought to her memory. It is a great responsibility, that of a teacher: the child will be what you make her: every power and faculty should be given full play: she should be taught to look at life in right proportion; *that*, and not passing examinations, is the end of education; if you put her in the way of acquiring this *right judgment*, you have done your best towards her education. So far as her books go, she should be able to appreciate the Classics whether in her Vernacular or English, and to keep abreast of the literature of the day: to impart anything she has read with simplicity and lucidity: to read aloud so as to please her listeners: to write intelligibly and legibly: her sympathies should be educated so carefully that no trouble which touches others is indifferent to her: and no joy which touches others excites her envy: her taste should be so refined that nothing ugly or coarse or wicked should have any power to attact her—in fine she should be taught to love and reverence and desire *the best things* for herself and others.

Moreover, I would have her fitted for every situation of life. I would have her not neglect the training possible at home—the

numberless domestic duties which go to make the comforts of life, and which none but a woman can do perfectly. I would not have a woman only a superior housekeeper or cook in her household—but, and if, circumstances should demand these duties of her, her other education should not have unfitted her for these things, but should help her to do them more intelligently, and with less waste of energy and time. I would have her too cultivate a gentle voice and step, and be not wholly useless in a sick room. For the rest, every woman should where practicable, know how to play one musical instrument, or to draw and paint sufficiently to occupy moments unoccupied by serious work. Then again she should teach herself proficiency in some outdoor game—for her physical education is equally necessary with other things. I would have her in the words of Marcus Aurelius "like a fire well kindled which catches at every thing you throw in, and turns it into flame and brightness." This much applies to every girl. There is however the question of the higher education of women. How much should be added on to the programme sketched above?

It seems to me that since every one of us, whether man or woman can do one thing better than any thing else, it is our *duty* (other things being equal, and circumstances favourable) to discover what that particular talent is, and pursue it.

To many girls work is now a necessity: and why should they not do the work for which they are best fitted? The world would be better so. There have, I own, been women who have proved unworthy this liberal choice: women who affect exaggerations and incongruities. Some women are alas! like paper kites, ready to rise to any height with the smallest wind: but they want a strong hand at the end of the tether—else, behold, the poor kite hangs in tatters on the nearest tree. Yet, as the school education of a girl improves, such instances will diminish. I never can understand, why men, when they discuss this question think that our only aim is to imitate them. They presume too much on their own opinion of themselves. Our ideals are far otherwise. The mistake has occurred because unfortunately all the brain work has been hitherto monopolized by men—so that in using her brain, a woman is doing what has grown to be the prerogative of a man, and is therefore wrongly styled unwomanly. The fact is no true woman ever

wished to be a man—it will hurt their conceit to say so, but it is truth. Who, with a woman's frame would change all her finer instincts—all the delicacies of her nature for any amount of strength? All we want is leave to work in this world—and, whether man will or no, we shall and are getting it. Yet—let me add for the comfort of those who do not realize this—it is a woman's own fault if her work affects her womanliness. Finally—let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter—the woman when educated as we would have her—how should she seem? Mrs. Browning has a picture which I think paints it desirably.

> She never found fault with you, never implied
> Your wrong by her right; and yet men at her side
> Grew nobler, girls purer.
> None knelt at her feet, confessed lovers in thrall,—
> They knelt more to God than they used—that was all!

CORNELIA SORABJI.

THE MAPPILA AND THE MAPPILA OUTBREAK.

THOUGH the problem of Mappila outbreak has for many years been before the Government and the public, its solution seems to-day to be as far as it ever was. The recent tragic occurrence at Manjeri has once more brought the matter into prominence. I propose in the course of this article to give a short account of the Mappila race, and to examine the causes of those unfortunate disturbances which have disgraced the administration of Malabar for the last half a century and more.

The Mappilas are mainly descendents of the Arabs who had considerable trade with Malabar before the advent of the Europeans in the Indian seas and of the women of the land. They all follow Muhamadanism the religion of their ancestors. There are many accounts extant in Malabar concerning the introduction of the faith of Islam into this district. Tradition says that in the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian Era, a party of Moslem pilgrims on their way to a sacred Shrine in Ceylon chanced to visit the capital of the *Perumâl* or the King of Malabar, that they were most hospitably entertained by that Prince and that he, becoming a convert to their faith, subsequently accompanied them to Arabia. It is further stated that the Perumal becoming anxious of establishing his new faith in Malabar, with suitable places of worship, sent his followers with letters to all the chieftains whom he had appointed in his stead requiring them to give land for mosques and to endow them. The Perumal's instructions were carried out and nine mosques were founded and endowed in various parts of Malabar. Whatever truth there may be in these accounts it is certain that at a very early period the Arabs had settled for commercial purposes on the Malabar coast, had contracted alliances with the low caste women of the country, and that the mixed race thus formed had begun to be known as the *Mappilas*. These *Mappilas* had in the days of the Zamorin played an important part in the political history of Malabar and they had in consequence obtained many valuable privileges. When Vacso De Gama visited Calicut during the closing years of the fifteenth century we find

their influence at Court so powerful that the Portuguese could not obtain a commercial footing there.

The numerical strength of the Mappilas was greatly increased by forcible conversions during the period when Tippu Sultan held sway over Malabar and is rapidly increasing partly from natural causes but chiefly from conversions from the lower classes of Hindus. The advantages of conversion to the low caste Hindu are manifold. He rises at once in the social scale. "He is no longer the degraded Pariah whose approach disgusted and whose touch polluted the Hindu of Caste, but belonging now to a different scale of being, contact with him does not require the same ablutions to purify it." (Graeme's Report). The bulk of the Mappilas of the present day are therefore descendants of local converts while those who can claim Arab parentage must be extremely limited.

The habits of the Mappilas do not differ much from those of their neighbours. The ordinary diet of the poor is rice, fish and vegetables. They do not indulge in spirituous liquors. The lower orders are extremely dirty in person and habitation. They are strong and hardy and are fitted to bear any amount of labour. They are thrifty and industrious. The rich and the well-to-do among them are enterprising traders. They as a rule marry one wife and live on affectionate terms with her and their children. Their famales generally appear in public without veils. The Mappilas of South Malabar follow Muhamudan law of inheritance, while those of the North are governed by Marumakkattayam law of succession.

The Mappilas as a class are steeped in ignorance. Their education is confined to the recitation of the words of the Koran without understanding its meaning much less its spirit. Their teachers are as ignorant as their pupils except in Koran recitations. They have hitherto kept aloof from schools and colleges and have not taken advantage of the facilities afforded by the British Government for bettering there material condition.

The chief characteristic of the Mapillas, indeed of all Mussalmans, is enthusiasm for religious practices. They are either *Sunnis* or *Shiahs*. The Sunnies are the followers of the Ponnani Tangal the chief Priest of the orthodox party, while the Shiahs acknowledge the Kondotti Tangal as their religious Head. There are always religious disputes between these sects and the Criminal Courts are not seldom called in to settle them. Of Mappilas writes Mr. Graeme "They are very particular in attending to the forms rather than the spirit of their religion, being regular in worship, but at the same time hypocritical rogues and zealous in their attempts to gain proselytes." They are a bigoted race intolerant of any other faith than their own. Of their religion they know nothing except the ceremonial observances. They are therefore completely under the guidance of their ignorant and bigoted priests. It is true that they have a college at Ponnani the chief seat of their religious organisation where men are trained for religious offices. This Institution called *Jammat mosque* was, it is said, founded in the 12th or 13th century A. D. by an Arab Divine for the purpose of imparting religious instruction to youths of the Muhamadan community. The head of the Institution selects the ablest and most diligent from among the students and confers on him the degree of *mutaliar* or *musaliar*. He is then appointed to preach in mosques and to explain the meaning of the Koran and other sacred writings. There are other religious offices as those of the *kazee*, *katib* and the *mulla*. The highest personages of divinity among them are known as *Tangals* who are considered by the *Mappilas* as having been "imbued with a portion of Divinity" and are therefore given almost divine honors.

Having given an account necessarily brief of the Mappilas I shall next address myself to the consideration of the origin and causes of those repeated and almost periodical outrages committed by these people upon the Hindus. These outrages, according to a Government Despatch, "had become progressively more sanguinary and more difficult of suppression."

It was on the 26th November 1836 that the Mappilas, for *the first time* perpetrated those horrors which have since become commonly known as "*Mappila outrage*." Since then exactly sixty years have passed away and within these sixty years nearly fifty times had the Mappilas risen in arms, committed dreadful havoc among the peaceful inhabitants and had died martyrs to their faith. The details of these outrages are more or less the same in all. If a low-caste Hindu who had once become a Muhamadan reverts to his faith or if a Hindu landlord becomes particularly obnoxious by

evicting tenants, some Mappilas vow to take the life of the offending *Kaffir* and to die a *martyr*. The fanatics who intend to commit outages generally go to a *Tangal* and perform their *Dikkar* and *Niskar* (cries and prayers) with him. Ballads and songs are sung of the brave deeds of those who had thus died in the cause of their religion and of the pleasures of the paradise awaiting the martyrs. They are then blessed by the *Tangal* and are presented with a sword and spear with the admonition *to arise and slay the Kaffirs*. Dressed in martyr fashion they march through the country flourishing their swords and singing warlike hymns, murdering defenceless men and women and setting fire to houses on their way till they find a strong place, generally a Hindu temple, where they take their stand and await the arrival of the Police and the Military. The Mappilas in general look upon this as a religious vow and provide them with food and other necessaries. The power of fanaticism is most conspicuously exhibited in their struggle with soldiers. Even when struck down they are known to continue the fight, sometimes on their knees hurling weapons on their assailants till they are slain. All the outrages as I have said are repetition of the same story attended with more or less cruelty. Many valuable lives have been sacrificed to the fanaticism of the Mappilas including those of a District Magistrate, of some Military officers and of many rich landlords of Malabar.

What can be the cause or causes which can induce the Mappilas to commit these outrages and to throw away their lives?

The Government have from time to time appointed special commissioners "to enquire into the Mappila disturbances their causes and remedies."

In 1852 Mr. Strange was appointed commissioner and in his Report he expressed his opinion that "no outbreak or threat of outbreak could be attributed to the oppression of tenants by landlords though a great clamour was raised by the Mappila population seeking to throw the blame of these outbreaks upon the landlords." He further was convinced "that though instances may and do arise of individual hardship to a tenant, the general character of the dealings of the Hindu landlords towards their tenantry whether Mappila or Hindu was mild, equitable and forbearing." According to Mr. Strange "the fanatic and the lawless nature of the Mappilas who are

generally illiterate and are completely under the guidance of their bigoted priests has furnished the true incentive to these "daring outbreaks" "Even the desire for plunder may prove a sufficient motive for the organisation of these outbreaks, some having already largely profitted in this way." The result of his suggestions to remedy these evils was the passing into law of Acts XXIII and XXIV of 1854.

Act XXIII authorised the local authorities (1) to escheat the property of those guilty of fanatical rising (2) to fine the locality where such outrages had occurred and (3) to deport suspicious persons out of the country. Act XXIV rendered the carrying of warknives illegal.

The subsequent history of the outrages proves conclusively the utter futility of this repressive legislation. Act XXIII is an unfortunate piece of legislation which, in its anxiety that no class of criminals might escape, has framed rules so wide as to bring within its clutches the innocent and the guilty alike. It is directed as well against the peaceful citizen as against the fanatic. It is impossible to say how many innocent men have been deported to distant lands and how many widows and orphans have been turned beggars by cruel exactions of fines because, forsooth, one of their neighbours was a fanatic. These exactions instead of suppressing the revolts will only nerve the poor and the destitute to rise in arms and die a martyr's death. There are strong reasons to believe that the recent Mappila outbreak was mainly occasioned by cruel exactions of fines from the neighbours of those rioters who were killed at *Pandikad* in 1894.

The repressive legislation having been found by experience, to be ineffectual, Mr. W. Logan the then Collector of Malabar was deputed in 1881 to specially inquire into and report upon the general question of tenure of land and of tenant right in Malabar and on the question of granting of sites for mosques and burial grounds. In his Report he expressed his strong conviction that the exercise of the power of eviction by the *Jannis* (landlord) which they had not formerly possessed had caused great disaffection among the tenant population, and the influential among the Mappilas had set fanaticism in motion inducing the poor and the ignorant to commit outrages against their Hindu landlords. Mr. Macgregor

a former Collector of Malabar holds the same view. He says "First as to the nature of Mappila outrages I am perfectly satisfied that they are agrarian. Fanaticism is merely the instrument through which the terrorism of the landed-classes is aimed at."

Thus we find that two experienced officials who had considerable acquaintence with Malabar people and their habits and customs have come to the conclusion that these outrages are mainly caused by agrarian discontent consequent on the unsatisfactory relationship which at present exists between the Hindu Landlords and the Mappila tenantry.

To understand this question of agrarian discontent it is necessary briefly to refer to the law of land tenure in Malabar.

According to ancient Malabar Law, "the *Janmi* was simply a man exercising authority within a certain defined area and entitled as such to a well defined share of the produce—the pattam or ancient land revenue assessment—of the land lying within that area." But by the action of the British Government he was constituted the lord of the soil and as such he began to exercise the *power* of evicting his tenants through courts of justice. The tenants have now no permanency of possession and are liable to be ejected by their landlords. The dues of the landlord being regulated neither by law nor by custom, a wide door is opened for avaricious *Jannis* to extract the last pie out of their tenants. The demand on the tenant again is not confined to the rates of rent agreed to be paid by him; for, under the guise of extra payment as fines, gifts subscriptions &c., he has to contribute in many illegal ways to his *Jannis* comforts and convenience on pain of being ejected at the periodical renewal of his lease. In addition, the tenants are subjected to many humiliations and much tyrannical usage. It is not a rare thing in Malabar to see whole families turned out of their houses and lands where for generations they had lived and toiled, because they had omitted to subscribe towards the celebration of their *Janmi's* birthday or for other reasons of an equally puerile nature. This terror of ejection being always before them it is no wonder that the tenant population is discontented with the existing law of land tenure.

The Mappila tenants hold it a religious duty to perpetrate outrages against those landlords who indulge too freely in the exercise

of their power of evicting tenants. Mr. Strange says that "the most perverted ideas on the doctrine of martyrdom, according to the Koran, universally prevail and are fostered among the lower classes of the Mappilas. The late inquiries have shown that there is a notion prevelant among the lower orders that, according to the Mussulman religion, the fact of a *Janmi* or landlord having in due course of law ejected from his lands a mortgagee or other substantial tenant, is a sufficient pretext to murder him, become sahid (saint) and so ensure the pleasures of the Muhamedan paradise." He adds "It is well known that the favourite text of the banished Arab Priest or Tangal in his Friday orations at the mosque in Tirurangudi was "It is no sin but a merit to kill a *Janmi* who evicts."

Ernad and Walluvanad, the home of these outrages, are entirely owned by Nambudri landlords the most tyrannical among the Malabar *Jannis*. These taluks are at the same time the great centres of the Mappila population. With such religious notions as those stated above, the only wonder is that the Mappila outrages are not more common than that they are at present. If we examine the history of these outrages we shall find that a great number of them undoubtedly were actuated by agrarian discontent and were directed principally against those *Jannis* who have earned an evil reputation for the eviction of *their* tenants.

Besides agrarian discontent there are undoubtedly other causes equally powerful which lead to the commission of these outrages. They are, it appears to me, extreme poverty and voilent fanaticism of the lower orders of Mappilas who are generally steeped in ignorance.

What with the exactions of the *Jannis*, and what with the Government Revenue laws the tenants in general find it difficult to keep themselves and their families from starvation. They are obliged in certain months in the year to subsist upon roots &c.

Their clothing is scanty and their habitations are mean and dirty. There can be no doubt that the people are becoming poorer and poorer. There is however a false idea that the people of Malabar are lightly taxed. It may be observed that the consequences of increasing the revenue are certain to be disastrous. If the present settlement operations end in enhancing the revenue there can be no manner of doubt that this increased demand will

fall on the already over burdened shoulders of the peasantry. Poverty and discontent must increas and we may with tolerable certainty look for outrages of the kind we have so often witnessed. For, the champions for martyrdom, it need hardly be said, are seldom found among the rich and the well-to-do. It is always the needy and the destitute who are ready to exchange a world full of sorrow and trouble for the pleasures of the Mahomedan paradise. "When the people are poor and discontented" says Mr. Logan "fanaticism flourishes like other crimes."

To suggest remedies would be beyond the scope of this article. It may however be observed that unless a material improvement in the condition of the lower orders could be effected no other remedial measures would be effectual in preventing the recurrence of these outrages. That the Mappilas are hardworking and industrious has been admitted on all sides. Poverty with them must therefore be due to the extreme difficulty of getting work in the rural parts of Malabar.

Again, Mappilas as a class are steeped in ignorance. Ignorance always breeds fanaticism. It is therefore imperative that the extension of elementary education should be recognised as being of prime necessity under existing conditions of the lower classes of Mappilas. It is again only by the quickening of intelligence among them that the vast influence which their priests have over their minds could to any adequate extent be lessened. It has been well said that the salvation of the poor classes lies in the diffusion of elementary knowledge. It is therefore incumbent on Government to encourage education of the Mappilas both because the spread of knowledge among them would go a long way in preventing the recurrence of these outrages and because they form the most backward class in Malabar.

There remains then the question of agrarian discontent. It is an admitted fact that the condition of the Malabar tenantry is very unsatisfactory. They are in a most miserable condition and the *Janmis* who, as we have seen, form the most grasping and the least enlightened of landholders have everthing in their own way. "No tenant is secure of his tenure for more than the period of his lease and any improvements that he many have effected are turned against him and made the reason for raising his rent; should he

not agree, his lands are given to another and he is ousted." The practice obtaining in Malabar till recently of calculating compensation for improvements by tenants at rates said to be customary has been rightly condemned on all hands as very unsatisfactory and ill-suited to secure to the tenant the full market value of his improvements." But by Act I of 1887 the tenants are at present entitled to the market value of the improvements effected by them. Another amendment in the law regulating the relations between the *Janmis* and tenants is at present most urgently required to prevent the former from capriciously exercising the power of evicting their tenants. A legislative measure based on the principle that "the land-lord's power of ouster must in the public interests be curtailed" would be hailed with delight by all the tenants in Malabar rich and poor alike.

Whether all these reforms are to be introduced at once and how to effect them are matters which can only be left for legislative wisdom to decide.

With the spread of general education among the Mappilas and with improvements in their material condition the Mappila outrages will be a thing of the past.

B. GOVINDA NAMBIAR.

FORTY YEARS OF EDUCATION
IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

NOTHING is so likely to impress a really intelligent traveller, who will take the trouble to make researches in this direction, as the widespread and firm hold Western education has taken of India generally, and, it may be truly said, of Southern India in particular. It is a truism that when the rest of the world was sunk in almost Cimmerian darkness the torch of learning burnt brightly in India, and that many of the Brahmin caste who lived in what were little better than mud hovels were profound thinkers. Of no other country can this be truly said. Africa, the Americas (North America at least), and Australasia were inhabited by mere savages. India alone of the great countries of the world seems to have possessed from the first a literary class. Invasions and internecine wars, continued through centuries, were gradually extinguishing Brahminical learning when the European came on the scene. For long years after this event the struggle for the empire of India threatened not to produce a revival of learning but to utterly destroy what survived. For the first half century of the British occupation of India—from Plassey in 1757 to Assaye in 1803—nothing was thought of but the consolidation of the power of Great Britain and the extension of her boundaries.

At last most happily for Southern India there came to the Madras Presidency as its Governor Sir Thomas Munro. He landed in Madras on 20th June 1820. On learning soon afterwards that Canning had resigned the Presidentship of the Board of Control, Sir Thomas Munro wrote him what must be considered a very remarkable letter and one which bears directly upon the subject of education and the promotion of educated and qualified natives of the country to high office.

"I always," he writes, "dread changes at the head of the India Board, for I fear some downright Englishman may at last get there, who will insist on making Anglo-Saxons of the Hindus. I believe there are men in England who think that this desirable change has been already effected in some degree; and that it would

long since have been completed, had it not been opposed by the Company's servants. I have no faith in the modern doctrine of the rapid improvement of the Hindus, or of any other people. The character of the Hindus is probably much the same as when Vasco da Gama first visited India, and it is not likely that it will be much better a century hence.

"The strength of our Government will, no doubt, in that period, by preventing the wars so frequent in former times, increase the wealth and population of the country. We shall also, by the establishment of schools, extend among the Hindus the knowledge of their own literature, and of the language and literature of England. But all this will not improve their character, we shall make them more pliant and servile; more industrious, and perhaps more skilful in the arts, and we shall have fewer banditti; but we shall not raise their moral character. Our present system of Government by excluding all natives from power, and trust, and emolument, is much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school books can be in elevating their character. We are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate. The improvement of the character of a people and the keeping them, at the same time, in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers, to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other.

"There can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement, when the highest acquirements can lead to nothing beyond some petty office, and can confer neither wealth nor honour. While the prospects of the natives are so bounded, every project for bettering their characters must fail; and no such projects can have the smallest chance of success, unless some of those objects are placed within their reach for the sake of which men are urged to exertion in other countries. This work of improvement, in whatever way it may be attempted, must be very slow, but it will be in proportion to the degree of confidence which we repose in them, and to the share which we give them in the administration of public affairs. All that we can give them, without endangering our own ascendancy, should be given. All real military power must be kept in our own hands; but they might, with advantage,

hereafter, be made eligible to every civil office under that of a member of the Government. The change should be gradual, because they are not yet fit to discharge properly the duties of a high civil employment, according to our rules and ideas; but the sphere of their employment should be extended in proportion as we find tnat they become capable of filling properly higher situations.

"We shall never have much accurate knowledge of the resources of the country, or of the causes by which they are raised or depressed; we shall always assess it very unequally, and often too high, until we learn to treat the higher classes of natives as gentlemen, and to make them assist us accordingly in doing what is done by the House of Commons in England, in estimating and apportioning the amount of taxation."

Fond of learning himself and with a cultivated literary taste, it greatly distressed Sir Thomas Munro to see to what a low ebb learning had come in the Madras Presidency, the destinies of which it had fallen to his lot to direct. Accordingly in 1822 he recorded his famous Minute, dated 25th June, which led to enquiries throughout the Collectorates of the Presidency as to the state of education. In, 1823 Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, following Sir Thomas Munro's lead, ordered similar enquiries to be set on foot in his Presidency, and some twelve years later in 1835, Lord William Bentinck took up the matter in Bengal. Thus Madras led the way.

As a result of the enquiry set on foot by Sir Thomas Munro fourteen Collectorate and eighty-one Taluq Schools were opened in the year 1826, as also a training School for teachers. But in 1836 these schools having been proved to be thoroughly inefficient were all closed, except the Training school, which being converted into a High School eventually developed into the Presidency College.

Thereafter followed much recording of Minutes and lengthy discussions between the Boards or Councils of Education and the Governments, and between the Governments in India and the Board of Directors at home, especially on the burning question of whether oriental learning pure and simple, or Western learning should be taught in the schools to be helped or established. The early history of this time can be read well summarised in Mr. S.

Sathianadhan's valuable *History of Education in the Madras Presidency.*

In 1835 Lord (then Mr.) Macaulay, at that time Legislative Member of the Governor-General's Council, wrote the famous Minute which for ever settled the question. He demonstrated clearly and convincingly that what the natives of the country desired, the literary class be it understood, was not Oriental but Western learning, not works in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Hindi, but in English.

"There is yet another fact," he says, "which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanskrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries, or rather the lumber-rooms, of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, I should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years, about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner.' The sale of Arabic and Sanskrit books, during those three years, has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime the School Book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes, every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing, but realises a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay."

Between the years of Sir Thomas Munro's Minute and the Minute of Mr. Thomas, * that is, between 1822 and 1851, a good deal was done to clear and prepare the ground. The various Missionary Societies were amongst the earliest pioneers of Western learning and to them all honour should be given, but, notwithstanding the interest taken by Government in the cause, all that Government itself had so far done up to 1854 was to establish a High School at Madras, most absurdly called the "University," one at Rajamundry,

* See Sathianadhan's *History of Education in the Madras Presidency.*—Appendix B.

one at Cuddalore, a small one at Negapatam, a few very elementary Khond schools in the hill tracts of Goomsoor and Chinna Kimedy, and to pay about Rs. 4000 in aid of certain schools in the North Arcot, Chingleput and Nellore Districts.

A great and mighty change was however about to be wrought in education throughout India. In 1854 appeared the famous Despatch which abolished the Boards and Councils of Education and created Departments of Education under Directors of Public Instruction. The wisdom of this course has never been disputed. To it the vast progress made in education during the last 40 years is to be solely attributed, and it may safely be averred that but for that Despatch and the many changes it brought about, education would still have been "marking time." Not only did it give birth to Departments of Public Instruction, but it created at a stroke of the pen the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. "The Universities in India," says the Despatch, "will accordingly consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who will constitute a Senate. The Senates will have the management of the funds of the Universities and frame regulations for your (the Government's) approval, under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of art and science by examiners selected from their own body, or nominated by them."

Nor, while making ample provision for higher education, did the Despatch neglect the consideration of the instruction of the masses. "Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected; namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

Further, it laid down the most important system of grants-in-aid and of the levying of "fees however small." Many other points of vital importance dealt with in the Despatch may be passed over.

In Appendix C. to Mr. Sathianadhan's *History of Education*, already referred to, the whole Despatch may be read.

Early in the year 1855, a little more than 40 years ago, the first Director of Public Instruction in this Presidency was appointed. Mr. (later Sir) A. J. Arbuthnot was selected to fill the office, and it is now proposed to show what progress has been made under him and his successors in the same high station. Mr. Arbuthnot would appear to have set most energetically to work as during the official year 1855-56 the Educational Department dealt with the following matters:—

1. The re-organization of the principal Presidency Institution under the designation of the Presidency College, now a firmly established, most successful and most important Institution.

2. The establishment of a Government Normal School, which has since developed into the Teachers' College, Saidapet.

3. The Establishment of Provincial Schools. Eventually there were five of these schools, one each at Rajahmundry, Kumbakonam, Calicut, Bellary and (much later) Mangalore.

Those at Kumbakonam and Rajahmundry have developed into Colleges of the 1st Grade, the Mangalore Provincial School remains a 2nd Grade College under the designation of the Government College, Mangalore, but is, we understand, at no distant date to be handed over to a strong local committee in pursuance of the declared policy of Government to gradually withdraw from all direct mangement of Schools and Colleges, except a few of the first grade and those devoted to professional instruction. The old Calicut Provincial School after existing as a Government College, for some years, was converted into a Second Grade College for training teachers, and has quite recently undergone a further change and become the Calicut Government School of Commerce. The Bellary Provincial School has been reduced to the Grade of a High School and is under the direct control of the Bellary Municipality.

4. The commencement of a system of Anglo-Vernacular Zillah Schools. Most of the old Zillah Schools have now developed into second Grade Colleges, as, for example, those at Cuddalore,

* See Sathianadhan's History of Education in the Madras Presidency, p. 46.

Berhampore, Madura, Salem, and Tellicherry, but all have been handed over to local bodies.

5. The commencement of a system of Vernacular Taluq Schools.

6. The extension and promotion of education in the District of Rajahmundry (Godaveri).

7. The progress of the schools established for the instruction of the Khonds and other uncivilized tribes in the hill tracts of Ganjam.

8. The introduction of the Grant-in-aid system.

9. An annual Examination for Government rewards.

10. The provision of Vernacular school books.

In the year under notice, 1855-56, forty years ago, there were only eight Government institutions of the Higher grade—the then very imperfect Presidency College, at Madras; three Provincial Schools, at Kumbakonam, Rajahmundry and Bellary; and four Zillah Schools at Salem, Chittoor, Madura and Berhampore. In these eight institutions, only 1,364 pupils were receiving instruction. Of lower Grade Schools there were about 20 managed directly by Government containing about 1000 pupils. The Higher Grade Provincial (chiefly Missionary) Schools, under inspection numbered 14 attended by some 1,500 pupils. There was also, of course, a proportionate number of lower Grade Schools under private management. A sum of about 12,000 rupees was disbursed as grants to private institutions.

Three years later, in 1858-59, the number of Government Colleges and Schools alone was 122 with a strength of 7,128 pupils, and the number of aided Colleges and Schools was 225, of which 216 were maintained and managed by Missionary Societies. Besides these there were 102 unaided Schools under Government Inspection. The total number of pupils in non-Government institutions was 13,873. The amount of grants-in-aid, exclusive of building grants, during the year, was Rs. 26,035.

It will thus be seen how great an impetus had been given to education in the short space of three years after the formation of the Department of Public Instruction. In round numbers schools within the purview of the Department had risen from under 100 to 460, pupils from about 7,000 to 21,000 (allowing 50

schools, with some 3,000 pupils as about the proportion of private institutions of the lower grade in the earlier period) and grants from about Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 26,000. The latest complete Madras report on Public Instruction in our possession, that for 1893-94, published with G. O. of 7th November 1894, supplies the following figures:—

Number of schools of all grades 24,949
Do. pupils 749,977
Grants-in-aid from all sources, Rs. 9,54,947.

Of which Rs. 6,17,663 were from provincial Funds, Rs. 2,31,936 from Local Funds (District Boards) and Rs. 1,05,348 from Municipal Funds.

The comparison with then and now is so striking that the temptation to give these figures out of their proper place could not be avoided; it will be necessary later on to refer again to the Report on Public Instruction for 1893-94.

On September 5th 1857 the University of Madras was incorporated by an act of the Legislative Council of India and it may be imagined how small were its beginnings, when we state that only two candidates appeared for the B. A. Examination of 1858 and that these two, who however both passed, were from the American Mission Institution at Jaffna. The candidates for Matriculation numbered 41 in 1857 and 79 in 1858. The latest available University Calendar, that for 1895-96, shows that in the course of the year close upon 10,000 candidates presented themselves for the various University Examinations, some 17 in number. Thus in a period of 40 years the tiny plant has grown into the huge and many-branched tree we now see it to be.

In 1859 appeared an important Despatch from the Secretary of State for India on the subject of Education. It reiterated and confirmed the Despatch of 1854 and urged the observance of "the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government Schools."

On 29th October 1862 Mr. Arbuthnot was gazetted Chief Secretary to Government and Mr. E. B. Powell M. A., became Director of Public Instruction. To Sir Alexander Arbuthnot the people of this Presidency owe a warm debt of gratitude for the way in

which he laid the foundations of the system of Public Instruction in this Presidency.

During the early part of Mr. Powell's régime much attention was paid to the subject of a revised grant-in-aid Code.

The first grant-in-aid Code was issued in 1855. Ten years later in 1865 a new Code was issued, introducing for the first time the system of payment by results.

Under Mr. Powell an immense impetus was given to higher Education. In 1855-56 there were only 7 Government High and Middle Schools; in 1870-71 these Schools numbered 82, showing an increase of nearly twelve-fold. In 1866 something was done to stimulate a desire for the education of Hindu women, and in 1868 the Government of India agreed to the opening of Government Female Normal Schools at each of the three Presidency Towns. Accordingly in 1870 Miss Bain, (now Mrs. Brander, Senior Inspectress of Girls Schools,) opened the Madras Female Normal School, which, under her and her successors, Miss Carr, (now Junior Inspectress of Schools,) and Miss Arnold, has done so much good in the way of training women teachers. Progress has no doubt been made in female education since Mr. Powell's day, but if the truth must be told, it has been slow and reluctant. We strongly hold the opinion that the higher education imparted in our Schools and Colleges is defective when so slight is the impression made on the thousands of University graduates that, *exceptis excipiendis*, they care no more now to have their wives well educated than did their ancestors of old. It is a grave reproach to them that they should still, in the words of the Tamil proverb, regard "ignorance" as "woman's best ornament." This by the way.

In 1871 Acts III and IV were passed making over to Local Fund Boards and Municipal Commissions the duty of providing Elementary Education for the masses "by the gradual substitution of useful schools for the comparatively inefficient indigenous Institutions which had existed for centuries."*

As the outcome of twenty five years' working of these Acts (1871 to 1896) we need only mention the rise in the results grants paid under them. In 1871-72 the Local Fund Boards and Municipalities disbursed Rs. 68,277 in aid of Elementary Education. In 1880-81 the grants rose to Rs. 191,539; and, as has been shown above, the disbursements under this head rose 15 years later (1895-96) to the enormous sum of Rs. 3,372,84.

* Speech of the Hon. A. G. Arbuthnot delivered in Pachaippah's Hall on January 31st, 1872.

In 1872 while acting as Director of Public Instruction Col. Macdonald made the suggestion to Government, subsequently carried out, that the school course should be extended to eight years. The desirability of doing this had been repeatedly brought to the notice of Mr. Powell by practical educationists. About this time too, or a little before, the school hours, which used to be from 10 A.M.-1 P.M. and from 2-5, were reduced to 5 hours daily in Government Schools, leaving the evenings more free for out-door sports and recreations.

Under the present classification, as laid down in the *Educational Rules* promulgated by Government, it takes a student eight years to Matriculate from the day he enters a Primary School. Of these eight years, two must be spent in an Anglo-Vernacular Primary School or Department, three in passing through a Lower Secondary School or Department and three in an Upper Secondary or High School.

In March 1875 Mr. Powell retired from the service of Government after 35 years arduous labour in the cause of higher education. In reply to a farewell address presented to him at a great meeting in Pachaiappa's Hall Mr. Powell said,—"It was peculiarly fortunate for me that I came to India when the first real educational efforts were made by the Government of this Presidency. The circumstances of the period, while limiting the number of my pupils gave me the great advantage of drawing forth from the native community youths who had an ardent desire for knowledge, and an energy of character capable of battling with and overcoming the difficulties which stood in the way of progress. In this early period of Government education, there was one man on whom, more especially, devolved the burden of defending and pushing forward secular education; this man was Mr. George Norton, the then Advocate General, to whom we all owe a very large debt indeed. I wish to claim for Mr. Norton, what is undoubtedly his due, the title of founder of secular education in the Madras Presidency. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Norton before long, and

I trust I shall find him, though advanced in years, with as fresh a a heart as ever. I dare not undertake the task of attempting to show how, from the first beginning, the present state of things has been brought about. If I were to make such an attempt I should have to notice the labour of others beside Government educationalists, and, especially those of devoted missionaries, some of whom, Anderson and Noble for example, have passed away. I cannot refrain, however, from declaring my belief that, next to Mr. George Norton, we stand most indebted to Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, my predecessor in the office I am about to vacate. It was he who shaped what had previously been shodowed forth by Mr. George Norton: and when in addition to the work he accomplished as Director of Public Instruction, we contemplate his later labours in legislation, it must be acknowledged that he fully recognised the first great duty of the rulers of India,—the preparation of the natives of the country to take an increasing share in its administration.

It seems to me that what is now chiefly required is to consolidate the work done, to render sounder the instruction given, and to draw distinct lines of demarcation between higher, middle class, and elementary education. The masses are clearly entitled to have an elementary vernacular education placed within their reach; but I consider that restriction should be laid down in regard to the study of English; while within the limit assigned to that study, it should be rendered more thorough and practical than it is at present. I conceive that the task to be accomplished in the way of regulating and improving public instruction, will be by no means less arduous than that which had to be performed by the pioneers of education."

Colonel Macdonald who had previously acted for Mr. Powell as Director of Public Instruction was appointed to succeed him. That this should have been very distasteful to a Department containing such men as Mr. Porter of Kumbakonam and Mr. Thompson of the Presidency College is not to be wondered at. These officers protested as strongly as lay in their power but to no purpose. Col. Macdonald, then Registrar General, was regarded by the then Government as a most able administrative officer, and this led to his selection over the heads of men, who, though they possessed high

academical distinctions, had so far only been employed in executive offices.

In 1879 Col. Macdonald proposed the institution of an examination to be called the Higher Examination for women. It was held for the first time in 1881 and abolished in 1892, as it was considered that the Matriculation Examination of the University amply sufficed for the purposes for which the special examination for women had been instituted. With this view we do not concur. Comparatively few women have ever matriculated, owing to the severity of the present course, and, in our view, it would be a distinct gain to reinstitute the higher examination for women. Every possible encouragement must be given to female education, and while women should be, as they are, permitted to enter for public examinations, such as the Primary, Lower Secondary and University Examinations, it is a distinct gain that they should have an examination of a high standard specially adapted to their requirements.

During Col. Macdonald's term as Director, Government, acting on his advice, instituted the Middle School Examination now more accurately styled the Lower Secondary Examination. From the first it was a success. It has been altered and modified in many ways, but is substantially the same as it was 15 years ago. Over ten thousand candidates annually appear for this test, of whom some 500 are female candidates. Other examinations called into existence by Col. Macdonald were the various Primary Examinations. A man, (or a woman for that matter,) may now, if he so wills it, be examined almost from his cradle to his grave. The pressure of public examinations is—let us be plain—one of the curses of the age. Oh that a ruler might arise in Israel and sweep away one half of them!

To Colonel Macdonald belongs the credit of being the first Director to induce Government to devote funds to the physical instruction of the school-going population. At his suggestion "a lump assignment for gymnasia and other purposes was sanctioned by Government for expenditure during the year 1876-77."

In addition to the various matters already mentioned as having engaged the attention of Col. Macdonald, it should be noted that his régime was specially marked by the raising of the standard of certain Government Institutions. The Rajahmundry Provincial

School, which in 1869 was a mere Zillah School, but had subsequently; under Mr. Metcalfe, done excellent work as a Second Grade College, was raised to the status of a first Grade College, and the Zillah schools at Salem, Madura, Cuddalore and Berhampore were raised to the status of Second Grade Colleges. This action of the Director's raised such an outcry in certain quarters that the echo of it has hardly died away at this day. Mr. H. B. Grigg, who succeeded Col. Macdonald on the latter's retirement in July 1880, attempted a defence of his predecessor's policy, but the defence does not read to us as if it were a very whole-hearted one. Passing over such minor matters as the revision of school curricula, of the rates of fees and of the Grant-in-aid Code, which are constantly recurring, we need only refer to the first appointment of an Inspectress of girls schools as having been made in Col. Macdonald's time.

To those who are willing to look with unprejudiced eyes at the 5 years during which Col. Macdonald held the appointment of Director, it will be clear that under his administration of the department vast strides were made in every direction. Government Institutions rose from 130 with 11,100 pupils to 251 with 11,668 pupils, Local Fund and Municipal schools from 576 with 19,292 pupils to 1,177 schools with 39,553 pupils, private aided institutions from 5,520 with 1,71,039 pupils to 6,078 with 1,78,609 pupils and unaided schools under inspection from 2,918 with 54, 731 pupils to 5,372 with 97,978 pupils. The total increase in institutions was thus 3,727 and in pupils 72,071 and this within the short space of five years.

In a future article we hope to bring the story of education in this Presidency down to the close of the year 1895-96, thus completing the full tale of forty years,

C. M. BARROW.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN MADRAS.

"ASSESS low" was the advice given by one of the greatest of Indian Vicroys to a Revenue Settlement officer. The same advice is repeated in Government proceedings though there is a great difference between the views of the officials and the ryots as to what is low assessment. On the prosperity of the ryot depends the prosperity of the country. Any error on the side of leniency cannot do harm—as it will only result in leaving in the possession of the ryot a greater share of the produce of the land than what he is entitled to. Any error the other way is productive of infinite mischief. Taxation would cripple the ryots' powers of earning in the future. The ryot may have to deny comforts or necessaries of life to himself and education to his children. The payment being an annually recurring one an exceptional effort in one year will not save him. We therefore feel it is the bounden duty of Government, whenever the charge of oppressive land revenue is brought forward, to consider the arguments fairly and fully and remedy the grievance, if any, or place before the public their reasons for arriving at the conclusion that no hardship exists which calls for remedy.

It is of course only in the Ryotwary Districts that this complaint is ever raised. If the Zemindaries were originally over-assessed, time has removed or at least mitigated to a great extent the hardship inflicted on them. But in the Ryotwary Districts, Government claiming to be landlords have reserved to themselves the right to enhance the land revenue under certain circumstances. This system which is now in force throughout the greater part of this Presidency was in the early years of the century assailed from various quarters as detrimental to the prosperity of the country; and in proof of it, its opponents were able to point to the shocking maladministration that prevailed in some of those districts where it had been introduced. However, the Ryotwary system as the basis of land revenue administration was finally accepted by the responsible authorities mainly through the able and persistent advocacy of Sir Thomas Munro. The evils above referred to were attributed to over-assess-

ment and to the oppression of the subordinate officials. They were however so serious that Sir Thomas Munro was appointed Governor of the Presidency to carry out the necessary reforms.

Measures were devised to protect the ryot against the tyranny of the Revenue officials and it was hoped that under the system inaugurated after the celebrated Fifth Report of the Select Committee the land would enjoy prosperity, and the sanguine expectations of those who pressed for the introduction of the system would be fulfilled.

About forty years elapsed and it was then officially acknowledged that the revenue assessments were far too heavy for the country to bear and could be and was collected only by torturing the ryots, and that there were enormous waste lands in the Presidency which were not brought under cultivation owing to oppressive taxation. The result was the organization of the Survey and Settlement department, with definite instructions to impose only moderate assessments, and a reduction of the government demand to its present rate of one half the net produce after deducting the expenses of cultivation. It was hoped that the revenue, thus reduced would be more easily collected and that the waste lands would be brought under cultivation.

Another forty years have elapsed. Torture as exercised before the fifties in the collection of revenue may be said to have practically ceased. Cultivation has no doubt increased, yet there is a feeling of unrest among the agricultural population. There is an enormous extent of land even now alleged to be left waste, and revenue is not easily collected. In January and February, 1893 Mr. Rogers who was a member of the Bombay Executive Council addressed two letters to the Secretary of State for India, in which attention was drawn to the evils of the revenue administration of the Madras Presidency. He had after retiring from the service written a history of the Bombay land revenue administration and was therefore entitled to speak with authority. His statements are serious and require careful consideration.

Before, however, discussing the questions raised by Mr. Rogers we shall attempt a rough and rude sketch of the present situation.

The close connection that generally exists between tribes and functions or occupation enables us to utilize the Census Report and

trace the influence of the revenue system on the people of the country. There are three broad groups who are mainly connected with the land. The first is the group of agriculturists who formed the military and dominant classes, now amounting to 2,320,288 or 6·51 per cent. of the entire population; next the old, cultivating or farmer class now amounting to 7,016,140 or 19·69 per cent. and the field labourers amounting 7,036,838 or 19·75 per cent. according to the Census of 1891.

In the scheme of our land revenue administration there was no room for three classes. Originally claiming half the gross produce, the Government now claim half the net produce left after the expenses of cultivation. It is the declared policy of the British Government in the Ryotwary Districts to leave no room for the middleman, and to reduce the agricultural population to the position of Government tenants who must not sublet but may hire labour. The result, therefore, was keen competition between these various classes to secure for themselves the residue of the produce left by Government. The members of the agricultural or dominant class, as the Census Commissioner calls them, had to reduce their standard of living, or increase if possible the rent from the farmer, who in his turn had either to reduce the wages of his agricultural labourers or dispense with their services and himself labour in the fields. Naturally, therefore, there was a diminution in the standard of living all round or some of those who were living on the produce of lands had to abandon their occupation and seek their subsistence elsewhere. To intensify this distress a large proportion of hill and forest tribes, trading, shepherd, toddy-drawing and other classes, to some of whom even the occupation is unknown, turned to agriculture for the first time to make a living. This influx was mainly due to the rigour of the forest and abkary laws and to the competition of English manufacturers which made it impossible for them to pursue their ancient calling. These men whom any amount of rational inducement would have failed to attract to agriculture and who were driven to it by mere starvation could not be expected to keep up the old position of the agricultural classes. They were content to work and live and so long as the good season enabled them to keep the wolf from the door they were willing to pay any rent. So keen and in some cases so successful has been the competition that it will be found on

examination of the Census Commissioner's Report that some of the tribes whose occupation was originally not agricultural or field labour had now almost exclusively devoted themselves to one or the other. Census statistics do not enable us to find out how many of these tribes and races have adopted field labour or taken to agriculture. But an examination of the lists of those castes shows that they cannot be less than many millions of people. The struggle for land is thus intensified year after year. Old industries are gone or decaying, and new industries are not springing up. The decay of our industries lets loose on agriculture another large flood of comparatively alien population. The scramble for land becomes intense. The old agricultural and cultivating landholder finds himself unable to pay the assessment which the eager bid of a large class of people convinces the not over-sympathetic revenue official that the land could well bear. He has accordingly to reduce himself to the level of a cooly proprietor of land under Government, satisfy himself with an income from land equal to a minimum living wage, and be content with the standard of comfort of the class of labourers. Where he cannot so reduce himself to a level of life his ancestors and himself have not been accustomed to, he is sold up for arrears of revenue or he relinquishes his land to Government and the land is taken up, whatever the assessment might be, by one who has accustomed himself to a much lower standard of life, and who hopes therefore to pay the government assessment. If he again is mistaken in his calculations and fails to pay the Government revenue he also relinquishes the land or is sold up in his turn and a more sanguine cooly speculator steps in with the same result. If the cultivator is able to pay the revenue by improving the land by investing his own money on it or otherwise, that is itself accepted as an indication of the lightness of the assessment with the result that the assessment is soon increased. No law stands between the ryot and the revenue official. No Civil Court may enquire into the question of any increase of taxation. He has therefore to lower again his standard of life or to relinquish or submit to the sale of the land. The revenue official flourishes in the face of the world the fact that the lands are seldom unoccupied, that every land relinquished is soon taken up, forgetful of the circumstance

that where land is the only means of livelihood for by far the great majority of the population, every bit of land if possible will find an occupant. Mr. Rogers has accurately stated the enormous area of lands sold for arrears of revenue, as 1,963,364 acres in eleven years when the entire area under cultivation in one year is only about 18 million acres. The lands relinquished during eleven years including fasli 1303 reaches the enormous total of 5,484,918 acres.

Year.	Acres relinquished.
1293	494,155.
1294	511,667.
1295	346,370.
1296	345,118.
1297	403,803.
1298	441,958.
1299	285,777.
1300	371,125.
1301	775,560.
1302	652,088.
1303	857,297.
Total	5,484,918.

It follows from what we have stated that these and other lands will be eagerly scrambled for and occupied indiscriminately by coolies dignified with the name of ryots. The result will again be the same, a good deal of coercion exercised in revenue collections and, petty tyranny on the part of the revenue subordinates, frequent relinquishments and sales for arrears of revenue and an enormous area of waste land awaiting a more sympathetic administration to yield its produce for the benefit of the public. If this goes on for some time what are we likely to find? A great mass of *half starved*, wretched, small peasant proprietors, heavily in debt, their numbers gradually increasing; a natural general degradation in the character of the people, and an entire divorce between land on the one hand and capital and intelligence on the other.

This last fact is now officially admitted. Lord Wenlock said as Chancellor of the Madras University—"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 others. I have been in every District of the Presidency. In many, more than one 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 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." A revenue administration that scares away capital and intelligence from agriculture stands self-condemned.

Next about the waste lands, according to official estimates the total area of Ryotwari villages is 59·3 millions of acres of which the Revenue officials consider only 28·3 millions at present fit for cultivation. Of these, 21 and odd millions are now occupied (Fasli 1303). There is thus waste land to the enormous extent of over 6 millions available and Mr. Rogers considers rightly that the revenue system is responsible for the non-cultivation of a great part of this waste land. As to the disastrous effects of the assessment on the expansion of cultivation, the Madras Revenue Board admit that 6,392,689 acres of waste land seems to be enormous and to condemn the settlement, and that the Bombay settlements have been very effective in bringing large areas of waste land under occupation "and this is no doubt due to the general lightness of the assessment."

But they say "It is not remembered however that a similar rate of assessment which would have had a similar effect in Madras, could only have been purchased by a large sacrifice of revenue." We may therefore regard this charge as practically admitted. If this had proceeded from an opponent and not from the members of the Board we should have deemed this incredible. That land should be left waste, that the general public should be deprived of the produce of those lands, that a good number of men should be deprived of employment, in the interests of revenue! There must be an enormous extent of land that will suffice to maintain the cultivating ryot but will not yield a surplus that would enable the holder thereof to pay the Government revenue. All such land must now be considered to be left waste on account of the Government assessment. As at present no revenue is derived from these, how will it suffer by imposing a lower assessment on those that can bear it and remitting it entirely on those lands that can't bear any? In fact, by adopting the principle of levying as assessment the surplus, if any, left to the cultivating ryot in the case of these lands?

We will next consider the position of the government tenants. Omitting the Madras District, where the land revenue realised consists chiefly of quit-rent, the total number of holdings in the year 1893-94 amounted to 3,056,519 distributed as under (See Board's Report for Fasli 1303)

Items	Number of pattas	Amount of assessment	Percentage
Ryots paying upwards of 1000 Rs.	649,	11,00,083.	·02
from Rs. 500 to 1000	1,951.	12,96,349.	·06
250 to 500	7,154.	23,46,872.	0·23
100 to 250	41,369.	60,10,819.	1·35
50 to 100	105,852.	71,76,182.	3·46
30 to 50	171,695.	63,93,510.	5·61
10 to 30	763,766.	1,18,85,360.	23·05
under 10	2,024,083,	77,56,064.	66·22
Total.	3,056,519.	4,39,65,247.	100.

About two thirds of the Pattadars pay less than 10 rupees a year while nearly 90 p. c. pay less than 30 rupees. They form a very poor class. Assuming that 9 rupees a month or 108 rupees a year will enable a ryot's family to subsist according to the standard of living in force among the ryot population, it has been calculated

in a Government Publication * that 8 acres of ordinary land paying a tax of rupees 14 or a proportionately larger area of inferior land, paying the same amount of tax may be taken as the area which a family must cultivate by means of the labour of its members to procure subsistence, and that where the area of the holding is less, the ryot must supplement his earnings from cultivation of his own holdings by labouring for others to procure a subsistence. Ryots paying between Rs. 14 and 100 may be taken as belonging to the class of persons who have themselves to do a portion of the work of cultivation hiring also labour. From the list we have already given it will be noticed that more than 66 per cent of the pattadars or more than 2 millions pay less than 10 rupees revenue and therefore must starve if they have only their lands to live upon and that 23 p. c of the remainder are not much better off. Let us examine the figures a little more closely. Of those paying less than 10 rupees 1,459,755 are single pattas *i. e.* Government grant the land in the name of a single individual. 564,330 are joint pattas issued in the names of 1,735,486 registered ryots. These latter are generally co-sharers, who, for the protection of their own and their children's interests, get their names also registered. Considering the wide prevalence of early marriage we may take it that each registered ryot represents a family of 4 persons, husband, wife and two children; we have it then that 3,195,239 registered ryots representing a population of about 12,710,956 (out of a total of 35 millions, including the towns and the Zemindaries) lead a life of semi-starvation on the assumption, of course, that rupees 9 is a sufficient monthly allowance for a ryot and his family. The statistics do not enable us to find out the number of registered ryots or pattadars who pay a revenue, of rupees 10 to 14, the latter indicating as already observed the minimum revenue, the paymet of which shows that the ryots' family could subsist. But there is no doubt that the above number of 12,780,956 will be largely swelled by the inclusion of those ryots. We are aware of the answer that will be made, being one of that class of positive assertions which, though not attended with any proof are difficult of disproof *i. e.*, these ryots subsist by labouring for others. Agricultural people, themselves, they will scarcely be able to go out as field labourers

* Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty years.

during the agricultural season; and in the absence of proof, it is not easy to believe that they find it possible to labour for wages in competition with the enormous number of persons who live or attempt to live solely by labour other than agricultural. But assuming that the government apologist is right, what a commentary on a system which reduces the large mass of the tenants (over 66 per cent.) to the cooly class! There is thus no doubt that the great majority of what the Government are pleased to call peasant proprietors holding lands under them are paupers, leading a life of misery and starvation. Paupers themselves, they find it difficult to pay their land revenue even in ordinarily good seasons and it is therefore not regularly paid. In unfavourable seasons there is no remission, unless there is a total failure of crops, and their state then is deplorable. Torture with other means enabled the Revenue officials before the middle of this century to collect a comparatively larger revenue to the intense distress of the people. Education and native Public opinion have now rendered torture practically impossible. But the Revenue officials have still to use coercion to obtain their revenue and the severity of the coercive processes is thus undoubtedly an index to the hardship of the ryot. It is to this question that Mr. Rogers has, in the communications above referred to, invited public attention.

He remarked upon the large number of coercive processes as indicating the oppressive nature of the land revenue and the rigour of its collection. It appeard that during the three years 1887-88 to 89-90 notices of attachment of property had to be issued to 937,955 defaulters and during those years more than 87,000 acres of land in addition to moveable property which realised 2,76,611 Rs. have been sold to realize the arrears which amounted to 8,50,413. The number of defaulters was 64,435. In the eleven years 1879-80 to 1889-90 there were sold for arrears of land revenue 1,963,364 acres of land held by 840,713 defaulters in addition to personal property of the value of Rs. 29,65,081, Of the land sold, nearly 60 per cent. could not find purchasers and had to be bought in by Government.

The necessity to resort to these coercive processes to collect the revenue showed, in Mr. Roger's opinion, the heavy nature of the demand. It was proof of the ryot's inability to pay the revenue That the Government had to buy in 60 p. c. of the lands proved

that the lands were not equitably assessed; and that such a large extent of lands had to be sold, showed, in addition, the rigour with which the land revenue was collected. He was also of opinion that the small increase of land revenue was due to the faulty nature of the Revenue Administration and that the fact that there were more than 3,000,000 acres of arable land still available, which might be brought under cultivation and add largely to the land revenue, called for careful investigation.

These letters were forwarded to the Government of Madras for consideration who referred them to the Board of Revenue. In October 1894, the Board submitted their reply, and in February 1896 the Government of Madras have replied to Mr. Rogers, in a communication to the Secretary of State, which has not been placed before the public, but the tenor of which is plain from their remarks on the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, that the general conclusions of the Board in their "exceedingly able reply" are correct.

Briefly stated, the charges are, that the coercive processes found necessary to collect the revenue, show the ryot's inablity to pay the assessment, and the extent of the lands that are available for cultivation, still left waste, is proof of the prohibitory nature of the revenue; and the remedy that is suggested is a reduction of Government demand from 50 per cent of the net produce, the present rate, to 30 or 40 per cent.

The Board reply that of late there has been a great accumulation of arrears of land revenue, owing to the slackness of the Revenue officials, in collection. This rendered necessary that resort to coercive process which is complained of by Mr. Rogers; this can be greatly remedied and in fact has been largely remedied in the past few years by the enforcement of greater zeal on the part of the collecting officers; that with this increasing promptitude and rigour in collection, in a few years there will be comparatively little arrears of revenue and consequently no coercion to enforce payment. They deny that the existing rates of revenue assessment have any necessary connection with the issue of coercive processes. Before however dealing with these questions the Revenue Board take exception to the figures quoted by Mr. Rogers from their own returns. They say with reference to one particular

year there is an error in the case of sales of moveable and immoveable property amounting to nearly 8 p. c. owing to (1) the enumertion of all joint owners of a holding as so many defaulters (2) reckoning the same person twice or several times over when both moveable and immoveable property have to be proceeded against and default has been made in two or more instalments. Now we confess we do not see why the joint owners should not be regarded as various defaulters. The practice seems to be to register the holding in the name of only *one* individual, the managing member, when the joint owners form, as they generally do, members of a joint family, except in those cases where they desire the patta to be issued in the names of more than one of them—any decrease due therefore to the 2nd cause referred to above, will, we have no doubt, be more than counterbalanced by the increase due to all the joint owners being regarded as so many defaulters as they ought to be.

Further it is curious that the Board should acknowledge that the accounts are worthless for the only purpose for which they have been prepared and that they have been submitting to the Secretary of State these Land Revenue Reports containing such unreliable returns. The Board further observes that though the accounts show in the words of Mr. Rogers "that noticesof attachment had to be issued to the extraordinary number of 937, 955 defaulters" yet such accounts must be incorrect "since the number of defaulters whose property was attached was 45·6 per cent in excess of the number of notices of distraint or attachment." It may appear presumptuous to charge the Board with ignorance of the mode of keeping accounts in the Revenue offices, but the fact is that in many Districts a single demand notice covered many defaulters—(the practice in Anantpur was put an end to only in 1300; see the Report of that year). Similarly a single attachment notice was often issued from certain Taluq offices for various defaulters; it was and is we belive almost invariably the case that where the defaulters were joint owners there would be issued only one notice and one has only to bear in mind the wide prevalence of the Joint Family system to see that, so long as the practice of issuing one joint patta to joint owners continues, the number of defaulters very often would exceed the number of notices—one notice often sufficing for many.

The attempt of the Board to minimize the gravity of the charge by exposing their own accounts appears thus not to be happy.

We shall now refer to the first question—How far the exercise of coercion by the Revenue officials can be regarded as indicative of the oppressive nature of the assessment. The Revenue Board maintains that coercion is rendered necessary by the inefficiency of the Revenue officials in the collection of revenue and by the neglect of the ryots in paying the assessment, while Mr. Rogers maintains that it is due to the inability of the ryots to pay the heavy assessment.

It is obvious that an idea of the mode of collecting the revenue will be useful to ascertain the truth or otherwise of these conflicting views. The Village is the revenue unit and the Village Head and the accountant under him are charged with the duty of collecting revenue from the ryots. The Village officials act under the supervision of the Revenue Inspector, who is subordinate to the Tahsildar, a native official at the head of a Taluq. Above the Tahsildar comes the Divisional officer, and over him the Collector of the District.

This administrative staff is under the careful and jealous supervision of the Revenue Board and its chief duty is the annual settlement of revenue and its collection.

They are not hampered in their work by any Civil Courts. Nothing is more remarkable than the extreme care with which laws are passed precluding the Courts of Judicature from interfering between the Revenue official and the ryot. A Revenue official who may be guilty of any excesses or irregularities or even extortion in the collection of revenue is safe from the Courts. Any alleged grievance against a subordinate Revenue official may be complained of to a higher Revenue official but it is also one of the axioms of Revenue administration that no legal adviser to a ryot has right of access to any Revenue official. Lawyers are sternly forbidden the precincts of the Revenue offices.

In the collection of revenue they are invested with every power; they can attach moveable or immoveable property, including standing crops on the land; they can arrest the ryots and send them to jail for non payment of any revenue it may please them to demand.

Such is the agency for collecting the Government revenue, armed with these enormous powers. The class of men from whom the revenue is to be collected and against whom these powers are exercised, the rent roll we have already given will show.

By executive order the revenue has to be paid in certain instalments. Assuming that the first instalment falls due on the 10th December the village officers commence their efforts in November. We have seen that by far the greater number of ryots hold a few acres of land and pay only small sums of revenue and it may be assumed that if possible the Ryot will duly pay his instalment to the Village official who is on the spot and knows everything about him. The theory no doubt is that the ryot must pay revenue in the Village office but that is scarcely ever done. If then the first instalment is not paid, what is called *a warrant of attachment* of moveable property is almost invariably taken out. The Village official or the Revenue Inspector goes to the dwelling of the ryots and attaches his household utensils, his cot and bed if he has any or cattle. They are released when the arrears with the expenses incurred in the attachment are paid up. Otherwise they are kept in the custody of the Village official. The attachment of these movables is extremely painful to the ryot. The disgrace on account of the attachment, the inconvenience to the women and the impossibility of cultivating the lands when deprived of his cattle are enough to induce the ryot to avoid attachment if possible. The Village official is often interested in attaching the properties, as he gets the attachment fee. It is not every attachment that he reports to his superiors. The theory is that it ought to be reported to the higher officials, but as a fact, the Village officials report only in those cases where the revenue is not paid up and the property is not released within a few days. In cases where the arrears are paid and the properties released within a few days, there will be no record to show that there was any attachment and no body is interested in bringing it forward. The ryot gets his property and the attaching officer gets the revenue for the Sirkar and the attachment fee &c., for himself. Those distraints of moveables which are reported and whose number appears in the revenue returns are only those where the revenue is not realised or expected to be realised within a few days of the destraint. The official returns do

not thus show the full extent of coercion as evidenced by distraint or attachment. If the ryots find themselves unable to pay their revenue and release the moveables attached, they are sold in auction and the proceeds credited to the revenue. It is only when the ryot is absolutely unable to raise any money on his credit that he allows his moveables to be sold.

For any balance, proceedings are now taken against the land. Here, the Revenue officials are more careful in their own interests. They first call upon the ryot by what is known as a *demand notice* to pay up his balance and if it is not paid up, then the land is attached. Now the ryot makes a last desperate effort, and if by mortgaging the land any money is forthcoming the revenue is certain to be paid. It is only when, neither out of the income from the land, nor out of his other property, he is able to pay the revenue, that his lands are sold.

It must be borne in mind that every effort is in the meantime made to compel the ryot to pay up the revenue. When an instalment falls due the Tahsildar very often sends an order by a messenger to the Village official at whose expense he lives till the revenue is collected and paid up. For his supposed neglect the Village official is often fined. The promotion of the revenue Inspector and the Tahsildar depends upon the prompt collection of the revenue and the Tahsildar himself very often goes to the village for the revenue collection. In the interval other forms of persuasion are also occasionally resorted to. A ryot is sent for and made to stand in the presence of the Tahsildar in sun or rain till he or his friends find the money. A Collector who shows want of promptitude in revenue collection is degraded to the position of a judge. If after all the efforts of the Village officer, the Revenue Inspector and the Tahsildar, the revenue is still in arrears, we may fairly agree with Mr. Rogers in relying upon the number of attachment notices as proving the extent and nature of the coercion. The Revenue Board deny that it has any such value. And further if the produce were sufficient the village officials are not the men to allow the same to be utilized otherwise.

Assuming however that the Board is right, that sales and not the number of warrants of attachment issued indicate the true measure of coercion we apprehend that the conclusion would still be far

from what it would wish. We have only to remember that proceedings against immoveable property are only taken after it has been found impossible to realize the revenue by *sale* of moveable property or in the words of the Revenue Board "save where disputes exist as to the ownership of lands and in the case of pauper pattadars, process is usually issued against moveable property in the first instance."

If so, the result seems to be that the number of demand notices issued amounting to 53,74,303 in the Fasli year, 1303,(1893-94) forms the true measure rather than the number of warrants of attachments on which Mr. Rogers relies, because these demand notices are issued only *after the sales* of moveable property! And we find that the Board itself, except when it has to reply to an opponent, considers the number of processes issued as a test of coercion. In their Report for Fasli 1303, the Board informs us "In ten districts there was a decrease in the number of processes which is attributed generally to the favourable character of the season and to the *consequent punctual payment by the ryots.*" Where thus the ryots pay the revenue readily when they are able, we may fairly conclude that where they do not pay and coercive measures have to be resorted to, it is due to their inability.

Before dealing with the main argument about sales, we will refer to another matter put forward by the Board that there is no warrant to assume that 64,000 defaulters have been deprived of their home and property by these revenue sales, as the lands really belonged only to 27,155 persons and only so much of the holding was usually sold as was sufficient to realize the arrears due. Considering that the land, which is their chief if not the only means of subsistence, is sold only after every other available means is tried to obtain payment, we can scarcely doubt that the sale of land means the ruin of the defaulting tenant.

As to the other statement of the Board of Revenue that only so much is sold as is sufficient to realize the arrears it is accurate only in the sense that Revenue officials do not proceed to sell lands after the arrears are realized by sale. But in the sense, in which alone it is relevant to our enquiry that the value of the lands sold is in any way commensurate with the arrears for which they are sold, it is misleading. The Board says in its Report for Fasli 1303, "Immoveable property of the estimated value of Rs. 7,15,612 was sold for

the recovery of arrears amounting to Rs. 139,123 but the amount realized was 155762" and the following table taken from the same further illustrates the vast and disproportionate difference between the value of the properties, as estimated by Government officials and the amount for which they are sold.

District.	Number of defaulters.	Amount of arrears.	Estimated value of property sold.	Amount realized.
Ganjam ...	107	2,122	8,068	2,323
Cuddapa ...	85	637	2,119	468
Anantapur ...	502	7,074	50,024	5,687
Bellary ...	790	15,413	2,25,540	9,964
Kurnool ...	266	3,362	15,094	3,373
South Arcot ...	1,923	17,032	1,62,749	21,166
Tanjore ...	662	16,527	48,902	21,471
Trichinopoly ...	235	1,018	3,684	1,670
Madura ...	1,904	13,903	30,995	17,958
Coimbatore ...	130	1,224	24,480	996
Nilgris ...	39	665	8.500	3,261
Salem ...	416	4,980	64,000	2,728
South Canara ...	10	254	1,920	201
Malabar ...	479	8,992	30,343	10,889

In the face of this we do not expect to hear that a ryot is deprived by sale of only so much of his property as is equivalent in value to the arrears claimed.

As to the number of defaulter to which objection is taken it is enough to point out that the pattadars are mostly Hindus and that the managing member of the joint family is alone registered in the Revenue books; a fact which has apparently entirely escaped the notice of the Board of Revenue.

Now coming to the main issue, how are the sales of lands for arrears of revenue to be accounted for, except on the assumption that the assessment is too heavy for the ryot to pay? How is the purchase of a good portion of these lands by Government for want of bidders to be accounted for, except on the ground that not even a speculative cooly ryot could be found to undertake the cultivation on the terms demanded by Government.

The reply of the Board is remarkably ingenuous. In their words "*It may be postulated*" that the money value of one half the net produce "is by no means an impossible rent." The officials have to collect the revenue when the ryot is in funds as otherwise the

ryot is under an irresistible temptation to spend the value of the Government share on little extravagances, on the liquidation of loans, or on marriages. Thus "if punctuality is not observed, the money is frittered away, sales follow, and the small ryot is either utterly ruined or seriously crippled—and all through the sheer inefficiency and neglect of others in the performance of a prime duty."—Again "The principle, on which the Government dues are fixed, matters not. If instead of say, Rs. 10, the ryot had to pay only Rs. 7½ or even Rs. 5, the result would be practically the same" and by parity of reasoning, if instead of Rs. 10, he had to pay 15 or 20, it would, we presume, be the same.

All these sales, and the ruin of the ryot "is caused solely by the inefficiency and neglect of duty on the part of the officers of Government."

The exigencies of a weak case have driven the Board very far indeed! To avoid the natural and inevitable conclusion that the assessments are too heavy, they "postulate" the matter in issue and invent a series of facts to justify the same. They have to call the ryots an unthrifty race and all Government officials from the Collector downwards inefficient for their prime duty! Having gone on the track the Board had to go further. It had to account for the repurchase of the lands for want of bidders and the solution is equally simple. The ryots had all combined against Government. The Brahmin, Mahomedan, Christian and all other classes have formed a clique to let Government take away valuable lands so that they may rob it! It is further more incredible that men will allow their landed property with 7,15,612 to be sold for 1,55,762 if it were possible for them to pay the revenue. We need not attempt to expose this fallacy further. The Board could not have satisfied itself of the truth of these wholesale charges which we have no hesitation in condemning as unfair, both to the people and the officials who have no opportunity of refuting them.

What then is the remedy prescribed by the Board of Revenue? Enforced rigor in collection. Of course, if pressure is brought to bear on the ryot, he will probably pay, but it will be the sowcar's money. His present indebtedness is acknowledged and agricultural banks &c., are proposed for his relief. But where will be their use till we remove the main cause of his indebtedness? We are appa-

rently drifting back to the system that prevailed before 1850 when the Revenue officials were bound to collect the revenue without arrears and the subordinate officials had to employ torture supposed to be with the connivance of their superiors. The history of the Land Revenue administration of the first fifty years of this century will have been written in vain for the members of the Board of Revenue if they consider that the collection of revenue by rigorous measures shows the lightness of the assessment.

At the recent Godavary District Conference, an American Missionary Rev. H. C. Schimdt, D. D. said "If you take the Survey and Settlement Register of Rajamundry you see on the first page 'Largest holding under one ryot 291 acres—highest assessment paid by one ryot Rs. 1,510...He is a Pariah.'...We have also large landholders among our Christians."

This explains what we have already alluded to that the old agricultural and cultivating classes with their higher standard of comfort are giving away all round to those who were practically their field labourers before—most of the Christian converts coming from the lowest classes.

The speaker then said that he addressed the assembly on behalf of these illiterate, hardworking masses and pointed out how the small landholder "who has to live from hand to month" suffers from the settlement operations.

"That all land in India is the monopoly of the British Government in an idea altogether foreign to Americans and Europeans. Wherever I have told farmers at home, that the Hindu farmer has to give half of his crop to Government they always wondered how they could live."

So far regarding the Government claim of half the share. Now as to the divorce between labor capital and land.

"If the ryot has the assurance that he himself will reap the fruit of all the labor and capital which he puts into artificial cultivation, he will also put labor and capital into it. But why should he improve the soil, if he is haunted with the spectre of re-classification coming on him whenever it pleases the Government?"

As to the Government estimate of cultivation expenses, he says, "according to the Government calculation, it costs the ryot about one rupee an acre for seed grain, ploughing, transplanting and other

work. As yet I never met a Revenue officer who considered this to be right and proper."

Then about the Government taking only half the net produce he says :—

"I bought some lands in Bhimaveram Taluq. I gave the land to the Christians for cultivation and found every year that the Government took more than one half of the net produce."

Then as to the coercive processes :—

"Carts and bullocks have been taken from the ryots and attached. Once I saw a heap of native cots in the yard of the Cutcherry at Bhimayaram, all under attachment for arrears of revenue on lands *damaged by the floods*. Of what benefit is it to the Government to unhinge the door of the hut of the defaulter, to take the rice mortar from him and his cot, which will not fetch 4 annas in public auction?"

And his speech which will amply repay careful perusal he concluded in these words:—

"Unless there will be a more permanent and settled settlement of the Land Revenue it will be like lottery to put capital into cultivation and the ryot who does least may have the best chance of success. This tax cannot be raised and it may happen that he can get a good crop now and then by chance. And the more money he puts into jewelry of his women, the better for him. Government cannot attach such property. In the ears and noses of females it is safe, but there it is also useless and worse than useless.

"Whenever I move about among the ryots, at harvest time, I often have the impression as if all are united to ruin the poor landholder. Revenue officers hunt him for taxes, before he can realize his crop. The money-lender must be a kind-hearted man if he will lend him money on 18 p. c. interest and he will only do so if the land is worth much more as a mortgage. If not, he has to sell his crop at Rs. 19 or less a putty; which is the more unpleasant, when he himself only a few weeks ago had to buy rice at the rate of Rs. 30 or 35 a putty. I hope that this proposal moved and seconded may result in lenient and simple rules of Revenue Settlement by which neither Government nor landowners will lose anything but which will open out the sources of wealth in India, and help us all to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty under British Government."

MUBTALA.

(Continued.)

Chapter XIX.

The secret exposed; the quarrel and its result.

IT is not known, how long Mubtala intended to keep back from his wife the knowledge of his relation with Hariyali. But one day the servant at the door sent word to the women's apartment, enquiring whether an old woman who was in quest of employment might be let in. Ghirat Begum referred to Hariyali, who was manager of the household. The latter being engaged in a room on some work gave an off-hand answer and the old woman came in. She went to Ghirat Begum direct and told her that she had come to see Hariyali Begum, with whom her husband had made *Nikkh*, three months ago. She said that she was long employed under her, and that since the *Nikha*, she was taken up by her aunt. The latter, however, having left for Lucknow a week ago, she was left without employment. She had known the Begum so long she would prefer to serve under her to going to strangers. Ghirat Begum quietly heard her and motioned her towards the room in which Hariyali was busy and after the woman had gone in that direction rose herself and followed her.

Scarcely had she however reached the threshold of the room when losing all self-control, she pounced upon the poor woman before she had even opened her lips and dashed her down on her face against Hariyali. "Lo, she is not a servant but a lady and my rival; I am a widow, she is master's consort; I am the devil, cast out and loathed she is a houri, she is master's beloved, she is master's comfort"—With every word, she cursed her and battered her on face and breast without intermission. Hariyali had also her share of the blows and in her grief Ghirat did not think much of beating herself. Servants there were many in the house; but none might venture into her presence. The women of the neighbouring houses only peeped

over the walls; not one came in to raise a voice of protest. Search was made for Mubtala; but he had gone out, and the servant Wafadar who was sitting alone in the men's apartment could think of nothing, and saddling the horse, rode away in the direction of the Cutcherry to fetch Nazur who was there on business. Hazur had also come to the town on some business, and was also sent for. Nazur arrived first and then Hazur and Mubtala came in one after another. Before Nazur could come, Ghirat Bagum had exhausted herself by her violence to such an extent that she became insensible; and his first act, on arrival, was to strive to bring her round, in which he succeeded a short while after the arrival of his brother. *She* was the person who had received most blows. Hariyali too had her share; but the blows did not show on the skin. As to the old woman, coming as she did between Hariyali, and the wall, she received less, but that was sufficient for her little soul; and she was the most seriously hurt. If Nazur had not been present, the police-people would have taken the matter into their own hands; and if Hazur had not been there, Mubtala and Nazur would have drawn swords and cut each other's throat.

Five or six days passed in applying remedies to heal the bruises which Ghirat and others sustained in this quarrel. Hazur and Nazur attended on their sister while Mubtala; now throwing off all reserve, openly attended on his second wife and her servant. When things had quieted down somewhat, consultations began as to the future. Mubtala and Hariyali resolved to manage his second household in that very house, thus adding fuel to fire in those already burning with jealousy. There was, however, a difference of opinion among the members of the other side. Nazur with his usual love of litigation wanted to place the matter in the hands of the police and prosecute Hariyali for trespass. He wanted also to sue Mubtala for damages and maintenance; and also to set proceedings on foot for the recovery of the Mohar payble to their sister. Ghirat Begum did not understand these things and all she wanted was to go away to hide herself in Saiyednagar; she would otherwise swallow opium and commit suicide. Saiyed Hazur who had received the blessings of Muttaki's instructions considered that law and suits would in the end bring no good, and opium-eating was out of the question. "What *was* to be done," said

he "is now done and you must submit to the logic of facts. The result of your uproar would be your own departure from the house. You cannot compel your husband to dissever his new connexion and your swallowing opium would only realize for your rival, her devoutly wished for result. Complaint about your present rival is groundless; for there were as many after your marriage, as there were before it. You are upset by these surprises and cannot take a fair view of the matter. Should you not congratulate yourself that your husband, kicking out as he did all restraints and principles, still bound himself to something lawful? and did he not respect your feelings so far as to keep the matter out of your sight to save you all pain? As I looked on the old woman when I returned, I was thoroughly frightened and believed that she had suffered some internal injury and would die at once. People have died from a single blow, and if Nazur were not here, the *dhooli* of the daughter of the *Saadats* had gone to the platform of the police-station."

Saiyed Hazur thus scolded his sister and brother in a way that they could not resent. On hearing his brother's advice, Nazur expressed his consent to submit to anything proposed by him, as whatever he did, was for their sister's good. If the matter was left to him, Saiyed Hazur proposed to talk it over with Mubtala and discover some means of reconciliation between husband and wife. Accordingly, when an opportunity occurred, he called on Mubtala when the latter was sitting all alone in the men's apartment. Since the late occurrences, Mubtala entertained various fears from both his brothers-in-law. He had never had occasion in all his life to stand in the Cutcherry-box, while legal transactions were the element of Hazur and Nazur, and especially of the latter. Although in the present instance, all the aggression was on the side of Ghirat Begum, Mubtala remained ill at ease, and the very confidential consultations carried on amongst the brothers and sister, were not calculated to reassure him. Mubtala entertained fears of the worst, in spite of encouragement from friends who tried to reassure him and advised him to seek the protection of the law.

Mubtala was so afraid of the Court that he felt like one haunted even while at home. When he went inside, to attend on his patients, he would suddenly start and retreat to his apartment imagining that the police were waiting there with a warrent. He

never enjoyed peace of mind and had little sleep all these days. If Hazur had not come to him, just then he would have gone to him to intercede. On seeing Saiyed Hazur at a distance, he stood up with the worst fears coming into his mind; but when the latter extended his arm to embrace him, his fears were dispelled and he threw both his arms around Hazur's neck and wept bitterly. Hazur was much affected and said "How are you cousin Mubtala, what new relations have you contracted that our old friendship is dimmed and thrown into the shade. But for this unfortunate etiquette of ours which deters us going to our own sister's house uninvited, I should have seen you before this. Now that a begining has been made we should see each other often. We could hardly expect to see you, at Saiyidnugar had we returned home without seeing you. I sent for you but could not refrain from coming to you myself."

Mubtala.—What could I do? I could not call on you for very shame.

Hazur.—No matter. Women are proverbially senseless and often quarrel, but if we took serious notice of these trifles, the world cannot get on.

Mubtala.—Then you know well enough, who was on the aggressive.

Hazur.—Don't ask me to speak on the subject. However just I may be, you will surely put down my words to partiality, to my sister.

Mubtala.—I have heard of your sincerity from uncle himself and I can never doubt it.

Hazur.—Since you have made a second *Nikah* already, it is of no avail now to tell you that you were hasty or irregular. No doubt from one point of view, what you have done is commendable. Your way of living till now was one condemned by religion and common sense and opposed to gentlemanliness. You have repented of it; may your repentance be firm like a mountain. But what I fear is this, how could you throw about a pair of dumb-bells when you could not handle a single one. You appear to have fallen from the proverbial frying pan into the fire. The keeping up of two wives (harmonizing of logical contraries) is no easy affair. You may be sure that I am not siding with my sister when I tell you that you did not understand her all. She is not like your

other wife (pardon me for saying so) a common woman. Her descent, and her family, is such that even to-day, there will be a hundred souls in Saiyednagar ready to shed their life-blood on the spot where a drop of her perspiration may fall. Women's affairs are matters of honor in which people of good birth and especially country people are very sensitive. The Saadats * of Saiyednagar, have alway been foremost in resenting their wrongs and never cared for property or life in pursuing their offenders.

"Remember with what solicitations, and flattery, uncle and aunt, (God give them paradise) sought her hand for you; if either of them were alive to-day would they have permitted you to bring in a rival? and to have placed that rival in her very bosom? Why my good man, if you had borne in mind that she had no parents or parents-in-law to protect and advise her and that you were her sole gaurdian, patron, and husband, you would not have added to her troubles the bitterness of a rival. You have reduced her condition to worse than widowhood and your common sense should point to you what she must have felt in the humiliation All the troubles and disappointment of a marriage with a sour, old dotard, in poverty, living from hand to month, would dwindle to nothing before this. No woman could be expected to bear with calmness supercession by a rival. It would indeed not have been strange, if one on whom this mountain of trouble had fallen, had swallowed opium, or thrown herself into a well, or thrust a knife into her bosom. You should be thankful that she contented herself with weeping and beating. Perhaps if she had killed herself you would not have been a great loser. Your new wife would have consoled you and you would have enjoyed life with her, all the more sweetly." But where could we get another sister?

Mubtala.—If you advise me to do so I shall send away, this woman.

Hazur,—I cannot advise you to send her away; if your love for her is not stronger than that why did you take her in at all?

Mubtala.—Can you not discover a means of relief? I have committed a folly. It is almost an insult that I should ask you to advise me but uncle directed me to go to you in my difficulties. You

* Saadats *i. e.*, Saiyeds.

are my elder cousin, and stand in the place of a father; and if you do not help me to whom else could I go?

Hazur.—The point is, not being aware of the antecedents of your new wife, I cannot say what treatment is suitable for her.

Mubtala.—Who is this wretch after all, but a mere flirt crying out, *Repentence, Repentence*, for a long time? My misfortune led me unto her company and I made *Nikah* with her when I had been persuaded by uncle to give up my loose life. The greater folly, however, was that I placed her in the same house with Ghirat Begum in the disguise of a servant. She lived only like other servants and had no attentions from me. This is her history and if you like, she will ply the handmaid in future also.

Hazur.—I entertain grave fears of violence again resulting from keeping her in Ghirat's presence. What can I compare two rival wives to? Can soda dissolved in water, mix with tartaric acid and produce no ebullition. Do not for a moment think of keeping the two together. You say that your means do not permit you to entertain two establishments. You can, in that case, separate the eastern portion of your women's apartment by a partition wall between it and the main building and opening it direct into the men's apartment, make a separate house of it as it stood at the time of purchase. This will suffice for a small family, and will give you, two main halls, a verandah with two large rooms on either side, and kitchen with store room adjoining. Uncle Muttaki settled in your name Rs. 65 of the rents and salaries and Rs. 60 in Ghirat's name. Of your sixty-five, thirty may be given to your junior wife and the balance reserved for your own clothing and personal expenses. Leave Ghirat alone with her sixty rupees and, spend your days alternately in the two houses. All soreness will be avoided and you will have peace.

Mubtala had quite expected that Hazur would insist on the expulsion of Hariyali and the transfer of all his property in the name of Ghirat Begam, if he did not also propose that he should himself go away with her. But when he heard this fair and reasonable proposal his joy knew no bounds and he prostrated himself in gratitude at the latter's feet. Hariyali was also exceedingly pleased that her *Nikah* was recognised and confirmed in public; and that she was to live in the same house. The husband's thirty-

five rupees were also hers, and thus her share exceeded the senior wife's. What was she as compared to Ghirat Bagum, a Saidani, lady of good birth, husband's own aunt's daughter, mother of children and wedded wife of 9 years' standing? In point of fact she was not fit to bear her slippers. She therefore thanked God that her repentence was accepted and crowned with success. Ghirat Begum, had no care whatever for property or income. She was unhappy, as Hariyali would still be her rival; but willing or not she submitted to the elder brother's decision. In due course, the proposed partition wall was raised up; and Hariyali came back into the house.

Chapter XX.

The new life with his two wives.

When a new house is set up, every thing requires to be provided for, from the sleeping cot to the cooking pot. There was enough and to spare of these at Ghirat Bagum's, but who would venture to remove one straw from it to the other house. Hariyali experienced great difficulties in the way of making the collection; but good management is a gift in itself. In course of time, she was able to furnish the house in such a way that nothing was wanting. She would have been able, at a moment's notice, to entertain ten guests at a time; although none chose to call on her. According to the programme fixed by Saiyed Hazur, Mubtala spent alternate days at each of the houses. At the senior wife's house, nobody attended on him and he had to sleep away his whole day, but at the junior wife's, he was treated as lord and master, and every consideration was shewn to him. But the senior wife would not leave him quiet there. As long as he was with her, she never turned her face to him, as if she had no concern for him; but no sooner did the turn of the next house come, than every possible care was taken to spy his movements from morning to night. Enquiries were set on foot as to how long he remained in the men's apartment, when he entered into the house; what he ate, how much he ate; how long he slept and what conversation took place between him and Hariyali. An additional duty was thus imposed on servants of carrying messages. One

was posted at the door to see and hear all that took place, from behind the wall; and another ran to and fro for carrying the information into the house. With all this, she was not satisfied. There was a balcony in her house, which commanded an interior view of the next house; she would ascend this, although she had never since her marriage ascended it before and remain there the whole day long. In the beginning, there were stringent orders against the admittance of the servants of the other house, and Ghirat Begum was so strong on this, that one day she had a live coal placed on the hand of a servant who wished to carry away some fire; but, on reconsideration, thinking that much information could be wormed out of servants, she cancelled her order and allowed admittance without let or hindrance. The new evil, however, was that she unreasonably became irritated with those who could not give her enough of gossip and the latter were obliged to invent stories for her satisfaction. One would come and say, "Lady, what a toilet has your rival made to-day. She has embellished herself, as if she were a bride in honey-moon, she has put jessamine oil of the highest excellence on her hair and the whole house is deluged with perfumery. She has beautifully plaited her hair. Ornaments made of flowers bedeck her from top to toe. Over-garments of a bright sandal colour and undergarments lined with rich silver-lace go to heighten her beauty". Ghirat Bagum would heave a deep bitter sigh and say. "Yes on whom master smiles hers is beauty, hers enjoyment." Another would make up a story that Hariyali was sitting on a chair in the compound letting the master stand by her side and cut up for her sugar-cane into round bits which he put in her mouth with his own hand.

Ghirat Bagum would say "cursed be the wretch, she has no sense of shame at all." Such tales were repeated by the servants from morning to evening and whoever could invent them most cleverly and plentifully, could count upon her best confidence and good will. Ghirat Begum entertained all sorts of prejudices; she would not allow her little infant daughter Batool to be taken over to the other house; but Masoom had his own feet, and every moment would run there. Amongst the other things done by her to annoy Mubtala, Ghirat Begum would beat the child and curse him all round whenever she could. Children, like wild animals, could only be

tamed by kindly treatment. Masoom would fly from the mother's very shadow and spend his time with Hariyali who treated him with the utmost kindness and fondled and made much of him. As soon as he set his foot inside her doors, Hariyali would take him up in her arms and embrace him, wash his hands and face, put on oil and comb his hair and give him sweets and fruits that she kept for him.

At times she would purchase him toys. If she happened to chew betel-leaf, she would put a bit of it in his mouth, and placing a looking-glass in his hand say "Lo, how red are your lips."

In the various prejudices, she entertained against her rival, Ghirat Begum included witchcraft also. Whenever her children became ill, she would never give them medicine, for she always referred the sickness to wichcraft on the rival's part and considered medicines ineffectual.

Nobody cared for Mubtala's meals in the senior house, the lady of the house herself did not care for him. All the comfort and happiness that he could enjoy was only at the junior wife's house. In these difficulties and troubles, he became negligent of even his personal wants. He who used to bathe every day and oil and comb his hair often, and change his dress four times, would now have no bath for days together. His hair would become a tangled skein, and no thought of making it tidy would occur to him.

He had furniture of the best sort at home but by want of care in handling them the servants soon reduced it to lumber. The turn now came for Hariyali also to take up her cudgels, against her co-wife and then the rivals quarrelled and scolded each other till the neighbours thurst their finger-ends into their ears.

KHAJA KHAN SAHIB.

(To be continued.)

PRINTED AT THE VYJAYANTI PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE, MADRAS

Vol. II. No. 7.

THE MADRAS REVIEW.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY.

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

NOVEMBER, 1896.

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Madras:

PRINTED AT THE VYJAYANTI PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE,

AND

PUBLISHED BY SRINIVASA, VARADACHARI & CO., MOUNT ROAD.

1896.

Editorial Office, Egmore, Madras.

Annual Subscription with Postage Rs. 7.

Price per Copy Rupees 2.

THE

MADRAS REVIEW.

Vol. II. NOVEMBER 1896. No. 7.

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS question of late has prominently come before the public in India and we think none too soon. Our countrymen in South Africa, it appears, have been patiently suffering insults and indignities and disabilities in that part of the world now for over ten years. The only excuse for us here for not giving sufficient attention to this in our opinion all-important question is that we were not in possession of authentic facts. True, there were harrowing reports published in the *Times of India* and the *Madras Standard*, which, be it said to their credit, have been advocating the cause of our countrymen in South Africa for a long time. But any definite action on such reports would have been impossible.

But now there is no such excuse. Every one who cares to study the subject can do so without any difficulty. In fact the literature on the question has grown so much that the ordinary business-man may not even find time to go through the mass of documents that are lying before us. We therefore offer no apology for taking up the subject. And a short review of the whole question may not be inopportune as the time for the great national gathering at Calcutta is drawing near and as we think that this question might well be

treated as one of the prominent matters on the Congress platform. At the same time we would hasten to inform our readers that this is not a merely Congress question, not a political question either, as the term is understood now a days. There seems to be practically no difference of opinion about the matter and we believe there can be none. It is and has been treated as an imperial question and has received the support of all parties without distinction both here and in England. We state this because we are anxious that those who look with disfavour upon everything that comes from the National Congress should not be misguided into the belief that this question is a Congress question merely, and therefore beneath their notice.

We now proceed to give a brief account of the Geography of South Africa.

South Africa for our purposes consists of the two self-governing Colonies of Natal and the Cape of Good Hope, the two Republics *viz.*, the South African Republic or the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Crown Colony of Zululand, the Chartered territories and the Portuguese territories comprising Delagoa Bay or Lorenco Marques and Beira.

Natal is a British self-governing Colony enjoying Responsible Government since 1893 A. D. Before the September of 1893, Natal was a Crown Colony having a Legislative Council of 12 elective and 4 executive members with a Governor representing the Queen, a constitution not very unlike the Indian Legislative Councils. In 1893 the Responsible Government was granted whereby an Upper and a Lower Chamber were created. The Upper Chamber called the Legislative Council consists of 11 members nominated by His Excellency the Governor of the Colony and the Lower Chamber styled the Legislative Assembly consists of 37 members elected by the Colonists possessing the legal qualifications to be hereafter described. There is a moveable ministry of five members based on the model of the British Cabinet.

Natal has an area of 20,851 square miles and a European population of about 50,000, a native population of about 400,000 and an Indian population of about 51,000 according to the latest census. The 51,000 Indians include 30,000 free Indians *i. e.* those that have finished their indentured service and are engaged in the Colony in various pursuits of life as household servants, petty farmers, vegetable

hawkers, fruiterers, goldsmiths, artisans, petty store-keepers, school-masters, photographers, attorney's clerks, &c. 16,000 who are at present serving their indenture and 5000 traders who came to the Colony on their own means and are either traders or shop-keepers' assistants, the trade consisting in soft goods suitable for the natives of South Africa called the Zulus or Kaffirs, hardware soft goods and groceries suitable for the Indian population. The soft goods and groceries for the Indians are imported from Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The free and indentured Indians go from Madras and Calcutta and are pretty equally divided. The Colony of Natal in 1860 resorted to Indian immigration when as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Natal, Mr. Garland says, "the existence of the Colony hung in the balance." The immigrants are imported to work on the sugar fields and tea-estates and replace the natives of that country called Kaffirs who were found by the colonists to be indifferent and unsteady. They are also largely employed by the Government on the Railways and for the sanitation of the Colony. The colonists at first assisted the sugar and tea-industries of the Colony by granting £ 10,000 towards the cost of the importation of the Indian immigrants. Almost the first act of the Responsible Government was to abolish this grant under the plea that the industries no longer required such support.

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is like the Colony of Natal, a responsibly governed colony with a constitution similar to Natal's. Only the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council contain a greater number of members and the franchise qualifications are different; *viz.*, the property qualification is occupation for 12 months of a building worth £ 75, the salary qualification is £ 50 per annum. The person claiming to be registered must be able to sign his name and write his address and occupation. This Act was passed in 1892 and was really passed to check the Indian and the Malay vote. This Colony contains an area of 276,328 sq. miles and a total population of about 180,000 persons of whom not more than 400,000 are Europeans. The Indian population of the Colony would be roughly 10,000 consisting of traders, hawkers, and labourers. They are to be found chiefly in the ports *viz.* Port Elizabeth, East London and Capetown and also in the mines in Kimberly.

The Transvaal or the South African Republic is an independent Republic governed by the Dutch or the Boers. There are two Chambers called the Volksroad with an Executive Government with the President at the head. It contains an area of about 113,642 sq. miles and a white population of 119,258. Its black population is said to be 653,662. The chief industry of the Republic is gold mining in Johannesburg the largest town in the Transvaal. The total Indian population may be roughly put down at 5,000. They are traders, shopkeepers' assistants, hawkers, cooks, waiters or labourers, mostly settled in Johannesburg and Pretoria the capital of the Republic. Of the traders, there are nearly 200, whose liquidated assets would amount to nearly £ 100,000. Some of these traders have branches in other parts of the world, whose existence mainly depends upon their Transvaal business. There are nearly 2000 hawkers in the Republic who buy goods and hawk them about. About 1,500 are employed as general servants in European hotels or houses. This estimate was formed in 1894. The numbers have since considerably increased in every department.

The Transvaal is subject to the Queen's suzerainty. There are two Conventions between the Governments of England and the Transvaal.

Article 14 of the London Convention of 1884 and article 26 of the Pretoria Convention of 1881 provide as follows.

"All persons other than natives of South Africa conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel or reside in any part of the Transvaal State. They will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, premises. They may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents they may think fit to employ. They will not be subject in respect of their persons and property, in respect of their commerce and industry, to any taxes whether general or local other than those which are or may be imposed upon the Transvaal citizens."

The Orange Free State is an independent Dutch Republic without any suzerain power to the Queen.

The constitution is very similar to that of the Transvaal. Mr. Steyn is the President of the Republic and Blomfortein is the capital. Its area is 72,000 square miles and the total population 207,503. Of

these the Europeans number 77,716 and the coloured population 129,787. There are a few Indians employed there as general servants.

Zululand is a British Crown Colony and has a very large Zulu or Kaffir population and a small European population. It is administered by a representative of the Queen called the Governor of Zululand. This country forms a portion of the borderland of Natal and much coveted by that Colony. The Government of Natal have been urging the Home Government to let them incorporate it into Natal and it is quite possible that within a very short time the permission will be given.

The Chartered territories also are a newly opened up country and they are mostly inhabited by the natives of the place with a good sprinkling of Europeans. A few Indians from this Presidency have settled there and are employed as domestic servants. Only one trader Indian has gone there. He opened a store there only recently.

The Portugese territories of Delagoa Bay and Beira contain an Indian population estimated roughly at about 10,000. These are mostly traders or hawkers. They are not all British subjects; some having gone there from Portugese India. These latter are chiefly what are called Bunyan traders. They are really Hindoo Buniahs. A good few are Memon Mahomedans. The Indians in these territories, we may note, labour under no disabilities.

The climate of the whole of South Africa except the Portugese territories is said to be magnificent. It is cool enough for the Europeans to settle but too hot for them to work as labourers. Hence the supply of steady and reliable coloured labour is absolutely indispensable for the development of the country.

South Africa, it should be remembered, has come into sudden prominence of late owing to the Jameson raid into the Transvaal Republic and derives its importance from the vast gold mines of Johannesburg, that Eldorado of the gold hunters of the Western world, and the diamond mines of Kimberley in the Cape Colony which have produced some of the finest diamonds in the world.

Having said so much with regard to the geographical position and the population and government of the different states, we would now examine the condition of our countrymen in that part of the world.

"It appears that there is a strong prejudice against the Indians." We quote from one of the papers before us :—

"The man in the street hates him, curses him, spits upon him, and often pushes him off the footpath. The Press cannot find a sufficiently strong word in the best English Dictionary to damn him with. Here are a few samples. "The real canker that is eating into the very vitals of the Community," "these parasites," "wily wretched semi-barbarous Asiatics," "a thing black and lean and a long way from clean which they call the accursed Hindoo." "He is choke full of vice and he lives upon rice. I heartily cuss the Hindoo." "Squalid coolies with truthless tongues and artful ways." The Press almost unanimously refuses to call the Indian by his propere name. He is "Ramasamy." He is Mr. "Samy," "He is Mr. Coolie," "He is the black man." And these offensive epithets have become so common that they, at any rate one of them, "Coolie," are used even in the sacred precincts of the courts, as if Coolie were the legal and proper name to give to any and every Indian. The public men too, seem to use the word freely. I have often heard the painful expression, "coolie clerk," from the mouths of men who ought to know better. The tramcars are not for the Indians. The railway officials may treat the Indians as beasts. No matter how clean, his very sight is such an offence to every white man in the Colony that he would object to sit even for a short time in the same compartment with the Indian. The hotels shut their doors against them. Even the public baths are not for the Indians, no matter who they are."

Again we take the following from the report of the public meeting at Bombay.

Statute books describe the Indians as belonging to the "aboriginal or semi-barbarous races of Asia," while as a matter of fact there is hardly one Indian in South Africa belonging to the aboriginal stock. The Santhals of Assam will be as useless in South Africa as the natives of that country. The Pretoria Chamber of Commerce thinks that our "religion teaches us to consider all women as soulless and Christians a natural prey." According to the same authority "the whole community in South Africa is exposed to dangers by the spread of leprosy, syphilis and the like loathsome diseases engendered by the filthy habits and immoral practices of these people."

Yet there has happened not a single case of leprosy amongst the Indians in South Africa. And Dr. Veale of Pretoria thinks that "the lowest class Indians live better and in better habitations and with more regard to sanitation than the lowest class whites," and he furthermore puts on record that "while every nationality had one or more of its members at sometime in the lazaretto, there was not a single Indian attached."

The coaches are not for us. Between Barberton and Pretoria in the Transvaal, and Johannesburg and Charlestown when the latter were not connected by railway, the Indians, as a rule, are and were, not allowed to sit inside the coaches but, are and were compelled to take their seats by the side of the driver. This, on a frosty morning in the Transvaal where winter is very severe is a sore trial apart from the indignity which it involves. The coach travelling involves long journey and at stated intervals accomodation and food are provided for, passengers. No Indian is allowed accomodation or a seat at the dining table in these places. At the most he can purchase food from behind the kitchen room and manage the best way he can. Instances of untold miseries suffered by the Indians can be quoted by hundreds. The High Schools are not open to the Indians. A fortnight before I left Natal an Indian student applied for admission to the Durban High School and his application was rejected. Even the Primary Schools are not quite open to the Indians. An Indian Missionary school-master was driven out of an English church in Verulam, a small village in Natal."

The South African papers admit and apparently deplore the indignity with which we are treated. The *Natal Mercury* observes:—

"There is throughout South Africa a tendency to treat all Indians as coolies pure and simple no matter whether they be educated and cleanly in their habits or not.....On our railways we have noticed on more than one occasion that coloured passengers are not by any means treated with civility, and although it would be unreasonable to expect that the white employees of the N. G. R. should treat them with the same deferente as is accorded to European passengers, still we think it would not be in any way derogatory to their dignity if the officials were a little more *Suaviter in modo* when dealing with coloured travellers (24-11-93.)

The *Cape Times*, a leading newspaper in South Africa, says :—

"Natal presents the curious spectacle of a country entertaining a supreme contempt for the very class of people she can least do without. Imagination can only picture the commercial paralysis which would inevitably attend the withdrawal of the Indian population from that Colony. And yet the Indian is the most despised of creatures, he may not ride in the tramcars nor sit in the same compartment of a railway carriage with the Europeans. Hotel-keepers refuse him food or shelter and he is denied the privilege of the public bath!" (5-7-91).

Here is the opinion of an Anglo-Indian Mr. Drummond who is intimately connected with the Indians in Natal. He says, writing to the *Natal Mercury*:—

"The majority of the people here seem to forget that they are British subjects, that their Maharanee is our Queen, and for that reason alone, one would think, that they might be spared the opprobrious term of 'coolie' as it is here applied. In India it is only the lower class of white men, who calls a native a 'nigger' and treat him as if he were unworthy of any consideration or respect. In their eyes as in the eyes of many in this Colony, he is treated either as a heavy burden or a mechanical machine. . . It is a common thing and a lamentable thing to hear the ignorant and the unenlightened speak of the Indian generally as the scum of the earth, etc., It is depreciation from the white man and not appreciation that they get."

Such a state of things is bad enough and more than sufficient to send a shock through the heart of every true son of India. But as if the cup the Indian's woes were not full the different states have filled it by legislation curtailing the liberty of the Indians and have thus set the seal of their approval on the conduct of European population towards the Indian. It is therefore no wonder that, as Mr. Gandhi states in his pamphlet, a gang of Europeans set fire to Indian stores in a village in Natal and another gang threw burning crackers into Indian stores in Durban and that a party of European children used Indian children as targets.

We will now place before our readers a succinct statement of the legislation of the type above referred to.

To take Natal first: The late Legislative Council of Natal before the Colony was granted Responsible Government like the present Legislative Assembly under the new regime was an elective body. And any adult male being a British subject but not being a native of South Africa who possessed immoveable property worth £50 or paid an annual rental of £10 was entitled to have his name placed in the list of voters to elect the members of the late Council. The voters' qualifications are the same for the election of members of the Legislative Assembly of Natal. Under this law the Indians being British subjects were capable of being voters till 1894. In 1894 however, the Natal Government introduced a Bill disqualifying 'Asiatics' from becoming voters on the ground that they were not accustomed to representative institutions. But the speeches made at the second reading of the Bill disclosed different grounds for such a drastic and admittedly retrograde measure. The speakers thought that unless the Asiatics *i. e.*, the Indians in this case, were disfranchised they might swamp the electorate. Our countrymen in Natal opposed the Bill and in a memorial to the local Parliament quoted eminent authorities to disprove the assertion that the Indians were not accustomed to representative institutions. They instanced the famous Panchayat system, the Mysore Assembly and Lord Cross's India Council's Bill. But no arguments would convince the Natal Assembly against its will. Nothing daunted, our countrymen appealed to Lord Ripon and in their memorial signed by 9000 Indians showed the impossibility of the Asiatic vote swamping the European, quoted extracts to show that many eminent Natalians looked at such proposal with strong disfavour when it was mooted before and showed also that the Bill was really a result of the awful prejudice against the Indians. The outcome is that the obnoxious Bill has been withdrawn but has been replaced by another which, we have no hesitation in saying, is a piece of political immorality. As the *Natal Advertiser* puts it, the Government of Natal attempt "to accomplish by a side wind" that which they cannot accomplish 'openly.' The following is the wording of the Bill.

"No persons shall be qualified to have their names inserted in any list of electors who (not being of European origin), are natives or descendant in the male line of natives of countries which have

not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise unless they shall first obtain an order from the Governor in Council exempting them from the operation of this Act."

This Bill was submitted to Mr. Chamberlain before being introduced in the Natal Assembly and the Right Honourable Gentleman is said to have approved of it. We cannot understand how a gentleman of his shrewdness and acuteness could have been led into giving his countenance to a measure that has been made purposely ambiguous. We only hope that the memorial that is now engaging his attention will convince him, as it has convinced us, that the Bill is a harassing piece of legislation. The memorial before us shows that the very members who voted for the Bill thought it to be an extremely unfair measure because of its ambiguity.

This is what the *Natal Mercury* the Government Organ in Natal has to say in justification of the measure.

"Rightly or wrongly, justly, or unjustly a strong feeling exists among the Europeans in South Africa and especially in the two Republics against Indians or any other Asiatics being allowed unrestricted right to the franchise. The Indian argument of course is that there is only one Indian to every 38 European voters on the roll at present with the open franchise and that the danger anticipated, is imaginary. Perhaps it is but we have to deal with it as if it were a real danger, not altogether, as we have explained because of our views but because of the views we know to be strongly held by the rest of the Europeans in the country. We do not want isolation again under the far greater and more fatal ban of being a Semi-Asiatic country out of touch and out of harmony with the other European Governments of the country."

The measure then has been passed not because it is just, not because it is really necessary but because 'the strong feeling in South Africa against the Indians' requires it. It shows the weakness of the Government in yielding to the popular prejudice and we hope Mr. Chamberlain will see his way to disallow it.

The memorialists have made it clear that they do not want political power and to show the bona fides of their statement they say that, while they deny that there is any fear of the Indian vote swamping the European, they would have no objection to an educational test being imposed, or the property qualification being raised with regard to all classes of voters. They have also shown it clearly enough that the franchise Bill is merely an attempt to lower the status of the Indians. The Attorney General of Natal says that "the Indians shall not form part of the future South African Nation that is being built." Now it is perfectly clear that this cannot be done unless the Indians are disfranchised no matter what their voting strength may be. Even if they retained equal rights with the Europeans in theory only e. g. by an increase of the property qualification which would prove an effectual bar to all but an infinitesimal portion of the Indian community in Natal to becoming a voter, no one could prevent them from being called members of such a nation. Another member of the Natal Parliament wants to "make the Indian's life more comfortable at his home in India than in Natal." Will Mr. Chamberlain help the Natal Europeans to attain their object? We would close our review of the franchise question in Natal with a very apt quotation from the *London Times*' article on the same question :—

"The question now before Mr. Chamberlain is not an academic one. It is not a question of argument but of race-feeling. We cannot afford a war of races among our own subjects. It would be as wrong for the Government of India to suddenly arrest the development of Natal by shutting off the supply of immigrants as it would be for Natal to deny the rights of citizenship to British Indian subjects, who by years of thrift and good work in the colony have raised themselves to the actual status of citizens."

If further proof were needed to show that the Natal Franchise Bill is not an honest attempt to prevent the future political supremacy of the Indian but to persecute him and to distinguish him to his disadvantage from the European in the eye of the law, it is to be found in the Natal Immigration Law Amendment Bill No. 17 of 1895. The indentured Indians till now have been going to Natal, under a contract of service for five years, to serve under any employer to whom they may be alloted in consideration for monthly wages at the rate of 10/ sterling for the first year to be increased by one shilling sterling every succeeding year, free passage to Natal and free board and lodging for themselves, their wives and children, if any, during the term of indenture. By remaining in the Colony another

five years they become or rather became entitled to a free passage to India.

A commission on behalf of the Natal Government visited India in 1893 to induce the Indian Government to sanction an alteration in the above mentioned terms viz., to make the indenture perpetual or in default to compel the indentured Indians to return to India at the end of any series of indentures. The highest wages attainable under the altered terms are 20/ per month after the expiry of the 9th year of indenture. The Government of India subject to the approval of the Home Government reluctantly approved of the suggested alterations stipulating that non-compliance with the agreement to return in default of indenture should not constitute a criminal offence. The Natal Parliament have now passed the Bill above referred to embodying these alterations, at the same time practically evading the condition imposed by the Indian Government by providing for an annual poll tax of £3, euphimistically termed license by the framers of the Bill, to be levied on the Indians failing to reindenture or to return to India. This Bill has become law, having received the sanction of the Home Government. The Bill was opposed by our countrymen in Natal in the local Parliament. Failing there they sent a memorial to the Home Government showing how the most eminent colonists in Natal including the framer of the Bill at one time strongly disapproved of such a proposal. Said Mr. Excombe, the present Attorney General of Natal and the mover of the second reading of the Bill, ten years ago :

"With reference to time-expired Indians, I do not think that it ought to be compulsory on any man to go to any part of the world save for a crime for which he is transported; I hear a great deal of this question ; I have been asked again and again to take a different view, but I have not been able to do it. A man is brought here, *in theory with his own consent, in practice very often without his consent,* he gives the best five years of his life, he forms new ties, forgets the old ones, perhaps establishes a home here, and he cannot according to my view of right and wrong, be sent back. Better by far to stop the further introduction of Indians altogether than to take what work you can out of them and order them away. The Colony, or part of the Colony, seems to want Indians but also wishes

to avoid the consequences of Indian immigration. The Indian people do no harm as far as I know ; in certain respects they do a great deal of good. I have never heard of a reason to justify the extradition of a man who has behaved well for five years." And this is the position that the Indian memorialists took up. They prayed that either the Bill should not receive the sanction or emigration to Natal should be suspended. Mr. Chamberlain has evidently disregarded both the prayers.

With the greatest respect to Mr Chamberlain and the Indian Government we think that in sanctioning the Bill they have done a grave injustice to India. We take it that the Indians are sent to Natal to benefit the Colony as well as to benefit themselves. In the present instance the Colony gets all the benefits. Surely, we are not yet reduced to such straits that we cannot do without condemning a number of countrymen to perpetual bondage. It is, we think the duty of every public man in India to see that such a wrong is not submitted to without a protest at any rate. We cannot afford to let any of our countrymen remain in a state of everlasting degradition. For if the indentured men do not become reindentured what must they do? To return to India to face 'semi-starvation', as Mr. Saunders has put it ? Or if not that, to pay an annual poll tax of £ 3, his half year's earnings nearly, as a reward for having given his life-blood for five years and aided the prosperity of the Colony? If these be the advantages of emigration, then, we have no hesitation in saying "perish such emigration." We shall manage to live though overcrowded in India and patiently wait for better days within India but shall not be a party to dooming any of our countrymen, be they the humblest, to perdition. We seem to be writing strongly but the occasion is such as to require an emphatic but respectful protest against the action of the Home and the Indian Governments. The Government of India have suspended emigration in the case of foreign states and there should, we submit, be no hesitation in applying that remedy in this case till the Colony of Natal can be brought round to see the folly of wishing to have the lion's share of any business.

Nor do these two Bills finish the legal disabilities of our countrymen in Natal. The nine o'clock rule in Natal which makes it necessary for every Indian to carry a pass if he wants to be out after

9 P.M. at the pain of being locked up in a dungeon causes much heart-burning especially among the gentlemen from this Presidency. The children of many indentured Indians receive a pretty good education ; and they wear, as a rule, the European dress. They are a most sensitive class and yet unfortunately most liable to be arrested under the nine o'clock rule. The European dress for an Indian is no recommendation in Natal, it is rather the reverse. For the flowing robe of Meimon frees the wearer from such molestation. A happy incident described in the green pamphlet led the Police in Durban some years ago, to free Indians thus dressed from liability to arrest after 9 P.M. A Tamil school-mistress, a Tamil schoolmaster and a Tamil Sunday-school-teacher were only a few months ago arrested and locked up under this law. They all got justice in the law courts, but that was a poor consolation. The result however was that the Corporations in Natal are clamouring for an alteration in the law so that it might be impossible for such Indians to get off scot-free in the law courts.

There are other minor disabilities also in Natal which for the present we shall pass over.

The suggestion that the Protector of Indians in Natal should be preferably an Indian of high attainments and knowing the different languages is certainly worthy of consideration.

The Cape Colony has passed an Act authorizing the East London Municipality to pass bye-laws preventing Indians from walking on the footpaths and making them live in locations. In the Crown Colony of Zululand, the Indians cannot own or acquire landed property in the townships of Eshowe and Nondweni though they own property in the township of Melmoth in the same Colony. It may be stated that the township of Melmoth was the first to be established and it seems that the fact that our enterprising countrymen bought £ 2000 worth of property in Melmoth induced the prohibition in the other two townships. This question is engaging Mr. Chamberlain's attention and we anxiously await his decision.

The South African Republic, in spite of the Convention we have quoted above, has been allowed to pass laws which prevent Indians from trading or residing except in specified locations and from owning landed property and require them to pay a special registration fee of £ 3. The system of passes too is prevalent there. And the

Indians, though devoid of any privileges whatever in that country, may be called upon to render compulsory military service if Mr. Chamberlain returns an unfavourable answer to the memorial of the British Indians on the subject. It is criminal for the Indians to buy native gold in that country and the law or usage prevents them from walking on the footpaths in Johannesburg and Pretoria and from travelling by the first or second class.

The Orange Free State has practically shut the Indians out entirely and it appears, drove out the Indian traders without any compensation causing them a loss of £ 9000.

Such is the state of our countrymen in South Africa. We may give more fully the history of the persecution in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on a future occasion. And such we are afraid must become the state of the Indians whenever they may go outside India unless this question as affecting South Africa is properly decided.

We have been convinced that the cause of this ill-treatment and disabilities is trade jealousy. We have no time to give here the proofs brought forward in support of the statement. This question looked at from a broad point of view is a very great and grave question, and we are free to confess, sufficiently intricate to puzzle the most keen-sighted statesmen. It is not surprising therefore that Mr. Chamberlain cannot deal with the question as quickly as our countrymen in South Africa would desire. At the same time it is likely to bias Mr. Chamberlain's, or for that matter, any other man's mind in his position in favour of the white colonists. No doubt the European colonists interested in the matter would leave no stone unturned to put forward their side of the question. And we must not lose sight of the fact that Mr. Chamberlain belongs to their caste. Again our countrymen beyond the sea cannot possibly have so many or so able advocates of their cause as the Europeans. It is therefore absolutely necessary that we on this side should study the question carefully in all its bearings.

This much must, we consider, be taken for granted, that if we are to keep pace with the material advancement of the world or what is called the civilized world, we must venture out of India in pursuit of trade and that emigration is one of the remedies to relieve the congested parts of India.

This also must be admitted that we can live more cheaply than the Europeans and thereby perhaps undersell them. This must give rise to irritation when we meet the Europeans in the field of trade. What is to be done? Are we to live like them? We would certainly not indulge in their luxuries of drinking and smoking and costly furniture. In other respects we ought to meet them. If we do not live in decent houses but are satisfied with humble huts, a taste in us may be created for better houses, better clothing, &c. Having done that, we might fairly say to our European brethren "if we can still undersell you, then it is due to your vices that you cannot compete with us. At any rate you must not grumble." But how and when is this to be brought about? Neither by legislation nor in a day.

Before we can push this enquiry further we have to state an axiomatic truth. The Queen has guaranteed by Her Most Gracious Proclamation equal rights to us with Her other subjects. Lord Ripon, while Secretary of State for the Colonies, has accepted it with reference to the Colony of Natal and therefore we may say with regard to British possessions and allied states outside India. Therefore, we maintain that the Colonies must be brought round to accept it as an indispensable fact that they will have to put up with the presence of the Indians in their midst. We quote here the following opinion of the *London Times* also in our support.

"It is very desirable that our White fellow-subjects in Africa should understand that there will in all probability be this current flowing from India, that it is perfectly within the rights of the British Indian, to seek his subsistence at the Cape, and that he ought, in the common interests of the Empire, to be well-treated when he comes there. It is, indeed, to be feared that the ordinary colonist, wherever settled, thinks much more of his immediate interests than of those of the great Empire which protects him, and he has some difficulty in recognizing a fellow-subject in the Hindu or the Parsee. The duty of the Colonial Office is to enlighten him and to see that fair treatment is extended to British subjects of whatever colour."

When the European Colonist is made to understand this but not before, he can be in the mood to take in the next best method of dealing with the question.

The doctrine of self-preservation has been mentioned in this connection to justify the conduct of the colonists. We think that it is a most pernicious doctrine as put forward and is really the cause of so much selfishness we see around us. But we have to accept it as a condition of modern life. Its most uncompromising champion however will acknowledge that it is always limited by surrounding and superior considerations and we submit that in the present case that doctrine must be limited by imperial considerations.

If the Indians are fellow-subjects with the European British subjects not in name only but in reality, if they are members of the great imperial family, if the British rule in India is ultimately to depend upon the love and loyalty of the people, then there can be only one solution of the question, *viz.*, that there can be no special legal disabilities placed on the Indians in any part of Her Majesty's dominions or allied states. If wiser counsels prevail at the Colonial Office and the highest imperial considerations guide Mr. Chamberlain and if the European colonists be once for all firmly told that they cannot place any legal restrictions on the British Indians we think the question will be much nearer its proper solution.

Now to take up the enquiry, the colonists will then perceive many points of contact between themselves and the Indians. They will then begin to weigh the disadvantages of the presence of the trading Indians in their midst as against some of the undoubted and admitted advantages. They will then be persuaded to see a little far ahead, to consider the imperial side of the question, to see also that India herself finds the means of livelihood of tens of thousands of their own kith and kin and that India might therefore send her sons to find livelihood among them also. They may, being undoubtedly the most practical people in the world, reconcile themselves to the Indians and a happy fusion may be the ultimate result. The Indians on their side being told firmly but kindly by a sympathetic Government to conform, as far as possible, to the ways of the Europeans, would soon rise to their new conditions, and all would be well. We offer these suggestions for consideration by the Home and the Indian Governments and at the same time exhort our countrymen in India to take up this question seriously and earnestly if we are to have any status outside India.

Finally, we quote in support of our contention, extracts from an article from the *Natal Advertiser* which found many points to recommend the Indians to the European colonists after the sympathetic attitude of Mr. Chamberlain towards the Indians in South Africa had become known. This same paper at one time suggested an anti-Asiatic league. The article referred to says among other things :—

"The first point to be weighed is this that in belonging to the British Empire we have to take whatever may be evil as well as whatever may be good as arising from that connection, provided, of course, it is inseparable therefrom. Now as regards the destinies of India's population it may be taken for granted that the Imperial Government will not readily permit of legislation in any British dependency which has for its avowed object the repulsion of India's surplus population from any part of the British dominions. It will thus be seen that the question of coolie immigration into the British Colonies is one which reaches down to the deepest foundations on which the British Empire stands. It signifies the amelioration and salvation of India. It may even mean the inclusion or exclusion of that great possession in or from the British Empire.

As regards the local aspect of Indian emigration, what has to be considered is whether and if so, how far, does this Imperial policy conflict with what is desirable for this particular locality? There are those who absolutely condemn Indian immigration into this Colony, but it is doubtful whether these have given full consideration to all the bearings of the case. In the first place those who so oppose Indian immigration have to answer the question :—What would this Colony have done without them in those departments of industry in which they have undoubtedly proved useful? There is unquestionably much that is undesirable about the coolie, but before his presence here is condemned as an unmixed evil, it has to be shown that the Colony would have been better without him. This, we think, would be some what difficult to prove."

It will therefore probably yet be found that "the removal of the drawbacks at present incidental to the immigration of Indians into British Colonies is not to be effected so much by the adoption of an obsolete policy of exclusion as by an enlightened and progressive application of ameliorating laws to those Indians who settle in them.

One of the chief objections against Indians is, that they do not live in accordance with European rules. The remedy for this is to gradually raise their mode of life by compelling them to live in better dwellings and by creating among them new wants. It will probably be found easier, because more in accord with the great onward movements of mankind, to demand of such settlers that they shall rise to their new conditions, than to endeavour to maintain the *status quo ante* by their entire exclusion."

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

Contemporary with Karikâl Chola the Great was the Pandyan king Ariyap-padai-kadantha-Nedunj-Cheliyan "or the Nedunj-Cheliyan who had defeated an Aryan army(1)." Some one of the Aryan kings of the Dekkan appears to have invaded the Tamil country during his reign, and the Pandyan king drove back the invaders, inflicting a signal defeat which earned for him the title of "Conqueror of the Aryan army." No particulars whatever of this decisive engagement are to be found in the ancient Tamil works now extant. His memory is however preserved to posterity by his romantic death which is related in the epic poem Chilapp-athikâram(2). It is said that he had ordered his palace guards to behead Kovilan, a merchant of Kavirippaddinam, on the suspicion that he had stolen one of the queen's anklets. But the merchant's wife Kannaki proved to the satisfaction of the king that the jewel was not the queen's. Kannaki also spoke to the king of those Chola monarchs of her native country, one of whom had cut off his own flesh to satisfy an eagle, and had saved a dove, and of another king who had killed his own son for having rode in his chariot over a calf and causad its death. The Pandyan king stung with shame and remorse swooned and fell from his throne and never recovered his life. His queen ascended the funeral pyre. One of the verses composed by this king in which he extols the benefits of learning and exhorts his subjects to educate their children is preserved in the anthology called Pura-nanuru(3). It is as follows :—

"Help your teacher in his need, pay him amply, follow him faithfully, and acquire learning. Amongst her own children a mother loves not the son who is illiterate. Of the members of the same family the eldest is not always honored, but it is the wisest of them whose counsel even a king would seek. Of the four castes of men, if one of the lowest is learned, a man of even the highest caste would resort to him."

(1) Chilapp-athikaram, Maduraik-kandam—1 : 14.
(2) Ibid, canto—xx.
(3) Puram—183.

On hearing of the sudden death of Nedunj-Cheliyan, the Pandyan prince Verri-vêr-Cheliyan who was then Viceroy of Kotkai hastened to Madura and ascended the throne(4). He appears to have died after a short reign and was succeeded by his son Nedunj-Cheliyan II who was then a boy of tender age. Soon after his accession, his kingdom was invaded by the Chola army which advanced up to Madura. Palayan-Mâran the commander of the Pandyan army was however able to gain a brilliant victory, and the invaders were forced to retreat into their own country. The youthful Pandya was present at the engagement. When he heard of the invasion he is said to have vowed to drive the invaders out of his kingdom. The stanza uttered on this occasion by the youthful king, who dabbled in verse like most of the Tamil kings of this period, is as follows:—(5)

"My rival kings proud of their well-armed soldiers, chariots and steeds and huge elephants which have legs like pillars and wear big bells which ever resound, have laughed at those who praised my kingdom, and scorning me as quite a youth, have too boldly marched against me, speaking words of menace and contempt. If I do not defeat them in a pitched battle and capture them with their war drums, let my subjects curse me as a cruel monarch, who too weak to save them has left them to the mercy of the enemy. May the poets honored by the whole world, chief among whom is the learned and wise Maruthan of Mânkudy, quit me and my kingdom as unworthy of their song. May I become so utterly destitute, that I may have nothing to give to the poor or to those who look to me for support."

The bard Idaik-kunrûr-kilâr who was with the Pandyan army during the battle describes the appearance of the young Pandya in the following verses(6).

"Having bathed in the cool waters of the lake outside the gate of his ancient town, and wearing on his head a wreath of the bright leaves of the margosa, the gallant Cheliyan has come to the battle-field riding on an elephant with drums resounding before him. Countless are the warriors arrayed against him. Alas! how few will survive this short day's fight."

(4) Chilapp-athikaram—xxvii. ll. 127-135.
(5) Puram—72.
(6) Ibid—79-77.

"On his feet which still now wore tinkling little bells, now shines the warror's anklet. On his forehead which was covered with luxuriant locks, are now worn the bright leaves of the margosa twined with the twigs of the Ulinjai. On his arms adorned with the pretty bracelets is now seen the strong bow. Who is this youth that attired thus stands conspicuous on his high chariot? May he be blessed! Though a flower garland is on his chest, the necklace he wore as a boy has not been taken off. To-day his food was served without milk. Unmoved he saw column after column of the enemies' forces as it advanced to the attack. Them he neither admired nor scorned; and when his own soldiers grappled with the foes and slaughtered them till their cries seemed to echo in the skies, neither glad nor proud was he of the victory achieved by his army."

The Pandya was not satisfied with driving back the invaders but determined to carry the war into the Chola dominion. He collected a large army of skilled archers and lancers and led them into Milalai-kurram(7), the southern province of the Chola kingdom, of which the ruler was Evvi, the chief of an ancient clan of the Vellala tribe. He defeated Evvi and annexed Milalai-kûrram to his dominion. He annexed also Muttûrru-kûrram the easternmost province of the Chera kingdom. These exploits naturally excited the envy of all the neighbouring kings. A fomidable league was formed by the Chola and Chera kings who united their forces with those of five other kings *viz.* Thithiyan king of Pothiyam, Elini or Athikamân chief of Thakadûr; Erumaiyûran or the ruler of the Buffaloe country (Mysore); Irunko Venmân and Porunan(8). They expected to crush the power of the Pandya; but the latter rose equal to the occasion. He watched their movements closely and without giving them time to take any concerted action, or to enter and lay waste his territory, he boldly attacked them at their rendezvous at Thalai-alankanam. Though taken by surprise, the allies offered a stout resistance and the battle raged fiercely one whole day before the Pandya could drive them from the field. All the kings and chieftains in the Tamil land and the flower of their troops had been engaged in this battle, and hence the victory gained by the Pandyan king was considered the most brilliant feat of arms of this

(7) Ibid—24.
(8) Akam—36.

period. The joy of his subjects knew no bounds. The poets and ministrels who crowded his court extolled him as the greatest warrior of the age.

The Pandya next conducted an expedition personally into the Chêra territory and succeeded in capturing the king Chêy who was surnamed, Yânaik-kan or "the elephant eye" from the peculiar form of his eyes. The Chêra king managed however to escape from custody (9) and Nedunj-Cheliyan pursued him up to the shores of the Western sea, and defeated the Chêra army again in a battle near the town Muchiri(10). Alambil Vel, one of the fudatory chiefs of the Chêra was dispossessed of his lands(11). The Pandya defeated also the chiefs of Kudda-nad and annexed the Nad to his kingdom. He captured the sea-port of Muthu-vallil from a tribe called "Tholuvar" and the famous emporium of Saliyur. (in the Gulf of Manaar) from the Nagas.

Nedunj-Cheliyan II ascended the throne a few years before the death of Karikal Chola. After his victory at Thalai-alankanam, he appears to have been on terms of friendship with the great Chola, as may be seen from the stanza composed by the poet Karik-kannan of Kâvirippaddinam, a translation of which has been already given in my account of Karikal(12). Nedunj-Cheliyan died in the Siva temple at Madura which was called the "silver shrine," and he was therefore known in subsequent literature as Velli-ambalathu-thunjchiya Peru-Valuthi or "the great Valuthi who died in the silver shrine." The period of his reign was most probably from about A. D. 90 to A. D. 115.

The poet whom Nedunj-Cheliyan II honored most was Maruthanar of Mankudi who composed the Idyll "Maduraik-kanchi" in his praise. The poet gives an excellent character of his patron(13):—

"Sincere art thou ever in thy friendship, though the gods themselves tempt thee to be false with the offer of paradise and ambrosia: thou wilt not obey another's command though the most powerful kings of this earth attack thee: thou wilt not stop to commit a wicked deed, though all the gold buried in the southern hills by Bana may be obtained thereby: thou delightest ever in doing good."

(9) Puram—17.
(10) Akam—57.
(11) Maduraik-Kanchi—ll. 344-345.
(12) Ante—Vol. II. p: 328.
(13) Maduraik-kanchi—ll. 197—205.

The object of the poem was to wean the king's mind from worldly ambition and to awaken in him a desire for the salvation of his soul. The concluding lines of the poem, in which the author reminds the king of his pious ancestors and prays that he may emulate their example are as follow(14):—

"Illustrious like Muthu-kudumi who performed many sacrifices, and like Nilan-tharu-thiruvin Nediyon whose praises were sung by eminent poets versed in the ancient lore of the land, thou art praised for thy prowess and thy virtues by many a sage; having conquered what was difficult to conquer and extended thy dominions, having learned all that the wisest know and established thy fame, thou art resplendent like the morning sun in the midst of the ocean, and like the full moon in the midst of stars, surrounded by princes of thy royal house, served by the Kosar renowned in war, chief amongst whom is the great Maran of everlasting fame, and honored by the five corporations and a host of vassal princes. Drink thou daily of the fragrant wine which thy handmaids wearing brilliant jewels present to thee in cups of gold: and live thou nobly thy full span of life!"

The king's love of his soldiers and solicitude for the wounded in camp are well described in the poem Nedu-nal-Vâdai written by Nar-kirar(15). "In the midnight while a chill north wind is blowing, the king leaves his pavilion with a few attendants who hold flaming torches, a noble steed saddled and adorned with little bells is left behind him: a white umbrella decked with strings of pearls is held over him to keep off the drizzling rain: with his left hand he holds up his flowing robes, while his right hand rests on the shoulder of a stalwart youth who carries the king's sword slung on his arm: and the king graciously enquires after each wounded soldier as one of the generals goes before him holding a lance wreathed with garlands of the margosa and points out one by one the heroes wounded in the previous day's fight."

After Nedunj-Cheliyan II succeeded the Pandyan king Ugra-peru-valuthi whose name is well known to the students of the Tamil literature as that of the king in whose court Kural, the immortal work of Tiru-Valluvar was published in the presence of 48

(14) Ibid—ll. 759-782.
(15) Nedu-nal-vâdai—ll. 172-188.

poets. This king had the title of Kanapper-thantha-Ugrapperu-valuthi which meant that he conquered and annexed the fortified town of Kânapper which was then considered an impregnable fort. An ode addressed to the monarch praising his capture of the fort is as follows(16):—

"Hail monarch of fame eternal! Victorious king! Whom bards have praised for thy prowess in capturing the great fortress of Kanapper whose high walls seem to reach the sky, whose battlements gleam like the stars, the ditch surrounding which fort is as deep and fathomless as the sea, the thorny jungle beyond which is so dense that no ray of sunshine even enters it; for the loss of which fort Vankai mârpan mourns daily as it is now hard to regain as the water poured on red-hot iron. May thy foes perish and be forgotton. Victorious be thy lance for ever!"

Nothing further is known of this king, and it appears most probable that his reign did not extend to more than a few years. He was succeeded by the prince, Nan-Mâran or the "Good Pandya." Two of the stanzas addressed to this king by the poets of his court are as follow(17):—

"O Mâra! who wearest the garlands of flowers! like the matchless eye which shines in the forehead, adorned with crescent of that god whose throat is black and who gave victory to the mighty mortals by destroying the three castles of the Asuras using a mountain for his bow, a snake for the bow-string and a matchless arrow, thou art supreme amongst kings. Although a monarch's power may seem to depend upon his ferocious battle elephants, fleet war-steeds, tall bannered chariots, and fearless soldiers, it has its real foundation on justice. Therefore be not partial to thy subjects nor deal unjustly with strangers; be valiant as the fierce sun, benevolent as the mild moon and gracious as the clouds which shower rain so that there may be no poverty in thy land. Long mayst thou live for many years as countless as the sands which strong winds heap up in hillocks in the beautiful harbour of Chenthil, sacred to the god Muruga, where the foam-crested waves of the deep sea ceaselessly break upon the shore."

(16) Puram—21.
(17) Ibid—55 and 56

"In fierce wrath thou art like the god of death. In resistless strength thou art like Baladeva. In fame thou art like Vishnu who smites those who do not praise him. In carrying out whatever thou wishest thou art like Muruga. What is there that thou canst not achieve? Therefore give alms freely to those who seek thy charity. Spend thy days joyously drinking daily of cool and fragrant wine brought by Yavanas in their good ships which thy handmaids who wear shining bracelets on their arms, present to thee in handsome cups of gold. Thou Mara, who wieldest the conquering sabre! like the sun whose fiery rays dispell darkness and like the moon whose mild beams brighten the evening, live for ever, and be eminent amongst the kings of this earth!"

This king died at a place called Ilavanthikaip-palli and hence he was called by subsequent writers Ilavanthikaip-palli-thunjchiya-Nan-Mâran or "the good Mara who died at Ilavânthikaip-palli."

Of the Chera kings of this period Athan I. was the earliest sovereign, contemporary with Karikâl-Chola. He was wounded on the back, while fighting at the head of his army against Karikal at Vennil (18) as related by me already in the life of Karikâl. The Chera king unable to bear the disgrace of having received a wound on the back while fighting, determined to put an end to his life by starvation. It is said that some of his favourite companions also voluntarily died with him unwilling to part from him even in death (19).

His successor on the throne was Athan II. surnamed Chelvak-kadunk-kôvâli-Athan. He gained the friendship of Karikâl by marrying his daughter Sônai (20). Being the son-in-law of the most powerful of the Tamil kings of this period his reign appears to have been peaceful and prosperous. The poet Kapilar who was a Brahmin by birth enjoyed the special regard of this monarch. While in a pleasant mood the Chera king took hold of the hands of the poet and observed that they were remarkably soft. Kapilar who was an adroit flatterer complimented the king on the strength of his hands and gracefully acknowledged that the hands of the poets of his court cannot but be soft. The stanza uttered by him on the occasion is as follows (21):—

(18) Ibid—65.
(19) Akam—55.
(20) Chilapp-athikaram—xxix.

"Thou warrior king, whose broad shoulders cause pangs of love to fair ladies, and terror to thy foes! to drive the fierce war elephant with a goad adorned with gold and to urge the animal to burst open the gates of thy enemies' forts which are secured with iron bars: to hold up the reins of thy noble stead and clear the deep moats, the banks of which have been levelled by the soldiers: to pull with all thy might the string of thy bow and discharge arrows taken from the quiver hung on thy back when riding in the chariots, to do all these acts of strength, thy arms are long and sinewy and thy hands are broad and powerful. But the hands of thy bards are soft as they have no other work but to eat of boiled rice, roasted flesh and spiced mixtures."

On another occasion the same poet composed in honor of the king an ode which for boldness of conception and felicity of expression is unsurpassed in Tamil or perhaps in any other language. The ode is addressed to the sun, and the poet draws a series of comparisons between the king and the sun, in all of which he shows that his patron is superior to the luminary. I cannot reproduce in a translation the elegance of expression of the original, but the meaning is as follows (22):—

"Bright orb that marchest proudly in the sky! thou appearest only at fixed hours. Turning thy back, thou fliest out of sight. In thy course thou art never steady, and even in the wide sky thou darest to appear only in the day and guarded by a thousand rays. How canst thou match king Cheral-Athan whose heart knows no fear, whose charity knows no bounds, and who though served by other kings, being ambitious of power and eager to extend his dominions, leads the legions who triumph on every battle-field?"

Though this was in fact a pure conceit in words, the parallel drawn was so startling, that the king was doubtless highly flattered by this gem of poetry, and he rewarded the poet with a free gift of several villages.

Athan II. had two sons, the elder of whom was called Chenk-kudduvan and the younger was known as Ilankko-Adikal or the "royal monk." The latter prince composed the poem Chilapp-athikaram. He relates in this poem (23) that on a certain occasion

(21) Puram—14.
(22) Ibid—8.
(23) Chilapp-athikaram—xxx. ll. 171 ff.

when he and his brother were seated in the audience-hall at the foot of the throne occupied by their father, a seer appeared before the king. He surveyed the features of the king and his two sons and foretold that the king would soon depart his life and that the younger son had every sign of becoming a sovereign. This remark of the seer annoyed Ilanko-adikal who loved his elder brother dearly so much that he resolved to renounce the world at once and embrace the life of a monk of the Nigrantha sect so that all hopes of his succession to the throne may be cut off. The king died at Chikkar-palli and was henceforth known as Chikkar-palli-thunjchiya chelvak-kadunk-ko-vâli-Athan or "Athan, the fierce king who died at Chikkar-palli."

Chenkudduvan alias Imayavarmman succeeded his father Athan II about A. D. 90. Soon after his accession to the throne he captured Viyalûr the capital of Irunko-vênmân king of a mountainous country where gold mines were worked (24). Some years afterwards Nalank-killi the son of Karikal-Chola died, and the Chola crown passed to Killi-valavan grandson of Karikal Chola and cousin of Chenkudduva Chera. Killivalavan's authority was not however acknowledged by other members of the Chola royal family. Nine of the Chola princes revolted. Hearing of this rebellion Chenk-kudduvan marched with a large army to the assistance of his cousin. He defeated the nine rebel princes at Neri-vâyil and established the power of his cousin (25). Soon afterwards he attacked Mohoor, the capital of Palayan-Mâran in the southern part of the Pandyan kingdom. He undertook this expedition to Mohoor on behalf of a chieftain named Arukai who had been ill-treated by Palayan-Máran (26). Being in close friendship with the Karnas, kings of Magadha, he accompanied his widowed mother Sonai to the banks of the Ganges where the queen bathed in the sacred waters. Many years later Chenk-kudduvan again visited the banks of the Ganges under peculiar circumstances which are related as follows in the Chilapp-athikâram (27):—

"Kothai, the lord of the "celestials," who wields the sharp sword, who overthrew the Kadambu which stood encircled by the

(24) Ibid—xxviii. ll. 115 ff.
(25) Ibid—xxviii. ll. 118 ff.
(26) Ibid—xxviii. ll. 124 ff.
(27) Ibid cantos—xxv. to xxx.

sea, and who set the banner of the bow on the Imaya mountains to the astonishment of the "celestials," who inhabited that region, while seated one day in his silver palace with his queen Venmâl was pleased to command that arrangements be made to proceed on a short tour to visit the mountains covered with green woods on which the clouds ever rest and the music of whose water-falls never ceases. He set out from Vanji with a large retinue of the daughters of the "celestial race" desirous of sporting with them in the flowery groves, and encamped on a sand-hill on the banks of the Periyâr where the river quits the mountains and descends to the low country spreading its waters around islets and groves and halls and temples. From there he viewed the lovely scenery and the rapid current of the river which bore on its bosom many a bright and fragrant flower. The king and the ladies were delighted by the songs of the hill-tribes. Anon, there broke on their ears the distant shouts of the hunters who captured wild elephants in pitfalls or who tore the hives of honey-bees, the splash of cascades, trumpeting of elephants and the clang of armour amongst the soldiers who accompained the king. While the king and his company thus enjoyed the scene, the hill-men appeared bearing on their heads the white tusks of elephants, bundles of the fragrant aghil wood, tails of the yak, pots of honey, blocks of sandal wood, lumps of red lead, arsenic and of the sulphurest of antimony; bunches of cardamom and pepper, the flour of the *Kûrai* root, the edible roots of the *Kavalai*, ripe cocoanuts and the sweet fruits of the mango and the jack; festoons of green leaves, garlic and sugarcane and flowery creepers, bunches of arecanuts and plantains, cubs of the lion and the yali; the young of tigers and calves of elephants; the young of monkeys and the whelps of bears; the kids of mountain goats and of mountain deer; the young of musk deer, the mongoose, long-tailed peacocks, civet cats, wild fowls and prattling parrots. Presenting these products of their hills they exclaimed:—

"May thou be victorious for ever!, For seven births are we thy subjects. Under the shade of a *Venkai* tree in the forest, a fair girl who had lost one of her breasts lay alone and in agony and breathed her last. Whence she came or whose daughter she was, we know not. Long mayst thou live for many hundred thousand years!" Chaththan the master of sweet Tamil, who was in the king's

company, charmed by the royal presence, related the story of the hapless maid to the king and queen. She was, he said, the wife of a merchant of Kavirippaddinam, who having lost all his wealth to a beautiful actress of that town came to Madura accompanied only by his faithful wife; a pair of valuable anklets was all the property left in the hands of his wife. The husband wished to sell one of the anklets, and with the money realized by its sale, he intended to start afresh the life of a merchant. His ill-luck led him to the king's jewellers who having already stolen one of the queen's anklets reported to the king that the stolen jewel had been brought to him for sale by a stranger and pointed out the merchant to the royal guards who came to arrest him. The merchant surprised by the sudden turn of affairs was unable to explain to the guards how he came by the jewel; the guards suspecting him to be the thief beheaded him at the spot, and took the jewel to the palace. The sad news of the execution of the merchant reached his wife, who was then lodging in a shepherd's house. With tears streaming from her eyes, she ran to the spot where her husband lay a mangled corpse, and having heard from the people of the town that her husband was beheaded, because he had stolen one of the queen's anklets, the disconsolate widow demanded an audience of the king and proved to his satisfaction that the anklet found in the possession of her husband was her own and not that of the Pandyan queen. The king stung with remorse swooned from his throne and never recovered his life; and the queen ascended the funeral pyre. The unhappy widow cut off one of her breasts and threw it in the streets of Madura praying that the wicked town be destroyed by fire; and accordingly the palace and a part of the town were burnt to ashes. She, then quitted Madura and travelling westwards came into the Chera kingdom and there died. Chenkudduvan and his queen Venmâl were much affected by this story. The queen observed that the chaste but unfortunate widow was worthy of being worshipped as a goddess. The king approved of this idea, and looked at the learned men of his court for their advice; and they said that an image may be carved out of a block of granite from the Pothiya hill and anointed in the waters of the Kaviri, or that the statue may be fashioned from a stone from the Hymalayas and bathed in the sacred waters of the Ganges. The king exclaimed that to obtain a stone from Pothiyam

and bathe it in the Kaviri river was unbecoming one of his martial race: and he decided therefore to obtain a stone from the Hymalayas. His minister Villavan-Kothai addressed the king as follows:—

"May thou be victorious for many years.' Thy rival kings defeated in the battle-field of Kongu abandoned their banners of the tiger and the fish, and the fame of thy victory has spread through the world. My eyes shall never forget thy victorious march against the combined armies of the Konkanas, Kalingas, Karunadas, Pankalas, Gangas, Kattiyas, and the northern Aryas, when thy queen-mother bathed in the sacred stream of the Ganges. If it is thy desire to march to the Hymalayas to obtain stone for carving the image of a goddess, it is well that written messages be sent to the kings of the north intimating the fact." Then the prince of Alumbil spoke out as follows:—

"The envoys of foreign kings reside outside the gates of Vanji and through them those kings may learn the purpose of our march. It is enough to proclaim our journey by beat of drums in our capital."

The king and his party returned soon after to Vanji and under his command the king's intention to proceed to the banks of the Ganges was proclaimed by beat of drums which were carried throughout the town on the royal elephant. When the king entered the audience hall and took his seat which was supported by figures of lions, the high-priest, the chief astrologer, the great ministers of state and the generals of his army who had assembled to receive him exclaimed "Long live king of kings" and prayed for his orders regarding th expedition. Looking at the generals and gallant officers of his army the martial king responded:—

"Pilgrims from the Hymalayas have informed us that the princes of the north had sneered at the Tamil kings; and we shall not therefore return from this expedition without defeating those kings and compelling them to carry on their heads stone from the Hymalayas for fashioning the statue of a goddess."

The high-priest then addressed the king:—

"Appease thy wrath Imaya-varmma, it cannot be thee, o whom the northern kings spoke contemptuously. Is there any king in this country who can face thee in the battle-field except the Pandya and Chola? Art thou not the refuge of every one who flies to thee for assistance."

Then the chief astrologer learned in the science which treats of the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the position of the planets and stars and of the five parts of Astrology stood up and said :—

"Mighty monarch, may victory ever attend thee! This is the auspicious time; if thou art pleased to start at once in the direction that thou wishest to proceed all thy rival kings shall bow at thy sacred feet."

Hearing this the king ordered at once that the royal sword and umbrella should be carried northwards. The warriors shouted joyously, the big drums thundered, the banners fluttered, and the five corporations and the eight great assemblies, the priests and astrologers, the judges and ministers all exclaimed :—"Blessed be the king." The royal sword and umbrella adorned with garlands of flowers were carried on the chief elephant in royal state to a fort outside the town. The king then entered his audience hall and there feasted the generals and chiefs of his army. Next day, while the morning drum was sounding at his palace gate, the king started from his palace wearing on his crown wreaths of Vanji flowers and visited the temple of Vishnu, and having offered his prayers to the god, he mounted his elephant. He received from the priest the symbols of the sacred feet of Siva and placed them devoutly on his crown and on his shoulders ; and amidst the blessings of the priests from the golden temple of Vishnu, he left Vanji, seated on his elephant, under the shade of a white umbrella, accompanied by his military officers and a mighty host of warriors, on foot on horses, on chariots and on elephants. He made his first halt at the foot of the Nilagiri hills. These hills do not appear to be the modern Nilgris but were most probably the rocky hills which project boldly forth to within sixteen or eighteen miles of the shore of the Bay of Bengal at Balasore in the Orissa district which were known to the old navigators as the Nilagiri mountains. The journey from the Chera kingdom to Orissa appears to have been performed by sea, although it is not stated so expressly except at the end of the poem where Chenk-kudduvan is praised as the king who with his army crossed the sea and reached the banks of the Ganges. When the Chera king was entamped at the foot of the Nilagiris, Sanjchaya, a general in the service of the Karnas, the rulers of the Magadha empire, arrived with one hundred dancing girls, two hundred and eight musicians,

one hundred pole-dancers, one hundred chariots, ten thousand horse, twenty thousand waggons and one thousand body guards. The officer at the gate having announced the arrival of Sanjchaya and his company, the Chera king was pleased to command that Sanjchaya and his chief attendants be admitted to his audience. Accordingly Sanjchaya appeared before the king and bowing low addressed him as follows :—

"Long live thou ruler of this earth! The hundred Karnas who are thy intimate friends have sent thee the following message through me. If it is the desire of the king of the celestials to obtain stone from the lofty Himalaya mountains to fashion the image of a god, we shall help him to obtain the stone and anoint it in the sacred flood of the Ganges."

The Chera king replied to Sanjchaya :—

"Kanaka and Vijaya, sons of Bâlakumâra having lost watch and ward over their tongues have reviled the Tamil kings, ignorant of their strength. This army is therefore on its march nursing its wrath. Inform this to the hundred Karnas and let them collect a fleet of ships to carry my army across the great river Ganges."

Having despatched Sanjchayan he admitted to his presence the one thousand body guards and received from them a tribute of fragrant sandal wood and pearls. Breaking up his camp the king marched with his army to the banks of the Ganges and crossed over in a fleet of ships provided by the Karnas. On the northern bank the Karnas themselves welcomed the king. Taking leave of them the king proceeded further north to the country known as Uttarai where at a place called Kuyilâluvam he encountered the army led by the Aryan princes Kanaka and Vijaya and their allied kings, Uttara, Vichitra, Rudra, Bhairava, Chitra Singha, Dhanuttara and Svêta, The Chera king rejoiced at the sight of the noble army of the Aryan forces and led his Tamil soldiers who marched boldly forward to the beat of thundering drums, the booming of conch shells and the stirring blasts of trumpets. The archers, lancers and swordsmen fought fiercely and the work of slaughter continued a whole day. The battle-field was covered with heaps of the slain, soldiers, horses and elephants and at last the Tamils bore down everything before them, and Kanaka, Vijaya, and several other princes fell captives into the hands of Chenk-kudduvan. He compelled

Kanaka and Vijaya to change their royal garments for the garb of religious mendicants and sent them with his minister Villavan-Kothai and a military escort to the Hymalayas. After the battle, the king returned to the southern banks of the Ganges, where the Karaas had constructed a magnificent palace in the midst of a lovely park for the use of the king and several mansions and buildings for his officers and army. Here the king distributed honors and rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and to the sons of those who had fallen in battle. The king returned to Vanji after an absence of thirtytwo months. His queen and his subjects received him with great rejoicings. From the banks of the Ganges he had sent the Aryan princes Kanaka and Vijaya in charge of his body-guard to be exhibited at the courts of the Pandya and Chola kings. After visiting Kavirip-paddinam and Madura, Nilan the commander of the body-guard returned to Vanji and informed the king that the Chola and Pandya kings condemned the cruel treatment accorded to the unfortunate Aryan princes. The Chera king was annoyed with the remarks made by the Tamil kings. The Brahmin Madalan who was then present, addressed the king as follows :—

"King of kings, may thou be ever victorious! Thou hast conquered Viyalur where wild elephants slumber in the shade of the pepper vine. Thou hast defeated nine Chola princes in a pitched battle at Neri-vâyil and won a grand victory at Idumbil and now crossing the wide ocean thou hast defeated the Aryan princes who attacked thee on the banks of the Ganges. Master of the victorious army! wise monarch! may thou be appeased; may thou live as many years as there are grains of sand on the banks of thy river Porunai. Pray, listen to my words, and scorn them not. Although thou art now fifty years of age thou hast spent all thy life in war and has not performed any religious sacrifice. Thou knowest well that our life is not everlasting. For, of the ancient heroes of thy race not one is alive. He who conquered the Kadambu in the middle of the sea, he who set the emblem of the bow on the Imaya mountains, he who enabled the Brahmin poet who composed verses in his praise, to attain heaven by performing sacrifices, he who controlled the god of death, he who ruled the land of the Yavana and who entered the mountains which yield gold, the hero who led

a gallant army and stormed the fortress of Akappâ, he who bathed in the waters of the river Ayirai and in the two seas, he who established the worship of the four Bhûtas in his capital Vanji and performed sacrifices: all these kings are dead and gone. Thou knowest also that wealth and power are not lasting, for, hast thou not seen the defeat and disgrace of the Aryan princes who scorned the Tamils? Need I say that youth is also fleeting for thy hair is turning grey?"

Dwelling on the Brahminic belief on the transmigration of souls he advised the kings to perform a magnificent sacrifice called Rajasuya so that his soul may be blessed in its future births. The king acted on this advice, and preparations were immediately ordered for the performance of Rajasûya on a grand scale and for the consecration of a temple to Kannaki. The kings of Kongu and Maluva and Gajabahu of Lanka attended these ceremonies.

Chenkkudduvan was succeeded by Chéy, who was surnamed Yanaik-kan or "the elephant eye." He was a very warlike prince, and constantly moved about the frontiers of his dominions harassing the neighbouring kings. It was perhaps on account of these incursions that the Pandyan king Nedunj-Cheliyan II invaded the Chera territory, and by skilful manœuvres succeeded in taking the Chera a prisoner (28). The latter however escaped soon afterwards and regained his power. The Chola king Râja-sûyam-vedda-perunat-killi was also at war with Yanaik-kan-Chey: and Ther-vanmalayan chief of Malâdu is said to have assisted the Chola in this war (29). Kurunk-koliyûr kilar, a poet of his court, praises the king for having once saved the town of Vilankil from his enemies. One of the stanzas composed by the poet is as follows (30.) :—

"Thou king of the lofty Kolli hills, valient Chéy, whose eyes are like those of the elephant! whose encampment is so extensive that it needs no sentries, and where the shouts of the soldiers who dance wildly in their drunken revels ever sounds like the noice of the sea waves lashing the shore: who feedest thy dependents out of the tribute paid to thee by the vassal kings: may thy boundless wealth be everlasting! The poets that sing of thee need not praise others any more, for thou art so liberal that they are never in want. Having heard that the kingdom ruled by thee is like a paradise on

(28) Puram—17.
(29) Ibid—125.
(30) Ibid—22.

earth, I came and my eyes are gladdened. Ever active thou leadest thy armies into foreign lands eager to conquer and to earn a deathless fame!"

The poet Kudal-kilar, who was present at the death of this king states that his death was portended by the fall of a brilliant meteor seven days previous to the occurrence. The following verse uttered by him on the occasion is specially interesting as it shows that the Tamils studied Astronomy independently of the Brahmins and that the Tamil names were in common use for the lunar asterisms and the signs of the solar Zodiac (31):—

"On the day of Kuddam (Karttika) when the Sun was in the sign of Âdu (mesha) at midnight when the asterisms from the first star of Mudap-panai (Anuradha) to the last star of Kulam (Punarvasu) were visible in the sky, and while the asterism which is in the zenith during the first half of the month of Pankuni (Phalguna) was declining from the zenith, the eighth asterism before it was setting, and the eighth asterism after it was rising, a brilliant meteor which illumined the whole sky fell towards the north-east, showering fiery sparks against the wind. Seeing this falling star myself and other minstrels prayed fervently that the monarch of the fertile country which abounds in water-falls may be saved from death, and with a heavy heart we awaited the result of this dreadful omen. On the seventh morning the fatal day arrived and the king who was like the dark-coloured god Vishnu and who was clever in capturing his enemies and lavish in dispensing charity, has gone to the world of the immortals. His huge elephant lies down dejected stretching its trunk on the ground. His big drums roll on the floor uncared for. His white parasol lies without its handle. His fleet steeds stand pensive in their stable. Alas! having joined the company of celestial women, has he now forgotten his beloved queens?"

Yânaik-katt-Chêy was succeeded by Perunj-Cheral-Irumporai. The poet Mochu-kiranar appears to have been a favourite of this king. One day the poet, finding a couch furnished with cushions and covered with fresh flowers in a part of the palace, laid himself down on it and fell sound asleep. The king who happened to pass by that spot, seeing that the poet was tired and perspiring, fanned

(31) Ibid—229.

him with his own hands. The poet awoke and was startled to find that the king was fanning him. Learning then that the couch was intended for placing the war-drum upon, he uttered the following stanza (32):—

"I laid myself down to sleep on this couch which is covered with flowers soft as the froth on fresh oil, not knowing that it was intended for the royal war-drum which is beautiful to behold with its black barrel adorned with the long feathers of the peacock and strings of beads wound with golden flowers of the ulinjchai. Thou should have cut me in two with thy sword for my insolence. But thou hast kept thy sword in its sheath and as if this action was not enough to spread thy fame throughout the Tamil land, thou hast with thy strong arms fanned me to cool my sleepy brows. Is it because thou knowest that the blissful abodes in the next world are open only to those, the fame of whose good deeds filled this world that thou mighty monarch hast acted thus?"

One of his feudatory chiefs named Elini having revolted he had to proceed with a large army and besiege Thakadûr, the fort of the rebel chief. Elini was the descendant of an ancient line of chiefs who called themselves Athikaman. Their capital Thakadûr is believed to be the modern Dharmapuri in the Salem District. Elini repaired and strengthened the fortifications of the town and was determined to gain his independence or die in the attempt. But the Chera king completely invested the town and cut off all means of communication and supplies from outside. The thorny jungle which surrounded the town was cleared by the Chera soldiers, the moat was filled up and the gates burst open by elephants. The Chera army then rushed into the fort, and in the melee that ensued, Elini and his lieutenants performed prodigies of valour, but were overpowered by numbers and died fighting to the last. The bards Arichil-kilâr and Pon-mudiyâr were present in the camp of the Chera king during the siege: and a few of their verses which have been preserved to this day contain vivid accounts of some of the incidents of the assault on the fort. When the Chera forces approached Thakadûr, Elini and his general Perum-pakkan led out their army to engage them outside the fort. Perum-pakkan stood in front of his army awaiting the assault. The bards Arichil-kilâr,

(32) Puram—50.

and Pon-mudiyâr addressed the Chera kings as follows, when they saw Perum-pakkan laughing defiantly at them (33):—

"The youthful warrior decked with garlands, who rejoicing in his strength stands facing our army, mounted on a handsome glittering chariot, drawn by high spirited horses, if he attacks us in his rage, will overthrow even majestic rutting elephants. Eager for the assault, he shakes his lance which seems to emit flashes of lightning, and laughs at his foes."

"The dauntless young warrior who wears the dark beard, holds the reins of his steeds and looks first at his own swelling shoulders, then at the array of battle elephants behind him, then at the rows of chariots behind the elephants, then at his own steeds, then at the coming arrows, then at his lance, then at his armlets and laughs at us."

In the first day's engagement Elini's troops were driven into the fort. On the second day, the thorny jungle which surrounded the fort was cleared; and the following stanza was uttered by the bards, when the Chera king asked them what they thought of the progress of the siege, (34)

"Yesterday (Elini's) steeds fled, like stags, the elephants fainted and fell like rocks, and his valiant soldiers were routed by showers of hissing arrows. Thou victorious king who, bearest on thy body fresh wounds received in battle! to-day the heads of the slain with arrows sticking to them, kicked by our elephants, lie by the roadside like young palmyra fruits cut open; and our dark-eyed youths, who know no fatigue, have cleared the jungle, shouting at the enemies' men and killing them wherever they appeared. To-morrow we shall march, to the beat of drums, and storm the fort."

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(33) Thakadûr-yâthirai.
(34) Ibid.

AN ODE FROM THE TAMIL.

"O thou that, of like nature unto the five great elements,—sand-compact earth, earth-o'erspreading ether, ether-softly-rubbing air, air-thriving fire, fire-coping water,—hast long-suffering, wide judgment, might, destruction and mercy unto thy foes;

"Warrior-king of the good land of wealth ever new, in whose western sea of the white-headed ocean the sun born in thy (eastern) sea laves;

"Lord (of region) sky-bounded, O great one who, when in wrath against the five (Pándava heroes) of the horses of tossing mane the ten times ten (Kaurava princes) battled, lusting after their land and crowned with golden *tumpai* flower,—didst without measure give savoury food (to either army) till the ending of the war;

"With ministers around thee who,—though milk should sour, though the sun darken, though the way of the four Vedas change,—change not, mayst thou for all time shine steadfast, like unto Mount Potiya and golden-peaked Imaya on whose heights the large-eyed does with their wee-headed fawns slumber at eve by the light of the three fires wherewith sages celebrate arduous rites."

A literal translation of a beautiful ode addressed by Mudinâkaráyar of Muranchiúr to king Chéramán perunchórru Utiyanchéralátan. In him, according to the poet, were united the qualities of the five elements. In dealing with his foes he was long-suffering as the earth. When compelled to action by their misdeeds, he was of judgment wide and comprehensive as the ether, powerful as the wind to chastise, destructive as fire, but swift to forgive and cooling and gracious as water. Such being his character to his enemies, what he was to his loyal subjects is left to be inferred. His empire was so great that the sun rose and set in his seas, which yielded him wealth ever-new from their depths as well as from the ships that visited his ports. Possessed of boundless resources, he was able during the eighteen days' battle of Kurukshetra, described in the epic of the Mahábhárata, between the Pándava and Kaurava princes for the throne of Hastinápura (near Delhi), to undertake and

carry out successfully the feeding of the vast forces on either side, and thus earned the title of the "Great Rice-Giver" (Perunchórru).

The poet blesses him and wishes him a continuance for all time of his power and glory, of his noble character unchanged though Nature herself should change, and firm as the mighty Himalayas and the Potiya Mountain (the latter situated in Tinnevelli District not far from Tuticorin). The allusion is not merely to their physical grandeur and stability but to their spiritual greatness as the abode of Sages whose ideals were, amid all his worldly pomp and power, the ideals of the king.

The poem is taken * from an ancient Anthology called *Pura Nánuru* recently made accessible in print by the enterprise and scholarship of Sáminátha Aiyar of the Kumbakónam College, and is a fair specimen of Tamil Classic poetry. It is impossible to reproduce in a translation the beauty of diction, the terseness and vigour, and the music of the original. But even in a translation one cannot help noticing a marked characteristic of the poetry, its suggestiveness,—a great deal more being implied than said, charming pictures drawn with a few light touches, long trains of thought suggested by a word or a phrase.

It is interesting to compare the poem with similar odes of Horace who, in the opinion of Quintilian, "almost alone of lyrists is worthy to be read," and whose odes, more than any of his writings, display, as a later critic has said, "the charm of exquisite aptness of language and a style perfect for fulness of suggestion combined with brevity and grace." Take *e. g.* the panegyrics addressed to the Emperor Augustus (Odes 14 & 15 of Book IV). Compare

நின்கடற் பிறந்த ஞாயிறு பெயர்த்தெனின்
வெண்ணரைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
யாணர் வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பெருந

"warrior-king of the good land of wealth ever-new in whose western sea of the white-headed ocean the sun born in thy (eastern) sea laves,"

with

Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaque et imperi
Porrecta majestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.

* It is No. 2 in the collection (p. 2 of the printed edition.)

'the glory of Latium and the might of Italy grew and the renown and majesty of the empire was extended to the rising of the sun from his chamber in the west."

'Wealth ever-new,' an allusion to the wealth yielded by the sea (pearls, fish, salt, &c.,) and by commerce with foreign nations whose vessels frequented the king's ports.

'The white-headed ocean' flashes on the mind some such scene as described in the Iliad (IV. 422 et seq.)

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέϊ κῦμα θαλάσσης
ὄρνυθ' ἐπαισσύτερον ζεφύρου ὕπο κινήσαντος
πόντῳ μέντε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χέρσῳ βρηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ σέ τ' ἄκρας
κρύπτὸν ἰὸν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἁλὸς ἀχνην.

"As when on the echoing beach the sea-wave lifteth up itself in close array before the driving of the west wind, out on the deep does it first raise its head, and then breaketh upon the land and belloweth loud and goeth with arching crest about the promontories and speweth the foaming brine afar."

'Battled with the five (heroes) of the horses of tossing mane:' suggests horsemen in battle with a vividness combining that of Homer's

θείη πεδίοιο κροαίνων
κυδιόων ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀίσσονται.

"Speedeth at the gallop across the plain exulting, and holdeth his head on high and his mane is tossed about his shoulders." (Iliad VI. 511), with Horace's

Impiger hostium
Vexare turmas et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes

"Swift to overthrough the enemy's squadrons and drive the neighing charger through the midst of the fires."

The 'large-eyed does with their woe-headed fawns' slumbering peacefully on the mountains, by the light and warmth of the hermits' fires—exquisitely beautiful as a picture—are suggestive of the confidence and security with which the king's subjects live under his rule. The Tamil poet moreover strikes a higher spiritual note than Horace. While the Roman poet dwells on the glories of

Augustus gained in the battle-field and by the extension of his empire, and on his achievements as civil administrator and guardian of the public peace and morals, the other poet, touching on these, passes on to nobler graces of character, forgiveness of injuries and steadfastness in the pursuit of high ideals.

SEA VOYAGES AMONG THE HINDUS.

DURING my recent journey through Ceylon, Burma and Straits Settlements I had occasion to come across what seemed to me, to be isolated Colonies of the Hindus. I closely studied their customs, manners and institutions; for being a high-caste Brahmin I had exceptional facilities for doing so. To a western traveller or orientalist any such thing would be an impossibility; for, his foreign extraction combined with the intolerant conservatism of the people would be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of his getting access to their homes. On seeing these Aryan settlers, the first question that presented itself to my mind was how, did they migrate so far south and east from their original home?

Perhaps the very mention of the words original home may raise upin an inquisitive mind a desire to know where the original home of the Aryans was. This is a very momentous and interesting question but is, indeed, also one upon which Historians and Antiquarians have not yet come to an agreement. There is a great conflict of opinion on this point. There is, on the one hand, the opinion of the orientalists based upon purely philological evidence. Comparative Philology has attempted to prove that a great resemblance exists between many words of the various languages that belong to the Indo-Aryan group. Those that are used to denote family relationship, household utensils, and terms of every-day occurrence are pointed out as proving conclusively that the ancestors of the Hindus, the Greeks, the Persians, the Italians, the Germans, and the English, were at one time one nation settled some where in Central Asia and speaking a common language. But, for want of more reliable proofs they have not yet been able to define the exact boundaries of the early Aryan home. Professor Max Muller,—the highest authority on the subject—thus speaks on the point:—"But if an answer must be given as to the place where our Aryan ancestors dwelt before their separation, whether in large swarms of millions, or in a few scattered tents and huts, I should still say, as I said forty years ago, 'some where in Asia' and no more." (1)

(1) Biography of words and the Home of the Aryans p. 127.

There is again, on the other hand, the opinion of the students of Sanskrit literature in India which attempts to locate their early home within the bounds of Aryavarta. Various arguments are adduced in support of this view. But what regions comprised the early home of the Aryans, whether the arid planes of Central Asia or the sacred land of Aryavarta, or (as some have propounded) the coast of the Baltic sea, it is not our purpose to decide. No doubt, much might be written upon the subject but we shall in the following pages confine ourselves only to the question of the Aryan migration.

On entering into this subject, the first question that meets us on the very threshold of our investigation is, Do the Hindu Sacred-Books permit migration? To ascertain whether they do or do not permit, we shall have to go to the Dharma Sutras. They point out, by the very nature of their compilation, to a period of settled life, when laws were made expressly for the purpose of regulating and defining the rules of practical life and consequently we can expect to find here some definite statements regarding the topic of migration. Here also we find a conflict of opinions among different Lawgivers. But nevertheless, let us try to extend our investigation along this path, beset though it is with several snares and pitfalls of conflict and contradiction.

Taking Manu first into consideration we see him distinctly prohibiting Brahmins from undertaking any travel beyond the sacred limits fixed by him for their residence and occupation. In ch II. 24 of his Code—a Code whose authority has always been treated by Hindu sages and commentators from the earliest time as being of paramount authority—Manu says thus. "Let the twice-born men seek to dwell in those countries, but a Sudra distressed for subsistence may reside any where." We see from this quotation that the Aryans were first confined to certain fixed localities and that any advance beyond those places was visited with ostracism both social and religious. But what does Baudhayana say on the point? In his Sutra 14 he says thus "He who visits the countries of Arattas, Karaskaras, the Pundras, Souviras, the Vangas, the Kalingas, and the Pranannuas shall offer a *Punastkoma* or *Sarvapretheithaeshti*." From this we see that though he also discountenances any travel beyond the prescribed limits, yet we see him making provision for readmitting such as have by

foreign travels *polluted* their persons, By what is called *Prayaschitta*. This is, indeed, a great advance upon Manu and one that truly pourtrays the general sentiment of the age regarding this important question of migration. It also, further, indicates that migrations were more common in his days than they were in Manu's time. Like a prudent and far-seeing legislator Baudhayana clearly saw that any rigid and unalterable rules prohibiting, on pain of being outcasted, any travel beyond the sacred bounds chalked out by his predecessors, would seriously affect the well-being of the society; but being averse to the introduction of any radical change all at once he rest contended by making some modification in the then existing laws. This innovation, small though it be, fully exemplifies the great historical truth that religious sanction in the province of law, however potent it might be in the begining of its inception, will ultimately have to give way before the ever-advancing social needs.

Baudhayana was not without his followers. In ch. 84 of his Smiriti, Vishnu (while referring to one who has migrated to foreign parts) says thus:—

(1) "He must not offer *Srardha* in a country inhabited by Mlechas."

(2) "He must not visit a country inhabited by Mlechas except upon pilgrimage."

This quotation brings us to a still further advance upon the previous views. The restrictions during and after Baudhayana's time are considerably removed. We are told by the above quotation that the Aryans might go to foreign parts but, subject to the proviso that they should return to Aryavarta to perform their *Srardhas*, the foreign country being unfit for such holy purpose. We are also further told that provided they retain their *acharas* unaffected, the Aryans might, without the slightest fear of being outcasted, travel to foreign countries. Other Sutrakaras might be cited as advocating this view, of course on a still more liberal basis, but we refrain from doing so inasmuch as most of them simply repeat the same view as that we have been expounding hitherto. Suffice it for our purpose, to say, that they one and all have attempted to effect further relaxations and further adjustments of the old rigid rules so as to suit the exigencies of the time they lived under.

It is, therefore, manifest that most of the Sutra writers were not against foreign travels and colonization. Proceeding a step further we come to what are called *Puranas* which, to quote the words of Colebrooke "are reckoned as a supplement to the Scripture and as such constitute a fifth Veda" Let us now see what they have to say concening the subject of Aryan migration.

In the Bhâgavata Purana Skandha X chapter 74-ver 8, we find that Sisupâla the king of the Chêdis, abusing Srê Krishna for having accepted the honors done him in the Râjasûya sacrifice of Dharmaputra. "Out of fear of Kâlayavana he built Dwaraka in the ocean and dwelt there." Sisupala calls him as "one who left the Brahmarshidesa and dwelt in the sea which is a great hindrance to religious observances." This must have been in the time when Brahmarshidesa was the sacred land; but even then, migrations were not unknown and were not much prohibited, for Krishna was not out-casted; nor were those Dwijas who visited him in his sea-built capital.

Though some of the Sûtrakaras were against the settlement of the Aryas in a Mlecha country, still it was going on for all that and later on, with the sanction of the sacred class. When some Aryan king conquered some countries in the Dekkan the beauty and the natural resources of the country would be powerful inducements for him to settle there. But as he could not do this without the sanction of the spiritual heads of the nation, he took some *Purohita* and Bramin families and settled with them there. Later on a Sthala Mahatmya Purana setting forth the sanctity and holiness of the place and the various appearances of God in that his favorite seat, would reconcile the fastidious orthodox and would quiet the conscience of those that came after them. When Parasurama conquered Malabar, he is said to have brought many families from Aryavarta and settled them there; and fearing that they might at some future time, return to their original home, he entirely changed their *âcharas*. Further, in the 2nd part of Sahyadri Khanda, in Skanda, mention is made (chapter 85 & 86) of the history of the Havyaka Brahmins of Malanad, near Gokarna. A king named Mayuravarma came there from Aryavarta and having conquered the country settled there with many Brahmin families who had followed him.

If we again turn to the commentators on the Sutras and the Smirtis, we find a more liberal and a more intelligent spirit in their interpretation of the rules. At their head stands the great Medhathithe, the recognised orthodox commentator. In explaining what is meant by the Mlecha Desa in Manu II. 24, he says "That is, the other places are so called because they are occupied by Mlechas; the people are not called Mlechas because they occupy those countries. *Mlecha* only denotes a class of people like *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya* &c. If we should explain *Mlecha Desa* as the country of the Mlechas, some time hence the Mlechas might invade and take possession of Brahmavarta and other sacred places, thus converting them also into Mlecha Countries. Likewise if any Aryan king of good conduct conquors any foreign country and establishes the caste system of the Aryas, then it becomes sacred and fit for the performance of *yaga* &c. The earth has no impurity in itself but becomes polluted by contact with impure substances. The first three classes can perform their sacred rites beyond the confines of Aryâvarta, if they have sufficient help to observe them." Again in the next sloka he emphasises the fact that "contact with a place does not make the residents impure but contact with the people there does so." The above gem of thought is not from a sectarian modern *Nibahakara* like Vaidyanâtha Dikshata, but from one who is held in great respect by the orthodox portion of the community. Many more such quotations might be found in other places where he comments upon the difference in the observances in Aryâvarta.

The theories set forth in some of the Purânas about the question of the migration of the Aryas are of no value, since the authors or the compilers of these Purânas had no idea of the geography of this small planet. The ancient Aryas were more of philosophers than geographers. What are we to think of one who seriously tells us of the mountain Meru, as being situated in the middle of the earth with a height of 50 lacs of *yojanas*. Fortunately there is no mention made of this either in the Rig Veda or in the ancient Sutras.

We have been, hitherto, dealing with migration in general. We shall now in the following pages discuss the question of the migration by sea at some length. It must however be remarked, at the very outset that we have already mentioned the fact that the

Sudras could voyage by sea from time immemorial; we have therefore, only to decide, whether orthodox Dvijas are prohibited from settling in other lands reachable only by sea.

In the Rig Veda I 116-3 we read that one Tugra, who was a great friend of the Aswins, being harassed by enemies of his that lived in a neighbouring island, he sent his son Bhujyu with a great fleet to conquer them. On his return voyage, he was caught in a terrific storm and seeing no hope of safely reaching the shore, Bhujyu prayed to the Aswins, his father's friend, for help.

"Tugra, verily O Aswins, sent his son Bhujyu to the sea, as a dying man parts with his riches; but you brought him back in vessels of your own, floating over the ocean and keeping out the water.

4. "Three nights and three days, O Nāsatyas have you conveyed Bhujyu in three revolving cars having a hundred wheels and drawn by six horses, along the dry bed of the ocean, to the shore of the sea.

5. "This exploit you achieved, O Aswins, in the ocean, where there is nothing to support, nothing to rest upon, nothing to cling to, that you brought Bhujyu in a hundred-oared ship to his father's house."

In the whole of the Vedas this is the only direct and the earliest reference to sea voyages, This passage is repeated in other places, and words relating to the sea are casually mentioned here and there.

The Sutra period. In Baudhâyana I. i. 2 we find a whole chapter devoted to this question. There he says that the northern people are allowed to do five things which, if done by those in the south, would bring them under the ban of religious prohibition; and in mentioning sea-voyage as one of them he remarks, that the norterns were allowed to do so, because these were immemorial customs with them and as such had the force of law. So it seems that the people who migrated south had not imported the custom in the beginning to their new homes; and later on when they came to practice it, we see him prohibiting them from practicing it. II. i. 2. prescribes in great detail, the *Prâyaschittas* to be performed by such voyagers. Here there might be a mistake about the words northern and southern. Some may take them to mean people living

in the north and south of the Vindhyas. But from what can be gathered from Baudhâyana's definition of Aryavarta, and from his incidental remark that the races living beyond were of a mixed origin, we are led to conclude that Baudhâyana's rules were meant for the people living in the northern and the southern parts of Aryâvarta; for the Sûtrakâras meant their regulations to obtain for the Dvijas, concerning themselves very little about others.

In the Rig Veda we read that, in the case of those who make sea voyages once or twice, *Prayaschittas* are necessary, but, for those who are continually voyaging, they are useless and unnecessary.

In Manu we see that no *Prâyaschittas* are laid down for sea-voyage. A lawgiver who takes note of every trivial fault and prescribes penances for it would not have omitted such an important thing as this, if it were not very common in his time and not fit to be classed under faults from which a Dvija must be purified. In III, 158, he declares that those that have made sea-voyages are unfit to officiate or take part in *Srâddhas*; he classes them with singers, teachers of Vedas for hire &c, making it plain that although they were not fit for the discharge of sacred offices, still it was not such a heinous crime that religion must take note of and put its ban upon it. In IV, 120, he prohibits the reciting of Vedas on board a ship. *Uçana* also repeats the same.

The later law writers lay stricter rules with regard to sea-voyages, quoting from the older Smritis but more often adding rules of their own. Of such men as Vaidyanatha Dikshita, and others Hemâdri takes the lead on this question. Their quotations from the ancient Smritis are in many cases false; for example, they quote as authorities on this question from the Aditya Purana, Marichi, Devala &c, not one of which I have been able to verify in the copies of the above books in the Adyar Library or other public libraries in other places. They have also one chapter called *Kaliyuga Nishidha Prakarana* detailing the things that are prohibitted in Kaliyuga; but they are evidently useless and absurd. They class sea-voyages along with *Sannyasa* in their list as being condemned for this Yuga. But it is a plan fact that Sannyasees were flourishing as well nowadays as at any other time and no public voice seems to have ever raised against them. The leaders of the great spiritual

movements in India were mostly Sannyasees and they have handed down to us the best thoughts on the questions concerning man and nature. Even according to their rules it is plain that sea voyages were allowed in other Yugas.

Satatapa directs among many other things the gift of a ship fully equipped to a Brahmin, in order that the deceased may cross the sea of sin safely. Why is the gift mentioned, if it was not to be used by the receiver?

Puranas. In the Sabha Parva of the Mahabharata we read that Arjuna travelled to many islands to conquer the people there. In the Bhagavata Purana VIII. xxiv. 55 it is said that Vishnu preached on board a ship to his disciples. Is it not a fact that the Hindu theogony places the abode of Mahavishnu in the middle of the Ocean? That itself ought to be sanction enough; and as if to corroborate it his Avatar Sri Krishna had his capital in Dwaraka on an island. Again we read in Bhagavata that Priyavarta apportioned the earth to his sons, placing each in one of the great islands How could it be possible unless voyages by sea were common and were allowed? In the modern Hindu temples the memory of the god living in the midst of the ocean is kept up by the *Teppotsavam* festival, during which the god is put on an ornamented raft and rowed round and round the tank opposite to the temple. If the lost portions of the Hindu Silpa Sastra were recovered, we would have full information about the art of shipbuilding.

In Prapannaniriha we hear that the great ascetic preacher Parakalaswamy travelled to Jaffna in Ceylon to see his pupils and landed again at Negapatam.

Kathâsaritsagara page 250 speaks of a Brahmin Saktideva voyaging to the Uttara Dwipa in search of a princess. On page 927 we read of a king sending his minister to Ceylon.

In the play Ratnavali, the Sutradhara narrates an account of a voyage from Ceylon and a shipwreck on the way.

In Kalidasa's Sâkuntala act V there is mention made of a merchant Dhanavriddhi having died at sea.

In Magha's Sisupalavadha III. 76 we find that a special name Samyatrika is given to Vaisyas that carry on trade by sea. Amarasimha also defines the word in the same way.

In the account of Hiouen Thsang's travels we come across a narrative that speaks of his travelling in a ship along with some Brahmins. There came on a terrific storm and the Brahmins attributing it to their having a Mlecha on board their ship, wanted to throw him overboard. He begged hard for his life and was set down on some island on the way.

So we see that voyages by sea were not uncommon in those days and went out of use only very recently. By itself there is nothing wrong in it, for the prohibition lies in the fact that one would be put to great inconvenience during a long voyage for performing his daily rites and preserving his *âchâras*. If this were possible, according to Baudhâyana, travels of any sort were allowed. Here I shall relate my own experiences during the recent trip that I undertook to the islands south of India, to show that it is very easy for a Brahmin to make long voyages by sea and still observe his *âchâras*.

I left Tuticorin for Ceylon at 5 P.M. 10th April. The passage costs Rs. 3 and occupies about 13 hours. In early times several Brahmin families settled in Jaffna; perhaps the Brahmin voyagers that Hiouen Thsang met were travelling to Ceylon, Burma &c., to colonise those places. In ancient times such voyages were made from Kalinga, the most famous port in those days. In Colombo there are about half a dozen Hindu Temples where the Pûjâris who are always Brahmins conduct worship according to the Saivagama. They are very kind to any Brahmin traveller and I would advise every one who goes there to put up with them. I also found many Brahmins from the mainland of Tinnevelly who had gone there to serve as cooks in these temples. In Kandy there is a Siva Temple with a Brahmin priest. Generally these priests are very rich, for apart from their emoluments from the temples, they have also many other sources of income, such as officiating at the marriages, funeral ceremonies, and *Srâddhas*, in the houses of the Nattukottai Chettis and other Tamil merchants and coolies. As a rule, they are ignorant of Sanskrit, though not illiterate.

From Ceylon to Singapore the journey occupies five days and five nights, if the weather is favourable, I sailed in a German Mail Steamer, one of the best in the whole line. In the case of an orthodox Brahmin the captain allows two hours every day for cooking

purposes, 9 A. M. & 5 P. M. Early morning I used to have a bath in hot, lukewarm or salt water as I chose, and then take a light breakfast of plantains and other fruits. At 9 A. M. I used to go to the kitchen and have the rice cooked in 10 minutes which I would take to my room. Curd if preserved in a zinc vessel, will stand for a week in good condition. I used to take my rice with ghee, curd and pickles that I had taken with me in small vessels. One can get them from the Brahmin houses as he goes on.

I reached Singapore on the 30th April. To the right are the Sumatras and to the left the Malaccas. In Singapore there are several Nâttukottai Chettis,—the Jews of India—who, wherever they go, invariably build a temple to Siva or Subramanya. Formerly they used to get the Pandârams or the Sudra ascetics from the south of India to officiate in these temples, but now their place is occupied by many Brahmins found all over the place. Apart from these temples, many Brahmins go there to make money in other ways. One goes there as a devotee, singing in praise of the gods, a second goes as a beggar, a third as a Purohit to the non-Brahmins, and so on. I met a Nambudri Brahmin, from Trichoor in Malabar who had gone there on a begging expedition; also a songster, a Sri Vaishnava Brahmin. About thirty years ago a Vaishnava Brahmin was sent as a convict to the Andamans, but being released soon on account of his good behaviour he settled in Singapore; he is now the head Purohit for the people there. Many of these Brahmins occasionally come to India to see their friends and relatives and go back to earn more money. In *Saigon* Cochin-China, there is a temple of Siva and a Devi temple in Bangkok, the Capital of Siam, officiated by Brahmin priests. When the latter was installed, the Brahmins from Singapore were called in to perform the Kumbabhisheka ceremony. Similar temples we find in Penang, Malacca, Kevallambur. The Chettis maintain these temples and celebrate with great pomp the festivals of the gods every year. In Penang and Singapore there are two silver plated cars to be dragged in procession along the streets. All these places are within three days voyage from Singapore. A B. I. S. N. steamer runs every fortnight from Negapatam to Singapore; the Chettis and the coolies go by this vessel as it is cheap, the deck passage costing Rs. 16. In Sumatra, Java and Borneo we find many Hindu coolies working in the plantations. From Penang to Burma is a sail of three days

passing the Andaman Islands on the way. In Rangoon there are about hundred Brahmins, several with their families. About thirty years ago one Visvanath ayer settled there; and his son is the head Purohit for the coolies of the place. At Tango, the priest, a Brahmin of Conjeevaram, lives with his wife and children. In Mandalay and in various other towns of Burma we find Hindu temples and Brahmin priests. In Mandalay, and its neighbourhood, there are about thousand families called Poonaites. They say that they settled there several centuries ago at the invitation of some king. They observe the caste system and the other *acharams* of the orthodox Brahmins and are worshippers of Krishna exclusively. They refuse to drink water from the hands of the Brahmins from India; strangely enough the widow marriage prevails among them and is sanctioned by their rules.

From Rangoon to Madras the voyage occupies four nights.

I have given these particulars to show that the orthodox Brahmins of the present age can make sea voyages, even distant ones, provided they take some small precautions; and they are considerably helped in this by the captains of the steamers who afford every facility for them to preserve their caste rules intact.

The question of sea voyage is important to us in more ways than one. The progressive spirit of the age and the growing desire to submit to no rules that would stand in the way of the nation's welfare, ought to be warning enough to the conservative party to take timely measures to avoid a serious split. Judging from the antecedents of the Hindu nation it is evident that whenever religious considerations come in contact with the actual needs of the population, the former will have to give way with a good grace, if it is not to be plainly told to stand aside. This is especially the case, when the prohibitory rules are not of an absolute nature, but those that could be safely modified with the change of times. Sea-voyages are becoming more common now than they were some years ago and it goes without saying that they would ultimately become the rule, irrespective of the attitude of the orthodox party towards it. It is high time that the narrow minded Pandits and the Sastries should open their eyes to the situation and make an honorable compromise with the reform party. This article is meant to assure those educated people of India who may have any doubts as

to the religious propriety of making sea voyages, that both the written and unwritten laws of India do not in anyway prohibit them absolutely ; and if at all there was any change in their attitude towards the question, it was one of tolerance and encouragement than otherwise. What I wish to tell the orthodox party, of whom only a very few are learned enough to study the original authorities on questions like these, is that they have no business to give out that the Hindu Sastras prohibit sea voyages, that they are simply taking undue advantage of the ignorance of the uneducated and the idleness of the English educated portion of the Hindus, and that I would be very glad to meet any arguments or texts brought forward against the views expressed in the previous pages.

The struggle for life has begun in India in right earnest. The population that is growing larger year by year, cannot but fail to exhaust the available resources of the land if they go on sticking to it We know from history that in the case of those countries with an ever growing population and having no outlet in the way of emigration natural checks as epidemic, cholera, and famine keep down the population. We have already begun to realise, in our own country, the truth of this warning, Hence the great necessity for relieving the over burdened land of its surplus population and at the same time enabling the starving millions to live elsewhere in peace and plenty.

Again as Western education spreads more and more among us, and as Western ways of living and thought permeates, though unconsciously, the various strata of the society, we come to see that we are living in a world of competition, and of hard struggle for life; and woe unto the weak traveller who lies down, though for a moment, on the way, for he would be unmercifully trampled out of recognition by the rest. Hence it behoves us to maintain our place in the ranks of the advancing nations. Nobody now a days believes that India is a land where gold might be had for the mere asking of it. The growing financial difficulties of the country, demand that the coffers of the nation should be replenished in all possible ways. And what better methods are open to us than to go abroad and study the industrial and commercial institutions of those countries, that we might utilise the virgin resources of our own land to their fullest extent. And nothing would form a fitter preparatory training

to our taking part some day in the government of our country than a study of the political, social and scientific systems of thought of the various flourishing kingdoms of the world. Again what argument is better fitted to cure the narrow-mindedness of the intolerant Brahmin than that which shows that there are other people living in this world whopossess as good a system of ethics and philosophy as he himself does. He would have a better idea of other people and their faiths and would be better fitted to appreciate the greatness of his own religion. And who is there better qualified for this stupendous work than the Aryan who has always been in the forefront of thought and progress, though his modern descendants have allowed their indomitable pride to make useless their great intellect. Hence the necessity of showing that nothing in the shape of religious sanction or otherwise stands in the way of the rising generation making seavoyages is apparent. The past and the present of Japan is an object lesson to us Hindus., In her we can read our own future. Even China, has awakened to the necessity of bestirring herself and has sent her minister to the various countries of Europe to study their institutions and manufactures. In the matter of emigrations, she has already stolen a march on us for the Chinese are found in every part of the world as clever mechanics. To speak the truth India is the only country in the whole world that is wholly backward in this simple element of progress. It is the greatest priest-ridden country in all time.

In Burma, and Siam, in the islands south of India, in Natal and Mauritius we find many Hindus, Brahmins and non-Brahmins. They are either entirely at the mercy of the ignorant and begoted Brahmin Purohits or in those places where the influence of these Purohits is weak, become the helpless victims to the more seductive wiles of the Christian Missionaries. It has been an observed fact that religion in any form has a great hold upon the minds of the uneducated; they cling to the wildest and the most distorted forms of it rather than go without any religion at all. In Borneo, Sumatra, and other islands, the coolies and the Chetti merchants never fail to observe the anniversary of their dead ancestors. If they can get a Brahmin, he generally conducts the ceremony, though he is profoundly ignorant of the thing ; for, with the ignorant people it is enough if a Brahmin, calling himself so (in India it is no better) is present on

the occasion. In places where there are no Brahmins available, they give the consecrated food to cows. When such is the regard they show to the Hindu religion and its votaries, is it justice or policy to leave them thus in the ways of ignorance and vice? The Christian Missionary spares neither life, health or convenience to go any where and preach his religion provided he could get half a dozen auditors, wild or civilised, willing or unwilling. You see him on the Rocky Mountains, being mercilessly scalped or undergoing the agonies of a slow fire; you find him among the cannibals of Newzealand, often becoming a dainty morsel to the people whom he went to convert; you meet him in the populous cities of China and Turkey going with a calm heart to meet his death as a martyr, either by being impaled or chopped to pieces; you hear of him dying of the poisoned arrows of the African; you come across him in the island Molakai tending the lepers, though the loathsome disease is eating him by inches; you see him hooted, reviled, stoned, and assaulted, but never is he discouraged, never does he complain. You find him amidst the snows of Greenland or under the burning sun of Soudan. Put the ease-loving Brahmin; proud of a descent which he does not deserve, and of a system of thought that he knows nothing about refuses to budge an inch from his crumbling home, even though he and his family may be dying of starvation. This is the fate of many a learned Sastry and Pandit now a days, why speak of the uneducated or orthodox Brahmin. These to whom the religious and the spiritual guardianship of the nation was entrusted would do better to strike one blow, ere it is too late for the revival of true religion and morality in the land. Sâbhas could be organised all over the country to send out learned and able Pandits to places colonised by the Hindus for giving the people sound religious and moral instruction. They would better benefit the people than the illiterate and greedy Purohits that now feed upon these colonists. They could also make money there in many ways, in a few years and come back to India, if they so desire it. Swami Vivekananda and his brother Sanyasis have set themselves to the work in good earnest; but as there is a lurking suspicion in the minds of many that only Sanyasis are allowed to voyage by sea with impunity, it would be better, if Grahasthas visit foreign lands with their families, and

pave the way for others to follow. There is adequate provision made for the Hindus that visit England, in the way of their preserving their *acharas* intact. The Oriental Institute at Woking in Surrey, 23 miles by train from London, established under the supervision of Dr. Leitner supplies every want to the Hindus in the shape unpolluted land, water, vegetables and fruits. Only those are allowed into it that produce a certificate from the Captain of the steamer they sail in, of their having preserved their caste rules on board. If sea-voyages among the orthodox Hindus were more common, the steamer companies would make better arrangements for caste Hindus and more institutions like that at Woking would spring in all parts of the world, thus affording every inducement to the Hindus wishing to travel abroad or settle there. I am sure that the Brahmins with their superior intellect and their versatile genius will always stand in the front ranks in any country they go to. In ancient India, they were ministers, philosophers, scientists lawyers, and teachers of the nation; in fact there was no department of knowledge in which they had not shown their supremacy. They were all these then; shall they not be so now? Shall the petty views of a small section of the community, ignorant, intolerant and narrow-minded, stand in the way of India's progress and their own glory? No.

Adyar. R. ANANTA KRISHNA SASTRI.

SIR ARTHUR HAVELOCK IN MALABAR.

IT was the practice in India in olden days for any one who had a grievance to represent to his Ruler, to repair to his palace in person and seek the necessary redress at his hands. Such personal representation was discontinued under the British Government and in its place was substituted the practice of submitting memorials to the Viceroys and Governors—the present rulers of India—for such notice that they might condescend to take of the same. Recently, however, advantage has been taken of the tours of Governors to present addresses to them containing not merely words of welcome but also statements of the hardships under which the people were suffering. These tours are undertaken to enable the rulers to bring themselves more in contact with the ruled than they would otherwise be able if they were to confine themselves to their capital alone. They afford them the further advantage of meeting a great number of men competent to speak on local needs. In the earlier days the addresses used to be mainly addresses of welcome. The Governor's duty was then very pleasant. He had only to congratulate the people on their prosperity, their loyalty, and their good fortune in getting able officers to govern them. Just to enable him to show his generosity, and sympathy, there would at times be some small request in the address not difficult to be complied with. But as we have said a change has recently been introduced. The congress spirit that is abroad in the land has made the people take advantage of these addresses to represent their grievances and to criticise the policy of Government or the conduct of the local officials. This change—a very significant one indeed—is naturally distasteful to a certain class of officials and as a result some addresses are often materially altered before they are allowed to be presented or are rejected *in toto*. Yet with these drawbacks the system has also great advantages. It enables the ruler of the Presidency to state his views on the questions raised in the addresses, and in some cases to dissipate misapprehensions. From the official point of view it has also its great disadvantages. A memorial may be easily disposed of with a few remarks without

raising any troublesome discussion but in a reply to an address reasons have to be adduced which are likely to be freely discussed and the arguments freely criticised with the result that it enables the critics to expose the unsatisfactory nature of the reply.

Sir Arthur Havelock has already acquired a reputation for willingness to listen to complaints, or criticism—which in itself is highly appreciated by the people—as well as, for plain-speaking which enables the people to form their opinion on the questions dealt with. With these few preliminary remarks we shall briefly refer to His Excellency's recent Malabar tour. We refer to that District mainly on account of the importance attached to it and as according to His Excellency it will occupy the attention of the Executive Government and the Legislative Council for some time.

By far the most important subject that was brought to His Excellency's notice was the impending Settlement. From one end of Malabar to the other, His Excellency's attention was drawn to it and the arguments were temperately stated. The memorialists contended that the Settlement was against the Proclamation and pledges of 1805, and insisted that throughout the District large sums of money had been invested both by the Europeans and the natives on the faith of those pledges, and on the understanding that the land belonged to the people, and that the Government was entitled only to a share already ascertained in the produce. In fact escheat lands have been sold by the Government on that basis. Whether, therefore, their interpretation of the Proclamation of 1805 was correct or otherwise, such interpretation has been accepted for the last 90 years and policy at least requires that a different interpretation should not now be attempted. It was further submitted that no irrigation works were maintained by the state, and that the people alone had made all the improvements. If, therefore, according to the policy promulgated in Government orders, such improvements are not to be taxed, then, a new Settlement in Malabar is really unnecessary, as according to the officials themselves the real increase on account of the new Settlement is expected to arise only by taxing such improvements. His Excellency's attention was also drawn to the circumstance that any increase in taxation would effectually debar any attempt to improve the methods of agriculture now prevalent. The Census Reports were appealed to, to confirm the

allegation that agricultural labourers are increasing out of all proportion to the increase of the population in general and as one of the memorials puts it "any increase in the Land Revenue, such as is contemplated will, we are afraid, reduce to utter starvation, a considerable portion of this congested agricultural population already dragging on a hand-to-mouth existence, and thus tend to swell the number of robbers and dacoits, already too numerous in the District."

His Excellency in reply simply said that the Local and Supreme Governments as well as the Secretary of State had definitely decided against the view of the memorialists about the old Proclamation and that the proportion of the people dependent on agriculture was lower in Malabar than it was elsewhere.

This reply is obviously very unsatisfactory. About the Proclamation of 1805 we expected indeed nothing better. The English Government has apparently lost its reputation rightly or wrongly for good faith with the Madras ryots and the Zemindars. If His Excellency meant to say that the Proclamation of 1805 makes no difference in the view of the Government and that the people of Malabar have only the same rights in their land as the ryots in the other Districts, then all that we can say is that such an interpretation is one not dictated by considerations of Justice, fair play, or policy. With reference to the presure of agricultural population, the reply discloses an attempt, doubtless inadvertently made, but still one generally made by Government officials to cloud the real issue. Whenever any question of Malabar Settlement is discussed the reply is generally vouchsafed that Malabar is very lightly taxed in comparison with the other Districts and that therefore the assessment ought to be enhanced. In his reply we find His Excellency dwelling on the fact that the population depending on agriculture is smaller in Malabar than elsewhere. This of course is no answer to the statement of the comparative *increase* of such population in Malabar. His Excellency will have to guard himself in future against being led astray by similar arguments. Whether the assessment in Malabar ought to be enhanced or not, has to be decided on its own merits. If the other Districts have been too heavily assessed, by all means, let those assessments be reduced. But it is absurd to bring that forward in support of an increase of assessment in Malabar. We regret that Sir Arthur has not considered it worth

his while to state his attitude on the other questions connected with the Malabar Settlement. In recording Government Proceedings, one is on safe ground. Few people are likey to be aware of the hollow or inconclusive nature of the arguments when the Government side of the case is skilfully stated and the other aspect of it is scarcely represented. But when an address is read along with the reply, it is obvious that it is not equally safe to give the goby to the various points in the address.

The Mopla outbreaks and the settlement of the questions in dispute between the landlords and the tenants were also brought forward prominently. The appointment of a Representative Commission was suggested but Sir Arthur said that he did not believe that any good would arise out of it as the Government was amply provided with means of information. Here we consider that His Excellency has misunderstood the object of the Commission sought for. To illustrate our meaning, we shall take the question of the landlord and the tenant. The information required was collected by a Commissioner, Mr. Logan, in 1882. The matter was referred to a Commission on which the landlords were not represented. The result was that the report of that Commission was objected to, in its entirety by the landlords. Mr. Master's Commission was more a debating society as its records will show, than anything else. We really had no Commission on which both the landlord's and tenant's interests were equally represented. And if the Government were to appoint such a Commission we have no doubt ourselves that it will be able to recommend to Government an acceptable scheme, which possibly may be objected to by men of extreme views on either side but which will be accepted generally. Any settlement that may be proposed on behalf of Government will very likely be attacked by both the sides and it will be passed if at all only in the face of strong adverse criticism. Even assuming that a scheme generally acceptable is not suggested by the Commission, we shall have at any rate a statement on both sides of the case, and on which the Government can proceed to legislate. If the Government were to proceed without the help of the report of such a Commission, the Government is likely to find the facts on which it relies for legislation challenged in Council and elsewhere and the cry of spoliation raised in a form which it will not be easy to meet. The real truth is that the Government dares not

appoint an independent commission in these days, lest facts may be elicited and opinion expressed which may hamper Government. The Government is anxious that no step should be taken which may have the effect of curtailing their own freedom of action with reference to Revenue Settlement and if the relation of landlord and tenant is definitely settled by law, it will practically be impossible to enhance the revenue without disturbing that relation and it is this selfish motive that really stands in the way. The question of landlord and tenant is only a part of the far larger question which involves the question of the Settlement of the Government revenue. For such Settlement is an essential preliminary to defining the rights and duties of landlords and tenants.

The same uneasy feeling prevails with reference to the Mopla outbreaks. The feeling which is general in so far as land tenures are concerned is confined to the Hindus in the first instance and particularly to the Brahmins. In an address which was prepared for presentation to His Excellency by the great Brahmin landlords but which he declined to receive they say:—

"We are constrained to add that a great deal depends upon the honesty and firmness of the executive officers appointed to the responsible offices in the Taluq where the riots occur. The slightest weakness in the executive officer is taken advantage of by the criminal classes, who make it their opportunity. There is an idea current among the people in the rural villages, and especially among the ignorant people, that the Government is afraid of the Moplas and concessions are granted through fear of them. A strong and firm attitude on the part of the Government officials alone can remove these false notions, the existence of which we need hardly submit, is very dangerous."

Is the Government afraid, that by appointing a commission, they may be thereby giving an opportunity to the Brahmin landlords to state their very uncomplimentary view of the attitude of Government officials towards the Moplas which according to them is very material in the consideration of this question.

Another question of equal importance that was brought to His Excellency's notice was the increase of crime in Malabar due as was alleged, to the inefficiency of the Police force. His Excellency entirely disageed with the memorialists on this question

and regretted that they should have thought it proper to bring such severe charges against the Malabar Police, without being careful to ascertain the real facts. And how was Sir Arthur able to ascertain the facts, within the few days he was in Malabar? He did it by referring to a paper showing the statistics of crime in Malabar for the last five years. That paper gave the number of cases reported detected &c., The value of any such paper depends upon the accuracy with which the Police records are prepared. Sir Arthur assumes—it is not shown to be a correct assumption—that all Station House officers are so conscientious that they enter in their records the commission of every offence that is brought to their notice. His Excellency might, as well, have said that he had been assured by the Police Department, that the force was increasing in efficiency, and that the memorialists ought to have gone to them to ascertain the truth. When a sever charge is brought forward against a Department it is not right to meet that charge by a direct denial based solely on the statements made by the officers of that Department. Sir Arthur was visited by a good number of leading officials and non-officials. Did he enquire of them whether crime according to their belief was on the increase or not, whether confidence in the Police was increasing, whether it was true that offences were not reported to the Police on account of the harassing and vexatious nature of their subsequent proceedings, whether in some localities where crime was very prevalent many Policemen were not supposed to be in league with the lawless bodies of men? If Sir Arthur had made these inquiries or if he will even now condescend to make these inquiries we believe that he will receive replies which we are sure will very much disurb him. It is idle to appeal to statistics to prove the efficiency of the Police force when there is a general feeling of distrust against them in the country and when they are regarded by the law-abiding portion of the public with distrust and fear. Was His Excellency aware when he relied on these Police statistics, that in an address which he declined to receive were the following words.

"We pray that...Your Excellency will be pleased to take such remedial and effectual measures as your Excellency deems necessary and proper to give us protection of person and property which we regret to say, we do not at present enjoy."

The correspondent to a Madras daily says, that landlords came from long distances to present their address. Why did His Excellency not ask them to substantiate this grave charge that under the British Dominion they do not enjoy protection of person and property before he decided to defend the Police?

We consider it unnecessary to discuss all the subjects that were dealt with in the addresses or in the replies, and we shall accordingly content ourselves with referring only to one other matter to which particular attention ought to be directed on account of its importance. We find that His Excellency's attention has been drawn to this subject also from outside Malabar. The complaint was about the status of the subordinate Magistrates who do not now form an independent and efficient class of officials. His Excellency in reply pointed out that much had been already done and by the appointment of stationary magistrates an improvement had been effected beyond what had been done elsewhere in India. Now it is true enough that the Government has attempted to do something but it is equally true that the intention of the Government has not been carried out as we have not yet secured an independent magistracy. The fact is that before the new scheme was carried out we had Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars both of whom were also magistrates, exercising magisterial powers. The Tahsildar, who receives a considerably higher pay than the Deputy has now been relieved of his magisterial duties, and a number of stationary magistrates were appointed to perform the magisterial duties. But the Higher Revenue authorities have appointed these stationary Sub-Magistrates to be Deputy Tahsildars as well and placed them under the control of the Tahsildar with the result that they are very often required to attend to revenue work, to the detriment of their magisterial work and to the great inconvenience of the suitors. They are therefore not quite stationary and the great hardship to the parties and their pleaders of being dragged to great distances by an itenerant magistrate still prevails. But a greater evil lay in their low pay and their subordination to the revenue authorities on whom depend all their chances of promotion. Their independence particularly in dealing with the Forest and Abkarry cases is *nil*—and they usually stand in great awe of the Police who could influence the Collector through the Superintendent If the Deputy Tahsildars were relieved of their magisterial

functions and the Tahsildars of their revenue functions, that is, if their positions were reversed, it would be far more satisfactory. The Tahsildar magistrate of higher rank would presumably be more independent than the Deputy Tahsildar and the latter would undoubtedly be amply efficient for the collection of revenue.

These observations which are only a resumé of what has been appearing in the vernacular papers on the replies of His Excellency to the various addresses presented to him.

We are thankful to His Excellency for telling us frankly his views. Discussion is generally fruitless when the Government preserves an attitude of silence and does not condescend to state the objections to the proposals advanced by the native public; but when the difficulties are pointed out and the leaders of public opinion are invited to state how such difficulties could be overcome it must be possible to arrive at an ageement as to the feasibility of some scheme.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN MADRAS.

IN considering what reforms are urgently necessary to improve the administration of this country the reform of the Police Department must suggest itself to all observant minds. It is a trite observation that the welfare of a people always depends more or less on the readiness with which sufficient safeguards against all kinds of arbitrary proceedings whether on the part of the Government or of their officials are imported into the administrative machinery of their country. It would undoubtedly be unjust and ungrateful to deny that we are not already in the enjoyment of most of these safeguards. Indeed, that which distinguishes the British Government from the Native Rule that preceded it is the diffusion throughout the country of a sense of security of person and property. We have derived immense advantages from the introduction of the liberal principles of British laws with all the traditions of impartiality and fairness attached to them, so much so, that the vast population of India look upon them as the palladium of their liberty. It has been well said that the main stay of British power in India is undoubtedly in the belief that British courts dispense even-handed justice. But there is unfortunately no guarantee that these wise and wholesome laws are always administered in the same impartial spirit in which they are introduced. We find from experience that the dispensation of justice depends more or less upon the good-will and pleasure of individual administrators. It is again a fact that the grievances of people especially of those who are poor and helpless remain in most cases practically unredressed. We have had several instances in these days of responsible officers of Government who are believed to have combined to thwart justice in so public a manner that the higher tribunals in the country had to pass severe remarks on their disgraceful conduct. When we reflect that only some of the attempts of these high-placed officers could come before the judicial courts and the public we are necessarily driven to the conclusion that half the story of official high-handedness has yet to be told. It therefore becomes imperative that a scheme of administration should be introduced based on such principles as will ensure to the subjects

even-handed justice, not merely so long as individual administrators are disposed to allow it but even against their wishes and in spite of their endeavours to thwart it.

Nothing more clearly illustrates the truth of these observations than the way in which criminal justice is administered, especially in the mofussil parts of this country (as seen from actual experience).

The Police and the Magistracy are responsible for the preservation of peace and the detection of crime. When we consider what great powers are given to the Police, a consciousness of responsibility and a high sense of right and wrong ought to guide them in the discharge of their duty. But it is an admitted fact that the Police are inefficient in the detection of crime and that they are believed to be high-handed and not pure in their conduct towards the people. It is singular, that while all other departments of Indian administration have undergone great improvements, the Police force, in the efficiency of which the country is so much interested, does not show much improvement either in its constitutions or in the general *morale* of the department. The character of the Police in its early days has been so well drawn in the reports furnished to Government that we shall make no attempt to recast what was there so well described but shall devote our present space to a reproduction of a part of those reports.

"The Police establishment has become the bane and pest of society, the terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exist among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment; violence, torture and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime implicating innocence or extorting money. Robberies are *daily* and *nightly* committed and not unfrequently with their connivance. Certain suspicious characters are taken up and conveyed to some secluded spot far out of the reach of witnesses; every species of cruelty is exercised upon them; if guilty the crime is invariably confessed and stolen property discovered; but a tempting bribe soon releases them from custody. Should they persist in avowing their innocence, relief from suffering is promised by criminating some wealthy individual and in the agony of despair he is pointed to as the receiver of stolen goods. In his turn he is compelled to part with his hard-earned coin to avert the im-

pending danger. Even the party robbed does not escape the clutching grasp of the heartless peon and duffadar; he is threatened with being torn from his home, dragged to the cutcherry and detained there for days or weeks to the actual detriment of his trade or livelihood unless he points out the supposed thieves. The dread of, or aversion to the cutcherry is so great that the owner would sooner disavow the stolen article and disclain all knowledge of the property, though his name be found written upon it in broad characters; while such is the actual state of things and while the people entertain such a lively horror of the Police it is not possible to expect a single victim of torture to come forward and arraign his tormentors or to bring the charge home to any one of them after the deed has been perpetrated in some ruined fort or deep ravine situated miles away from the town or village."

Again, Mr. Mackinzie writes as follows. "I have no hesitation in stating that the so called Police of the mofussil is little better than delusion. It is a terror to well disposed and peaceable people, none whatever to thieves and rogues, and that if it be abolished *in toto* the saving of expense to Government would be great, and property would not be a whit less secure than it now is." * * *

Nearly half a century has passed since the reports containing these strictures were submitted to Government. Has there been any great improvement since then?

We naturally look to the Administration Reports and the Proceedings of Government thereon to enlighten us. In the Government Proceedings reviewing the Police Administration Report for 1895 there is scarcely anything to guide us to a corrct conclusion. We have only a bare statement which shows the number of punishments inflicted on the Police officers during the last three years.

It would be extremely useful to learn the nature of the charges brought against the Policemen who were convicted; also useful to learn whether the Police have been charged and if so, in how many instances with bribery, extortion or torture.

In the absence of any such information in the Government Report we shall take the liberty of referring to a few cases to which public attention was drawn in the newspapers last year and which we consider might have been referred to, at least, in any Government Proceedings that profess to deal with the Police Administration of 1895.

We shall not confine ourselves to any particular District but shall take up 4 cases a Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalam case.

We shall begin with the South Canara Torture Case.

In the begining of last year while the Police were investigating a case of theft which had occurred at a mofussil station in South Canara a man was taken up by the Police and was conveyed to some lonely place far out of the reach of witnesses. He was there detained for days together and on his persisting in his innocence every species of cruelty was alleged to have been exercised to extort a confession till one day his body was found in a well; the Police alleging he had committed suicide.

The father of the deceased was naturally not satisfied with this explanation of the Police and at once lodged a complaint against the Head Constable and constables who had the deceased man in charge with the result that the local Magistrate began the usual inquiry.' The father and the deceased were poor and uneducated rustics and the Police determined, in the words of the High Court, "by directing the whole influence and efforts of their superior officers, to prevent any magisterial investigation at all" and if this be rendered impossible "to prevent at any rate a local investigation by the authorities on the spot."

With the object of burking enquiry into the complaint against the members of the force, the Police Inspector after completing the investigation, reported to another Magistrate that the complaint was false and no magisterial inquiry was required though positive orders had been given by the local Magistrate who had begun the inquiry, that the Policemen should be placed on their trial. The Head Assistant Magistrate however insisted that a proper magisterial inquiry should be held and refused a petition from the accused that the case might be transferred as the Sub-Magistrate was prejudiced against him. The Policemen however pressed through the Superintendent of Police the District Magistrate who granted the transfer on the *exparte* statement of the accused "though he was at the time evading a warrant and absconding from justice." It afterwards transpired, we are again using the words of the High Court—"that the Inspector was living in the same house with the accused Head Constable at the time he was conducting the enquiry

against him, that he accompanied the accused's Vakil to the Court of the District Magistrate to ask for a transfer, that, subsequent to the receipt of a warrant of arrest, he saw the accused and spoke to him, that instead of executing the warrant he sent it up to the Superintendent of Police for orders, and that in fact the accused was at large till he thought fit to put in a voluntary appearence before the Sub-Magistrate to whose Court the case had been transferred." "From the facts" the learned Judges say "we find it difficult to refrain from drawing the inference that the Superintendent of Police assisted the Head Constable to evade a local enquiry and at all events passively connived at his absconding after the warrant had been issued for his apprehension."

Another tale of Police oppression and of their subsequent attempt to thwart justice is furnished by the Calicut Torture Case. Like their brethren in Canara, the Calicut Police, two Head Constables and some constables pitched upon two people as offenders in a theft case apparently on the sole ground that they like many others were employed at the time in the house where the offence was alleged to have taken place.

On their refusal to confess they were detained in private uninhabited houses and were subjected, for the purpose of extorting confession, to every species of torture and with all the refinements of cruelty. "They were" says the Sessions Judge who tried the case "tortured by having their legs stretched out while standing with their backs on the wall and the back of their hands rubbed against the wall so as to remove the skin. Further, each was separately taken into a room, the fingers of each man's hands interlaced, with the tips down, and tied with string passed round the roots of the fingers. The hands were then turned knackles upwards and a ruler passed under the inverted V formed by the fingers. The ends of the ruler were fastened by a rope attached to a beam in the roof and the victim made to stand on a stool which was then taken away. They were thus made to hang for about 48 minutes as they estimate it; Kannan Nair (first accused) all the while telling them to give up the stolen image" A complaint was filed by some of their relatives against the Head Constables and their associates. The local Town Magistrate went to the place, examined the Police captives and found marks of torture on their persons. The Police

subsequently removed their prisoners to the Police Station and some time next day, these two persons were released for want of evidence, on bail.

The Police were apparently determined to prevent enquiry into the case through the influence which their Head, the Superintendent could always exert on the District Magistrate. It was represented that there was a conspiracy among the subordinate Magistrates to ruin the accused and the District Magistrate accepting these interested representations of the Police as true, called up the case to his own file and referred it for investigation to the Superintendent—a procedure condemned by the High Courts. Though the case was referred as false the public indignation had by this time risen to such a pitch that the District Magistrate had to try the case himself. The case was not [illegible] thrown out and the poor victims of Police oppression were remanded to jail awaiting a criminal prosecution for creating false evidence and for perjury. The attitude of the Magistrate, of the Superintendent of Police and others so scandalised the public of Calicut that they determined to take further steps against these high-handed proceedings. Subscriptions were easily collected and the Sessions Court was appealed to with the result that the case was ordered to be committed to the Sessions, that the accused were tried, found guilty and sentenced to long terms of imprisonments. The observations of the Sessions Judge in concluding his Judgment are instructive as throwing a good deal of light on the Police ways of detection of crimes—"I cannot refrain" he says "in concluding this protracted trial, from the expression of an opinion, that torture is much more prevalent among the Police than it is generally supposed to be. If atrocious acts such as these could take place in the heart of a populous town like Calicut within a morning's walk of all the principal authorities, what can be expected to take place in remote villages and places where the Police have a freer hand? The most remarkable thing about this trial is the methodical and business-like way in which the proceedings were carried out and the slight attempts at concealment. The Magistrate said in his evidence, that a casual by stander pointed out to him Vengalil kudil in which the Police were, and the captives, it is proved, were marched backwards and forwards to their meals through frequented streets and in the most public manner.

If illegal confinement and torture were laid down in the Police Regulations and formed part of the ordinary drill, they could not have been carried out with more method and regularity. * I am convinced that Kannan Nair and his associates—at least the two older ones—were not acting in this way, by any means for the first time. It was only by an accident they were descovered—the accident that for once in a way a Magistrate was found bold enough to do his duty and take prompt and vigorous action, without fear of the consequences."

Madura furnishes yet another instance of Police oppression.

Two Chetties, father and son, in an out of the way place in Madura were arrested by the Police on suspicion as being the murderers of the son's wife whose body was found floating in a well. There were absolutely no grounds as the European Judge who tried the case held, for suspecting these people as being the murderers. The Inspector of Police says in his Diary that he arrested them "because there is no reason why a stranger should do all these" "and as there was no chance of any body giving any evidence if the accused were at large." "These grounds" observes the judge, were obviously such as no reasonable man acting in good faith would accept. Whatever the nature of the grounds for suspizion may be, those people were arrested, abused, beaten and ordered to say that they had murdered the woman. Finding them still persisting in their innocence they were confined in a shed under the custody, of two constable with the strict injunction that they were not to be permitted to see anybody. The order was however soon relaxed in the case of a man who came to arrange the payment of a bribe to the Inspector. After some negotiations about the amount of the bribe, the prisoners agreed to pay a sum of money on condition that they were to be released. The money was paid and the charge against them was struck off as it was suddenly found out that there was no evidence against them. In the subsequent trial of the Inspector, on the charge of corruptly and maliciously confining these Chetties and of extorting money from them the Sessions Judge observed that "the offences he committed were part of a system and the result of a conspiracy and the witnesses who were present when the money was paid had really acted as mediators."—

* The Italics are ours.

We shall close our narrative of Police oppression with the history of a case wherein the Government thought it fit to punish a District Superintendent and a Divisional Magistrate for dereliction of duty.

In this case a man of the wandering Erukula caste was tortured by the Police with the result that he died. Both the Divisional Magistrate and the Superintendent were at the time encamped at the station. The relatives of the deceased complained to the Divisional Magistrate who referred them to the Superintendent. Though they proceeded to the latter officer's camp and laid their grievances before him no notice however was taken of their complaint. It appeared further that "even after the death of the Erukula had been reported to him, even although he had received a report of the post-mortem examination which showed that he had probably died from violence the Superintendent of Police did not prosecute the Police concerned, nor reported the case to the Magistrate, nor registered it as a crime at any of the stations and when shortly afterwards he was transferred to another district he took with him the records of such inquiry as he had made in the case and omitted to report the result of it to the Magistrate."

In the trial of the constable who had caused grievous hurt to the Erukula in question, the Sessions Judge animadverted in strong terms upon the indifference and neglect in the matter of the Divisional Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police."

A Vernacular Newspaper reports of this case having attracted its attention the Government called upon the officers concerned to explain their conduct and on the explanations submitted the Government held "the charges which had been made against the officers were established." The Superintendent "was accordingly ordered to revert to his permanent grade and to be debarred from promotion for a period of six months". The Divisional Magistrate "was ordered to revert to his permanent rank for six months and was transferred to another district."

A perusal of the story of these cases must convince any sceptical mind that torture is much more prevalent among the police than it is generally supposed to be and that it has become, according to their conceptions, so much a part of their duty that they scarcely attempt at any concealment of their acts.

Another fact which impresses us more painfully than the conviction that torture exists, is the difficulty of obtaining redress which confronts the injured parties.

It is true that the Criminal Law has made penal the torturing for purposes of extorting confessions of offences and that the Legislature has laid down regulations safe-guarding the liberty of the people with anxious care. It is also true that higher officials discountenance the cruel practices which prevail in the Police Department. Still the melancholy fact remains that very few of the injured people seek redress at the hands of the magistracy.

The Commissioners appointed to investigate alleged cases of torture (1855) explain thus:

"In the first place" they say "the infliction of such description of illtreatment in the detection of crime as we have specified has come by long course of practice to be looked upon as *mamool*, customary, a thing of course to be submitted to as an every-day unavoidable necessity. It is generally practised on the lower orders of people whose circumstances least permit of their making any complaints on the one hand, whilst their ignorance and timidity, render them more submissive, on the other." To these reasons we would add the fact that Police officers of all grades combine to defeat justice and to make it wellnigh impossible for a poor and helpless man to get redress of his grievances. "The belief among the people of India is gaining ground that from the Police constable drawing Rs 7 a month to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India it is one continued ladder of prestige; and that each officer was anxious to support the prestige of his immediate subordinate even at the sacrifice of justice." Nowhere is this *Esprit de corps* so strong as in the Police Department. We have seen that for the purpose of screening his subordinates, at least one Superintendent permitted criminals to abscond. The Superintendents usually manage to influence the District Magistrate who combines in himself the dual functions of a Magistrate and Police officer and is guided in all serious matters by the former. Subordinate Magistrates are under the absolute control of the District Magistrates who seasonably remind them by circulars that they will be exercising proper descretion if they should refer all criminal cases against policemen in their official capacity to their superiors the Superintendents. Is

it possible under these circumstances that Sub Magistrates would be bold enough to act against the whims and wishes of the Police. Is it again a wonder that complaints against Police officers are so rare? Tortured people may consider themselves happy if they are not prosecuted and convicted for making false evidence and perjury—a fate which the complainants in Calicut Torture Case very narrowly escaped.

The combination of the Police and the Magistracy as it now exists is a standing blot on the administration of India—yet we find the Government "reminding superior officers of the Police and the Magistracy that it is of the highest importance in the prevention and detection of crimes that the two departments should work together and not regard themselves as separate interests who should act only independently one of the other." It may however be observed that these departments work together more for the purpose of shielding offenders if they happen to be police officials than for the detection of crimes.

In the foregoing pages if there is one thing which is rendered more clear than another, that fact undoubtedly is that there exist great defects in the constitution of the Police force, in their recruitment, in the assisgnment of their duties and in the exaction of their works.

To elevate the tone of the department it is necessary that Policemen should be recruited from a more enlightened class of people. It is also absolutely essential that some educational test should be made compulsory to all the higher offices in the department. Though there are a great number of educated men in this Presidency, very few of them find entrance in the Police force. Considering the great powers which police officers are called on to exercise it is nothing but just to require that they should be men of educational attainments. Even an ordinary constable is authorised to arrest any subject of Her Majesty on suspicion and search his person and property. If it be necessary in the interest of public security that these men should be entrusted with these powers it is equally necessary to provide sufficient safe-guards that these powers are not abused. It is not pretended that educated men would not abuse their powers, but it may reasonably be presumed that the chances

of such abuse are much less in their case than in those of rude and ignorant rustics.

The fact that the promotion of Policemen is made to depend chiefly on the number of cases they had detected and that they are practically absolved from any sort of punishment when the so called detected cases are proved to be false, even after strong animadversions by the judges, demoralises the Police. It is again, for the purpose of swelling the number of cases detected and thereby to secure promotion that a large number of them resort to the questionable practice of torturing suspected persons. This irrational test of a man's merit which consists in the number of cases he had detected irrespective of the fact that they are true or false ought, as early as possible, to be abolished.

We have now adverted to some of the drawbacks in the criminal administration of this country and have suggested certain reforms which may with advantage be effected. It is greatly to be regreted that the Government had been so tardy and indifferent in improving this all-important branch of administration. Whether the Government contemplate to effect any reform of the Police Department in the near future we do not know; but it may without hesitation be said that the present scheme requires great improvement.

FORTY YEARS OF EDUCATION
IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

(Continued from page 372.)

IN the August issue of this *Review* we brought the history of education in Southern India down to the end of the Directorate of Colonel Macdonald, or to July 1880. We showed how, very soon after Sir Thomas Munro landed in India in 1820, he became aware of the miserable state of the people as regarded education, and caused enquiries to be set on foot throughout the Presidency as to the actual state of affairs, the result of which was the opening of 14 Collectorate and 81 Taluq Schools. These schools were all declared in 1836 after a trial of some years to be thoroughly inefficient, except the Madras Training School, since become the Presidency College. Shortly before this (in 1835) Lord Macaulay's famous minute settled the question of education in India in favour of Western education as against Eastern. There had been a vast deal of talk and correspondence and issuing of minutes, but very little way, as we showed, had been made, when in 1854—the natural begining of our selected period of 40 years—the Magna Charta of education in India appeared, in the form of the memorable despatch of 1854, which gave India its Directors of Public Instruction and its Universities. In 1855 the first Director of the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency—Sir A. J. Arbuthnot was appointed. Thereafter, as we showed in our August number, great and steady progress was made through the Directorships of Mr. Powell (October 1862 to March 1875) and of Col. Macdonald (March 1875 to July 1880). We showed, further how from a few hundred schools of all grades with a few thousand pupils and an expenditure in grants in 1855-56 of some 12,000 rupees the number of schools of all grades within the purview of the Department rose in 1893-94 to 24, 949 schools, containing 749, 977 pupils, on whom, (exclusive of their fees) there was spent the very large sum of Rs. 954,945, of which Rs. 617,663 were from Provincial Funds, Rs. 234,936 from Local Funds and Rs. 105,348 from Municipal Funds.

On 1st July 1880, Mr. H. B. Grigg M. A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and of the Madras Civil Service, became Director of Public Instruction on the resignation of Colonel Macdonald. At the end of the official year 1880-1881 the total number of institutions of all kinds in the Madras Presidency was roughly speaking, 13,000 and of pupils 370,000. Twelve years later in 1893—a period about coincident with Mr. Grigg's *régime*, the number of Colleges and schools of all grades had risen, in round numbers, to 24,300 and the number of students to 730,000. Such figures show the vast strides made during Mr. Grigg's Directorship.

The following table, taken from G. O. No. 945 Educational dated 31st December 1895,—the latest Government order available,—compares the figures for the last six years and exhibits the general condition of education at the close of the year 1894-95.

Year	Number of institutions of all sorts	Rate of advance of figures in column 2 upon the preceding year.	Number of pupils on 31st March in the institutions given in Col. 2.			Rate of advance on the preceding year in the number of pupils in all institutions.		
			Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		per cent.				*p. c.*	*p. c.*	*p. c.*
1889—90	20,512	8·4	522,207	78,344	600,551	8·3	12·7	8·8
1890—91	22,028	7·4	556,449	87,715	644,164	6·6	12	7·3
1891—92	23,204	5·3	595,514	98,471	693,985	7·0	12·3	7·7
1892—93	24,316	4·8	629,416	104,588	734,404	5·7	6·6	5·8
1893—94	24,949	2·6	643,202	106,775	749,977	2·2	1·7	2·1
1894—95	25,182	·9	656,531	107,823	764,354	2·1	1	1·9

We shall have some remarks to make on these figures later on. Mr. Grigg, and his successor, Dr. Duncan, remarks in the report on Public Instruction for 1892-93 "anticipating the recommendations of the Education Commission, set himself at an early period of his administration to the task of withdrawing gradually from the direct management of higher education, wherever he could find private individuals, or Committes, or Local Boards able and willing to carry on the work."

The immense and untiring energy shown by Mr. Grigg in the administration of the department and the flood of new schemes for improving every class of education make it a difficult task to follow him. The general progress in education, however, was very marked and is perhaps, in part, to be attributed to the strenuous endeavours

made to follow out the chief recommendations of the Education Commission. *

Take the Arts Colleges of the Madras Presidency as an example. In 1880 these were 24 in number of which 19 were Government Institutions. In 1893 the number of First and Second Grade Colleges rose to 35; while purely Government Colleges declined to 7. The number of pupils attending these 35 colleges rose in round numbers from 1,500 to 3,500. From page 6 para 4 of G. O. Nos. 945, 946, dated 31st December 1895, we gather that while the number of Arts Colleges in British territory in this Presidency has risen to 36 the attendance has fallen to 3,185. This is to be accounted for by the small numbers that have for the last 3 years passed the Matriculation Examination of the University, owing to the greatly enhanced severity of the test.

The latest University Calendar shows that there are now 27 Colleges of the Second Grade and 11 of the First Grade in the Presidency, of which only *one* of the Second Grade (the Mangalore College) and *three* of the First Grade, (the Presidency, Kumbakhonam and Rajahmundry Colleges) are now Government Institutions. Three others, the Second Grade Colleges at Palghaut, Tellicherry and Salem are Municipal Colleges, and are worked under the same strict rules as those directly under the Department.

During Mr. Grigg's Directorate the number of Professional Colleges was raised from 4 to 6. To the Medical, Law † and Training Colleges were added the College of Agriculture (an old school of agriculture having been in existence since 1876) and the Training College, Calicut (since abolished, but re-established as a Training Department in connection with the Rajahmandry College).

High Schools for boys increased from 76 with an attendance of 4,300 to 134 with an attendance of 10,000. Middle Schools rose from 400 with a strength of 15,000 to 460 with a total strength of 23,500. The greatest progress was, however, made in female education, the numbers of girls attending school having risen from 32,34 to 104,980. As will be seen from the tabular statement given above the numbers of girl pupils rose rapidly between the years

* See Satianadhan's *History of Education in the Madras Presidency*. Appendix G.
† The Law class at the Presidency, since erected into a separate college.

1889-90 and 1892-93, but, though progress is still being made, it is very much slower.

We may pause here to remark that the greatest hope for the spread of female education is to be looked for in large towns, and to us it seems that much more attention should be given to its development at the great centres of population. At present most of the time of the Inspectresses of Schools is taken up with travelling in horribly out of the way places, and in office work. What we want is much more personal exertion in such towns as Madras, Trichinopoly, Calicut, Coimbatore, Palghat, and other large centres. We speak from personal observation when we say that very little is being done in a large town of 40,000 inhabitants in which the writer of this article lives. The people should be stirred up by lectures, prize distributions, and in many other ways. To us it seems beyond dispute that the energies and health of the very able Inspectresses of Schools are being frittered away. Their ranges are too large, their assistants too few. If it is really the intention of the Department to foster female education, the first thing to be done is to increase the number of Inspectresses of Schools from *two to four* and to double the number of their assistants, substituting strong, healthy, and well educated women Assistant Inspectresses for the men Sub-Assistant Inspectors. No substantial further progress can be looked for unless and until vigorous steps are taken. A kind of lethargy, fatal to progress, has been creeping over this all important section of the work of the Department, for which the Inspectresses are not to be blamed.

It requires money to push on the cause of female education and money is scarce, it will be said. Everything, however, should be made to give way to the absolute necessity of the situation. Educate the future mothers and the cause of education is won. Neglect this primary duty, and we shall soon see a decline in the desire for education on the part of the males. In this connection we may quote the remarks made in the Government Order already referred to, that for 1894-95.

"The total number of girls in all classes of institutions was 107,823, or only one per cent more than in the year previous. This is the lowest rate of advance recorded during the past quinquennium and the percentage of girls under instruction to the female popula-

tion of school age continued to be only 4 per cent. Excluding the exceptional districts of Madras and Nilgiris, it was highest in Malabar (9·0) and lowest (1·5) in Madura and Vizagapatam. Primary girls' schools in rural areas and secondary girls' schools in municipal areas declined both in number and strength. There was, on the whole, a very slight advance in the number of girls under secondary instruction, but it was almost entirely made up of Europeans and Eurasians, and the preponderance of these classes in the secondary stages was more marked than ever. The total number of Mahomedan and Panchama girls at school increased, but their strength in the middle departments of Secondary Schools declined. Brahman and non-Brahman Hindus were even more poorly represented than in 1893-94. The proportion borne by the daughters of officials, land holders and traders to the total of all girls under instruction fell. It is a matter for regret that the richer classes still continue to exhibit indifference to female education.

It is reported that as girls' schools were usually better equipped and were in charge of better staffs than those for boys, the effect upon them of the introduction of the new rules of recognition was slight, and the only explanation that the Director offers for the discouraging record of the year is that progress was retarded by want of funds.

General Table No. 2 shows that in the year under review the expenditure upon girls' schools was some Rs. 78,000 in excess of the allotment for 1893-94, so that it can scarcely be urged that this branch of the department was entirely starved. Financial exigencies, moreover, though they may account for a retardation in the rate of advance in the number of institutions and scholars, cannot apparently be pointed to as a cause of decreased efficiency in institutions already in existence."

These remarks entirely beat out our own conclusions. We are glad to see that the Malabar District shows up well in contrast with other Districts. But even in Malabar a vast deal remains to be done, when it is considered that only 9 per cent. of girls of school-going age were actually at school.

To resume our survey of Mr. Grigg's administration. Passing over the various changes in the University Examinations we come to the Examination styled the Upper Secondary Examination—

one of Mr. Grigg's pet schemes, and the only one which may be said to have proved an entire failure. It was the outcome of the recommendation of the Education Commission as to a bifurcation of studies in the High School, the one path "leading to the entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits." The scheme was elaborated with much care, but was seen by all practical educationists to be doomed to failure from the first. It is still in existence, after having undergone considerable modification, but since its constitution as a public test in 1889 only 17 candidates have passed the examination completely and become qualified for "superior" appointments in the public service. The Board of Examiners in its report on the examination of 1894 hits the nail on the head, and clearly indicates the reason why this severe test has proved a failure:—

"This examination has never attracted good candidates. Students with any intellectual capacity prefer to enter for the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University, which admits them to a University career and opens up to them the prospect of entering the legal profession, or the higher ranks of Government service. If the Examination is to be continued, it should be borne in mind that only candidates of inferior capacity are likely to be attracted by it and any re-arrangement of the subjects and conditions of the examination should be made with this in view."

Government considered the standard of the Upper Secondary Examination, as originally constituted, so superior in every way that it abolished the Matriculation Examination as a test the passing of which would qualify for Government Service. This led eventually to the University altering the standard of the Matriculation Examination, and making it much more difficult in every way. On this being done it was restored to Government favour and the death-blow has thus been given to the Upper Secondary Examination.

During the period covered by Mr. Grigg's administration great strides were made in secondary education, both Upper and Lower as well as in Primary education. The recommendation of the Education Commission as to Government retiring in time from all direct control of education was carried out with great thoroughness. This

is shown by the fact while in 1881 there were 22 High Schools and 79 Middle Schools under direct Departmental management these numbers had fallen in 1892 to 4 High Schools and 8 Middle Schools. Most of these schools were handed over in the interim to the management of the Municipalities or Local Fund Boards, and it is a noteworthy fact that, whereas in 1881 there was not a single Municipality or Local Fund Board managing a High School, there are to-day 3 Municipal Colleges, those at Palghaut, Tellicherry and Salem,—curiously enough all in the Western circle—and 17 Municipal or Board High Schools to be found in the latest University Calendar.

During the period under notice the High Schools increased from 71 with 4,300 pupils to 134 with 10,000 pupils and the Middle Schools from 404 to 460 with an increase of 8,000 pupils. Primary Schools had increased from 11,800 with an attendance, in round numbers, of 280,000 pupils to 19,000 with 550,000 pupils. Considerable efforts were made, through the agency of Inspecting School-masters, between 1881 and 1886 to bring indigenous, chiefly pial Schools, under some sort of educational supervision. In this way some 4,800 schools with about 85,000 pupils were taken cognisance of. Considerable encouragement was held out by Mr. Grigg in the revised grant-in-aid codes of 1882 and 1884 to the Home Education of Women (Zenana Education). More encouragement was also given, in the interests of the poorer sections of the Eurasian community, to European education. The Grant-in-Aid Code underwent constant partial revision during this period.

One of the most important steps in the direction of regulating and consolidating education was taken in 1889 by the appointment of a Committee, with Dr. Duncan as President, for the revision of the old Standing Orders of the Educational Department. The result of the labours of that Committee was the publication in 1894 of the "Madras Educational Rules",—a new and revised issue of which has just appeared.

Efforts were made by Mr. Grigg in 1884 to develope industrial, technical, and scientific education. Examinations, elementary and advanced, were instituted and the Grant-in-Aid Code revised "with the view of affording liberal provision for grants-in-aid of science, art and industrial schools."

Much was done during this period in the matter of training teachers by the institution of the L. T. Degree of the University, and by Government taking over and improving the existing Board Training Schools. Much more, in our view, needs to be done. Our experience is not of yesterday, and it has shown us that though a great number of young men yearly obtain certificates as qualified teachers, comparatively few of them are efficient. The whole matter wants to be taken in hand. The Training Schools should be perfect models as regards buildings, furniture and appliances. The men placed in charge of these institutions should one and all be thoroughly trained teachers themselves, whose perfect fitness for the work they have to do should be beyond question. Their assistants in these Training Schools should all be young men of the highest qualifications *as teachers*. If the present Director wishes to produce a sort of revolution for the better in education,—as we doubt not he has the will to do,—we have no hesitation in saying that the improvement, nay the entire reformation, not by degrees but *per saltum*, of training institutions should engage his early attention.

Can any one conceive a building worse adapted to the training of teachers than that at Salem? The Trichinopoly training school building, and others we could mention are hardly any better. The staffs also require to be most thoroughly overhauled. Something, and that not a little, should be done, and that speedily both to improve the training of teachers of all grades, but especially of the Primary Grade, and to raise their status. At present the Primary School teacher (everything being judged by pay in this country) is on a par with the dog-boy in a European house-hold. An ordinary cooly or butler gets far better pay than the Headmaster of a Primary School. This is the degradation of education.

Mr. Grigg left hardly anything, or any class connected with education untouched and unimproved during his Directorate. The Mahomedans, and the backward, lower classes of Hindus all came in for his attention.

The physical education of the youth of the country engaged his earnest attention and to him may be mainly ascribed the growing love for manly games such as cricket and football, while the Gymnasia, now to be found in all good schools, owe practically everything to his fostering care.

In 1888 the Educational Department on the initiative of Government,—the scheme being the work of Mr. Grigg,—underwent thorough reorganization. There were at this time, 8 Inspectors of Schools, two Inspectresses, and 73 Deputy Inspectors. The new scheme provided for *four* educational circles, under *four* Inspectors, two Inspectresses, *nine* Assistant Inspectors of schools, and 58 Sub-assistant Inspectors,—of whom 5 were to be placed under the Inspectresses. This scheme involved the retirement from the service of Messrs. Fowler and Garthwaite, both of whom had served Government for over 30 years. They had borne the burden and heat of the day and retired on well earned pensions. Between 1881-82 and 1892-93 (Mr. Grigg having retired in November 1892) the total attendence in Schools and Colleges rose from 3,93,600 to 7,34,400 and the fees from 9 lakhs to upwards 17 lakhs of rupees.

During the same period grants-in-aid from Provincial Fund rose from Rs. 2,60,934 to Rs. 6,15,727. Grants from Local Funds remained nearly stationary at 2½ lakhs, and grants from Municipal Funds rose from 43,768 to Rs. 1,01,852.

The twelve years of Mr. Grigg's administration were fruitful of change and progress as we have shown. To Mr. Grigg belongs the credit of having introduced the system of the 'recognition' of Schools. One of the last pieces of work with which Mr. Grigg was connected was the new Fee Notification of January 1892. It is currently believed that what we cannot but regard as its most objectionable feature in it was the work of the Hon'ble Mr. Stokes, then, Senior Member of Council. By this notification the managers of all *private* (aided as well as unaided) institutions have an entirely free hand in the levying of fees.

Government apparently expected that there would be a great influx of pupils into Schools, and a large increase in the number of Schools. In its G. O. Nos. 945,946 of 31st December 1895 it remarks, "The expectation that the new Fee Notification would result in a great increase in the number of pupils under instruction was again disappointed; the Director has not accounted for the circumstance." It is not however difficult to account for. Coincident with the Fee Notification the rules regarding the recognition of Schools was published. These rules at once knocked many old worthless Schools on the head, and prevented new and equally

worthless ones being opened. Abolish the rules of recognition both of the Educational Department and the University, and give every mushroom manager a free hand as regards fees, and the increase in pupils, *if that is all that Government seeks*, will increase by leaps and bounds.

We see many evils that have sprung—not from the rules of recognition,—but from not requiring all recognised schools to charge proper fees. To this may be attributed in no small measure "the want of care exercised in moving boys into the Sixth Forms" and the "lowered character of the instruction given to the more promising pupils." We will take an instance. In the Town of Nowhere there is a College and a High School. The College is a Municipal Institution and is worked, *under the rules in force*, with the same strictness as a Government College, that is, it has to charge the highest scale of fees, &c., &c., and to keep up a large and efficient staff of masters. The High School charges what fees it likes or none at all. Result:—In order to keep up its finances *each* Institution has to admit to its Matriculation class a very large number of boys quite unqualified to sit on the benches of a Sixth Form. The College has to do this as, if it rejects boys who have been up for Matriculation in some previous year, it will lose very large sums in fees,—which are so essential to its financial well-being; while The High School, admitting many boys free, or at half rates, and charging much lower fees than the College, has to admit large numbers of such unqualified boys in order to be able to pay its staff and enable its Manager and Proprietor to make a living.

The truth is that there is hardly an Institution throughout the country that does not admit into its Sixth Form,—*for the sake of the fees*,—boys who are hardly fit for a Fourth Form. The matter is a serious one and, as much injury is being done to education, we trust that the present Director, a practical educationist himself—will so handle it, without financially injuring existing schools, as to bring about a great reform.

To return. Personally Mr. Grigg had endeared himself to the Department by his kindliness and courtesy. He gave it little rest, as his brain teemed with schemes for its improvement and advancement, but no more sympathetic Director ever held the reins of office and, while those under him rejoiced at his promotion to the

Residentship of Travancore and Cochin,—held, alas! for but a short time,—all regretted the departure of such a chief.

In his Report on Public Instruction for 1892-93 Dr. Duncan summarized the salient reforms and changes of Mr. Griggs' administration and Government remarked in its order, "He (Mr. Grigg) has imparted a strong stimulus to education in this Presidency, and the effects of his labours for the improvement of the people will be lasting and profound."

Doctor Duncan, now the Hon'ble Dr. Duncan M. A., D.Sc. who had repeatedly acted for Mr. Grigg between the years 1885 and 1892, was appointed permanently to be Director of Public Instruction in November 1892. His efforts have so far been devoted to the consolidation of his predecessor's work, in which, however, he had no slight personal share. Unfortunately for the progress of education his Directorship is coincident with great financial depression in high quarters and there are no funds available to meet the constant demands of managers for money either as grants (to which under the code they seem to be entitled) for teachers, or as building grants for the improvent, under the rules of recognition, of existing buildings. The same tightness of the Government purse is, no doubt, also responsible for the existence of the unsuitable Training-School buildings at Salem and Trichinopoly to which we have already drawn attention.

The time has hardly come for any remarks upon the present administration of the Department. To educationists it is a satisfaction to have at the head of affairs one who has had a long practical knowledge of education in Southern India. We doubt not that when the present transition period in education and the period of financial pressure are over the Hon'ble Dr. Duncan will be able to show as good a record as the best of his predecessors. In para 3 of its endorsement order on the Report on Public Instruction Government observes:—

"The Director expresses the opinion *that without large additional funds the progress of education must be greatly retarded*. It will not be possible, however, at any rate for some years to come, to make any substantial increase in the allotments that can be granted for educational needs. The outlay upon Public Instruction has advanced continuously and rapidly during the last decade and has

now reached a point beyond which it cannot be considerably extended, unless the total of the general revenues should expand. The allotments made by Local Boards, in particular, represent in most cases a fair proportion of their revenues, and in several instances they have exceeded the limits within which a due regard for the interests of the other services under their charge should have confined them. The receipts of these Boards are practically inelastic and it is thus impossible that the share of them which is allotted to any particular grant can be indefinitely increased except to the prejudice of other grants. The Government is not therefore prepared to adopt the Director's proposal that a fixed minimum expenditure upon education should be required of all Local Boards. The Director refers to an order of Government which is said to lay down such a minimum in the case of Municipal Councils, but as regards this he appears to be in error as no such order has ever been issued. It is possible that the revised fee notification which will shortly come into force will do something towards raising the receipts of the department; in any case there is much to be done in the way of consolidating and improving its existing work, even should it be found impossible to maintain the rate of increase in new institutions and fresh pupils which has in past years been secured."

C. M. BARROW.

A PILGRIMAGE TO A MODERN SHRINE.

THE tendency to regard particular spots of earth, particular material objects, with special reverence is an instinct planted so deeply in man's breast, that neither idealistic philosophy assuring us that all matter is but an unreal appearance, nor commonsense asserting that wood is wood, and stone is stone, nor scepticism to which nothing is venerable can ever uproot it. To make pilgrimages, to adore relics is a kind of worship universal among men. The objects of worship may change, must indeed inevitably change; the spirit of worship again, of reverence towards what we hold sacred, wonderful, higher than our own selves, may be tinged, in various degrees, with a foolish sentimentality, an idle curiosity on the one hand, or with a deadening, retarding superstition, a brute materialism on the other. But the tendency, though for a while, may be overpowered by its own decaying weight, or silenced for the moment by the laughter of ridicule, will again assert itself, will again appear under new shapes, with new symbols, manifesting itself often enough in very curious and unexpected ways. The descendant of the great wild Norseman, no longer makes the sign of Thor's victorious hammer, but he bows the knee before the crucifix and blesses himself with a holier and even more victorious sign. The Protestant finds nothing venerable in the image of the Virgin, but he lifts with reverent care his old family Bible and with devout fingers turns over its time-stained pages. He will not kiss St. Peter's foot, but in the house of Luther he kneels down and lays reverent lips on the ancient table where the words were penned, which, as he believes, first proclaimed to Europe the reign of spiritual freedom. It is not superstition, it is not folly—unless religion be folly; for, symbolism and formulas are the necessary adjuncts of religion, so long as the soul of man is clothed in vesture of material flesh, so long as men are driven perforce to figure the infinite, the invisible and the unspeakable, in finite shapes, in pictured form and colour, in the language of poetry and metaphor. Art and literature are bound by the same rules, circumscribed by the same finite conditions as religion. They must reveal spirit

through the medium of matter, spiritual beauty in external shape and hue, transcendent thought in uttered signs and symbols. Wise men have never altogether despised the outward expression of reverence, even when to all appearance, the outward expression is accompanied by little else. Dr. Johnson, the most commonsense of moralists, the sturdy opponent of all sorts of of cant and insincerity, is reported to have said of a learned contemporary: "Campbell is a good man, a pious man. I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a church for many years; but he never passes a church without pulling off his hat. This shows that he has good principles."

Various have been the symbols, various the modes of revering them, but that men should have had humility to recognise that there is something higher and holier than themselves, should have had the will and the wisdom to bow themselves before the symbol of that, this, however low and crude the symbol, however ignorant and even gross the belief, this showed that they had good principles: that for them all things were possible, as without that humility and that will nothing whatsoever was possible. The old saints whom our fathers venerated, to whose shrines they made pilgrimages, through the efficacy of whose prayers they looked for temporal and eternal felicity, have ceased for the majority of us to be objects of adoration. We do not believe altogether in them, as we do not believe in their miracles. When we read, as now and then we do, the old lines that were written of them, it is often with a kind of impatience and even disgust. St. Patrick convicted a sheep-stealer by making the semi-digested mutton *bleat* in his stomach. St. Columba made stones swim, spread his sails dead against the wind and triumphantly sailed through it. All this was quite in the nature of things to our ancestors, the men who recorded these extravagances, devoutly believed them all, but first, I would venture to insist they believed something else. They believed in the sanctity of the men who were supposed to manifest such powers. These men in rude violent ages, lived a gentle life, striving only against moral evil, devoted, self-denying, holding pleasure and pain, alike of no account; this was the wonder of wonders, compared with which what were the other miracles? *We* approach these things with different eyes. Physical Science and Philosophy may have taught us that miracles of that sort do not

happen, that even if they did happen, if mortal men to-day worked them, they are no proof of superior sanctity, or the possession of everlasting truth. Cagliostro may be an eminent conjuror, may, for all we know, possess certain magnetic or hypnotic, or Heaven knows what esoteric powers, but he is not a *Grand Cophta*, a High Priest of Truth and of divine mysteries, on that account; he is a liar, a quack and a scoundrel, for all his thaumaturgy, a person to be avoided at all risks, if he cannot be got hanged. We may have learned from the sages of our own times, not to look for miracles, not to require them, to regard all things that are as miraculous, 'the flower in the cranpied wall' a miracle, the 'primrose by the river's brim' a miracle, our own existence, our own power to will and do, as the miracle of miracles.

We know, really very little of the old saints, save for their miracles. Their whole system of life has become obsolete for most of us, their teaching equally obsolete, so that we have ceased to worship them exceedingly, just as we have ceased to worship the old pagan gods Odin and Thor, though, perhaps, both might have something to teach us, or both some quiet meditation might with advantage be practised. The old form of religion, we have perhaps discarded; the old spirit we can by no means get rid of. Wisdom and truth, and heroic suffering and doing are still venerable to us, and the persons of those who, we believe, have manifested these qualities in a conspicuous degree, are likewise venerable; their earthly abodes are become shrines of pilgrimage; their garments, their household furniture, all that they touched and handled are become sacred relics. Saint worship, in the old sense, gradually dies out, but a new saint worship takes its place, and our new Hagiology and lives of the saints is, in some degree at least, the National Dictionary of Biography. It is the best we can do.

On the whole for the last century or so, from the time of even before it, when Johnson set to work his Lives of the Poets, we have gradually been developing, to suit the needs of our age, a new Church Calendar, in which, most of the red-letter days commemorate men of letters. These, generally speaking, are our modern saints, the men who, we believe, have manifested, in the highest degree the qualities which we have now more or less agreed to recognise as in some sort inspired. For these, when we have once

got them canonised, which indeed is no easy business, the devil's advocates, *(advocati diaboli),* now embodied in hostile reviewers, ingenious literary critics, and stupid public opinion being very persistent,—when we have at last got them satisfactorily canonised, we institute solemn festivals, anniversaries, jubilee, centenaries in their honour. The Scotch people are at present engaged in celebrating the centenary of that national saint who has pretty effectually ousted St. Andrew, Robert Burns. They have set up his image in a great many market places and other spots. The compilers of our modern liturgies are hard at work, penning criticisms panegyrics, not to speak of orations, odes, and other 'uses'; solemn vespers called 'Nichts Wi' Burns' have long been familiar, sacred love feasts (agapë) whereat the national food is devoutly consumed, and many libations poured to the Lares and Penates of Scotland, together with harmonious hymnody and the mysterious ritual of *auld lang syne.* Last year two centenaries were celebrated, the centenary of John Keats, the centenary of a greater than Keats, of Thomas Carlyle, the latter day saint. A year or two back, Englishmen were bidden especially to call to remembrance the life and work of Shelley, and the Oxford College which expelled him, with ignominy, has raised within its own precincts, a shrine where his marble limbs rest peacefully. Much of this modern worship of genius may be, and is no doubt foolish and sentimental: nevertheless this is the direction in which our national worship actually goes, and it is very significant. Burns, Keats, Shelley, Carlyle—men have got to believe in some vague way, that these saw deeper into the truth and reality of things, than did most men, that they actually had some sort of a divine message to deliver, a message adapted not to mediæval time, but to the days that are now passing over us, that in spite of errors, sins and much confused warfare, they did succeed in conquering and expelling several devils, making life better, purer, more beautiful for their fellow creatures, and that in their own lives they were in some sort heroes; that on the whole, they are men worthy of reverence, and demand reverence. In so far as these lie at the bottom of our modern saint-worship, ideas such as these, we may, I think, with no great stretch of charity, predicate of the poor worshippers that, like Dr. Johnson's friend, they 'have at least *good principles.*'

Of modern places of pilgrimage, two stand out at present most conspicuous. One and the greater, is the small dwelling house at Stratford-on-Avon built of timber and plaster work, where it is said, Shakespeare was born. We may term Stratford the Mecca of the Anglo-Saxon race. The other, but recently become a shrine of pious resort, is the house on Cheyne Row, Chelsea, where for forty one years, Thomas Carlyle lived and worked. It is an old fashioned house of very moderate dimensions, and far from striking externally; but it is solidly and honestly built; it has stood for over two centuries, and now that it is properly taken care of may stand for at least as many more. Within, the rooms, though somewhat small, are pleasing enough, and with their wainscoating must have been particularly pleasing when every thing in them bore witness to Mrs. Carlyle's thrifty taste.

Cheyne Row is a quiet part of London, once indeed a fashionable locality, though it has long ceased to be so. It was the place of residence of several whose names are famous in history, Sir Thomas Moore being one. Of recent days, not a few eminent literary persons have dwelt there. Leigh Hunt, George Eliot, and Dante Rossetti, amongst others. Not may yards in front of Carlyle's house, the Thames flows, but shut out from view by walls and buildings. Beyond is Battersea Park where Carlyle would sometimes ride.

To this shrine, about three months ago, I myself made a small pilgrimage. I must not take any credit to myself, in this act of devotions; for circumstances had made it in my case exceptionally easy, and, if pious acts are rewarded in proportion to the difficulty and painfulness of their performance, I have managed to lay up for myself a very small treasure indeed. I was indeed at the time the guest of a friend who had established himself in the house next door to Carlyle's and in the same block of buildings, perhaps, (I am not quite sure) the house whose former occupant was the owner of those 'demon hens' or of that piano which so broke the sage's rest and disturbed his meditations. From the window of my bed-room, I could look out upon the narrow strip of garden in which, when the weather was fine, Carlyle wrapped in some old dressing-gown was wont to sit, smoking long clay pipes, and thinking, no doubt, unutterable things. So my poor pilgrimage merely meant, opening the front door, walking two steps, ringing a bell, and paying a shilling

For fellow-worshippers, I had four young women, not, I suppose strictly ladies, but what are called in Scotland 'very respectable bodies,' indeed persons of the same class from which Carlyle himself sprung. Three of the devotees had apparently got their rites over, or perhaps they were not fully initiated into the cult as I and the remaining young woman were; they were probably catechumens or 'proselytes,' for they did not advance beyond the outer porch. For Sacristan, we had the care-taker of the house, a middle aged Scotchwoman, from Perthshire, intelligent, amiable, a pleasing contrast to many of the guides and vergers in historic places, who patter off their information by rote, without the slightest trace of sympathetic interest. Our Sacristan, however, though she had never seen Carlyle, knew of him, knew of his works, could show you the relics and discourse on them, briefly and to the point, had her own views on various matters, judged favourably of this portrait, not so favourably of that; she was altogether a model Sacristan, absolutely human, quiet and reverent. My fellow devotee was also reverent and intelligent. She was of Carlyle's own country; she knew his birth-place, and his Craiggenputtock hermitage; she knew also neighbours and friends of the Carlyle family and had seen diverse relics, to which the profane public have as yet no access. She was versed too in the prophet's writings, and spoke now and then of them with cheerful admiration. She had learned something from Carlyle, and had come there, with gratitude and affection to testify her thankfulness in that way. To me, the visit was of peculiar interest; so many scenes of which I had often read came back to me vividly, as we went from room to room and ascended from storey to storey. Here, in one apartment, in the early days, Leigh Hunt, had often come to talk about Shelley to preach rose-coloured optimism, tolerated but not approved, perhaps to borrow £ 5; finding thrift, though far from a supreme virtue, somewhat useful in others. Hero Mill had come one, memorable evening with a face, 'white as a sheet' to announce that the manuscript of the 1st vol. of the French Revolution,' the fruit of all that thought and labour had been lost irretrievably. The house seemed peopled with memories. John Sterling, vehement, high-souled, enthusiastic, had been a frequent visitor; Mazzini the Italian patriot had been a welcome guest, loved and honoured by both the Carlyles; Tennyson spent many

an evening there, 'carrying his bit of Chaos about him, which he was manufacturing into Cosmos,' smoking 'infinite tobacco' with 'speech and speculation, free and plentious.' 'Such company as Carlyle in these late decades' did not 'meet over a pipe.' Later, Browning was to be seen there, on one occasion putting down in poetic absent-mindedness a dirty black kettle upon Mrs. Carlyle's new carpet. In one room, Emerson slept, in another, high aloft flying from demon cocks, amateur pianists, and other visitants of satan,—alas in vain,—Carlyle had struggled through the 'valley of the shadow of Frederick.' In the later days, Ruskin was a frequent visitor, a new friend and most powerful ally, fighting under the same colours, assailing the same foe. Then one could summon up pictures of those evenings at home, when the privileged few came to see and hear the old prophet some willing disciples, others admiring but dissenting, a few, like Herbert Spencer, sitting in silent protest till the thunder, echoing harmlessly over head, had passed, and the sun shone out again, as it seldom failed to do. These and other recollections (out of books) could not but force themselves upon the pilgrim's mind; but perhaps this vision was the most touching, the most beautiful of all; a little picture of the life's evening of those two with whose memory the old Chelsea-house is now inseparably associated, a picture of the evening, of well-nigh the twilight with one of them. We are in the drawing room, and there is the actual sofa.

"One evening, I think in the spring of 1866, we too had come up from dinner and were sitting in this room, very weak and weary creatures; perhaps was I the wearier, though she far the weaker I at least far the more inclined to sleep, which directly after dinner was not good for me. 'Lie on the sofa there' said she—the ever kind and graceful, herself refusing to do so—'there, but don't sleep', and I, after some superficial objecting, did. In old years, I used to lie that way, and she would play the piano to me: a long series of scotch tunes which set my mind finely wandering through the realm of memory and romance, and effectually prevented sleep. That evening, I had lain but few minutes when she turned round to her piano, got at the Thomson-Burns book, and to my surprise and joy, broke out into her bright little stream of harmony and poesy, silent for at least 10 years before, and gave me in soft tinkling beauty, pathos and melody, all my old favourites. 'Banks and Braes,' 'Flower of the Forest,' 'Gilderoy,' not forgetting 'Duncan Gray,'

of any of my favourites, tragic or comic; all which she did with a model neatness and completeness. . . . . I was greatly pleased and thankful for this unexpected breaking of the silence again, and got really a fine and almost blessed kind of pleasure out of it, a soothing and assuagement such as for long I had not known. Indeed I think, it is yet the actually best little hour I can recollect since, very likely the pleasantest I shall ever have. Foolish soul, I fancied this was to be the new beginning of old days; that her health was now so much improved, and her spirits especially, that she would often do me this favour, and part of my thanks and glad speech to her went in that sense; to which I remember, she merely finished shutting her piano, and answered nothing. That piano has never again sounded, nor in my time will or shall. In later months it has grown clearer to me than ever that she had said to herself that night 'I will play him his tunes all, yet once' and had thought it would be but once. . . . . This is now a thing infinitely touching to me. So like her, so like her, alas! alas! I was very blind, and might have known better how near its setting my bright sun was."

Leaving the memories and visions of the past, we now come to inspect the more tangible relics, which are exhibited to us in the various rooms of this old house a miscellaneous assortment; old articles of furniture, an old four-posted bed with crimson curtains, chairs, tables, even a wash-hand-stand and common tin bath; for our sage, unlike many of the old saints, had a most strenuous horror of dirt. See what he says on the symbolic influences of washing in *Past and Present*. "To that dingy fuliginous operative emerging from his soot mill, what is the first duty I will prescribe and offer help towards? That he clean the skin of him; can he pray by any ascertained method? He knows not entirely;—but with soap and sufficiency of water he can wash." Indeed washing is declared to be "perhaps one of the most moral things man, in common cases, has it in his power to do." "With a clean skin, a man has an increase of tendency to all good things whatsoever." In this it will be noticed our modern teachers resemble the old Indian sages. Such reflections the sight of this old metal tub summon up in the pilgrim's mind. But other relics attract us, and here I must point out a failing in our modern relic worshippers; which is, however, far from new. I have read of the medieval devotees, that their enthusiasm for relic hunting knew no kind of bounds. Could they possess themselves of a saint's bone, a finger or anything about him, they were wholly indifferent as to means; all means were sanctified, even stealing; and so we learn they did steal; pious monks appear to have been the most cunning of burglers, where relics were concerned. The reverend brethren of one monastery go devoutly to worship their relics; they open the *Loculus* wherein the saint or part of him is kept; the saint is gone; alas! he is safe in the loculus of another monastery 500 miles away. They meant well, but one does not commend these practices much. Neither does one much commend the modern pilgrims for similar practices. Of all modern nations, the Americans probably, furnish us with the most zealous pilgrims. Their favourite humorist has himself written us a new 'Pilgrim's Progress' in which the curious may read how our later day devotees get their worshipping done. That the Yankees stole from Carlyle's house, I did not learn, though they do practise stealing elsewhere; but they had other questionable habits against which precautions had to be taken. I noticed that all the sofas and chairs had an arrangement of cords about them which effectually prevented their being used for the purpose they were originally intended for and on asking the reason of this, I was told that the Yankee pilgrims insisted upon plumping down upon all the chairs and sofas they could come at. No chairs could stand such plumping. Curious! 'The old order changeth.' The knee evidently is not the only part of the body adapted for worshipping. Indeed some protestant churches still do their praying sitting. These are profound considerations. There was also another relic, not in view, when I visited the shrine; it was an old hat. This hat, I was informed had to be put under a glass case. The Yankees were always trying it on. Elisha inherited a portion of Elijah's spirit when he put on his predecessor's mantle. Perhaps our pilgrims looked for a similar gift from Carlyle's ancient wide-awake.

On the other relics, we cannot linger, though some of them are interesting enough. Here are old pipes, cigar cases, and a little brandy flask, for our new saints are no ascetics, and do not despise the good things of this world, if so be, their work is furthered, not hindered thereby. Here are historical portraits collected when Frederick was in course of composition; here the only scrap of manuscript that is left of the ill-fated first volume of the French Revolution. Here is Beaconsfield's letter offering the 'Grand Cross,' and

beside it Carlyle's reply, documents reflecting honour on both. Here are beautifully tender little scribbled messages to Mrs. Carlyle birthday-greetings and the like, eloquent of much and supplying a forcible rejoinder in their dumb way to much pestilent folly which snarling 'advocati' have poured out on some sacred matters, and still pour out. But I must have done. Such is our modern shrine, our modern saint, our modern pilgrims. 'What went ye out for to see?' Who is this man that he should be worthy of honour, such as this, that the humblest object he used should become venerable? What has he done for us, spoken for us, been to us? What went ye out for to see?' A reed shaken by the wind, swayed by every breath of popular doctrine, reflecting the spirit of the time, 'the ethos of the age'! Rather, a man whose hand was against every man, a lonely prophet, preaching in the wilderness, crying to a deaf stiff-necked people, repent, repent,—prophecy which most have tried to reject, which many believe only in part, which some few only accept wholly. For it is not yet with Carlyle, as it is with Shakespeare, or even with Burns. He is not generally canonised. The whole of Europe and America has accepted Shakespeare without question; the whole of Scotland accept Burns without question; but with Carlyle, the advocati have been so busy protesting this, protesting that, that many poor souls do not know what to think of it. For myself, having looked into the advocati, and having devoted some years of fairly faithful study to Carlyle, I have no possible doubt, and I do not think many others, following the same method, and of course starting fair, would, in the end, find many doubts remaining either. But we have no time-many of us—to read great authors themselves. Our leisure is so entirely consumed in reading what critics say about them. The advocati, I confess, do not trouble me much. Criticism which seeks to sum up the teaching of a great writer in a few antithetical sentences, I have little faith in. I have frequently found that Carlyle includes his critics. The doctrines they are so earnest in advocating, Carlyle has himself advocated, far more forcibly than they. I could give many instances, but one shall suffice. Carlyle over and over again insists on the virtue of obedience, of loyalty, of Hero-worship. But there is another side, say some critics. There is liberty, independence, and I know not what. This Carlyle has neglected. Without freedom, no

progress. The spirit of freedom, political, intellectual and religious, is the spirit of the age. Well, open Latter-Day Pamphlets wherein, indeed, 'the spirit of the age' receives scant flattery, and read this:—obedience is good, and indispensable, but if it be obedience to what is wrong and false, good Heavens, there is no name for such a depth of human cowardice and calamity; spurned everlastingly by the gods. Loyalty, will you be loyal to Beelzebub? Will you make a covenant with death and hell? I will not be loyal to Beelzebub. I will become a barricading Sansculottes rather, a Conciliation-Hall repealer; anything and every thing is venial to that. Perhaps, Carlyle understood more of liberty than the ingenious *advocatus*, understanding indeed that there is only one valuable kind of liberty—and that it does not consist in political enfranchisement, ballot boxes, trial by jury and elective principles. 'There is only one liberty worthy of the name, and that is a law called long since the perfect law of liberty.' "No man oppresses thee," he cries, addressing the emancipated Britisher, high or low, priding himself in his sublime 'constitution.' "No man oppresses thee, can bid thee fetch or carry, come or go, without reason shown.' True, from all men thou art emancipated; but from thyself and from the Devil? No man, wiser, unwiser can make thee come and go; but thy own futilities, bewilderments, thy false appetites for money, Wendoor George, and such like? No man oppresses thee, O free and independent franchiser: but does not this stupid porter-pot oppress thee? No man of Adam can bid thee come or go, but this absurd pot of heavy wit, this can and does. Thou cut the thrall, not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thy own brutal appetites and this scoured dish of liquor. And thou pratest of thy liberty? Thou entire blockhead!" Carlyle, I say, includes his critics, and a good deal besides. Another reason which makes the critics to me unsatisfying is that they so often in judging Carlyle, persist in applying to him standard of their own, standards, which, when we come to look at them, are often very questionable. They have their own little systems which they succur by, they cannot make Carlyle fit into these systems; 'say how shibboleth', they cry to him, and when he will in no way say shibboleth they get ready to slay him. He does not hold with their sublime system; he is out of dates, behind the times. For instance

Mr. Frederick Harrison waxes indignant with Carlyle. Carlyle had no conception of the divineness of man, the worship of humanity. What follows? If Comptism is the final philosophy, contains the last revelation, of religion, metaphysics, were but tentative stages of human thought, which the world has now past and done with, if this of positive science be the third final and victorious stage, why then, Frederick Harrison is right and Thomas Carlyle wrong? But are these things so? Again, a much greater critic comes forward, Mr. Mathew Arnold. He tells an American audience that Carlyle, in spite of many excellencies, is not a true teacher, because, he taught that happiness was not the end of life. He goes on to insinuate that according to Carlyle's ethics, a thing which is pleasant stands *ipso facto* condemned. This is not true. Carlyle was no ascetic. He praises healthy laughter. It is with him a sign of goodness. He says much in praise of joyful sympathy, of glad innocent love, of poetic humour. He tells the Edinburgh students that this world is not "a dismal prison house as certain gloomy, ascetic people have gone about asserting it to be; that in spite of all ugly things in it, there is an eternal sky over it, and the blessed sunshine, the green of propheting spring, and rich harvests coming,—all this is in it too. Piety does not mean that a man should make a sour face about things and refuse to enjoy wisely what his maker has given." Carlyle does not forbid men to be happy, but he does forbid them to regard that happiness as 'their being's aim and end.' In his own dialect, he bids them do exactly what was bidden then long ago in another dialect, "to seek first the kingdom of Heaven, and his righteousness and all these things would be added unto them." This attitude towards happiness, says Mathew Arnold, puts Carlyle 'beyond hope.' If so, it puts a good many other things beyond hope. All schools of philosophy nearly, except some old Epicureanisms and some English schools, Utilitarianism and a few others now falling into general disrepute; except the schools of the 18th Century French Philosophers whose shallowness is now a commonplace of criticism. It puts not only the New Testament beyond hope, but many another religious gospel that men have lived by.

It puts Mathew Arnold himself beyond hope. Mathew Arnold has told us repeatedly that 'conduct is three-fourths of life'; In the

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same American discourses, he lifts up his voice against certain tendencies in modern French art and literature, the worship of the goddess, Liberty, he calls it, which indeed Carlyle also has attacked under the name of the new Phallus-Worship. Mathew Arnold says that though the temple of this goddess lies the way to national death, yet really, if my end is to obtain the greatest possible sum of pleasure, I do not see why, if I only stifle my conscience sufficiently and do not altogether neglect the worship of Aesculapius as well as of Lubricity, I may not be rewarded with as much pleasure as any other divinity is likely to extend to me. 'But it is not sums of pleasure,' Mathew Arnold and the higher hedonists reply; 'it is *kinds* of pleasure.' Right conduct gives you the highest kind of pleasure. Well then, if it is kinds of pleasure, we are to seek, if we are to estimate the worth or unworth of our pleasure by a standard of high and low, what can that standard be, but the standard of moral goodness? and is it not obvious by the simplest logical process that it is not pleasure at all that we are to seek, but that moral goodness which sanctifies and condemns enjoyment. We are sent into the world not to seek pleasures, but to do our duty. That is what Carlyle taught. That is what Mathew Arnold meant when he tells us that conduct is three-fourths of life, when he wars against Lubricity. He only confuses his own meaning when he talks about kinds of pleasure.

Again sometimes the hostile critics appear to me strangely inconsistent. They speak of Carlyle often enough as a stimulating force, a great moral power, a healthy influence, and the like, and thereupon proceed to point out so many limitations, so many fatal tendencies that we begin to be afraid of any healthy influence of that sort. In fact, much modern criticism leaves on us the impression that, of all persons likely to be mistaken, to lie under delusions, to be misled by prejudices, the undoubted man of genius is the most likely; our safest guide, the man least liable to err on any question, intellectual or moral, is our average critic. Him we may call infallible. The wisest man is the only fool;—a paradox which I for one, entirely decline to believe. Professor Huxley somewhere says that although Tyndall regarded Carlyle as a mighty teacher (curious by the way for the distinguished exponent of materialism to so regard the greatest representative of the opposite

school) he, Professor Huxley, never fancied him so. To him, Carlyle was merely a stimulating force. Reading his books, he says, after much other modern Literature was like escaping from the stifling atmosphere of the crowded city to the free air of some Scotch moor. I cannot remember the exact words, but I remember the simile, and if the simile means anything, it means that as the air of the moor is physically healthy after the polluted atmosphere of the town, so the teaching of Carlyle is morally and intellectually healthy when compared with the unhealthy teaching of other contemporary writers. Now, how anything can be morally and intellectually healthy, unless it be true, I entirely fail to see; and how a stimulus, a goad which drives one downward and not upward, can in any way be admirable, is also to me somewhat of a mystery. We have read of a certain stimulating influence, which acting upon a herd of swine, drove them violently down a steep place into the sea, where they were choked, but it was never supposed that this influence was in the least 'healthy.'

Lastly, there is a sort of critic who imputes and goes on imputing to Carlyle doctrines and opinions which he never held, which he even explicitly denied. These remind one of a certain order of preachers who from the impregnable fortress of the pulpit, triumphantly batter down with the most approved logical artillery, theories which they ascribe to their opponents but which in fact neither their opponents nor any sane order of persons ever held. How often, for example, has one heard that Carlyle cared only for great men, for men of genius, heroes; that for the mass of mankind, who are neither heroes nor geniuses, he had no sympathy, no consolation; that he was cruel, that he preached the atrocious doctrine that might is right. The other day, reading some recollections of the late master of Baliol by Mr. Swinburne the poet, I found that professor Jowett had once said to Mr. Swinburne that his enmity to Carlyle was grounded on the belief that no writer had done or was doing so much harm to young men as the preacher of tyranny and the apologist of cruelty; and again, on another occasion, when Mr. Swinburne said in praise of Voltaire that he had done more than any other, to make the instinct of cruelty not only detestable, but ludicrous, to make tortures and tyrants look not merely horrible and hateful but pitiful and ridiculous; Mr. Jowett answered 'yes,

and that is the work which Carlyle would undo.' Now with regard to Voltaire Mr. Swinburne was no doubt right, and what he said recalled forcibly to my mind an appreciation of Voltaire written nearly 70 years ago.

"Let no man doubt, but Voltaire and his disciples.....will one day be found to have worked together for good.....How much do we include in this little word. He gave the death-stab to modern superstition! That horrid incubus which dwelt in darkness shunning the light is passing away, with all its racks and poison chalices and foul sleeping-draughts is passing away without return. It was a most weighty service." You will find these words in Carlyle's Essay on Voltaire.

Such charges of cruelty, defence of tyranny and the like are based, I suppose, upon a hasty and prejudiced reading of Frederick the Great, of Latter-Day Pamphlets and the Essay on The Nigger Question. Of Frederick, I can say no word here, beyond expressing my conviction that this great history does not apologise for tyrants and tyranny, does not condone acts of cruelty, save in so far as some acts of human severity, on which sensibility sheds copious tears; and for which perhaps higher things than sensibility may laudably spare a sigh or two, have none the less been *just*, are not the less 'like the doings of the gods, which are cruel, though not that alone.' On the question of Carlyle's attitude towards Negro emancipation, model prisons, and other forms of modern philanthropy, a few words may be hazarded. Cruel this attitude appears at first sight, and no doubt in the question of Negro slavery, Carlyle, as he afterwards confessed, was mistaken as to facts. He was misled as to the treatment which the slaves in Virginian plantations actually received. But look a little deeper and we shall easily discover that Carlyle's attitude towards modern philanthropic movements was actuated not by indifference to the sufferings of his fellow creatures, but by a profound sympathy with those sufferings. He maintained that the Exeter Hall methods were wrong methods; that their boasted philanthropy was sentimental cant; not a beautiful thing but an essentially craven thing. To give enfranchisement to black slaves at other people's expense, to turn them loose on a liberty which neither by nature nor training they were fitted for, and so to wash one's hands of them was an easy thing,

but by no means a heroic or a merciful thing, rather in the long run a cruel and dastardly thing." Meantime, here were our own white slaves, 'distressed needle-women' and others whose condition was, or seemed, far more wretched and critical than the Negro's. For these Carlyle's heart bled and for these Exeter Hall could spare no thought at all. Hence arose the fiery rage under which Exeter Hall methods were like to be consumed and by this time, are pretty well consumed. For my part, I think Carlyle did pretty well to be angry.

So also with the model prison question. Exeter Hall, adopting the reformatory principle of punishment had set about reclaiming the obviously irreclaimable by 'methods of love' pampering the 'devil's regiment of the line,' while, outside the model prison 'lay continents of dingy poor and dirty dwellings, where the unfortunate, not yet enlisted into that force, were struggling manifoldly... ,... to keep the devil out of doors.' For these Exeter Hall had no word. Nay, it was 'by a tax on these, that the barracks for the regiments of the line were kept up. Visiting Magistrates impelled by Exeter Hall, by able editors and the philanthropic movement of the age had given orders to that effect. Rates on the poor servants of god and of Her Majesty who still serve both in his way, painfully selling red-herrings; rates on him and his red-herrings to boil right soup for the devil's declared elect!' We begin to see where this cruelty, this atrocious severity has its origin. Not that he loves the devil's regiment less but that he loved the heavenly regiment more. 'Go down to the dingy habitation with your philanthropics, he says to Exeter Hall, there is land; here is mere sea beach; you will never, can never make anything out of this rotten material, and behold while you strive to do the impossible, the neglected material, as yet sound is fast becoming rotten too.

But in truth, all this of Carlyle's having no sympathy for the masses of men, being cruel and so on, is, one must say it, the most ungrounded and short-sighted piece of criticism imaginable. The man's writings are sufficient answer, the man's life is sufficient answer. Reading what Froude has told us, and what others have testified, what Leigh Hunt years since said and testified, it stands evident that to no man in this century was a more merciful and more profoundly tender heart given than to Thomas Carlyle. For

the severity of some of his theories, his own defence of Dante against whom similar accusations have been brought will suffice. "I suppose," he says, "if ever pity, tender as a mother's was in the heart of any man, it was in Dante's. But a man who does not know rigour cannot pity either. His very pity will be cowardly, egoistic sentimentality or little better." In practice we find him much more merciful than his theories. He often gave where his judgment might have bidden him withhold, and in excuse for an alms unwisely bestowed would be content to say, "poor fellow, one can see it has long been very low water with him." But in the published writings of Carlyle, passages of most tender pity for the afflicted, of incitement to compassion, to sympathy are very far from rare. Sometimes, his compassion rises to purely lyric heights:—"poor, wandering wayward man! Art thou not tried and beaten with stripes, even as I am? Whether thou bear the royal mantle, or the beggar's gaberdine, art thou not so weary, so heavy laden, and thy bed of rest is but a grave. O, my brother, my brother, why cannot I shelter thee in my bosom, and wipe away all tears from thy eyes!" Or again, is there in this passage a heart open to the divine springs of pity, to the truth of the everlasting brotherhood of men? Or is there not? Mungo Park, resourceless, had sunk down to die under the Negro village tree, a horrible white object in the eyes of all. But in the poor black woman, and her daughter who stood aghast at him, whose earthly wealth and funded capital consisted of one small calabash of rice, there lived a heart richer than Laissez Faire they with a royal munificence, boiled their rice for him: they sang all night to him, spinning assiduous on their cotton distaffs, as he lay to sleep. Let us pity the poor white man; no mother has he to fetch him milk, no sister to grind him corn." "Thou poor black noble one,—thou Lady too: did not a god make thee too, was there not in thee too something of a god."

To Carlyle, the condition of the toiling masses was ever a matter of the most infinite importance. At the first, he identified himself, more or less, with the Radical party; to the end, he remained in the truest sense, a radical, a better radical than most of those, who under the banner of Radicalism execute Parliamentary or journalistic manœuvres—perhaps than all of them. Who, if not Carlyle, was the first great English writer to draw attention to the

'condition of England question,' to enforce that question as far as in him lay on the professed governors of England? He told the noble lords and honourable members that in the solution of that question lay their first duty, their first responsibility; the social and economical condition of the English artisan, the Irish sanspotato, they were responsible for all that. If they declared themselves incapable of dealing with such problems, let them take themselves off. They were not governors, they were solemn shams however many game laws or reform bills they passed. Who, if it was not Carlyle, dealt in the interests of humanity, and the natural human affections, the deadliest, the most effective blows at the old idol of orthodox Political Economy, at Laissez-Faire, and the unsocial inhuman doctrine of 'every man for himself and the devil take the hind-most'? If the idols are long since broken, if these philosophies are dead or as good as dead, to whom are thanks due, if not to Carlyle? Carlyle did care most for great men, bade us study them, imitate them; but all healthy persons and ages have so regarded the great; all persons save those whose hearts are deadened by stupid conceit and smallness of perception, all ages save those which have been led astray by pseudo-philosophers and sciences prating about 'the spirit of the age,' 'accounting for' great men, and measuring the infinite with a two-foot-rule and who were Carlyle's great men; not tailor-made great men by any means, but a poor medieval monk (Abbot Samson), a poor Scotch ploughman, a humble German priest, a Huntingdonshire farmer, a rusty-coated English scholar, living in garrets, a wandering Florentine exile. Assuredly, we begin to suspect that this 'apologist for tyrants' was a better democrat than most professed 'friends of the people.'

As for the identification of might and right we have Carlyle's own explicit assertion that, "probably no son of Adam had a greater contempt for might that was not founded upon right than he had." "Mights and Rights," he tells us, do differ frightfully from hour to hour; but give them centuries to try it in, they are found to be identical. The right thing, in the long run, is the strong thing, and will and must ultimately prevail. The good thing is essentially the great thing, that is, if we believe the soul of the world to be just, and not unjust. Carlyle has been called a pessimist, but it is surely those who deny this truth that have best right to the name. If the

great thing, the admirable thing the thing that prevails, be not essentially the righteous thing, I really do not know who made this world and who reigns in it. Certainly not the just gods. Let us give the devil his due by all means. Let us hand over to his keeping original sin and whatever else in that line he has a mind to, but to hand over to him human genius, intellect, power, love of beauty, things which we know to be admirable, that is a trifle too generous. Milton made this mistake. His Satan and his devils have plenty of noble qualities and Milton's whole poem suffers in consequence, its ethics are confused, its entire conception faulty. Dante, a far profound thinker, avoided this error. His Lucifer, his Fients—are entirely hideous, ludicrous and repulsive, and Dante's *Divine Comedy* remains true to the day, as *Paradise Lost* does not. If we believe that the mental and physical qualities which advance humanity are of the gods, that is a consistent faith, and we hold with Carlyle that might and right are identical. If this faith be false, I know of but two consistent alternatives, either an unconditional pessimism such as has been preached, but not I believe, practised by certain Germans, and which offers us as the only road of safety, a speedy escape from the world by universal suicide, or else an unconditional asceticism, itself a pessimism, involving a total abjurgation of the world and all its activities and products, save perhaps, some handful of tin-tacks whereon to sit meditatively 'mortifying the flesh.'

Systems in Philosophy and religion have their day and cease to be. Carlyle owed somewhat to systematic philosophers especially to Kant and Fichte; there is something in him, many says, of a systematic theology,—Calvinism; but he offers us no philosophic system of his own, and he is infinitely wider than any Calvinistic creed. He belongs to the poets and intuitional religious teachers rather than to the systematic philosophers. He does not show us truth by logical processes,—'from such and such premises does it not follow?' but rather by flashes of inspired insight, 'Behold,' can you not see? nevertheless his various doctrines do hang together, are not independent; but to show the unity of his teaching would require a volume, and that volume has not been written. I had hoped however, to do a little in this direction, to have dwelt on some of his central doctrines; the mystic transcendentalism that

underlies all the rest, which is the key to all the rest, the real significance of the doctrine of Hero-worship; that subtle word about the unconsciousness of genius, and the other nearly allied and even more subtle matter of the divineness of silence about which so many foolish witty things have been said. But, alas, I can do nothing of all this. I can only, in conclusion to this rambling article, offer three suggestions or hints of what I should like to have attempted had time and other conditions permitted; three arguments or hints of arguments in defence of the belief of those who held that Carlyle's writings and life are of higher importance to us than the life and writings of any other modern English man of letters and that he deserves to the full, the saint or Hero worship which I spoke of at the outset.

First I should say that Carlyle is a great religious force; I should go further and say, the greatest religious influence of the century. This may seem strange to some. True, Carlyle founded no sect; did not so much as profess a definite theological creed. But he saw deeper into, actually lived more in that spirit which lies beneath all religions and all creeds, than any other man of letters of his time. In other words, he is our great spiritual and anti-materialistic force. To him matter is not the only reality, thought and the soul mere functions of the body; the world of matter, on the other hand, is but an appearance,—the 'visible garment of god'; the invisible, the eternal, the infinite is the only reality; to Carlyle as to Richter "all is god-like or god;' and to this invisible unspeakable world belong all highest things: poetry belongs to it, art belongs to it; music belongs to it; for 'the soul of all things is song; above all, the moral law belongs to it; there only can we read any moral law at all. Logical analysis, scientific experiment, is helpless there. Logical analysis cannot explain to us the greatness of Hamlet or Lear; it can divide Lear into iambics and trochees, into weak endings and strong endings, into stopped and unstopped lines; it can apply poor standards of the 'unities;' that is all. Logical analysis cannot tell us why a lily of the field is beautiful; its miserable theories of association are but confessions of impotent failure. Greater, more fatal, is its failure when, by Hedonistic or Utilitarian philosophies, it seeks to resolve virtue into sums of pleasurable sensations, into animal tendencies which make for the greatest

happiness of the greatest number. 'Evolution, Professor Huxley has confessed,' throws no light on the ethical instinct at all. The moral law cannot be made clear by such method, neither by such methods can we attain evidence for the existence of God, or for the existence of our own souls. But our own souls, our own minds do exist; out of our own minds, the world of experience, of sensuous appearance has no reality, has no existence. In our own souls, also, have we evidence of the world, which is not of appearance, in our souls can we read this moral law.

'The Maker's laws, whether they are promulgated in Sinai thunder, to the ear or imagination, or quite otherwise promulgated, are the laws of God; transcendent, everlasting, imperative, demanding obedience from all men.' This . . . . . thou, if there be any soul left in thee, canst know of a truth. The universe, I say, is made by law; the great soul of the world is just and not unjust. Look thou if thou have eyes or soul left, into this great shoreless incomprehensible in the heart of its tumultuous appearance, embroilments and mad Time vortexes, is there not, silent, eternal, an all-just, an all beautiful, sole Reality and ultimate Controlling Power of the whole?' This is not a figure of speech. This is a fact. The fact of gravitation, known to all animals, is not surer than this inner fact, which may be known to all men. 'He who knows this, it will sink silent awful unspeakable into his heart. He will say with Faust: 'Who *dare* name *Him*?" In silence, in the eternal temple, let him worship if there be no fit word. Such knowledge, the crown of his whole spiritual being, let him keep and sacredly walk by.' He has a religion. Hourly and daily, for himself and for all the world, a faithful, unspoken but not ineffectual prayer rises. 'They will be done,' this whole work on earth is an emblematic spoken or acted prayer. 'Be the will of God done on earth not the devil's will, or any of the devil's servants' wills.' He has a religion, this man, an everlasting loadstar that beams the brighter in the Heavens, the darker here on earth grows the night around him."

This is Transcendentalism, no doubt, Mysticism, if you will. Yes, Carlyle is a Transcendentalist and a Mystic, and if indeed we need concern ourselves with no mysteries, if the unknowable can be left to take care of itself, if Metaphysical systems, or failing these, science can tell us all we need to know, why then Carlyle can do nothing for us, he is become already as obsolete as every religious teacher must necessary become obsolete, when science has taken the place of religion. To those who think thus, these remarks of

mine can have no value whatsoever. But from those who regard materialism in all shapes or forms, be they materialistic, atheistic, philosophies or materialistic idolatrous theologies as destructive not only of the individual soul and character, but of national life,—from them, I say, Carlyle deserves special attention, special gratitude, as being by far the greater anti-materialistic force this century has seen. There are other forces, I know, as there always must be, for us, it may be, of the silent sort which do not proclaim themselves in Literature. These are the poets: Browning especially, a very great anti-materialistic force, Tennyson also, and in his own way, Rossetti, there are again some of the strictly philosophic teachers, with whose doctrines (called Neo-Hegelian) Oxford and some of the Scottish Universities have been familiar for some time past and T. H. Green and his school; these are of course, the professional religious teachers. But none of them, I contend are so thoroughly permeated by spiritual, essentially religious conceptions as is Carlyle. Carlyle was the first to give forcible expressions to these truths; to him all the others owe much. I say then in the first place, that Carlyle is venerable to some of us, because, in an age, which stood in terrible need of a voice reminding it that the increase of national prosperity, the advances of physical science, the spread of education, are as nothing, or worse than nothing, when the inner life of the soul, the unseen reality of things is forgotten; when such a voice was most of all needed, *he was that voice.* To some he has spoken, not indeed new truths, but old truths, in a language they could understand and with a new power which is irresistible. To Carlyle John Sterling wrote in his death-bed: "Towards me it is still more true, than towards England that no man has been and done like you. Heaven bless you!." Men in whom the religious aspect of things has been strong, no matter what creed they professed have yet found in Carlyle something valuable; they have understood him, where the cleverest and most talented have failed to understand. When *Sartor Resartus* appeared in Fraser's Magazine, it was 'Caviare to the general' unintelligible, detestable rubbish; a 'mass of clotted nonsense.' Two men only wrote to Fraser urging him to give them more of such matter. They were both religious men. The one was an American Unitarian preacher, the other an Irish Catholic priest.

I say in the second place, that to some of us, Carlyle is worthy of the deepest attention and gratitude, not only as a profound visionary and exponent of transcendental doctrines but as an ethical guide and teacher. Here again he has no new doctrine, no new moral truth, only an old and everlasting moral truth. More than any other, he has insisted on the "immeasurable transcendent nature of duty." More than any other, he has taught us that the moral law is the one law essential for us to recognise, that properly speaking, there is no other law. This truth no doubt was possessed before, but possessed it as a copy-book maxim which we perhaps did not deny, but never realised. Nay, many actually had gone about to deny it, either explicity or by inference. Political Economy preaching that the whole duty of man is to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, had denied it. Political Scientists, asserting that national progress and national welfare result from the antagonism of selfish and mutually repulsive units denied it. Many denied it; few realised it. But for Carlyle many who have in their better moments realised it or made some approximation towards realising it never would have done so; he has helped many; many have looked to him and still look to him as moral guide and highest spiritual counseller; at first sight this ever-lasting yea of Carlyle's 'Do the duty that lies nearest' seems trite and futile enough. We knew all that before. But reflection has taught some that we did *not* know it before hand, we only *thought* we knew it, and we never realised how much it included, whither it led, what help it lent, and what consolation it bestowed. We are not sent into the world to seek pleasures, to avoid pain. Seeking pleasure, we shall never find enough to satisfy us, though the whole universe were ours to enjoy. We were sent here to do our duty, to work; pain may be our lot, then endure it without complaint; perhaps it was our blessedness. Men and women, heroes, saints have been made perfect through suffering. Only through work can satisfaction come, work done for its own sake, not for the sake of the satisfaction it brings; in work and through work alone shall we find balm for our sorrows, consolation for disappointment and love. You can read all this in *Sartor Resartus* and elsewhere. It peals through all Carlyle's writings through his controversial essays, his literary criticism, his historical books. No other modern writer possesses

anything like the ethical significance of Carlyle. The practical value of this message to every one, in all cases, is brought home perhaps even more vividly more convincingly than it is in the sublime rhetoric of *Sartor* or *Past and Present* in a simple letter printed in Mr. Moncury Conway's nondescript little book on Carlyle. As it is probably unfamiliar to most, I shall quote it. To me it is inexpressibly tender and beautiful. A young girl, a stranger, had fallen into a morbid pain of mind about herself and her spiritual condition and had written to Carlyle, as to a sage and prophet. He replied as follows:

"The grand remedy against such spiritual maladies and torments is to rise upon them vigorously from without, in the way of practical work and performance. Our thoughts, good or bad, are not, in our command, but, every one of us has at all hours duties to *do*, and these he can do, negligently like a slave, or faithfully like a true servant; 'Do the duty that is nearest to thee—that first, and that well; all the rest will disclose themselves with increasing clearness, and make their successive demand.' Were your duties never so small, I advise you, set yourself with double and treble energy and punctuality to do them, hour after hour, day after day, in spite of the devil's teeth! That is our one answer to all inward devils, as they used to be called. This, I can do, O Devil, and I do it, thou scest in the name of God. It is astonishing and beautiful what swift exorcism lies in this course of proceeding and how at the first real glimpse of it all foul spirits and sickly torments prepare to vanish.....and don't object that your duties are so insignificant; they are to be reckoned of infinite significance and alone important to you. Were it but the mere perfect regulations of your apartments, the sorting away of your clothes and trinkets, the arranging of your papers—'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do: *do it* with all they might.' Much more, if your duties are of evidently higher, wider scope; if you have brothers, sisters, a father or mother, weigh earnestly what claim does lie upon you, on behalf of each, and consider it as the one thing needful, to pay them more and more earnestly and nobly what you owe: what matter how miserable one is, if we can do that? That is the sure and steady disconnection and extinction of whatsoever miseries one has in this world. Other Spiritual medicine I never do discover; neither, I believe, does other exist or need to exist.....We have all of us to be taught by stripes, by sufferings—won't learn otherwise. Courage, courage! As to fasting, penance, etc., that is all become a ghastly matter; have nothing to do with that, work, work, and be careful about nothing else."

Thirdly I say, Carlyle is great and venerable, not only as a profound, religious thinker, a helpful and enobling moral force, but as a great and heroic man, a man whose life was blameless as few men's lives can be, ever pure, honourable, unselfish, upright, fashioned in accordance with a lofty ideal which was unswervingly followed; a life, brave, strong and merciful. I say this deliberately and without qualification. I know very well what the *advocatus diaboli* has to say; I have looked into all that, and at the end, I say with perfect confidence, that of nineteenth century men known to me personally, or through published books, Carlyle is the best and truest. He had faults, of course, grievous faults if you like, a hasty temper, a temperament by nature and from physical infirmity easily irritated, a certain blindness at one period of his life, to the doubts, troubles and anxieties of one, whom in reality he loved deeply and tenderly; faults too, which were partly responsible for a temporary estrangement from that loved one, very painful to read of; but faults, I will add, which, when the veil was at last lifted, and he was no longer blind, were atoned for, as far as what is done can be atoned for by a remorse so passionate so unsparing in its condemnation of self, that even had the sin been of far more heinous nature, it would in itself have proved to us that the penitent was among the very noblest of men. Carlyle's remorse is one of the most sacredly beautiful things of which modern literature has to tell. "The world," says the daughter of Thackeray, "has pointed its moral finger at the old man in his great old age, accusing himself in the face of all, and confessing the overpowering irritations which the suffering of a lifetime had laid upon him and upon her he loved. That old caustic man of deepest feeling, with an ill-temper and a tender heart and a racking imagination speaking from the grave, and bearing into it that cross of passionate remorse which few among us dare to carry, seems to some of us now a figure nobler and truer, a teacher greater far, than in the days when the pain and love and remorse were still hidden from us all."

And against these faults, making the most of them, what weight of human nobleness must we not set, or we look through that record of eighty five years—"a life," says Froude, and justly says "in which extraordinary talents had been devoted with an equally extraordinary purity of purpose, to his Maker's service

as far as he could see and understand that Maker's will—a life of single-minded effort to do right and only that; of constant truthfulness in word and deed. Of Carlyle, if of anyone, it may be said that 'he was a man indeed in whom there was no guile.' No insincerity ever passed his life; no dishonest or impure thought ever stole into his heart. In all those long years the most malicious scrutiny will search in vain for a single serious blemish." A great heroicl ife, I say, a fierce struggle against many obstacles and dangers, a courage unyielding, a loyalty incorruptible. He had a loadstar in the eternal, he had a religion: but he reached it after terrible inward struggles, in the face of scepticisms, of doubt and despair; and when the truth seemed at last to dawn in his soul, when the right seemed passed away, the everlasting 'no' vanquished, and the everlasting 'yea' attained, he never faltered in service. Neither hope of wealth nor fear of poverty ever allured him from the straight course, neither fame nor loss of fame. When things went worst with him, he might have had position, fame, influence at the expense of just a little truth, a price most men would scarce have hesitated to pay; not a lie, even a little truth kept back, a disagreeable truth toned down to please a party or to promote a cause. Other men did it; other men do it. This man never would. In the case of other men of genius, our admiration or hero-worship, is often only hindered, by the moral failings and delinquencies by which the light that was in them is hidden and obscured. We doubt sometimes whether they were great at all. But for Carlyle, if we believe his report, our gratitude and reverence need be checked by no such hard conditions. We may give and give unstintingly; for the man's virtues were as great and illustrious as his genius was splendid, and his faults, though to himself they rose up mighty and unpardonable, would by most men be ranked in the class called venial. We need have no hesitation about Carlyle on the moral score. If he taught noble things, he also did them; if he preached pure doctrine, he is like Chaucer's Parson of whom it is written that.

"Cristes lore and his apostles twelve
He taught but first he folwed it himselve."

MARK HUNTER.

MUBTALA.

(Continued.)

Chapter XXI.

Hariyali's illness, a case of arsenic poison, Nazir's brief and Mubtala's insolvency.

It so happened that one evening Hariyali had a bath, and caught cold, which resulted in fever and slight cough. Notice was not at first taken of this. The usual treatment of the Hakims with laxatives and cathartics was made but the fever did not abate, though the cough moderated. But Hariyali began to spit blood and Mubtala became anxious about her; for whatever comfort he enjoyed was at Hariyali's hands, and Ghirat Bagum was his bitterest enemy. They all suspected that this was through witchcraft managed by Ghirat Bagum for how else could such a short fever lead to the spitting of blood?

Experts in the art were called in from all quarters, and measures adopted for the reversal of the charm. But it was of no avail; for who could exorcise the devils of imagination? Hariyali grew worse every day and it was suggested by somebody that *Dr. Cham Baillie* might be sent for. She was a first class doctor and had rendered medical aid at the births of Masoom and Batool. When word was received by * Dr. Cham Baillie, she thought that attendance was required on Ghirat Bagum and willingly came down through her old regard for her. When, however, she understood that Mubtala had another wife, she turned away, saying that although there was no close friendship between herself and Ghirat Bagum, still, she hesitated in taking up her rival's case, for she considered it contrary to common ettiquette; but suggested that the Hakim who treated Hariyali might be warned to be careful, for he was dealing with two lives. She then went into the other house and kissed both the children of Ghirat Bagum saying to her "If I had not called into the

* Doctor Cham Baillie was really Dr. Miss Baillie. She was fresh from England in those days and practised in the town. She once successfully cured a very bad case in the palace of Nawab Mutadaruddowlah where she was first called Cham Baillie, which means jessamine from the close resemblance of her name to the *Cham Baillai* flower, she became well known in the town by this name.

other house, I would have enquired why you have become so lean. Amongst us, a man cannot take a second wife; and if the rights of men and women are weighed, probably the latter's would over-balance the former's; but still the relationship created by marriage is such that woman gets under the control of man after wed-lock. For these very reasons, I have not married as yet, neither do I mean to marry hereafter. Sorry as I am for your present condition, I am still more sorry for my inability to render you help in this instance. When however it is necessary to call for me you can freely do so.

Although Ghirat Bagum was not so rude as not to thank Dr. Cham Baillie for her words of kindness and sympathy, yet the trouble about her rival had so confused her that she lost all presence of mind. In fact when Cham Baillie spoke, she was wandering in her own thoughts and waited for an opportunity to make enquiries. When Cham Baillie concluded, Ghirat Bagum broached her first question "Well, what have you seen? Dr. Cham Baillie. "The Hakim is astray; he does not understand the case. I have told your husband that she at least, might be saved with precautions; at present, there is no fear for her; but I cannot vouch for the safety of the child. 'The purgatives and the cold ointments given for the fever have endangered its life.' It is benumbed."

"Laugh and grow fat," they say. This welcome news had so elated Hariyali that she became convalescent and improved every day; so much so that she who could not turn in her bed without help was able to walk about in the course of a week. She would go up now while her rival would lose the little that she has.

All the vain pride of Ghirat Begum was based on her children; and when she found that her rival was also to have hers, she gave herself up, and thought she could not stand her ground any longer. However beloved Hariyali was of the husband, Ghirat Bagum consoled herself that she was childless, and it was a matter for satisfaction that there was no body to perpetuate her name or give charity in her behalf after her death. These thoughts had prevented Ghirat Bagum from seriously counting on her as a rival. Now every thing had changed. Dr. Cham Baillie had come and gone in the morning; and since then up to afternoon, Ghirat Bagum had not raised her head from between her knees. She was called to her meals, but she did not stir.

In the house, there was a maid servant named Khatoon. She was not exactly the stewardess of the house, but through long service, old age, and good management, she commanded the respect of the other servants. She was also the confidante of the lady; for *her* late husband also had a second wife, and she could make up stories for Ghirat Bagum's consolation to shew that what had befallen her, was the common lot of others also, in similar circumstances. When she saw the lady absorbed in herself since the morning she went up to make enquiries.

Ghirat Bagum. "Do you not know that "the dishonored" (this was the nickname by which she called her rival) is to become a mother. What regard will she then have for me."

Khatoon—What! Were hakims so blind that they gave her purgatives.

Ghirat Bagum—They were astray. Under a false impression they made a mistake and gave purgatives. Now Dr. Cham Baillie has explained matters. What Khatoon, I have heard it said that dancing girls have no children. Oh my Fate; that a dancing girl should be brought over me—and *she* should have children!

Khatoon—No lady, not exactly so. What was my rival—she was a dancing girl herself. She looked about eighteen years old, when she was brought in. But it afterwards proved that she had been the mother of four or five children.

Ghirat Bagum—Is she alive?

Khatoon—Oh no not if I know it. It is several years now since she was gathered to her fathers.

Ghirat Bagum—Dear Khatoon, Why do you not use some tricks here also?

Khatoon—Lady, your case is different. We were poor people *then* as we are now. My husband earned seven Rupees a month in a druggists' shop, opposite to which was this flirts' house. He was fond of beauty and she easily dragged him to her snare. I lived in a godown which was scarcely sufficient for us both; and now when "Mrs beauty" came in, she had to sit down in my very bosom.

The man was a tyrant; when quarrels occurred betwsen us, beat and kicked us together and abused us both. So we had to put the best appearance we could on our jealousy. Although bitter enemity rankled in our hearts, we were, outwardly, as friendly as

two sisters. Thus whatever I did for her, aroused little to no suspicion in the man or in his paramour, and I had it my own way. Here my lady, quarrels were open from the beginning and tricks are therefore difficult. I know several medicines, which do our work in a trice.

Ghirat Bagum—Oh my good Khatoon, show me some such medicine.

Khatoon—The difficulty is to obtain these as they are prepared only by men.

Ghirat Bagum—You should find some remedy or I will kill myself. I was just thinking that I shall not see the day, when her children will play about, calling her *ma ma*, all the world shall see how my heart is crushed. Other things are not in my power, but my life is and I do not care for the rest.

Khatoon—Lady, do not speak in this wise, my senses flutter away at such thoughts. The remedy that you seek is a dangerous one. For it, one should risk one's own life. You require a person of firm nerve, of unshakeable determination, and of a bold mind. I find no one here, of such a description. The maid servants are all silly creatures They will do to weave long stories and circulate scandals. I cannot undertake it alone. I have a nephew employed in a druggists' shop, who might be induced to co-operate. I shall consult him, I shall not spare even my life, if that will be of use. I am old and have no particular desire to live more. But my nephew is a young man with a family. Unless he is given a liberal reward, he will not consent to help.

Ghirat Bagum—I have no objection to being sold myself in the bazaar, if I can be relieved of this distress.

Khatoon's words comforted Ghirat Bagum, who now took her supper, although it was so late. From that day the daily noisy quarrels suddenly came to an end, which astonished the people who were not initiated into the mystery. Although Khatoon had promised to let her know, as soon as she had matured her plans Ghirat Bagum began her enquiries the very next day. She daily grew more impatient of the delay; when one day upon pressure exceeding all bounds, Khatoon said "Lo! Lady, the work is done, he has consented. I was afraid that he would not agree, and even if he did so, would have demanded ten or fifteen thousand rupees. You are fortunate

that he has consented to act for one thousand to be given in advance and one thousand more, after the end is accomplished." Immediately after learning this, Ghirat Bagum who had already consented to be sold away herself in the bazaar began to take out her solid gold Bracelets. Khatoon, however, proposed that only the jewels that she did not usually wear should be given her and not the bracelets which would be missed by the people from her hands. In recompense for this, Khatoon took the very great trouble of obtaining through her nephew, a little arsenic, pretending to use it for killing rats. A milk-woman used to bring milk to both houses early every morning; and Khatoon one day went and sat in the men's apartment, before she came in. As soon as the latter appeared she began to quarrel with her, saying that she had mixed water with the milk; and the lady was angry with the servants on her account. Saying this, she left the milk-woman and took away her milk-can inside the door, pretending to show it to the lady. Mixing in it the arsenic powder, she immediately brought the can back saying that the lady did not wish to take it, as her money was not ill-gained to be thus thrown away. The poor milk-woman was ashamed and said that if the custom of the other house too was stopped, her long morning rounds would be spared. When Hariyali, however, saw that the milk was as good as ever, it occured to her that she might take the whole quantity and make a nice pudding for her husband who had several times expressed a desire for it. After, however, the milk was taken, she remembered that on that day, Mubtala's turn was in the other house! but the maid-servant suggesting that the pudding might be kept over for another day and relished all the better; she prepared it and spreading it in dishes, kept them uncovered in the glass-case locked up.

A little was left in the pot, which the servant partook of; one cup-full was thrown away to the fowls and pigeons, the parrot, the mina and the cat which Hariyali was breeding in her house. First the parrot died and then the pigeons, the fowls, and the cat died. The maid-servant began to vomit, and was removed to her house. Her son who was a police-constable, hearing the news, came down and found his mother in a precarious state. He removed her to the hospital, and the doctor found on examination that she had been dosed with arsenic, which, was however not sufficient in quantity to

kill her. He then gave her the antidote for arsenic and brought her round, although ever since, palpitation of the heart became her chronic malady. The police people got scent of the matter and crowded in the men's apartment of Hariyali's house. On inquiry all the facts regarding the frequent quarrels, the present calm, the returning of the milk can and so forth came out. The druggist admitted that he had a stock of arsenic, strychnine, and datura for sale but, like the other grocers and druggists, he kept no account of the sales. Khatoon's nephew who was the compounder was missing, otherwise the police-officers would have prosecuted Mubtala's people that very night. They wanted to bring Khatoon aside and to cross-examine her and even the lady of the house, if possible; but the opportune arrival of Nazur put all this to an end. It was late in the night and as all the facts had been brought to light in public, the serjeant assured himself that there could be no danger in postponing further inquiries till the next day. A case of arsenical poisoning was plainly made out, and he had no fears of the tactics of even the excellent lawyer that Nazur was. The Sergeant was so sure of his ultimate success, that he was determined to carry matters even up to the High Court, if the Magistrate who was prejudiced against the police failed to support him and to do proper justice in the case. The Sergeant then went to the Superintendent and explained to him all the circumstances of the case, remarking that it was the sister of the notorious Vakil Nazur who had plotted against her rival, and that the Vakil was a clever rogue who could not easily be entrapped. Meanwhile when Nazur entered the house of his sister, he found that she had become senseless and sick with fear of the consequences of her insane act. He reproached her as a timid and irresolute person, who should not have entered on such a risky undertaking. It was past midnight and she had only to wait for the dawn for her *dhooli* to be taken to the police station. Hearing these words of her brother, Ghirat Bagum who had already kept ready a tola of opium in a box, ran into her room and swallowed it in a cup-full of water. The nurse of Batool, who knew about the opium and also overheard the conversation between the brother and sister, seeing the lady run wildly into the dark room, left in the cradle the child that was in her arms, and ran out crying. "Cursed be this quarrel, the lady has swallowed opium; may her enemies be

content!". In the meanwhile, Ghirat Bagum emerged from the room mumbling "Yes, brother, I was a wicked wretch, and God has relieved you of me. I shall not myself live till the morning, the police may then take my corpse to bury." Thus to the crime of poisoning, was added another of attempt at suicide. Ghirat Bagum took up and pressed to her bosom both her children who were asleep and wept so bitterly, that the whole house was moved to tears. When Nazur saw that the last hours of his sister were near and that very soon he would be without a sister he became wild and ran to the next house. Without striking at the iron-catch of the door, or tapping hands to give notice as usual, he rushed into the presence of Hariyali and Mubtala where they were sitting together congratulating themselves on their narrow escape. Mubtala observing him break through his gosha, without ceremony, called out to him from a distance. "You prepared your sister at one time to complain of tresspass, what is this?

Nazur—"Oh, your *purdah!* The cat goes to *hajj* after devouring nine hundred rats. If this is to become *purdah-nishim.* the *purdah-nishim* lady has swallowed opium and prepared for her long home."

Mubtala—"Thank God, the lesser rubbish, the cleaner world. Please find your way out." No sooner did he hear this, than Nazur fell like lightning upon Mubtala and sitting on his chest struck him belaboured him most efficiently. Born and bred in the country, and accustomed to regular gymnastic exercises Nazur was not to be shaken off by a poor weakling like Mubtala who could only pinch and bite. When Hariyali observed that her husband was being beaten and thrown about like a ball, she was overcome by fear for his safety.

Nazur would not probably have left Mubtala till he had killed him if it had not been for the opportune arrival of Hazur. He separated the combatants and taking care that they did not again fall out went to Ghirat Bagum whom he made to swallow cup-fulls of hot water mixed with salt. Ghirat Bagum was a stubborn woman, and would not at first touch a cup of water, but at last yielded to the persuasion of her elder brother. She was made to take glassfuls after glassfuls of the water till vomitting began and she brought out all the opium. Hazur then took aside Mubtala and Nazur and advised

them that they should be friends in the face of the common calamity that threatened them both with disgrace.

He asked Nazur to take up the defence of his sister and made him apologise to Mubtàla for the insult.

Nazur said that he lost control when he felt that Mubtala treated him like a dog in the presence of that flirt but he forgave it freely. As to the case, Mubtala would have to spend five or six thousand rupees, if he wished to extricate himself and Hariyali out of the difficulty. Till now Mubtala considered himself quite safe as the investigations of the police proved beyond doubt that arsenic was given by Ghirat Bagum to kill both him and Hariyali. He was secretly glad that the conspirator had fallen a victim to her own plot. Ghirat Bagum would be punished and perhaps it was better that she was out of the way. Mubtala was naturally taken aback when he was told that *he* had to be saved and involantarily ejaculated, "What sir, arsenic was given to kill me and you say I have to *be saved.* Is this the justice of the British Government?

Nazur—"My dear man, *Tamasha seeing* is a different thing from understanding a case, You do not know the meaning of a legal suit. Since I have already promised, and like a gentleman, cannot break my promise, I shall let you into a few critical points of the case. No body cares in the magistracy for the police investigations, Only the statements made before the Magistrate are taken into account. Did you not observe that all the police investigations were oral and nothing was committed to paper? The fact is, originally the police and the magistracy were one and the same. For the purpose of shewing that they did some work, these people began to make criminals of innocent persons whenever they could not trace out crime and to let off criminals for their own purposes; and then the Government separated the two functions. Now all the powers that the police possess are to take their cases to the Magistrate and prosecute the person whom they consider to be criminal. The Magistrate takes down the evidence and passes judgment according to what he thinks right. The police make criminals of whomsoever they like, but the case goes to the Magistrate and falls through. Our present Magistrate is so much prejudiced against the police that though he has been only a year in the office he has filled the jails with police-men. The

investigation by the police counts for nothing. Now remains the point at issue. The arsenic was found in Hariyali's house, and so, as she is the defendant in the first instance, she only will be suspected of having mixed or got mixed the arsenic in the pudding.

Mubtala.—(interrupting) Whom did that wretch intend killing? me or herself or her faithful servant of long standing against whom she has not uttered a strong word for so long; or her favourite birds whom she bred up like children?

Nazur.—The birds are out of the question. It may be that she wished to commit suicide, women are prone to this. It may be that she wished to kill you. What reliance can be laid on these bazaar women? Do not you know with what intentions she married you and now when these were not gained, she has hit on this plan to free herself from you. It is not even difficult to suppose that she thus wished to revert to her former career. Regarding the servant, you say that she has been with her for a length of time. Hence she knows her previous condition. This is sufficient to create enmity, Hariyali wishes to get rid of her. Besides Masoon spends his whole time with her—certain it is that she is his enemy. Do you know if she did not wish to kill him? There is another supposition—by far the most probable one. She played all these tricks to get my sister involved in the trouble; for otherwise how could it be that she gave away the pudding even to the birds and did not taste a particle of it herself. What a cruel wretch that! She gave pudding to the birds, and to the servant to die, so that she could escape suspicion.

Mubtala.—(again interrupting)—What! will nothing be made of the milkwoman's statement?

Nazur.—Do you know if the milk-woman will stand by her story at the time she is placed before the Magistrate? Even if she does, she makes no reference to arsenic, and in my opinion, her statement is quite against the interest of Hariyali.

She says that Khatoon returned the milk openly pronouncing it to be adulterated. Why then did Hariyali, contrary to her use, buy a superfluous quantity which was openly pronounced adulterated? Here is the difficulty. The suspicion therefore is that Hariyali got the arsenic mixed by the milk-woman herself in her house; and when Khatoon rejected the milk, she hit upon another plan. Remem-

ber that Hariyali is not different from you. All *her doings* are *your* doings." Mubtala, whose whole life was spent in the enjoyment of luxury, had no idea of what Nazur spoke of 'as understanding the points of a case' and when he heard his words of trickery, he was quite amazed and thought he could do nothing indefence.

He threw his arms round Nazur's neck, and said that he had none to protect him save him below and God overhead.

Nazur.—I have taken up the case, and shall fight it out on my own responsibility. The expenses will have to be borne by you.

Mubtala.—You have to defray the expenses yourself. You are well aware of my present condition; but I shall finally pay it off to the very pie.

Nazur.—Very well then, write two letters to my address. One should bear yesterday's date and purport to say that rats have become so numerous in your house, that scarcely a cloth is left safe on the peg; the nuisance had increased to such an extent that you were compelled to get a little arsenic in a small packet which you left on a rack high up in the hall beyond anybody's reach.

This occurred seven or eight days ago. Yesterday you got out a rupee's worth of candy-sugar in a large bundle, and with it the usual specimen quantity separately in a small packet which were both left on the same rack. In making the pudding, the lady of the house, sent for the sugar which she mixed with the pudding with her own hands. On account of the smoke in the kitchen and there being no suspicion, the arsenic being taken for the specimen quantity of sugar, was mixed up with it. The favourite birds of the lady that were given some pudding all died and the servant who tasted it was saved after some purging. The police-people, however, wish to give another coloring to the case. Therefore you want me to take up the case, as your Vakil.

The other letter bearing the date of a month or so ago should be asking for a loan of a sum of money. Write both these letters and then go and sleep in your house. No body will dare to disturb you. Hearing these words of Nazur, Mubtala was amazed and thought that he could not stand his ground against such a man and that his safety lay in calm, acquiesence in whatever be said. He enquired, "Well, then, if the Sergeant comes to-morrow morning what should I say."

Nazur.—How can the Sergeant come while your honor's servant is here. "The smoke is off, while the flame is in." Even while it was dusk, early the next morning, Nazur got his horse saddled and rode down to the Sergeant's house. The Sergeant observing him at a distance thought, that since he had come so early, surely there was a liberal largess brought for him and smilingly observed: "Oh, God has shewn to me the face of such a generous man this early morning, I was ready in this uniform, to call at your house, but I am only expecting the Superintendent at seven o'clock."

Nazur.—Ready! Aye ready!! while another calamity has happened in the night.

Sergeant.—What, another person become a prey to arsenic?

Nazur.—Well, no arsenic. You know well enough that there is another woman in the house of brother Mubtala. Do you not know how your men intimidated her, that as soon as you turned your back, she became seriously ill, and that her life itself is now in danger. Brother Mubtala has such love for this woman that he is almost mad and wanted to send for Dr. Cham Baillie. But with great difficulty, I dissuaded him since a word that reaches the ears of Englishmen, is past all control; and hence I have employed two native midwives; and she is a little better now. I wanted to write to you but for fear that the letter might misscarry I have come down myself to acquaint you of the fact. Hearing this, the Sergeant, turned pale as if there was not a single drop of blood in his veins and very humbly said—"What, is it possible for your humble servants to use intimidation or to resort to irregular proceedings at your place. When you came, you might have observed it yourself that only my two constables were in the men's apartment making quiet enquiries from the maid-servants one after another, and these maid-servants were sent for, through your man-servant Wafadar. The fact is that since the day of our enlistment in the police, we expect to be sent to jail one day or other. This work is like selling coals in which one cannot help blackening his own face. Our Lalaji several times advised us not to enter this Department; for having civil predilections, we are naturally unfit for the military uniform. This is the result of not attending to our elders' advice."

Nazur—Well, I trust you have not used any irregular means. The condition of a man does not remain hidden. The whole town is loud in your praises; and if you had not been careful, you would not have conducted your responsible duties so long especially in the days of the present Magistrate. But these timid women lost all their senses, on hearing of your arrival and your few enquiries increased their distress. Well, there were occurrences in the junior-wife's house—the death of the birds, the vomitting of the servant and the final detection of arsenic; but the senior-wife's house was wholly unconcerned with this and yet what did I find there? They were all quite awe-striken and had not even prepared their evening meals. I had, however, to comfort them by saying that accidents even of greater magnitude than this, were common every-day occurrences, and were always recorded in the Government offices. So this was not a matter for so much anxiety. The Sergeant then enquiring how the event was accidental, Nazur showed him the letter of Mubtala which he declared he had received the day before, in the full court while conducting a murder-case. Reading the letter, the Sergeant saw the case in a different light and his hopes were baffled. He unloosed his sword from off his waist and placed it at the feet of Nazur.

"Here is my appointment. Please do that which will not injure my honor." Nazur gave him consolation, saying that if he were bent on evil-doing, he would not have come to him so early, and that he would any how talk Mubtala over on the subject. "Since his second marriage," he said "brother Mubtala is generally hard pushed for his expenses, he would have to be given two or three hundred rupees, to be helped in procuring medicines and medical advice." As regards the arsenic case, there is no force in it, you must not push it any further." Saying this Nazur rose up to walk out. The Sergeant stopped him saying, I will not take up that sword again unless you are pleased to tie it up on my waist." With "Bismillah" (In the name of God), Nazur readily took up the sword and tied it on the Sergeant's waist, as if to give him the appointment anew.

The Superintendent who was expected to arrive had other difficulties of his own. Some empty soda-water bottles, not one or two but half a dozen at once, were stolen from the house of some

European gentleman! Being sent for, he had to run up there that morning for enquiries. After the space of a fortnight, when he saw the Sergeant, he enquired of him what had happened about the arsenic case reported to have occurred at the house of some Vakil. The Sergeant replied that in his special Diary No. 3022, he had already reported the case to have been accidental. Thus the case was hushed up. In recompense for his trouble, Nazur made Kahtoon, surrender the thousand rupees that she had cunningly received and made Mubtala transfer all his godowns in his name. Thus instead of the monthly income of rupees 65, Mubtala now had only Rs. 27 from the salary the payments of which were most irregular. His condition thus became more desperate every day. He was so uncared for, even by the servants in the senior-wife's house that he almost ceased visiting. This made Ghirat Bagum thunder forth the more violently, till the entrance on this side of Hariyali's house was blocked up and they opened another door from the street.

Chapter XXII.

A quarrel and separation between Mubtala and Hariyali.

As long as her nest was properly feathered, Hariyali did not care even if she was abused by her rival. Now instead of rupees sixty-five, there was only an income of rupees twenty-seven a month and she began to waver in her faith in her husband. She taxed him with the narrowness of their means and Mubtala was so much irritated that in a weak moment he told her to go away if she liked and not to bother his life any more. Hariyali much discouraged wished to step out of his doors at that very instant, but he had her locked up in a room for sometime. A reconciliation was however, brought about through the maid-servant. But Mubtala after these occurrences betook himself to the men's apartment of his house and completely stopped his visits to both the houses. Undoubtedly Hariyali was misled in understanding the circumstances of Mubtala. When she married him she hoped to make him get rid of his wedded wife; but on coming to his house, found that Ghirat Bagum had the upper hand and Mubtala could do nothing against her.

Mubtali too misunderstood Hariyali. Before her wedding he thought her to be the very pink of perfection in beauty, but after wedding, all his zeal cooled down. But the good management and kindly regards of Hariyali while there was express enmity in the other house, secured his good graces for her. Moreover Ghirat Bagum wanted to gain her supremacy by the force of her words and deeds, and through her brother's assistance; and this estranged her husband more and more from her.

Chapter XXIII.

The end.

The sudden reduction of his income and the battalion of troubles that overtook him, had made Mubtala almost loathe his life. The quarrel with Hariyali was only a pretext. Tired of both his companions in life he betook himself entirely to the men's apartment of the house. He lived there by himself and would not visit anybody, neither would he allow others to visit him. Two new enemies now appeared on the scene, Masoom, a greater enemy than Nazur and Batoola greater enemy than Ghirat Bagum. Since they grew to know things about them, they never heard their father's name mentioned without some abomination being associated with it. So Masoom would not speak his name without abusing it, nor Batool without cursing it. When he separated himself from the two houses, Mubtala had some faint hopes in the beginning of being able to devote himself to the education of his children. But when he found that the boy Masoom scarcely tolerated his presence and that his children were both completely alienated from him by the injudicious advice of the mother, his hopes all died away and he sunk deeper in his despondency. The drawing-room had once been full of the best furniture, and now all was gone to ruin, and only a few ricketty stools remained to tell their tale. Of the servants, Wafadar was alone faithful. He too had to earn his bread and came to his master in the night to serve him.

Time is of value only when a man has some work in the world but Mubtala had none. He had no engagement of any kind, worldly or religious; regularity even in meals was no object to him.

He would lie on his cot the whole day, sometimes meditating on his ruin. At times in dreams, the reminiscenses of his youth would come back to him and brighten up his countenance; but not unoften his unhappy present would intervene and wake him up only to make him stare with bewildered eyes on the empty place, and then his face would resume its ghastly hopeless look.

He had lost all hopes of reconciliation with Ghirat Bagum and her brothers. He might separate himself from her but for this he wanted resolution and firmness of mind; but why should he have brought all this ruin on himself. If he had possessed a little of these He was through despaire anxiety and troubles reduced to a mere skeleton and rendered so weak that a sneeze made him swoon way, and a hicough rendered his breathing hard. Ghirat Bagum, though a woman, was of such mighty anger that never for a moment, did she relent to him in pity or love. Hariyali, although mean by birth pitied his condition and sent her servants several times, and finally went to him herself. But with all her pleading and artful flattery she could not succeed in bringing him over. Mubtala was already hopeless of life. He had palpitation of the heart for several months; and now, slight pains were, at times, experienced in the chest. But no remedial measures were taken; and the pains and palpitation became more frequent, till one day, while the sun was setting in the horizon, the poor unfortunate Mubtala rolling about in his cot with neither a bed nor a pillow to support his head passed away. Oh reader, do not sorrow for his death. If he had lived more he would have suffered more; his death was a welcome relief to him and to others. May god send him to paradise.

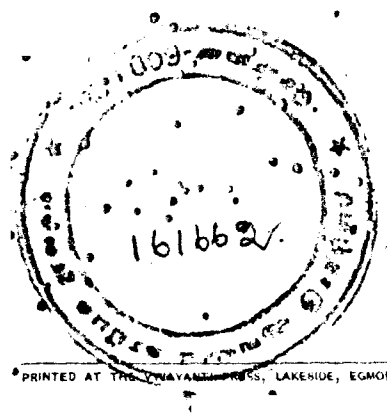
Although there were two wives and their several servants, although there were his son and daughter, yet not a single soul was present to drop water * in his mouth at death. It was late at night, when Wafadar returned from his labours; he called out to his master but found him a corpse. He then cried out and made a noise. The news reached the house. Hariyali was searched for; but she and her servant had gone away; and not a vestige of property was in the house. Ghirat Bagum had been long stubborn; but when she heard of her husband's death she forgot her anger.

* This is a custom amongst the Muhamadans.

She only saw the fair and happy bridegroom who gave her a home She remembered only how badly she had behaved to him and her conscience told her that she was the cause of his death. She wept more for the troubles—now past all remedy that she had given him, than for his death. Her grief and self reproaches were so severe that she lost all her plumpiness and became lean and thin like a dry thorn, and finally passed away before the sixth month ceremony of Mubtala's death was over. At the time of her death, she expressed her wish to be buried at the feet of Ratool's father; for she thought that, if she had never prostrated herself at his feet in life and asked forgiveness, she might, at least, now lay her head on his feet in the grave.

KHAJA KHAN SAHIB.

THE END.


16166 2/-

PRINTED AT THE VIJAYANT PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE, MADRAS.